

## Workers Must Rule—Forge a Trotskyist Party!

# Indonesia: Suharto's Henchmen Take Over

**Down With Islamic Reaction!  
Independence for East Timor!  
Defend Chinese Against Racist Attacks!**

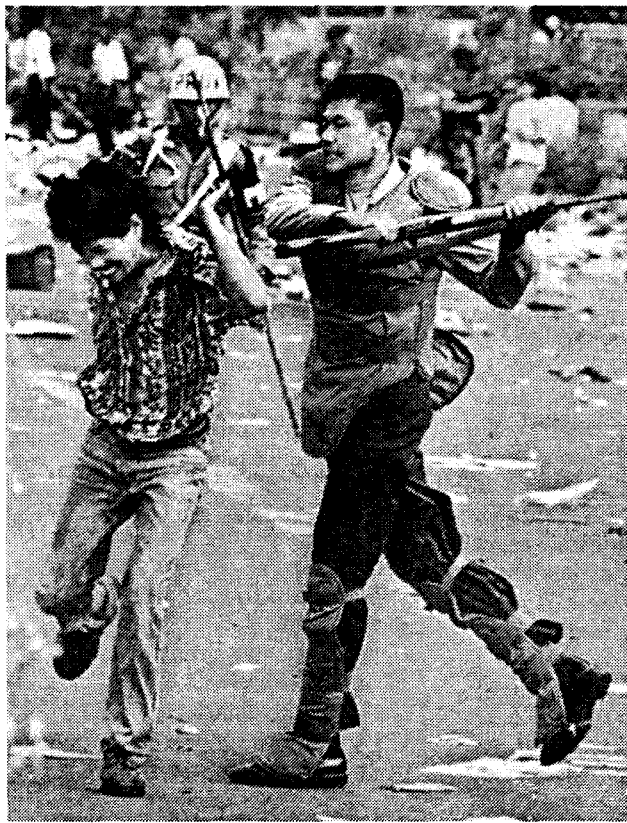
JUNE 1—The replacement of despised Indonesian dictator Suharto by his underling B. J. Habibie changes nothing for the impoverished toiling masses groaning under the weight of a severe economic crisis and savage right-wing repression. Habibie, seen by all as a transitory figure, was installed by the military butchers who enforced Suharto's 32-year reign of terror. U.S.-trained General Wiranto has since proceeded to consolidate his power by purging his military rival, General Prabowo, Suharto's son-in-law. Having allowed student protesters to occupy the parliament grounds in Jakarta in order to help ease out Suharto, whose flagrant corruption had antagonized wide layers of the bourgeoisie and middle class, the military then moved rapidly to stop the protests and restore order.

The imperialist media have made much of the "people power" which supposedly brought down Suharto, harking back to the removal of the discredited Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines in 1986. But like that U.S.-inspired coup, which simply installed a more reliable regime to enforce imperialist dictates, Suharto's "resignation" was carried out under the watchful eyes of American, British and Australian military/intelligence agencies, working through the Indonesian generals they have trained and armed for decades. The London *Sunday Times* (24 May) reported:

"As the riots engulfed Jakarta, senior American officials were on the telephone to Indonesian staff officers and members of Suharto's elite in a persistent effort to urge restraint, warning that if a massacre of protesters took place Indonesia would forfeit international financial aid and face economic collapse.

"Washington's decision to organise a full military-run evacuation of Americans, setting off a mass flight of expatriate business people, was the final sign that America had withdrawn its confidence from Suharto."

For all the pious talk of a "democratic transition," what the imperialists demand is a regime which can enforce the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and ensure the continued superprofits gained from the brutal exploitation of the Indonesian proletariat. The IMF has now agreed to relax the deadlines for imposing the draconian austerity measures tied to its \$40 billion "bailout." With economic



crisis and political instability racking Southeast Asia, the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie are deeply fearful of a social explosion which could spread throughout the region.

As we warned last issue: "A 'reformed' Indonesian capitalist regime will be just as repressive and bloody as its predecessor and just as determined to force the country's toiling masses to pay for the capitalist crisis." With millions already jobless, unemployment is projected to climb to 20 percent this year and inflation toward 50 percent as the IMF dictates are carried out. Even now, thousands of people are dying of famine, and as food shortages grow and the cost of daily necessities skyrockets, millions more will face the prospect of starvation.

Many of the students who chanted



AP photos

**As Suharto (above, left) hands over Indonesian presidency to his former underling Habibie (right), military dictatorship remains in place. Only workers revolution can sweep away blood-drenched capitalist regime.**

"Hang Suharto!" have embraced the nationalist myth of the Indonesian military as "the tool of the people." In fact, the military shores up a regime whose mandate is to further bludgeon the impoverished workers and rural masses at the behest of the IMF vultures. Meanwhile, both within and outside the regime the forces of Islamic reaction are increasingly assertive. Habibie is a fanatically anti-Chinese racist who heads the Association of Muslim Intellectuals. And prominent among the bourgeois "opposition" is Amien Rais, the "moderate" head of the country's second-largest Muslim organization, who also has a history of racist bigotry. The growth of political Islam, in all its variants, poses a particularly deadly threat to the multiethnic proletariat, to the deeply oppressed women,

to the besieged Chinese minority and all the national and religious minorities which make up this prison house of peoples.

It is urgently necessary that the proletariat as a class enter the arena of struggle fighting for its own historic interests and as champion of all the oppressed. This is what the International Communist League has stressed at protests and public forums throughout the U.S. and in Mexico, Britain and Australia over the past two weeks. We seek to forge an internationalist vanguard party of the Indonesian proletariat based on the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution. To achieve emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, to sweep away the military regime and secure political democracy, to fulfill the most basic daily needs of the masses, requires the proletarian seizure of power. But to consolidate proletarian rule in the face of hostile imperialism and to lay the foundation for socialist economic development in a backward country like Indonesia requires a perspective of fighting for socialist revolution internationally.

The series of financial collapses which have swept through Southeast and East Asia underlines not only that periodic crises are endemic to the capitalist system but that the fate of the Indonesian masses

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**Pushed by Fascists, Echoed by Reformist Left**

**Black Book:** *Le livre noir du communisme*  
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# Mass Arrests at Affirmative Action Sit-In

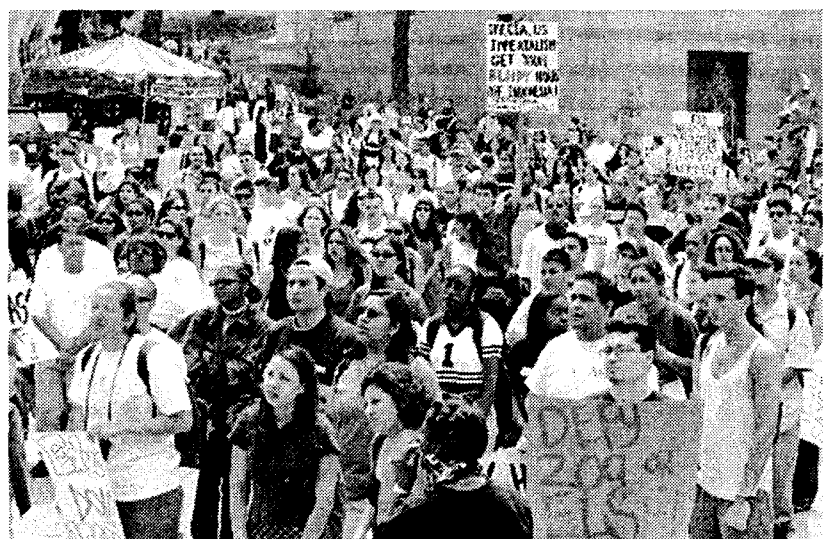
## Defend Student Protesters at UCLA!

Students at the Los Angeles campus of the University of California (UCLA) have protested a series of attacks on affirmative action this spring. On May 15, an integrated demonstration of 500 UCLA

### Young Spartacus

students rallied at the inauguration of the new UC chancellor. Four days later, 600 students marched, occupied a building and 85 of the protesters were arrested by campus police wielding truncheons, tear gas and riot shields. Among those arrested was a member of the Spartacus Youth Club.

First, in 1994, Proposition 187, aimed at all immigrants and Latinos, paved the way for these racist attacks on affirmative action. Then in 1995 the Board of Regents axed affirmative action, and now little more than a year after Prop. 209



Young Spartacus photos

May 19: 600 students at UCLA protest attacks on affirmative action. Cops attacked campus sit-in, arresting 85.

outlawed affirmative action, the bourgeoisie has effected a racist purge of higher education in California, making it even more a bastion of class privilege.

The University of California at Berkeley admitted only 191 blacks for the class of 2002 (*New York Times*, 2 May).

At the protests, the SYC linked the struggle against racial oppression in the U.S. with that of the students who had taken over the Indonesian parliament that week in protest against Suharto's blood-soaked dictatorship, whose military death squads are trained by U.S. imperialism. SYC supporters carried signs about Indonesia, and one placard in particular—"No to Islamic Reaction—Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!"—offended a Muslim organization, which prompted the anti-communist organizers of the rally to try, unsuccessfully, to censor the SYC's revolutionary politics.

We reprint below excerpts from a letter written by the Los Angeles SYC to the UCLA *Daily Bruin* about these protests.

\* \* \*

The Spartacus Youth Club denounces the arrests of students protesting the racist purge of the campus. The SYC demands that all charges against all protesters be immediately dropped! Pack the courthouse on June 15 and June 19 to defend the student demonstrators!

The Affirmative Action Coalition (AAC) and the African Student Union (ASU) claim these protests, dubbed the "Days of Defiance," are only the "beginning." The truth is that they are only a *repeat* of the same impotent, pressure politics used to "fight" Prop. 187 in 1994 and 209 in 1996.

These same student leaders at the May 19 demonstration worked hand-in-hand with the cops and chancellor in negotiating the terms on which students occupying Royce Hall would be arrested! Cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state who mete out brutal and murderous repression against ghetto and barrio youth, student protesters and striking workers. These student leaders did exactly what

the cops and administration wanted. They corralled and diffused student outrage over the admission rates into impotent appeals to the campus administration and "peaceful," "legal," moral-witness protests and arrests that only work to demoralize protesters and derail any genuine struggle.

We defend affirmative action against the bourgeoisie's racist assaults and have fully participated in the recent protests, but we recognize that it cannot even begin to break the chains that have shackled blacks in this country for centuries. The rollback of affirmative action proves that the gains it achieved were fundamentally *limited and reversible* because it did not address the root cause of racist oppression—the capitalist system. Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism, and any fight for black equality runs smack against the entire system of capitalist exploitation. Against the sectoralist politics of the various student groups which organize students along racial and ethnic lines, the SYC fights to ally anti-racist students with the *real* social power of the multiracial proletariat in the struggle for jobs, education and a future for all.

While the AAC and ASU chose to commemorate Malcolm X's birthday by passing out lists of Democratic Party candidates to vote for, we solidarize with Malcolm X's statement that "a vote for a Democrat is a vote for a Dixiecrat." The Democrats and Republicans are twin parties of racist capitalism. We fight to build the multiracial, class-struggle workers party, the tribune of all the people, necessary to lead the working class at the head of all the oppressed in the struggle for equality and socialist revolution. Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters! Defend affirmative action and more! Fight for open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid stipend! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

### The Revolutions of 1848



TROTSKY

The revolutions which swept across Europe in 1848 revealed that the bourgeoisie had outlived the revolutionary role it had played in the Great French Revolution of 1789 in the struggle against the old feudal-aristocratic order. The young proletariat emerged as the only truly revolutionary class in modern society. More than a half century later, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin drew on the lessons of 1848 in forging the revolutionary party which was needed to

imbue the proletariat with the consciousness of its historic class interests in overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie and taking power in its own name.

The revolution of 1848 struck a deadly blow at all these vociferous, motley and ostentatious forms of pre-Marxian socialism. In all countries, the revolution revealed the various classes of society *in action*. The shooting of the workers by the republican bourgeoisie in Paris in the June days of 1848 finally revealed that the proletariat *alone* was socialist by nature. The liberal bourgeoisie dreaded the independence of this class a hundred times more than it did any kind of reaction. The craven liberals grovelled before reaction. The peasantry were content with the abolition of the survivals of feudalism and joined the supporters of order, wavering but occasionally between *workers' democracy and bourgeois liberalism*. All doctrines of *non-class* socialism and *non-class* politics proved to be sheer nonsense.

The Paris Commune (1871) completed this development of bourgeois changes; the republic, i.e., the form of political organization in which class relations appear in their most unconcealed form, owed its consolidation solely to the heroism of the proletariat....

The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist *opportunism*. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached "social peace" (i.e., peace with the slave-owners), renunciation of the class struggle, etc. They had very many adherents among socialist members of parliament, various officials of the working-class movement, and the "sympathising" intelligentsia.

— V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" (March 1913)



LENIN

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5 June 1998

### Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Defeat of Reconstruction and the Great Rail Strike of 1877

## The Shaping of Racist American Capitalism

Finish the Civil War! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Thursday, June 18, 7 p.m.

New York University—Bronfman Center, First Floor Lounge  
7 East 10th Street (between 5th Ave. and University Place, Manhattan)

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## As Governor Sets Bounty on Exiled Black Panther

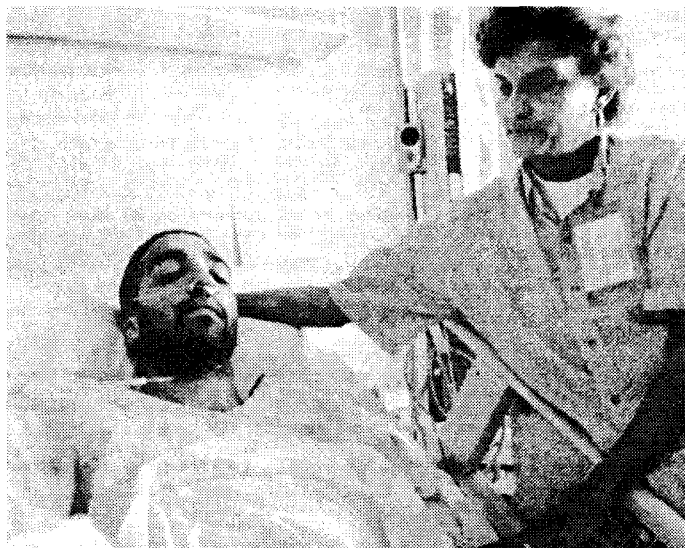
# New Jersey State Troopers Gun Down Black Motorists

At 11 p.m. on the night of April 23, two New Jersey State troopers pulled over a van with New York plates occupied by four students, all black or Hispanic. The cops pumped at least eleven bullets into the van, wounding three of the young men. The four were on their way to basketball tryouts at North Carolina Central University. Danny Reyes lost the use of his right arm; Leroy Grant required a new kneecap. From his hospital bed Grant lamented, "This is the last shot I had to succeed in the field I wanted to succeed in."

The day after the shooting State Police Superintendent Carl Williams claimed the troopers pulled the van over because their radar had clocked it speeding at 74 miles per hour. The troopers claimed the driver of the van put it in reverse after being pulled over and tried to run down the police, who then opened fire. But the cops were lying through their teeth. As columnist Jim Dwyer reported in the *New York Daily News* (5 May):

"First, there was *no radar* equipment in the police car. Second, the van and police car showed virtually *no damage* from the collision, suggesting that the van did not move backward at high speed. And third, the bullet holes caused by the 11 shots appeared to have been *fired from the side* of the van or *from behind*—not while it was bearing down on the troopers."

This was yet another instance of "racial profiling" on the New Jersey Turnpike. Black motorists in the state are almost five times more likely than whites to be pulled over by the cops. Nationally, this potentially deadly racist practice



Jeff Zelenansky

Danny Reyes in his hospital bed after being shot by New Jersey troopers.

has earned the bitter epithet, "Driving While Black." In 1996, even a New Jersey judge held that the New Jersey State Police had a policy of "targeting blacks for investigation and arrest." Yet Governor Christine Whitman contemptuously declares, "There is no such thing as racial profiling."

The case of the four students is a hint of what would await black political prisoner Assata Shakur (formerly Joanne Chesimard) if Whitman and her racist cops succeed in their vendetta to have the former Black Panther Party activist returned to New Jersey. Shakur and two other former Panthers, Zayd Malik Shakur and Sundiata Acoli—then all members of the Black Liberation Army—were stopped by troopers on

the turnpike in 1973, supposedly for a "faulty taillight." Approaching the car, one of the cops drew his gun and ordered the three to raise their hands. A moment later, Zayd Shakur was dead and Assata Shakur, who was pregnant at the time, had been shot twice, once in the back.

For surviving that assassination attempt, Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were convicted in 1977 by an all-white New Jersey jury on grotesque frame-up charges of killing their own comrade and a state trooper who had died in the cross-fire, *with a bullet from a police revolver*. Assata Shakur had already served *over four years* in solitary confinement and had endured three earlier unsuccessful attempts by the government to convict her. Following a dramatic escape from

prison in 1979, she finally made her way to Cuba, where she has since completed her master's degree in political science and been reunited with the daughter who was taken from her at birth.

The state authorities seized on the Pope's tour of Cuba last January to renew their vendetta against Assata Shakur. On the eve of the papal visit, aimed at promoting the forces of capitalist counter-revolution in the Cuban deformed workers state besieged by U.S. imperialism, New Jersey police chief Williams appealed to the Vatican to help secure Shakur's extradition. This was the opening shot in an orchestrated campaign to see Shakur back in prison—or dead. In February, New York WNBC-TV correspondent Ralph Penza aired a hatchet job against the black militant. Following this, Whitman, who in 1995 offered a \$25,000 reward for Shakur's capture, upped the bounty to \$100,000. Williams railed that "we would do everything we could" to get Shakur out of Cuba, explicitly threatening to kidnap her. As we wrote in defense of Shakur following her 1979 escape, "Shakur is quite literally running for her life—if the cops catch her, they'll do their best to make sure she never gets a second chance" (WV No. 243, 9 November 1979).

In an eloquent "Open Letter" (31 March) responding to the WNBC-TV smear job, Shakur wrote:

"I am a 20th century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the US government's policy towards people of color..."

"This political persecution was part and parcel of the government's policy of eliminating political opponents by charging them with crimes and arresting them with no regard to the factual basis of such charges..."

"I guess the theory is that if they could kidnap millions of Africans from Africa 400 years ago, they should be able to kidnap one African woman today. It is nothing but an attempt to bring about the re-incarnation of the Fugitive Slave Act. All I represent is just another slave that they want to bring back to the plantation."

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## Australian Waterfront Struggle

# Fake Lefts Hail "Victory," Alibi Union Tops' Betrayal

The following article is reprinted from the current issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (No. 164, Winter 1998), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia.

**Australasian  
SPARTACIST**

As we go to press, scabs are still at Melbourne's Webb Dock, while Maritime Union of Australia (MUA) members have been working without pay for Patrick Stevedores. Now the MUA's John Coombs and Patrick boss Chris Corrigan have emerged from secret talks reportedly agreeing to slash over 600 jobs in exchange for making the remaining 800 "permanent." The MUA leadership's vow that there would be no return to work unless *everyone* went back has been proven empty as at least 30 militants have been blacklisted by Patrick, targeted as "violent," and five docks have been shut down, including Newcastle and Port Adelaide, throwing some 280 unionists out on the street.

Wedded to the pro-capitalist Australian Labor Party, the union bureaucracy's fundamental strategy has been to rely on the capitalist courts. From the very beginning, the Spartacist League has told the truth: the courts and cops—the state—are

enemies of labour and the oppressed. As we said in February: "To take on and *defeat* this government-orchestrated union-busting requires a serious, politically organised *class-struggle* fight." With hundreds of thousands of workers and others hoping to defeat the capitalists' union-busting offensive, the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) and MUA misleaders were and are terrified by the prospect of a genuine class-against-class battle. So they consciously and deliberately hung the waterside workers out to dry, *demobilising* the union and its supporters, directing the workers' anger into the well-worn channel of class collaboration.

Thus ACTU head Jennie George hailed the 4 May High Court ruling (voted 6 to 1), which pronounced against Patrick's mass sacking of 2,000 unionists, as a "David and Goliath" victory, while the MUA's Coombs ceremoniously led workers back to Patrick's wharves on a red carpet under a sign proclaiming "Victory to the Workers!" But everyone knew that far from a union "victory" the court's ruling set the MUA up for the kill. Even Corrigan was able to claim it a win, while the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared in a front-page headline, "Wharfies Still Face Axe."

Having glorified the Laborite MUA bureaucracy from the beginning, the myriad fake-left groups in Australia rushed to cheer along with them. The Communist Party of Australia headlined, "High Court: A Huge Moral & Political Victory" (*Guardian*, 6 May). The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) editorialised, "Don't let the Liberals cheat us of our victory." Two weeks later they were still wild about this "fantastic victory," as was the Democratic Socialist Party's *Green Left Weekly* (20 May) which opined that "The MUA's recent victory gives the union movement the chance to counterattack..."

The further away from Australia, the more enthusiastic the hurrahs became. In Britain, *The Socialist* (paper of co-thinkers of the Australian Militant group) proclaimed "Australian dockers victory shows workers can win," while the ISO's parent group, the Socialist Workers Party, cheered "This is how to fight for our rights" (*Socialist Worker*, 8 May). The U.S. Socialist Workers Party (in Australia the Communist League) headlined, "Triumphant Workers Return to Australia Docks" (*Militant*, 25 May).

The slippery centrists of Workers Power (WP) tried to cover all the bases. In Australia, where the reality of the MUA's

situation is painfully obvious, WP did manage to criticise the ACTU's George for creating "the illusion that the bosses' courts can protect workers." What then of their British outfit, which enthused over the court decision—headlining a 5 May statement "Wharfies 6...Coalition Government 1"—and fatuously claimed that "the first round has gone to the Australian dockers"?

Instead of saying what is and what needs to be done, the fake-left vied with each other in who could sound the most tactically "militant"—calling for "general strikes," "national days of action" and the like, but *not* for a nationwide MUA strike that shut down the ports. They sneered at our insistence that there must be a political struggle to break the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist ALP and the trade-union bureaucracy. These "socialists" eagerly await the upcoming federal election so they can, as they always do, campaign to "Vote Labor." Underlying the dishonest and cynical victory-mongering of these assorted leftists is precisely their political confidence in the social democracy and its representatives in the trade-union bureaucracy. This is at bottom nothing other than a statement of faith in the capitalist state.

The MUA struggle throws into bold relief the *fact* that "partnership" between labour and capital is a lie, and the *fact* that the capitalist state—with its cops and courts—is the *enemy* of the working class and oppressed. Self-proclaimed leftists who peddle sweet nostrums instead of the bitter truth—that the MUA's struggle was *demobilised and betrayed* by the MUA/ACTU tops, and that the strategy of relying on the courts instead of the social power of the working class spells defeat, not victory—are not revolutionaries, but mere adjuncts to the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. ■

# Promoting Iran's "Islamic Republic" The Cliffites and Islamic Reaction

The following article is reprinted from Spartacist Canada (No. 117, Summer 1998), publication of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.



When participants in the Toronto International Women's Day march on March 7 arrived at the IWD fair at Ryerson University, they discovered that the feminist organizers had given display stalls to the Canadian army—notorious for the sadistic torture of Somalis in their role as "peacekeeping" troops—and to propagandists for the murderous Islamic Republic of Iran. Both the provocations were quashed by hundreds of protesters.

The protest against the agents of the Iranian government—initiated by the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (WCPI) and led by Kurdish and Persian women—has sharply polarized the Canadian left. Members of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste, Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP), Socialist Action and New Socialist Group all joined this action against the deeply reactionary theocratic regime in Iran. Standing on the other side in defense of the ayatollahs' representatives are several other self-proclaimed socialist organizations, ranging from the burnt-out Stalinists of the Communist Party to the longstanding apologists for the Iranian government in the Communist League.

The first to pick up the cudgel for the Islamic Republic agents were the International Socialists (I.S.), Canadian affiliates of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party. Within days, the I.S. went into print with an article in their newspaper *Socialist Worker* which slandered the WCPI and other leftist protesters as thugs who staged a "racist assault" against Muslim women!

This was a direct echo of the IWD organizers, who had called out the campus cops in a futile attempt to stop the protests. In a later statement, these feminists condemned the demonstrators as "terrorizing" the Iranian government's propagandists. Others howled that the protests—including the one targeting the Canadian army—were "awash with testosterone"! Thus, in the name of "sisterhood," the feminists take the side of the armed thugs of Canadian imperialism and of the brutally anti-woman Iranian regime.

Also whimpering about supposed "violence" was Socialist Resistance, affiliated with the British Socialist Party of Peter Taaffe. When a 16 March meeting of OCAP voted to "unreservedly support" the WCPI's action, Socialist Resistance members were among the

very few who opposed it. After years of maneuvering to install itself as the leadership of this coalition, Socialist Resistance quit the OCAP executive in protest. As the WCPI noted in a 28 March statement, "Socialist Resistance chose to be on the side of one of the most notorious and repressive regimes on the globe today."

## I.S. Slanders Exposed

But the most frenzied slander campaign continues to be waged by the I.S. Initially, *Socialist Worker* (11 March)

'wonderful and full life' women in Iran enjoy, and all of them bore the logo of the Islamic Republic of Iran." The statement continued:

"There were two other booths of traditionalist Moslem women's organizations in the hall, and they participated in the fair without any challenge whatsoever. In fact, one of them was located right alongside the booth of the W-CPI....

"The fact that the International Socialists through their official organ chose to so misrepresent the facts of the incident is nothing less than scandalous. If they think that it was proper for the Republic of Iran to have a booth at the IWD fair

words in their drive to expel desperate refugees and other immigrants.

As for the I.S.'s purported anti-imperialism, during the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq the I.S. adamantly refused to call for the defense of this (predominantly Muslim) neocolonial Middle Eastern country against U.S./Canadian imperialism. Instead they built pacifist "antiwar coalitions" with bourgeois liberals and pro-capitalist New Democratic Party politicians, who supported United Nations sanctions as the "alternative" to war. These sanctions have killed more Iraqi men, women and children than the terror bombing ever did.

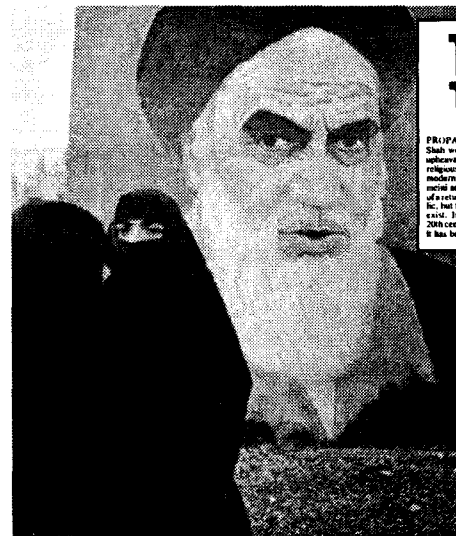
To cover for its scandalous defense of the ayatollahs' agents, the I.S. retrospectively embraces the protest against the Canadian army at IWD. Kellogg writes: "Fortunately some at the fair had the good sense to know this [the protest against the Islamic Republic] was wrong. Some tried to defend the right of the Muslim women to stay. Others led an attack on the real enemy—the booth staffed by the Canadian army—and drove it out of the fair." The unnamed "others" who led the action against the Canadian army—the TL and OCAP—were also prominent in the protest against the Iranian regime, and numerous WCPI supporters participated in the anti-army protest. Yet the I.S., whose own table was right across the aisle from that of the army, only joined in after hundreds of angry demonstrators had massed in front of the military recruitment station.

## I.S. Backs Islamic Reaction: Iran and Afghanistan

The I.S.'s outrageous campaign against the IWD protest did not fall from the sky. For years now, this organization has tried to portray Muslim fundamentalism as "anti-imperialist" and even "revolutionary." The current period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world opened with the rise to power of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran in 1979. At the time, the I.S. ran laudatory articles on the Khomeinist "mass movement" which overthrew the Shah, with headlines like "The form—religion, The spirit—revolution" (*Workers' Action*, February 1979).

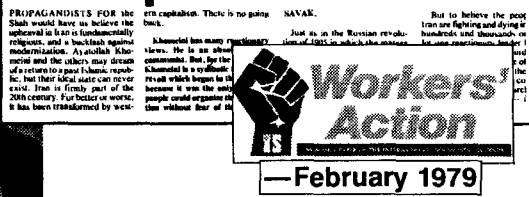
The criminal support for the Islamic fundamentalists by the I.S. and other self-proclaimed leftists in Iran and internationally was a monstrous betrayal. While they cheered on the Khomeini "movement," we warned that it was paving the way for a particularly brutal form of capitalist dictatorship. Uniquely on the left, we said that the mullahs in power would seek to reimpose the *chador* (the head-to-toe veil), restore barbaric punishments like stoning and flogging, suppress national minorities and crush the workers movement and left as ruthlessly as had the Shah. We said: "Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" Tragically, our predictions were all too accurate.

Later that year, the Soviet Red Army intervened in the civil war in Afghanistan in support of a left-nationalist regime which had sought to introduce reforms like freeing women from the veil, reducing the bride price and providing education for girls. The I.S. took the side of the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin*, who fought to maintain women as chattel slaves. Afghanistan was the opening shot in the imperialists' "Cold War II" aimed at the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. While whipping up a hue and cry against "godless Communism," Washington poured in arms to support the Afghan Muslim cutthroats. Here



Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

## The form — religion The spirit — revolution



Canadian Cliffite paper hailed Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic revolution" which imposed veil on women and carried out bloody repression against Kurdish minority (below).



Reza/Sipa

tried to claim that the table in question had nothing to do with the Iranian regime, but was just "a booth staffed by some Muslim women." This lie was immediately refuted in a 14 March Trotskyist League leaflet, which was widely distributed on the left.

A subsequent "Open Letter to the International Socialists" by, among others, the WCPI and an I.S. member who had resigned in protest noted that "all of the literature and pictures on the display table were full of lies portraying the

they should say so openly rather than misrepresent the truth of the matter in order to cover their tracks."

Stung by the exposure of their lies, the I.S. held a rapid-fire series of branch meetings on "Marxism and Islam." These were no doubt directed at "re-educating" some of their own members who had taken part in the protest. Repackaging their attacks on the WCPI and other leftists, I.S. leader Paul Kellogg declared in a full-page article in the March 25 *Socialist Worker* that the real issue was "racist scapegoating of people from the Middle East." Kellogg asks rhetorically: "Even if there were a booth at IWD that had some backing from the Iranian state, would that justify an attack?" He answers that to protest a display sponsored by the Islamic Republic would be "a concession to anti-Islamic scapegoating coming from the ruling class." So according to the I.S., any left-wing protest against the ayatollah regime can only be racist and pro-imperialist!

The I.S.'s posture as opponents of the anti-Muslim racism of the Canadian ruling class is the most abject hypocrisy. Week after week, *Socialist Worker* has lied that the WCPI—a group of leftist exiles, many of whom were themselves jailed in the ayatollahs' dungeons—is a gang of thugs who led a "mob attack" on women. This plays directly into the hands of the racist rulers, for whom "violence" and "terrorism" are code

Spartacists protest execution of Iranian leftists, Toronto, 1979. Trotskyists warned against Iranian left's subordination of workers movement to Islamic fundamentalists, fought for proletarian revolution.

—15 December 1978



Spartacist Canada





the I.S.'s cheering for Islamic fundamentalist forces came together with their visceral hostility to the Soviet Union. British Cliffite leader Paul Foot even used his column in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror* to attack the Conservative Thatcher government from the right by denouncing the possibility that British meat exports to the Soviet Union might be going to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

In contrast, Trotskyists said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" We recognized that, whatever the intentions of the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, this military action offered the possibility of extending social gains of the October Revolution to the hideously oppressed peoples of Afghanistan. This understanding stemmed from our recognition that, despite its degeneration under a Stalinist bureaucratic caste, the Soviet Union remained a workers state and continued to embody historic gains of the October 1917 Russian workers revolution, not least for women and the historically Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

We fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while at the same time fighting for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers, whose deals with imperialism undermined the workers state and prepared its destruction. A decade later, the Kremlin bureaucracy's withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan helped pave the way for the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. It also led to untold horrors for the women of Afghanistan at the hands of the Taliban and other Muslim fundamentalists.

For the I.S., however, the Red Army withdrawal was a "victory." They gloated that "a defeated Russia will spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe and inside Russia itself" (*Socialist Worker*, March 1989). From East Berlin to Moscow, the I.S. cheered these counterrevolutionary "struggles" which led to the restoration of capitalist exploitation, mass unemployment, racist terror and rampant attacks on women's rights.

### I.S. Backs Islamic Reaction: Algeria and Indonesia

Trying to justify the presence of the Iranian government representatives at the Toronto IWD fair, *Socialist Worker* editor Kellogg writes:

"In fact, we should reject the term 'Islamic fundamentalism' and talk instead about the mass phenomenon of *Islamism*—a part religious, part political movement that has been part of the landscape in Middle Eastern politics for the last 40 or 50 years. Islamism is a type of nationalism, a response to the crushing hand of imperialism in the Middle East."

But the rise of Islam is not an expression of "anti-imperialism," but rather of despair. It is the reactionary reflection of the evident *dead end* of bourgeois nationalism and the absence of a communist alternative. As Paul Trehwala wrote in an insightful article on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in *Searchlight South Africa* (July 1989), a leftist journal published by South African exiles in London:

"It is the cry of the oppressed creature of the late 20th century, wrapping his chains around himself with indefatigable fury because no more substantial project of emancipation has yet presented itself. The high tide of Islamic reaction is the result of the absence over decades of any international politics that would address things by the root...."

"Orchestrating and manipulating the fears and resentment of the Muslim poor, as so much raw material, the Islamic campaign in each country is in the hands of this or that stratum of the property-owners. These are out to strengthen their position relative to other classes through a political alliance with the imams, in which the mosques serve as nuclei of a political organization aimed, above all, at preventing access to civil society by the younger generation of Muslim women."

— "Islam, South Africa and 'The Satanic Verses,'" reprinted in *Women and Revolution* No. 37, Spring 1990

Algeria provides a clear example. The Algerians won a war of independence against France, but the victory over colo-

onialism produced an anti-working-class, neocolonial capitalist regime which could not alleviate the exploitation and oppression of the masses. Millions turned to Islam as an "answer." The result has been an all-sided bloodbath between the brutal military regime and Islamic fundamentalists which has cost the lives of tens of thousands.

And the Cliffites have placed themselves squarely in the Islamist camp. In February 1992, their British journal *Socialist Review* gushed that the rise of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) "reflects the rise of revolutionary feeling." The same month, their French newspaper *Socialisme International* declared: "Revolutionaries in Algeria must fight side by side with these people, even in actions

with "anti-imperialist" capitalists and generals. Under the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution, the working class is called upon to support the bourgeois nationalists, who are entrusted with the task of creating an independent capitalist "democracy." But in the former colonial and backward countries of the Third World, the bourgeoisie is so tied to its imperialist masters that it is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks such as national emancipation. As was brought home in blood and fire in Indonesia in 1965, "two-stage revolution" is a chimera which can only lead to devastating defeat for the oppressed.

Ours is the perspective of *permanent revolution*: the understanding that in

establishment of a workers' state." Yet they simultaneously call to "impose on capitalism the most far-reaching reforms," and end up casting about for other, alien class forces to come to the aid of the oppressed. Take for example their appeals to the United Nations, an imperialist "den of thieves" (as Lenin called its predecessor, the League of Nations). As Washington threatened yet more air raids on Iraq in 1996, the WCPI called on the UN to "put an end to the arrogance of the United States," refusing to call for the proletariat to defend this semicolonial country against imperialist assault. More recently they have demanded that the World Court, another imperialist agency, put Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein on trial. As we have long argued, it is the

**Defend Women's Rights, Not Iran's Torture State**  
Open Letter to the International Socialists:  
On the March 17, 1998, the Socialist Workers' Party of Canada (SWP) published an open letter to the International Socialists (I.S.) in the *Socialist Worker*. We are writing to you to express our disappointment and anger at the SWP's position on the Iranian regime's actions against women's rights.

**Violence breaks up sisterhood and solidarity**  
By Kenny Yum  
Ryersonian Staff  
Monia Kayhan joined the international Women's Day celebrations at Ryerson to ask in some sister solidarity. She left - escorted by security guards - with crowds booing and intimidating her.

**The Canadian army is the enemy, not Muslim women**  
A Canadian soldier is charged with the murder of a Muslim woman. The Canadian army is the enemy, not Muslim women.

**Socialist Worker**  
The March 8th Coalition  
PO Box 49  
582 Church Street  
Toronto, Ontario  
M4Y 2E9  
For Immediate Release  
April 2, 1998  
Organizers of the IWD Fair Condemn Actions leading to Expulsion of Participants

**RESOLUTION ON TABLES AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY**  
March 16, 1998  
The Ontario Coalition Against Poverty (OCAP) unreservedly supports the action taken by women from the Worker Communist Party of Iran at this year's International Women's Day gathering. With the support of other women, they caused the removal of a disgraceful information table.

**OCAP**

**Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste**  
International Socialists:  
Vile Lies and Slanders in Service of Bloody Islamic Reaction  
On March 7, the feminist organizers of the Toronto International Women's Day fair... The I.S. does not support the Iranian regime's actions against women's rights... The I.S. does not support the Iranian regime's actions against women's rights...

### Successful protest against propagandists for bloody theocratic Iranian regime at Toronto IWD fair has sharply polarized the Canadian left.

called by the FIS." The "actions" of Algeria's sinister Islamic fundamentalists include the murders of countless thousands of unveiled women, secular journalists, trade unionists and leftists.

The Cliffites' infatuation with Islamic reaction was captured in a major article by British SWP theoretician Chris Harman titled "The Prophet and the Proletariat" (*International Socialism*, August 1994). There Harman writes, "*Islamists have now replaced socialists and the left in terms of being in the frontline against the state in many countries*" (emphasis in original). Claiming that the Algerian FIS is "caught between respectability and insurrectionism," Harman does not even hint that the goal of the FIS's "insurrectionism" is a theocratic dictatorship!

More recently, in the face of mass protests against the Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia, the Australian Cliffites have fostered deadly illusions that Muslim leader Amien Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below" (*Socialist Worker* [Australia], 6 March). While promoting Rais today, they have retrospectively embraced the anti-Communist, Islamic mobs that helped to bring down the left-nationalist Sukarno regime in 1965-66. They write:

"Students have rallied on campuses around the country, demanding the dictator step down.

"The most impressive action was at the University in Jakarta, where students once played a role in bringing down the previous Sukarno regime."

Grotesquely equating the student protests against Suharto with the reactionary mobs in 1965, *Socialist Worker* gives its stamp of approval to the CIA-backed bloodbath of half a million Communists, workers and ethnic Chinese which installed Suharto!

### For Permanent Revolution!

In Indonesia, Iran and other countries, the rise of Islamic reaction was conditioned both by the bankruptcy of the bourgeois nationalists and the betrayals of the mass Stalinist parties which preached an alliance of the proletariat

with "anti-imperialist" capitalists and generals. Under the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution, the working class is called upon to support the bourgeois nationalists, who are entrusted with the task of creating an independent capitalist "democracy." But in the former colonial and backward countries of the Third World, the bourgeoisie is so tied to its imperialist masters that it is incapable of carrying out even the most basic democratic tasks such as national emancipation. As was brought home in blood and fire in Indonesia in 1965, "two-stage revolution" is a chimera which can only lead to devastating defeat for the oppressed.

Neither the WCPI nor its predecessor, the Communist Party of Iran (CPI), existed at the time of Khomeini's ascension to power in 1978-79. However in writing about this period they draw a nonexistent distinction between the "revolution" that overthrew the Shah and the rise to power of the mullahs. For example, a CPI political resolution referred to the "experience of the suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989). Workers strikes were key in bringing down the Shah, but the proletariat was politically subordinated to the Khomeinists by its misleaders—with the decisive assistance of the Iranian left. Crucially missing was a Bolshevik party that could lead the working class to seize political power against both the Shah and the forces of Islamic reaction.

Today the WCPI's program, "A Better World," calls for "the overthrow of the Islamic Republic and the immediate

task of the *Iraqi proletariat* to overthrow the butcher Hussein, not the imperialists who would only replace him with another anti-Communist dictator.

While opposing Islamic reaction in Iran, in Afghanistan the WCPI refused to take the elementary stance of supporting the Soviet Red Army intervention against the CIA-backed Muslim butchers. This flowed from their entirely false view that the Soviet Union became "state capitalist" in the mid-1920s because the Russian working class failed to completely "revolutionize the economic relations." The WCPI explicitly accepts the nationalist myth that it is possible to build "socialism in one country." This is counterposed to the Marxist understanding that the proletariat must extend its rule internationally to at least the main imperialist centers in order to advance to a socialist society. Rejecting the course fought for by Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition, which struggled to return the Soviet Union to the proletarian internationalist program that animated the Bolshevik Revolution and the early Communist International, the WCPI must necessarily fall back on the disastrous schema of "two-stage revolution."

In Iran in 1978-79, the support of the vast majority of the self-proclaimed left for the ayatollah-led "movement" was conditioned by their rejection of the revolutionary capacity of the proletariat. In that instance, they lined up with forces that didn't even *pretend* to be "progressive." Today, the International Socialists shamelessly continue to portray Islamic reaction as an "anti-imperialist" and "revolutionary" alternative. As we wrote in "Third Camp Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 613, 30 December 1994):

"The Cliffites' policy is suicidal for themselves and any workers, youth or women unfortunate enough to be influenced by them. The proletariat must be galvanized politically around a program not to replace the uniformed dictators with robed theocrats but to achieve their own class rule, not to be thrown back into benighted medievalism but to take society forward to socialist emancipation and enlightenment." ■

# Pushed by Fascists, Echoed by Reformist Left

The publication in France last year of *Le Livre Noir du Communisme* (*The Black Book of Communism* [Editions Robert Laffont, Paris]) has served as a focus throughout West Europe for a renewed campaign of hysterical slanders against Communism and the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Though not yet translated into English, the book has been embraced in the U.S. as well by anti-Communists of all stripes. The following article, translated from *Spartacist* (French edition) No. 32, Spring 1998, exposes the myriad lies in the *Black Book* and how they are wielded by bourgeois and reformist ideologues.

Since capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, the international bourgeoisies have stepped up their ideological offensive against Communism. They would like to wipe out of the consciousness of the proletariat and the oppressed any lingering attachment to the program or ideals of communism. They want to impose the idea that capitalist society—with its exploitation and unemployment, racism and poverty, war and the menacing growth of fascism—is the only world possible.

In countries like Britain, France and Italy, the parties of the so-called “left” have become the prime movers of the brutally racist, anti-working-class policies demanded by the rulers. To the accompaniment of rising unemployment and racism, the dismantling of the “welfare state” and imperialist aggression in the semicolonial countries, threadbare old anti-Communist shibboleths are the “new” sensation in bookshops and the mass media. Tony Blair wants to break the historic link between the British Labour Party and the unions, D’Alema of the Italian Party of the Democratic Left dumps the hammer and sickle symbol, and in France, social democrats publish a book by a dubious group of “historians”: *The Black Book of Communism*, 846 pages of lies and amalgams aimed at justifying repression against organizations and individuals who might still look to communism, and at contributing to counterrevolutionary efforts to destroy the Cuban, Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states.

The book, most of whose authors are ex-leftists (and who, adding insult to injury, still claim that they are leftists!), is an amalgam of Cold War propaganda and lies which echo those long retailed by the CIA. It is a list of supposed Communist crimes which lumps together death by famine at the time of the Civil War after the Russian Revolution with the Stalinist purge trials of the 1930s, Pol Pot’s massacres in Cambodia, the victims of the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia in the 1970s-80s, and even those of the “Rwandese Patriotic Front,” in order to arrive at a fantastic total which, according to the book’s

## Le livre noir du communisme Crimes, terreur, **Black Book:** **Anti-Communist** **Big Lie**



Penguin

**Left: Anti-Communist poster during Russian Civil War demonizes Trotsky as embodiment of “Jew-Bolshevism.” Right: Election poster on eve of Nazis’ rise to power declares, “Only one man can save us from Bolshevism—Adolf Hitler!” French *Black Book* retails lies pushed by anti-Semitic counter-revolutionaries, fascists.**

editor, Stéphane Courtois, “is close to 100 million deaths” allegedly caused by Communism.

There’s nothing new about reactionary ideologues embarking on anti-Communist crusades (see “Leonard Shapiro, Lawyer for Counterrevolution,” *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Nor about social democrats (and anarchists) vying with bourgeois rightists in anti-Communist fervor (see “Robin Blick: Menshevik Dementia,” *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 49-50, Winter 1993-94). The reformists’



Bundesarchiv

adaptation to the chauvinism of their own rulers is their basis for enlisting in the bourgeoisie’s anti-revolutionary campaigns.

Today the old-style social democrats are joined in their endeavor by none other than Robert Hue, head of the French Communist Party (PCF). While the PCF is equally as rotten, chauvinist and reformist as the Socialist Party (SP), nonetheless it takes extraordinary shamelessness for the heirs of the very Stalinists who gave “Communism” a bad name to so fulsomely join in the “death of communism”

chorus. But the day after the publication of the *Black Book*, an editorial in the PCF newspaper *L’Humanité* (7 November 1997) railed that “The Russian Revolution gave birth to a monster which year after year devoured millions of people.” Hue says that the Soviet Union did not have a “roughly positive balance sheet but a negative one. Even monstrous in many respects” (*L’Humanité*, 5 December 1997). And the so-called “far left” is largely disarmed in the face of the threadbare lies of the *Black Book*, mostly owing to their having made common cause with pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism for the past two decades or so.

### Capitalism and Mass Murder

The purpose of the *Black Book* (which has been translated into 13 languages) is to discredit the 1917 October Revolution in order, they hope, to finally lay to rest the danger of new Octobers. The central technique is to equate Communism with fascism—an old war cry of reactionary bourgeois apologists, who aim thereby not only to smear the idea of communism but to trivialize the unique and unspeakable crimes of Hitler’s Holocaust, when millions were murdered in the demented effort to eliminate whole peoples from the face of the earth. Like their reactionary forebears, Courtois & Co. amalgamate Communism with fascism by elevating bourgeois democracy to a transcendent principle, and then decrying Communism and fascism as “totalitarian” systems. Fascism is a form of *capitalist* rule which the bourgeoisie resorts to in extremis, dispensing with bourgeois democracy to maintain its class power as the German bourgeoisie did in handing power to Hitler on the road to World War II.

The authors of the *Black Book* pretend that Nazi Germany was the only major capitalist state in the 20th century guilty of crimes against humanity on a mass scale. Every Algerian and Vietnamese knows this is a lie! Trying to drown in blood the Algerian War of Independence, the French imperialists killed a million people—over a tenth of the total population. This brutal colonial war was prosecuted in good part under the government of Socialist Guy Mollet. In Madagascar in 1947, the French imperialists slaughtered some 80,000 people; in Indochina between 1946-54, estimates vary from 800,000 to 2 million dead (Gilles Perreault in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, December 1997). Then the American imperialists—who had atom-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians as part of the “war for democracy”—took over the Indochina war from France, killing two million people, two-thirds of them civilians.

The undoubted atrocities of Pol Pot in Cambodia owe a huge debt to the U.S. imperialists: the Khmer Rouge inherited a country obliterated by more than half a



Süddeutscher Verlag



Syigma

**Concentration camp for Jews in France under World War II Vichy regime. Right: Algerian demonstrators massacred by Paris police, October 1961.**



million tons of American bombs, which slaughtered an estimated 600,000 people (out of a population of 7 million), destroyed the economy and cultural level of the country and swelled the population of Phnom Penh to five times its prewar size. Pol Pot's Cambodia was never a workers state, even deformed. Upon routing the imperialists and their venal puppets, the first act of the Khmer Rouge—an extremely thin layer at the head of a peasant army, fearful that they could not control any social organization above the village level—was to raze the cities, destroying the tiny proletariat and forcing virtually the entire population into barely disguised labor camps at the most primitive subsistence level.

The ideology of Pol Pot & Co. was the antithesis of the program of communists for whom industrialization and technological progress lay the material basis for the free and full development of human potential in a socialist society of plenty for all. Indeed, the Khmer Rouge's idea was to smash urban and intellectual life and achieve "equality" through a leveling down to the lowest level. Philosophically they are at one with the "back to nature" ideal of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and his modern heirs, the "ecology" enthusiasts who think that everyone including the starving masses of the Third World ought to consume less.

Not surprisingly, those who today hold up Pol Pot as an example of the crimes of "Communism" seem to forget that he was backed much of the time by the American imperialists, and it was the Vietnamese Stalinists who brought an end to his rule.

### Nazism and the Bourgeois Order

Courtois' "technique" is to generate absurd "statistics" so as to "prove" that Communists have killed more people than the fascists did. His thesis is that "the Communist system involves, although in a different way, a fundamentally criminal dimension" similar to if not worse than Nazism: "the facts speak clearly and show that the crimes committed by the Communist regimes concern around 100 million people, as against roughly 25 million victims of Nazism." Courtois talks about "genocidal logic" and about "mass murder, systematic murder, crimes against humanity."

It is striking how similar Courtois' anti-Communist slanders are to the language and content of Hitler's infamous *Mein Kampf*. There, Hitler wrote that the Jews were the founders and organizers of Marxism who had shown their true face in Russia where they "killed (sometimes with inhuman tortures) or starved to death with truly fanatical savagery close to thirty million people." According to *Mein Kampf*, the leaders of Soviet Russia were "bloodstained criminals...[who had] killed and rooted out millions of leading intelligentsia in a wild thirst for blood...[and] exercised the most cruel tyranny of all times" (quoted in Arno J. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken?*, 1988).

The *Black Book of Communism* serves the purposes of the bourgeoisie today, which would like to revise history and distance itself from the horrors of Hitler and the Holocaust. But the Nazis were not an isolated phenomenon; they advertised themselves as and were widely seen as defenders of "the West" against the perceived "Jew-Bolshevik" threat to the world order. Hitlerite fascism was the most diehard, most ideological expression of the bourgeoisie's unremitting world struggle against Communism.

Courtois openly embraces the theses of the ideologist of the pro-Nazi right wing in Germany, Ernst Nolte, who insists that it was the Bolsheviks who really inspired Nazi barbarism, claiming that the degree and "techniques of mass violence" had been inaugurated by the Communists. In fact the relationship between the program of communism and that of Hitlerite fascism is that they are opposites. Authentic communism means the full liberation of all of humanity while fascism is the

epitome of bourgeois racism and capitalist barbarism. Communists are "responsible" for Hitler only in the sense that anti-communism, along with anti-Semitic racism, was the pillar of Hitlerite ideology. The fear that the powerful German workers movement might emulate the example of the Russian October was what impelled the German bourgeoisie to hand over state power to Hitlerite gangsters.

Meanwhile, the French bourgeoisie has just concluded the trial of its faithful servant, Maurice Papon who, as a top official of the Nazi-allied Pétain regime during World War II, organized the deportation of Jews from France to Hitler's death camps. In 1961, as the prefect of police in Paris, he was responsible for the massacre of more than 300 Algerians peacefully demonstrating for Algerian independence. As a result of the trial, Papon was sentenced effectively to two days in jail; obviously the court recognized, as Courtois does not, that the key question about "war criminals" is: *whose class rule did they serve?*

For the authors of the *Black Book*, no concrete historical situation is worth analyzing with any seriousness at all. For example, in the section on Afghanistan, Sylvain Boulouque devotes only two lines to the massacres carried out by the CIA-backed mujahedin cutthroats who, now in power, stone to death women who dare to leave their homes without wearing the head-to-toe veil. In any case, he blames their crimes on the Soviet Union: "The Afghan resistance fighters also conduct massacres and, even though there's no mention here of the brutalities carried out by the Resistance, they remain unacceptable and unexcusable.... However the responsibility for what happened in Afghanistan lies with the Communists and their Soviet allies."

The book is so unserious that the authors don't even worry about getting their story straight. Nicolas Werth, one of the authors of the *Black Book*, feeding the lie that Stalinism is the legitimate child of Leninism, claims that the Bolshevik Party suffocated the power of the soviets immediately after taking power: "Within a few weeks these institutions [factory committees, unions, socialist parties, neighborhood committees, Red Guards and above all, the soviets] were stripped of their powers, subordinated to the Bolshevik Party and eliminated." Later, intent on showing that the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks reflected existing opposition within society, Werth maintains the opposite and a little bit of truth comes out:

"In reality, the spring of 1918 was a crucial moment when the game was still undecided. Inside the soviets which had not yet been gagged and transformed into simple organs of state administration, there were real political debates between the Bolsheviks and the socialist moderates. The opposition papers continued to exist, even though they were persecuted daily; local political life saw a continuous growth of competing institutions."

*Le Monde* (14 November 1997) published an article by the historian Lilly Marcou showing that Werth multiplied tenfold the number of victims of Stalinist terror which he himself had given only four years before. Why does *Le Monde*



Economist

Popular-front government of Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin (left) and Robert Hue's PCF unleashed strikebreaking cops against French truckers, November 1997.



AP

(along with the entire "left" when it criticizes the *Black Book*) maintain that this quack's contribution to the book is the most serious and the most scientific? Because Werth's main task is to identify Lenin with Stalin and make Lenin responsible for the crimes committed by Stalin, the gravedigger of the October Revolution.

At times, the book is simply grotesque. The Bolsheviks are accused of having "induced" the 1922 famine and of having therefore provoked the death of "five million people." The execution of the Romanov royal family by the Bolsheviks after taking power is presented as merely a personal settling of accounts by Lenin, whose brother had been killed by the tsarist regime after an assassination attempt against Tsar Alexander III, and so forth.

But the lies, historical absurdities and grotesque aspects of the book don't overshadow the fundamentally sinister aim of the *Black Book*. In the introduction, Stéphane Courtois expressed concern that the symbols of the revolution—"the Red Flag, the *Internationale* and the clenched fist—re-emerge every time there's a social movement of particular importance" and that "various openly revolutionary groups continue to be active and to work in full legality." This—together with the repeated demand for "a Nuremberg trial for the crimes of Communism," echoed by the fascists of the National Front—is a direct appeal for state repression against organizations and individuals who look to communism.

### Trotskyism Is the Continuity of the Bolsheviks

Just like their numerous Cold War predecessors, the authors of the *Black Book* embrace and spread the bourgeois lie that Stalinism was the legitimate child of Leninism. Their main argument is that the roots of the Moscow Trials of the

1930s and of the Stalinist gulags are to be found in the October Revolution itself and, in particular, in the "Red Terror" of the Bolsheviks during the 1918-1921 Civil War.

In reality, the soviets took power at the beginning of November 1917 with hardly any human losses. The Russian bourgeoisie was so impotent, so compromised by the course and outcome of the war, so demoralized by the Kerensky regime, that it didn't dare pose any resistance. Kerensky's power in Petrograd was defeated almost without a fight. There was somewhat more resistance in Moscow. In the provinces, a telegram from Petrograd or Moscow was usually sufficient to transfer power to the soviets. There were hardly any arrests. The ministers of the Kerensky government were freed shortly after the revolution. At the beginning, the revolution applied the same kind of generosity as the first Paris Commune. For example, the Cossack General Krasnov, who had marched on Petrograd with Kerensky immediately after the soviets took power, was imprisoned but was freed the next day. Once freed, he immediately joined the ranks of the counterrevolution and, after having killed thousands of Communists, marched on Petrograd again with the Yudenich army.

The proletarian repression became more severe only slowly and progressively, keeping pace with the increase in counterrevolutionary activity—after the mass execution of Communists during the Czechoslovakian uprising in the Volga organized by the Cadets (the bourgeois Constitutional Democrats), Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks; after the attempt on Lenin's life, the assassination of Uritsky, etc. Local counterrevolutionaries were backed by the "democratic" imperialists. The French embassy organized the 1918 Yaroslavl uprising which inflicted many casualties.

*continued on page 8*



Kyoichi Sawada



U/AP

U.S. imperialists' dirty war in Indochina resulted in slaughter of over two million Vietnamese.

# Black Book...

(continued from page 7)

The "empire" of Admiral Kolchak was pushed by American finance and supported by Czechoslovakian military corps aided by the French government. Krasnov and Kaledin, heads of the counter-revolution on the Don, were backed financially and militarily by Germany. In all, 14 imperialist armies invaded the new workers state; side by side with local counterrevolutionaries, they devastated the country, massacred reds and wreaked terror on the Jewish villages.

The fact that the Russian revolutionary proletariat, which came out of WWI decimated in an economically devastated country, was able to win the Civil War was itself irrefutable proof of the depth of support for the revolutionary cause. The workers fought heroically, sacrificing themselves to the point that the most conscious proletarian layers were virtually wiped out. The peasants—having to choose between the Whites who stole back their land and the Reds who only requisitioned their grain to feed the cities—chose the Reds. It would have been a *crime* had the Bolsheviks not utilized *all* means necessary to ensure victory. Leon Trotsky, commander of the Red Army during the period of the Civil War, explained it admirably in his work, *Terrorism and Communism* (1920):

"The working class, which seized power in battle, had as its object and its duty to establish that power unshakably, to guarantee its own supremacy beyond question, to destroy its enemies' hankering for a new revolution, and thereby to make sure of carrying out Socialist reforms. Otherwise there would be no point in seizing power...."

"The revolution does require of the revolutionary class that it should attain its end by all methods at its disposal—if necessary, by an armed rising: if required, by terrorism...."

And in the 1935 English language preface he added:

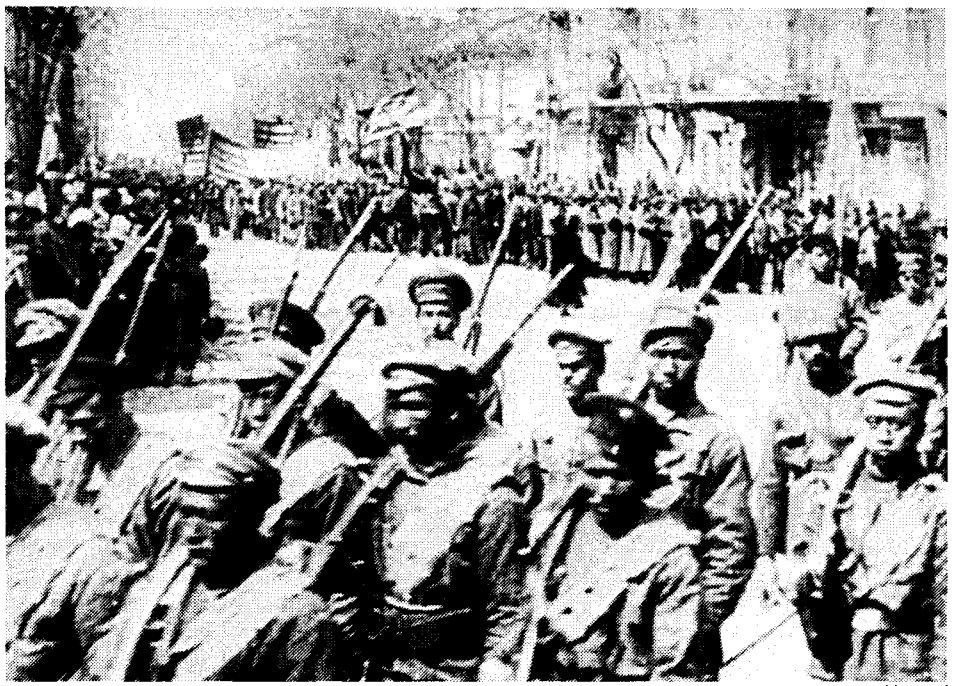
"History down to now has not thought out any other way of carrying mankind forward than that of setting up always the revolutionary violence of the progressive class against the conservative violence of the outworn classes."

The workers state which emerged from the Bolshevik Revolution was founded on proletarian internationalism and soviet democracy—the power of the workers councils whose delegates were democratically elected by the workers. But the years of Civil War and imperialist strangulation devastated the economy and the proletariat, in particular its most conscious layer, allowing the growth of a bureaucratic layer inside the party and in the state apparatus. Not only the Bolshevik leaders but the masses of workers saw the extension of the revolution to other countries as the key to the survival of the Soviet republic. But numerous proletarian uprisings—in Hungary, Germany, Poland, Bulgaria, Italy and elsewhere—were crushed.

Basing itself on the widespread demoralization which resulted from the defeat



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Left: Red Army commander Leon Trotsky rallies troops during 1920 war with French-backed Pilsudski dictatorship in Poland. Right: Soviet troops enter Ukrainian city of Odessa in 1919 during Civil War against pogromist counterrevolutionaries.

of the 1923 German revolution, and with Lenin on his deathbed, the bureaucracy headed by the "troika" of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev gained control at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924 and carried out a real *political counterrevolution*. After January 1924, the people who ruled the USSR, the way the USSR was ruled, and the purposes for which the USSR was ruled, had all changed (see "When Was the Soviet Thermidor?" *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Some months later, the program of this conservative social layer found its expression in the anti-Marxist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Lenin's last political battle, which he conducted in bloc with Trotsky, was *against* Stalin and the nascent bureaucracy, in particular over Stalin's manifestations of Great Russian chauvinism and brutal arrogance.

Thus, in their defense of the revolutionary internationalism of the Bolshevik program, Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried forward the struggle for Leninism against the Stalinist bureaucracy. *It is the Trotskyists who represent the continuity of communism and not their butchers, as the "death of communism" ideologists would have us believe.* The purpose of Stalin's terror was to repress and intimidate the proletariat whose political power the bureaucracy had usurped, and especially to root out and destroy any loyalty to the Left Opposition and its program of international socialist revolution. By the end of the purges, out of the entire Bolshevik Central Committee which had made the Revolution, only Stalin remained in power! Stalinism represented not Leninism but its negation; in order to consolidate his power and establish his claim to be "Lenin's successor" Stalin had to murder the "Old Bolsheviks" and destroy the entire vanguard layer of the proletariat. Significantly, the imperialist bourgeoisies had little problem with the

Moscow Trials at the time, as Trotsky noted in *Their Morals and Ours* (1938): "The big bourgeoisie of the democratic countries watched the execution of the revolutionists in the USSR not without pleasure, though feigning abhorrence."

## Red Army Smashed the Nazis, Despite Stalin

The *Black Book*, which represents the ideological justification for the brutal rule of capital over labor in the post-Soviet world, makes the grotesque assertion that the Holocaust of the 20th century was Communism, not Nazism. The very title is an effort to eclipse *The Black Book of Nazism*, a book which had detailed Nazi atrocities on the Russian front.

Hitler and his genocidal terror were stopped by the Red Army which liberated the death camps of Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, etc. The race to Berlin and the destruction of the Third Reich by the Soviet Union represented the freeing of Europe from the scourge of Nazism—8 May 1945 is the day of the victory of the Red Army against the Nazis. This is the truth the *Black Book* is trying to hide.

Courtois is not a beginner at promulgating such lies. In his 1980 book, *Le PCF dans la guerre* (The PCF in the War), he could not entirely overlook Stalingrad and Kursk, two battles won by the Red Army which decided the fate of the Nazis, so he made sure to diminish them by trying to pass off minor skirmishes like the battle of El Alamein in Egypt as the decisive battles. But the Soviet people, at a cost of 27 million dead, bore the main brunt of the war, and it was the Red Army which broke the back of the Nazi power. Some 80 percent of German casualties in the entire war occurred on the Russian front. The Anglo-American imperialists were in fact mainly concerned with fighting for their colonial possessions and especially with getting their hands on Asia against their Japanese rivals.

The imperialist Allies finally opened the famous "second front" with the landing in Normandy in June 1944 because their greatest fear was that the whole of Europe might go Communist in the wake of the Red Army's victory. The Dutch Trotskyists of the Committee of Revolutionary Marxists clearly recognized that the Allied landing was aimed against Soviet expansion and the threat of proletarian revolutions in Western Europe, rather than against the Nazis (*De Rode October*, February 1943 [see *Prometheus Research Series* No. 2, February 1989] and *Cahiers Léon Trotsky* No. 43, September 1990). Indeed the working-class neighborhoods of Dresden and Hamburg were deliberately destroyed by Allied bombing just as Allied bombing smashed a general strike in Marseilles in May 1944, a few days before an Allied landing. The Nazis themselves were hoping for a separate peace with the "democratic" imperialists. And in defeat, the Nazi war criminals feared only the ven-

geance of the Red Army, as they tripped over each other in a mad scramble to make it safely to the nearest American lines.

Fundamentally, what lies behind the policies of the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisies since 1917 is fear of the threat to the world imperialist order represented by the October Revolution led by those they considered "Bolshevik Jews." Hitlerism was only the most brutal expression of the goals pursued by the capitalists since 1917: to drown the class struggle in a sea of chauvinism and to overthrow the proletarian property forms in the USSR. And in 1940 the French bourgeoisie (which has never forgotten that the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War led to the Paris Commune) allied itself with the Nazis through the Pétain regime.

As for the bourgeois "democracies," confronted with the Red Army victory in 1945 and prerevolutionary situations in several countries they immediately amnestied the worst Nazi war criminals and established the "rat line"—an escape route set up by the American intelligence agencies and the Vatican to place Nazi war criminals in the immediate service of the Cold War, from scientists like Werner von Braun whom they brought to the U.S. to Klaus Barbie, whom they resettled in Latin America. Meanwhile, in "de-Nazified" postwar West Germany, Hitler's spymaster Gehlen and his organization continued to ply their trade against the USSR and the East German deformed workers state.

The Frenchman Touvier (just like Barbie and hundreds of other Nazis), head of the "Second Service" of Pétain's militia in Lyon, also benefitted. He kept the friends he had in the police (who had let him escape from the offices of the French foreign intelligence service in 1947) and was approached to work again for France in Algeria in 1960 helping to repress the struggle for national liberation of the Algerian people.

It is not surprising that the *Black Book* takes the side of anti-Semites and Nazis against the Red Army. Werth mentions without raising an eyebrow the slogans of the anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian leaders Petlyura, Makhno and others: "free elected soviets without Muscovites or Jews;" "Ukraine to the Ukrainians, without Bolsheviks or Jews;" "long live soviet power, down with the Bolsheviks and the Yids." Under such slogans, they organized dozens of bloody pogroms against the Jewish ghettos in the towns and cities around Kiev and Chernigov. We Trotskyists stand proudly on the side of the Bolsheviks who mercilessly smashed this anti-Semitic scum!

In considering the years-long struggle and sacrifices of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders (to which he devotes exactly 18 pages out of his 240 on the USSR), Nicolas Werth focuses on the deportation of peoples by Stalin. The Nazis' genocide of more than two

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million Soviet Jews is mentioned in one sentence and is presented as reprisals against alleged massacres by the Soviet NKVD: "Using as a pretext 'the Jew-Bolshevik atrocities,' the Nazi Sonderkommandos rushed to immediately murder tens of thousands of Jews." Werth counts as "victims of the gulags" the members of the Ukrainian OUN and UPA (fascistic anti-Semites who cooperated with the Nazis against the Red Army), the Estonian Forest Brothers and even Vlasov and his army, who went over to Hitler. For Werth, the epitome of horror was when thousands of Nazi criminals were at last jailed and executed by the Red Army:

"Never had the 'special populations,' the gulag camps, the control and filtration camps and the Soviet prisons contained so many inmates as in that year of the victory: about five and a half million people, all categories included. A record that was eclipsed for a long time by the festivities of victory and the 'Stalingrad effect'."

Stalin's postwar gulags held many innocent people, but Werth equates these with the Nazi murderers in order to absolve the latter. What he and the bourgeoisie hate is that only in the Soviet Union did the fascist criminals receive a measure of justice.

During the Nazi siege of Leningrad, over a third of the city's population was wiped out through bombings and starvation. The ultimate Soviet victory took place *in spite of* Stalin, who had decapitated the Red Army in the purges of 1937. After relying for a time on the bloody "democratic" imperialists like France, Stalin then turned to an equally unprincipled alliance with Germany, the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939. He placed such faith in this undertaking that he ignored the information of heroic Soviet spies like Leopold Trepper and Richard Sorge, who warned of Hitler's impending invasion of the USSR.

Trotskyists understand that a workers state might have to make temporary military blocs with one or another imperialist power at particular junctures, but never at the cost of giving up the only ultimate defense of the Soviet Union: the struggle for proletarian revolution against *all* the imperialist nations. As Trotsky wrote in 1939 in *In Defense of Marxism*:

"The entire foreign policy of the Kremlin in general is based upon a scoundrelly embellishment of the 'friendly' imperialism and thus leads to the sacrifice of the fundamental interests of the world workers' movement for secondary and unstable advantages. After five years of duping the workers with slogans for the 'defense of the democracies' Moscow is now occupied with covering up Hitler's policy of pillage. This in itself still does not change the USSR into an imperialist state. But Stalin and his Comintern are now indubitably the most valuable agency of imperialism."

### The Trotskyists Stayed at Their Posts in Defense of USSR

The Trotskyists resolutely maintained the unconditional military defense of the USSR against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution despite the parasitic Stalinist bureaucratic caste. At the same time they understood that the only real and long-term defense of the USSR required proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinist usurpers who undermined the gains of the October Revolution at every turn through their regime of repression and lies, their bureaucratic privilege, their atomization of the Soviet proletariat, their instilling of nationalist ideology in place of the internationalism which animated the Bolsheviks. The Trotskyists demanded restoration of soviet power (workers and soldiers councils) and sought to mobilize the Soviet working masses against the bureaucracy on the basis of socialist egalitarianism and revolutionary internationalism, the foundations of the Soviet workers state.

This policy was codified in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International, and has been a cornerstone of the politics of the International Communist League since our inception as a tendency in the 1960s.

On every major battlefield of "Cold War II"—launched by American imperialism in the attempt to recover from its humiliating defeat in Vietnam—the ICL (formerly called the international Spartacist tendency) fought resolutely for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and all the deformed workers states, while fighting uncompromisingly against the Kremlin bureaucracy's capitulations to imperialism.

The war in Afghanistan from 1979 onwards was a focal point of the Cold War. On one side was the Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies who sought to institute reforms against the buying and selling of women and against the veil that prevented Afghan women from ever seeing the sun. On the other side were the CIA-sponsored *mujahedin* cutthroats who assaulted unveiled women and murdered teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read and write. For the imperialists, the civil war in Afghanistan was seen as the best chance in decades to kill Soviet soldiers and officers on a large scale and to support a virulently reactionary regime on the border of the USSR.

We took a side, raising the slogans "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" The bourgeois liber-



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**Banners raised by Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile on anniversary of 1917 Bolshevik Revolution read: "Turn the Fire to the Right Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat, Not in Words but in Deeds," "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."**

als and the "left" supported the Islamic fundamentalist terrorists, including the Taliban. In the section of the *Black Book* devoted to Afghanistan we can find all the arguments spread at the time by the left and "far left" to line up the proletariat behind the anti-Soviet campaign. Needless to say, these forces today have no unfavorable comments to make about this section of the *Black Book*; they all agreed.

When Solidarność, the Polish company union bankrolled by the Pope and the CIA, tried to take power at the end of 1981, we demanded "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" Eight years later, the Stalinists, headed by the bureaucrat Jaruzelski, handed over power to Walesa & Co. The so-called "left" worldwide mainly lined up with Wall Street and international social democracy as the champions of Solidarność; today, we do not hear a peep of protest from the French left about the section on Poland in the *Black Book*.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the ICL fought the sellout of East Germany which was being engineered by the leaders of the Stalinist SED (Socialist Unity Party). In the virtual power vacuum which followed the collapse of the Stalinist regime, we threw all our forces into the struggle for a red Germany of workers councils. After fascists desecrated the Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptow Park, we initiated a united-front demonstration on 3 January 1990, which the Stalinist leaders felt obliged to join and which drew 250,000 people to honor the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. This outpouring of anti-fascist sentiment was rightly seen by

the DDR Stalinists as an expression of the will to resist *Anschluss* (annexation) by West German imperialism. Our calls for a new, egalitarian communist party and for the immediate formation of workers and soldiers soviets pointed to the real alternatives for the DDR: proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution. The bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy chose the latter.

We also sought to resist capitalist counterrevolution in the homeland of October itself. In August 1991 we called on the Soviet workers to "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution," stressing that the Moscow proletariat should have smashed Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary barricades in Moscow, and we distributed tens of thousands of leaflets throughout the Soviet Union. Today we are fighting to build a Trotskyist party to lead the Chinese proletariat in revolutionary resistance to the Stalinists who are determined to take China all the way down the "capitalist road."

### Stalinism, the Popular Front and World War II

Although Courtois likes to present himself as a repentant communist, he is no newcomer to the business of anti-Communist propaganda. He was trained

make sense in the context of a perspective of a direct seizure of power by a strategy like that which assured the victory of the Russian Revolution!" It was on this foundation that Stéphane Courtois wrote his first book, *The PCF in the War*. There, he ranted that the Hitler-Stalin pact "marked the birth of a Soviet imperialism, which had the particularity of likening imperialist expansion carried out by force to the expansion of the world revolutionary movement."

Here, Courtois placed himself in the tradition of Cold War ideologues like Leonard Schapiro, Hannah Arendt and George Orwell who saw Soviet "totalitarianism" as a powerful force bent on world domination. Not too long ago, anti-Communists of this sort were loudly insisting that Mikhail Gorbachev's enthusiasm for capitalist "market reforms" was simply a lie intended to lull the partisans of "democracy" to sleep while the Kremlin plotted ever more nefarious schemes for the destruction of the West.

*The PCF in the War* devoted many of its 600 pages to trying to "prove" its delirious anti-Communist fantasy with lots of quotes and exegeses of PCF statements of the time. Courtois managed only to accumulate proof of the repugnant anti-German chauvinism of the PCF, as he quotes, without raising an eyebrow, dozens of PCF declarations against the "Boche." (But still he suspected the PCF, as an agent of Moscow, of not being sincere enough in its chauvinism.)

The truth is that the PCF had long since chosen its camp: that of its own bourgeoisie. More than 15 years earlier, Leon Trotsky had explained in his seminal work, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928), how Stalin's nationalist theory of "socialism in one country" would lead the different parties of the Third International, founded in 1919 to lead the world revolution, to choose the camp of their own bourgeoisies:

"The conception of the building of socialism in one country is a social-patriotic conception...."

"This is a mortal blow to the International...."

"The communist party of any capitalist country, which will have become imbued with the idea that its particular country possesses the 'necessary and sufficient' prerequisites for the independent construction of a 'complete socialist society,' will not differ in any substantial manner from the revolutionary social democracy which also did not begin with a Noske but which stumbled decisively on August 4, 1914, over this very same question."

With the Stalin-Laval Pact in 1935, the PCF definitively chose the bourgeois order in France and put into practice the "People's Front." In other words, the PCF, which came out of the pro-Bolshevik split in the social democracy at the 1920 Congress of Tours, had, 15 years later, definitively rejoined the social-democratic camp. On this question we have a sharp difference with the reformist groups who tail the PCF, like Lutte Ouvrière and Voix des Travailleurs, who moan about a possible liquidation of the Congress of Tours, which is in fact already far behind us. Thus, *Voix des*

*continued on page 10*

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# Black Book...

(continued from page 9)

*travailleurs* (20 November 1997) says that the recent PCF declarations regarding the *Black Book* were only "one more step in its transformation into a social-democratic party.... Up until now...it hadn't yet made the choice to completely rid itself of its ties to the working class, and to become a real governmental party."

It was on the basis of its popular-front alliance with the bourgeoisie that the PCF would betray the prerevolutionary situation in France in 1936, putting on the brakes and stopping a powerful general strike which would have posed the question of proletarian power, while in Spain the Stalinists were, in Trotsky's words, "the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution" ("Class, Party and Leadership," August 1940). The PCF's policies during the war were in pursuit of this subordination to its own bourgeoisie.

The "Resistance" is largely a bourgeois myth built up thanks to the PCF to hide the truth that the French bourgeoisie collaborated almost without exception with the Nazis. In fact, in 1940-41, the French bourgeoisie put in place its own anti-Semitic policies of its own free will, and it tried to extend them into the zone that was directly administered by the German occupation forces in order to get its own hands on the property of the Jews it expropriated and sent to the death camps. Without the French state apparatus, the same one that sent Captain Dreyfus to Devil's Island, the Nazis wouldn't have been able to lay their hands on thousands of Jews. In fact it was Vichy which pressed the Nazis to take Jewish children in the death convoys, rather than the other way around.

And after the war, Vichy criminals like Maurice Papon, far from being punished, received promotions and the entire state apparatus of Vichy France was put back into service. Another Vichyist, decorated with the Francisque Order by Pétain, was none other than François Mitterrand. As we wrote in "Touvier: A Trial to Absolve the Crimes of Vichy" (*Le Bolchévique* No. 128, May-June 1994):

"Whether as a senior Vichy functionary who, in 1942, defended the 'national revolution'; as founder and head of a Resistance network which from 1943 to 1944 fought to kick the 'Boche' out of France; as Interior Minister who in 1954 declared: 'Algeria is part of France' and led the repression against FLN combatants; or as 'leftist' president, elected in 1981 with the support of the PCF reformists and the anti-Soviet 'far left': from one end to the other, the anti-Communist Mitterrand defended the power and the profits of his class—the bourgeoisie."

It is a bit ironic that the PCF—which really did participate in the Resistance, and whose members often paid with their lives—should have promoted the myth of the "anti-Nazi" French bourgeoisie. But class collaboration—which requires the fiction of a "progressive," "anti-fascist" or "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie—was the cornerstone of the PCF's policy in world war as in times of "peace." The Stalinist-led Resistance, subordinated to Anglo-American imperialism, fought to defend "France" in the spirit of virulent

anti-German chauvinism, making no distinction between German workers drafted into the Wehrmacht and racist SS butchers.

In contrast, the Trotskyists, despite their numerical and other handicaps, opposed fascism from the standpoint of the interest of the workers of all countries, actively seeking to contact rank-and-file German soldiers and sailors to win them to the perspective of socialist revolution in France and Germany, and of defense of the USSR. An important role in the Fourth International's work during World War II was played by the Jewish Trotskyist Abram Leon—author of the seminal Marxist work, *The Jewish Question*—who was to be murdered in Auschwitz in 1944 at the age of 26.

The end of the Second World War opened up a prerevolutionary situation in Italy and to a lesser extent in France and elsewhere. The bourgeoisies were discredited and hated for their crimes. It was the Stalinists who used their immense authority within the proletariat, based on that of the Soviet Union, to re-stabilize this new situation for the bour-

left.... The PCF has never lifted a hand against liberties in France."

—*L'Humanité*,  
13 November 1997

## The "Death of Communism" and Anti-Scientific Obscurantism

The *Black Book* situates itself firmly on the reactionary terrain of the French "new philosophers" who indicted not only Communism but its precursors of the bourgeois Enlightenment and the 1789 French Revolution. Writing of Courtois' predecessors, such as François Furet, we explained:

"After the Revolution of 1848 the European bourgeoisie—centrally the German—became counterrevolutionary....

"Thus the radical democratic heritage of the French Revolution was taken over almost exclusively by the international workers movement in this period....

"[After 1917] the anti-Bolshevik hysteria reawakened all the old hostility of European reaction to the French Revolution, which is seen as the original sin giving birth to this terrible event."

—"In Defense of the French Revolution," WV No. 486,  
29 September 1989



ICL fought for political revolution against capitalist restoration in East Germany. Banner at December 1989 protest in Berlin reads: "For the Communism of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg! For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

geoisie. The Italian CP organized a "victory celebration" where they stripped the partisans of their arms. The PCF managed to stop the proletariat from overthrowing the French bourgeoisie in 1944 (see our article "The Bitter Fruits of the 1944-47 Cohabitation," *Le Bolchévique* No. 61). Even Courtois recognizes in his 1980 book (in small type, in a footnote): "Disciplined, these Communists turned in their arms when the party, through the voice of Maurice Thorez, asked them to." With PCF "Communists" as ministers, the French bourgeoisie massacred thousands of Algerians at Sétif on 8 May 1945.

And Socialist prime minister Jospin too knows perfectly well that the PCF was on the side of the bourgeois order and not for revolution; Jospin, echoing Robert Hue and to the applause of the PCF, came to the PCF's defense in parliament over the *Black Book* in November 1997:

"For me the PCF is within the left bloc, in the Popular Front, in the battles of the Resistance and the Liberation, in the participation in the government of the

Courtois adds a new dimension to the reactionaries' denunciation of all earlier progressive social thought as he indicts egalitarianism in general as the root of the "crimes of Communism," not sparing in his ravings such figures as Thomas More, big-time witchhunter on behalf of the Catholic Church, and Plato, ardent defender of an idealized version of a slave society. Evidently, anyone who compared an existing society unfavorably to some conception of a different social order or ever wrote a book about "utopia" is a dangerous radical in Courtois' eyes!

In the conclusion of his book, Stéphane Courtois launches a broad attack against the Marxist analysis of history:

"These scientific presuppositions applied to history and society—the proletariat as the bellwether of the course of history, etc.—come from a millenarian and planetary phantasmagoria and are omnipresent in Communism. It is these which determine a crime-producing ideology."

The generalized attack against the application of science to history and against the very concept of progress necessarily leads to the glorification of religious obscurantism. The *Black Book* poses the problem of deciding the criteria to "tell good from evil" and to resolve it cites Pius XI in 1931, head of the Catholic hierarchy which later gave its silent support to the Nazi Holocaust.

At the outset, it was François Furet who was supposed to write the introduction to the *Black Book*. He had just published an 809-page diatribe entitled *Le passé d'une illusion* [The Past of an Illusion], which was nothing more than an ignorant digression against Communism, constantly trying to compare it to fascism. Furet claimed to be a historian, but in this thick volume he never stopped complaining that he understood nothing about the outbreak of World War I, his only "contribution" being to dismiss the scientific (Marxist) explanation that this was the inevitable product of the grow-

ing interimperialist rivalries to redivide the world. Furet wrote:

"The more that an event is heavy with consequences, the less it is possible to think of it in terms of its causes. The 1914 war doesn't escape this rule. No one has really succeeded in showing that it was an inevitable result of the economic rivalries of the big powers.... The Second is not, like the First, the improbable, or in any case unforeseen, product of international rivalries which could have been handled more wisely."

Furet is a well-known figure. He was the chief ideologue in Mitterrand's France for the bicentennial celebrations of the 1789 French Revolution. Already then we warned the workers movement against this person who cursed the diversion of the Revolution from its respectable course with the execution of Louis XVI and the Jacobin Terror which smashed the counterrevolutionary feudal monarchy. Furet saw in this great revolutionary episode the source of all evil and of all later revolutions. And rightly so—it was an example of an insurrection of the oppressed and exploited for a just and egalitarian society, the revenge of the disinherited against the rich. Furet is the symbol of the decadence of French capitalism, which is today fiercely opposed to its own revolutionary origins.

In *The Past of an Illusion*, Furet not only settled his accounts with Bolshevism but also with Jacobinism. According to him, as long as the revolutionary Jacobin Terror is not denounced and eradicated from the collective consciousness a tendency toward revolution can persist and the French bourgeoisie in particular will not be able to sleep soundly. And this is also the central idea of the *Black Book*: "Still today, the business of mourning the idea of revolution, as it was envisaged in the 19th and 20th centuries, is far from over."

## The *Black Book*: The Left's Passport to "Death of Communism"

The Italian fascists of the National Alliance have organized a Rome tour for Stéphane Courtois in order to publicize the *Black Book* which was translated by right-wing politician Berlusconi's publishing house. As well, Courtois complacently allowed himself to be interviewed by the magazine *Inquiry into History* ("created by people close to the far right," as *Le Monde* [31 March] modestly put it). The fascists descended onto the Nice campus on March 19 with leaflets in support of Courtois' book.

All the orchestrated debate about the *Black Book* has demonstrated how far the French left has gone toward embracing the "death of communism," led of course by the PCF and those who tail the PCF. Many organizations which still vaguely claim to be Marxists or partisans of the working class have written articles lamenting the publication of the *Black Book*. In fact, when they contest a few particularly grotesque details in the book it is in order to better make their peace with its fundamental theses. Especially after the counterrevolution in the USSR which all these groups supported, the *Black Book* provided an opportunity to bring their various "theories" into line with their role in the imperialists' anti-Soviet campaign of the 1980s, culminating in support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution.

The Pabloite Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) of Alain Krivine and Daniel Bensaïd is the organization which has taken the most care to "reply" to the *Black Book*. What they say is only a variation on the themes of Robert Hue. In his "reply," Bensaïd mentions Trotsky only in passing and only to turn him into a social democrat preoccupied solely with defending the values of "democracy" against Stalin. In one passage Bensaïd quotes the characterization of Hitler and Stalin as "twin stars," without mentioning that Trotsky made this comment during a pitched battle inside the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) over unconditional military defense of the USSR. In this fight, SWP leader James P. Cannon and Trotsky fought against and parted

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ways with a petty-bourgeois minority which flinched from defending the USSR, capitulating to the pressure of American imperialism on the eve of World War II.

In perfectly social-democratic style, Bensaïd complains of the "Cold War" tone used by Stéphane Courtois which Bensaïd considers "anachronistic." (For him, obviously, the experience of October is *really* dead and buried!) And following in the footsteps of Karl Kautsky, he poses the question of whether the Bolsheviks shouldn't have renounced power, bending to the rules of bourgeois "democracy":

"We can retrospectively discuss the consequences of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks, of the respective representiveness of this Assembly and the Soviet Congress at the end of 1917, in order to know whether it wouldn't have been preferable to maintain on a long-term basis a double form of representation (a sort of prolonged dual power). We can equally ask ourselves if free elections shouldn't have been organized, as soon as the Civil War had ended, at the risk, in the context of destruction and international pressure, of seeing the militarily defeated Whites take the upper hand."

— *Communism against Stalinism: A Reply to the Black Book of Communism*

In other words, for Bensaïd & Co., "maybe" the Bolsheviks should just have liquidated the world's first workers state, handing power back to the reactionary bourgeoisie and handing over the workers and peasants defenseless, to a terrible vengeance, in order to spare the LCR the embarrassment of being in any way linked to the defense of Bolshevik power.

With the reinforcement of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the transformation of East Europe into deformed workers states after the Second World War, Michel Pablo—the political father of the late Ernest Mandel, Alain Krivine, Daniel Bensaïd, etc.—liquidated the very purpose of Trotskyist parties. Predicting "centuries of deformed workers states," they entered the CPs, arguing that the Stalinists would follow a roughly revolutionary course. Now, in the midst of the bourgeois triumphalism of the post-Soviet period, the quintessentially impressionistic Pabloites see "thousands of years" of stable capitalist domination. They want even to remove the words "communist" and "revolutionary" from the name of their French organization, the better to liquidate themselves into class collaboration, tailing Jospin. Krivine tried to get on the "pluralist left" electoral lists of Jospin-Gayssot, and Bensaïd has become one of the pet philosophers of *L'Humanité*, even making the keynote speech on the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Meanwhile, Lutte Ouvrière (LO) had a big meeting on 7 November 1997 where LO spokesman Arlette Laguiller correctly criticized the *Black Book* for trying to "demonstrate that the failure of the Soviet Union was the failure of Communism itself." This being said, nowhere does LO defend "Red Terror" against the White counterrevolutionaries, thus leaving the field to Courtois in his attack on Lenin and Trotsky. Lutte Ouvrière fails to mention the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition against the Stalinist betrayal of the October Revolution. But perhaps this is not surprising in an organization which deserted the Fourth International during Trotsky's lifetime and which also joined the Cold War chorus against the USSR in the 1980s, going so far as to call Afghanistan the Russians' Vietnam.

The group Pouvoir Ouvrier (PO), affiliated to the British Workers Power (WP) organization, published a short editorial note on the *Black Book* (*Pouvoir ouvrier*, March 1998), where they don't even claim to disagree with anything in the *Black Book*. As far as the gross lies of Courtois, Werth & Co. about the post-1920 USSR are concerned, all PO has to say is that it was Trotsky who was the first to denounce the crimes of Stalin. So, PO would have "Trotskyists" vying with professional anti-Communist red-baiters for credentials in anti-Sovietism!



Workers Hammer

New York City memorial meeting following Trotsky's assassination, 1940. ICL fights to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would recognize as his own.

PO's efforts are reminiscent of many earlier ventures by social-democratic "academics" and others to turn Trotsky into a bourgeois democrat, painting his struggle to oust Stalin *and Stalin's nationalist, anti-revolutionary program* as opposition to Soviet power.

PO's dive on the *Black Book* points straight back to WP/PO's origins in the so-called "third camp" (i.e., the Tony Cliff wing of pro-imperialist social democrats). Concomitantly, WP/PO have just revised their "theoretical" analysis of the USSR (see "Third International Conference of the ICL," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 54, Spring 1998; "Death of Communism' Centrists," WV No. 691, 22 May). Indeed, their new theory fits better with WP/PO's actual, operational anti-Soviet program throughout "Cold War II": support to Solidarność in 1981, to the Lithuanian nationalists in 1991 and to the monarchists and yuppies on Yeltsin's barricades in August 1991, which they boast of participating in.

In a March 1996 pamphlet, PO claimed that the "fall of Stalinism, despite the victories for the reactionary forces which followed in the short term, can only liberate the enormous revolutionary potential of the oppressed and exploited masses of the whole planet." Now, in their editorial on the *Black Book*, they go on:

"Today, the effects of the bourgeoisie's counterrevolutionary victory in East Europe are fading in consciousness, to leave in their place disillusionment and then revolt against the oppression and misery which are rampant everywhere. In the past few years, the working class has found again the paths of struggle: the [strike] movement in 1995, the *sans-papiers* [undocumented workers], the unemployed movement—there is no lack of examples of this kind of combativity."

PO is certainly not alone on the left in trying to portray the *Black Book* as an ideological counterattack by the bourgeoisie to the latest wave of struggles by the workers and oppressed, ignoring the fact that these admirable and inevitable struggles are at present defensive actions in the face of capitalist attacks on the masses. It is true that the rulers' evident thirst to drive more ideological nails into communism's supposed coffin hints at their never-ending fear of red revolution. However, it is not "the struggles themselves" that will generate the communist consciousness necessary for socialist revolution but the intervention of a Trotskyist party introducing that conscious-

ness and rooting the revolutionary program in the proletariat.

PO's professed optimism about the post-Soviet world really reflects its embrace of "the left wing of the possible": the centrist groups in France, like their larger, reformist cousins, all think that the election of a "left" government is some kind of victory for the workers. In fact, the Jospin-Gayssot "left" in office has managed in a few months to do more than [the previous right-wing government of] Juppé ever dreamed of: while the latter had to retreat after the strike wave of December 1995, and never recovered from it, the new government broke the 1997 truckers strike (thanks to PCF transportation minister Gayssot), smashed the movement of the unemployed without having to make any concessions and is endorsing the austerity measures of Maastricht Europe to make French capitalism more competitive with its imperialist rivals. And now this vicious capitalist government is organizing the deportation of more than 100,000 undocumented workers. For the umpteenth time, experience shows that reformist politics is no step toward revolution but an obstacle to the mobilization of the working class.

As for the anarchists, they invited two of the authors of the *Black Book*, Sylvain Boulouque and Jean-Louis Panné, to come spew their anti-Communist venom on Radio Libertaire. The anarchists told these two individuals that *they* were the first anti-communists, even before the

Russian Revolution, and that the *Black Book* only confirmed their own anti-Bolshevik vituperations. This is not surprising. Werth's and Courtois' anti-Bolshevik heroes of the Civil War (Kronstadt mutineers, Makhno and his filthy anti-Semitic bands) are exactly those of the anarchists. Panné and Boulouque took advantage of the opportunity on Radio Libertaire to explain that the Red Peril still exists in China, North Korea and Cuba, seeking to fuel the cause of counterrevolution there.

While some frustrated youth may be attracted to anarchism as a vehicle for rebellion against the wretched reformist record of so-called "socialists," today's anarchist ideologues are the heirs of a very particular selection: when revolution vs. counterrevolution was posed in life, revolutionary-minded anarchist supporters like Victor Serge came over to the side of the Bolsheviks en masse. Rejecting that example, currents like Radio Libertaire and the anarcho-syndicalist CNT look to those Russian anarchists who persisted in anti-Bolshevik violence in league with the most sinister forces (see our series "Marxism vs. Anarchism," WV Nos. 640-643, 646, 649-650, especially Part 7, "Red October and the Founding of the Communist International," WV No. 650, 30 August 1996).

### Build a Leninist Party!

Approaching the 21st century, the imperialist ruling class and its apologists are bent on spreading the most despicable anti-Communist lies in the hope of finally putting an end to the spectre of new October Revolutions. Strengthening their ties to reactionary and obscurantist forces such as the Catholic church, they embark on a generalized attack on science and proselytize for religion. All this serves to regiment the population and facilitates the present attacks on the limited social gains won by workers and minorities after World War II.

The reformist parties of the working class, above all when they are called on to administer the affairs of the bourgeoisie in government posts, participate directly in the bourgeoisie's reactionary campaigns. These parties perpetuate the existence of capitalism in a context where the imperialist powers are fighting each other to redivide the world into spheres of influence, which can only lead to the nuclear destruction of society. In preparation for the latter, they and their "far left" tails endorse the appetites and adventures of their own imperialism, for example by touting the "humanitarian" cover for France's forays in the Balkans and Rwanda. At the same time, a new generation of youth who haven't been burdened by the baggage of Stalinism, are beginning to fight against the horror and racist injustice of imperialist capitalism. To fight for a decent future they must learn the lessons of the past, and notably learn from the biggest victory ever won in the interests of the working class and of human progress: the Bolshevik Revolution. The key lesson is the need to build Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International. This is what the International Communist League fights for. ■

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

#### Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 666-9453

#### Los Angeles

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Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(213) 380-8239

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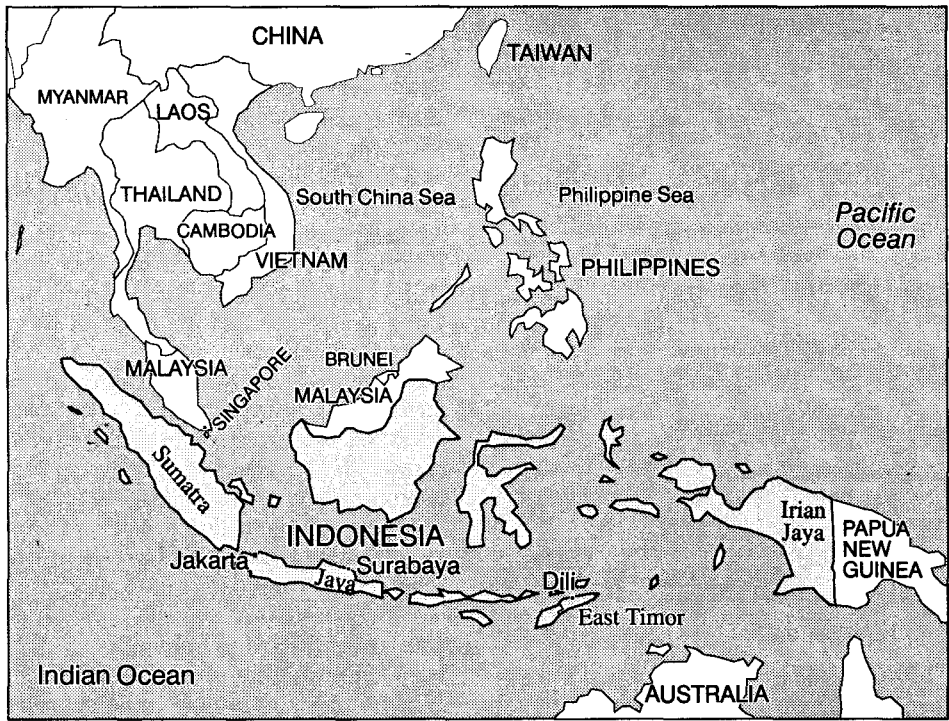
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(604) 687-0353



WV Map



Steve Cox

Java-centered bourgeoisie rules over Indonesian prison house of peoples. Above: Victim of military terror in East Timor.

## Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

is strongly linked to workers' struggles elsewhere. The interdependence of the regional economies is highlighted by the millions of workers who have migrated to other countries to find work during the "boom" which has now gone bust. As these workers are thrown onto the streets or expelled, it is urgent for the workers movement everywhere to fight deportations and call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The ICL fights for a socialist Asia—for proletarian revolutions from Indonesia to South Korea, from Australia to Japan, the industrial powerhouse of the region. Central to this perspective today is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to stop the galloping danger of capitalist restoration.

### Leninist Party: Tribune of the People

As a result of the current turmoil, at least for the moment there is a greater opening for political dissent than at any time since the 1965-66 bloodbath which ushered in the Suharto dictatorship over the corpses of a half million Communists, workers and ethnic Chinese. According to the *Washington Post* (28 May), the ruling Golkar party is itself "showing signs of splintering" and "a half-dozen new political parties have formed, ranging from a worker's party to groups representing business, opposition intellectuals, Muslim social organizations and ethnic Chinese." As Suharto stepped down, student protesters demanded that he and his family be brought to trial for the massive corruption and nepotism through which they amassed a fortune of billions. Protests have also called for the release of political prisoners, some of whom have languished in the regime's dungeons for three decades or more.

Habibie recently freed Muchtar Pakpahan, head of the Indonesian Workers for Prosperity Union (SBSI), which was formed in opposition to Golkar's corporatist All-Indonesian Workers Union. But leftist trade unionists like Dita Sari, imprisoned two years ago for her role in leading strikes, and others associated with the banned People's Democratic Party (PRD), including leader Budiman Sudjatmiko, remain in prison. Also imprisoned are East Timorese independence fighters like Xanana Gusmao and members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) who were rounded up following Suharto's 1965 coup. The international labor movement must demand: Free *all* victims of right-wing repression!

While Pakpahan and the PRD activists have demonstrated enormous courage in defying the military dictatorship, their perspective is centered on a class-collaborationist strategy which would chain the Indonesian proletariat to its class enemy. Pakpahan has been politically linked to the former military commander in Jakarta and to Islamic reac-

tionaries. Abdurrachman Wahid, leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islamic organization in the country, gave the opening address at the SBSI's founding conference in 1992. And many of the strikes which have broken out since 1990 have included demands for building places of worship on factory grounds.

The PRD, founded in 1994 by radical student youth who extended their organizing efforts to the factories and the urban and rural poor, harks back to the nationalism of Sukarno, the founding leader of the Indonesian Republic. While suppressed by the regime as "communists," the PRD does not even talk of socialism. Rather it calls for a "democratic coalition government," a program which would tie the working class to a mythical "pro-



Sukarno (left) cedes office in 1967 to General Suharto, who organized 1965-66 slaughter of Sukarno's former Communist "allies."

gressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. It openly supports Megawati Sukarnoputri, Sukarno's daughter and former leader of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), one of the two legal "opposition" parties that were props of the Golkar regime. The PRD also embraces her call for alliances with Islamic opposition forces. Megawati is a Javanese chauvinist who supports Suharto's 1975 annexation of East Timor.

The PRD's petty-bourgeois nationalism is an obstacle in the needed struggle to mobilize the proletariat around its class interests. Nor can it even resolve the fundamental democratic questions facing the Indonesian masses. We oppose the ban on political parties and counterpose to the phony parliament, which is under the direct sway of the military, the call for a revolutionary constituent assembly based on universal suffrage. However, we stress that such demands can only be achieved in the framework of a struggle for proletarian state power. As we wrote last issue:

"There is no democratic wing of the bourgeoisie, and there can be no genuine democracy under capitalism in backward, dependent countries saddled by imperialist exploitation and grinding poverty. The proletariat must be made conscious of its historic role as the leader of the dispossessed masses and the gravedigger of this system of capitalist exploitation. It is the task of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to bring that understanding to the working class."

Such a party must act as a *tribune*

of the people, advancing the cause of women's liberation, calling for the right of self-determination for the numerous oppressed nations of the archipelago and for immediate independence for East Timor, combatting all forms of discrimination based on religion, language or ethnic origin. Both Irian Jaya and Aceh, a province on the northern tip of Sumatra, have seen sporadic separatist struggles for decades. At least 2,000 Acehnese were killed or abducted by the Indonesian army in the early 1990s. East Timor has been the scene of unremitting jackboot terror, including the infamous 1991 massacre in the capital of Dili, leading to the deaths of one-third of the population. A revolutionary workers and peasants government would cancel the imperialist

government and academia and bans on Chinese-language publications. Anti-Chinese bigotry runs deep in Indonesian society, including among the plebeian masses. The Chinese minority makes up less than 5 percent of the population but includes a small elite which controls up to 70 percent of the country's economy. Regarded as the "Jews of Asia," Chinese throughout the region have long been used by the capitalist rulers and nationalist and Islamist movements as scapegoats for the misery of the masses. As with anti-Semitic outrages directed against the Jews of Europe, such "populist" racism is truly the "socialism of fools," poisoning opportunities for proletarian unity and playing into the rulers' hands. When asked by a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May) if the recent "orgy of anti-Chinese arson and looting" in Jakarta had been orchestrated by elements of the military, one Indonesian general admitted, "Yes, I think it was organized."

Unless the proletariat marshals its forces in defense of the Chinese minority, plebeian anger could easily be channeled into another round of pogroms. Moreover, the vast majority of ethnic Chinese in the region are part of the working class and have historically played a leading role in social struggles. As the *London Independent* (16 May) noted, "Unpopular regimes have some reason to fear the Chinese because they have often led revolutionary movements in Asia." Ethnic Chinese were prominent in the Philippines independence struggle at the turn of the century, in organizing the first trade unions in Thailand and in forming Communist parties in Thailand, Malaysia and elsewhere.

### Islam and Early Indonesian Communism

The 1965-66 anti-Communist bloodbath crushed the three-million-strong PKI and its affiliated organizations—which had the support of 14 million workers and peasants—and atomized the proletariat. Books were banned for so much as mentioning the word "communism." Among those imprisoned was the writer Pramodya Anata Toer, whose "Buru Quartet" of novels depicting the early struggles against Dutch colonialism is also banned. The military regime sought to ensure that anything smacking of communism was buried under a mountain of corpses. This is now reinforced by the lie of the "death of communism" promoted by the capitalist rulers worldwide following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state.

The Indonesian working class continues to live under the shadow of 1965. However, the last two decades have seen the rise of a young, literate and urbanized proletariat. In 1958, the industrial proletariat numbered some 500,000 and the country's manufacturing base was largely centered on handicrafts. Beginning in the mid-1980s, huge factory zones were built—largely by foreign capital—transforming rural towns and small cities in

debt and seize the vast holdings of the imperialists, the Suharto clan and all the domestic capitalists. People's tribunals would be established to mete out revolutionary justice to the military butchers—those who have perpetrated untold horrors on the East Timorese would be sent to Dili to be tried by their victims!

The fight to bring down the Indonesian prison house of peoples will require a sharp struggle against widespread nationalist prejudices, reflected in the chant raised by student protesters as they left the parliament following Suharto's ouster: "We are one people, one nation, one language." The nationalism promoted by the Java-centered Indonesian bourgeoisie is heavily intertwined with Islamic reaction, which most directly targets women and the largely Christian Chinese minority.

Women have entered the proletariat in ever larger numbers in recent years, playing a leading role in numerous class battles. Yet they remain subject to harsh Islamic dictates—many enshrined in law—including a ban on abortion and other measures intended to keep them chained to the patriarchal family. We fight for full equality for women, for free abortion on demand and for separation of religion and state.

It is crucial to mobilize the proletariat to defend the ethnic Chinese against pogroms and all forms of discrimination, including their virtual exclusion from



West and East Java and northern Sumatra into massive concentrations of industrial production. The population of Tangerang, just west of Jakarta, leapt from 228,000 in 1980 to over 1.5 million just ten years later. Today, more than eight million workers are employed in manufacturing, over 40 percent of them women.

There has been a growing number of strikes against the slave-like conditions and starvation wages in these factories. Between 1990 and 1994 the number of officially reported labor actions increased by more than a factor of six (Vedi R. Hadiz, *Workers and the State in New Order Indonesia* [1997]). Out of this has emerged a range of new trade-union formations, such as Pakpahan's SBSI and the PPBI associated with the PRD. If the proletariat is to defeat its imperialist and domestic capitalist exploiters, class-conscious militants and radical activists must learn the lessons of the struggles and defeats of the past, not least through studying the history of Indonesian Communism itself. Chief among those lessons is the iron necessity for *the political independence of the proletariat from bourgeois/Islamist forces.*

Even in its early revolutionary period, the PKI was flawed by a political accommodation to bourgeois nationalism. The PKI was founded by Dutch Marxist Henricus Sneevliet and others out of the Indies Social Democratic Association (ISDV) in the years immediately following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The largely Dutch ISDV was steadfast in its opposition to colonial rule. But in seeking a road to the indigenous masses, the ISDV entered the nationalist Sarekat Islam. The ISDV called on this peasant-based movement—founded in 1911 to advance the cause of Javanese shopkeepers and traders against their Chinese rivals—to “become the organization of the worker and small peasant class” (Ruth McVey, *The Rise of Indonesian Communism* [1965]).

While courageously reaching out in solidarity to the oppressed Chinese minority, the early PKI continued the ISDV's policy of immersion in the Islamic group. After being expelled in 1921, the PKI even set up its own “Red Sarekat Islam” groups. This ran counter to the Theses on the National and Colonial Question passed at the Second Congress of the Communist International (CI) in 1920. In the Theses, Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin stressed the need to “under all circumstances uphold the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in its most embryonic form” and warned of “the need to combat Pan-Islamism and similar trends, which strive to combine the liberation movement against European and American imperialism with an attempt to strengthen the positions of the khans, landowners, and mullahs, etc.”

At the Fourth Congress in 1922, PKI leader Tan Malaka defended the entry into Sarekat Islam, even declaring that pan-Islamism “corresponds to the national liberation struggle.” The PKI's futile strategy was conditioned by the absence of any sizeable indigenous proletariat in Indonesia at the time. Nevertheless, the PKI's political accommodation to Islamic nationalism was profoundly disorienting for those struggling to implant Communism in the colonial and semicolonial world.

Such opportunist appetites would soon be transformed by Stalin into a full-blown strategy of class-collaborationist blocs with a supposedly “anti-imperialist” national bourgeoisie. With the degeneration of the Communist International following the political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, the Stalinist bureaucracy promoted the nationalist dogma of building “socialism in one country,” repeatedly sacrificing revolutionary opportunities abroad in the vain hope of securing bourgeois “friends” and warding off imperialist hostility. The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 ended in a disastrous defeat for the proletariat as the Stalinized CI ordered the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to literally disarm the proletariat as part of their liquidation into

Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, which then slaughtered thousands of Communists and worker militants. (For a fuller discussion, see “Permanent Revolution vs. the ‘Anti-Imperialist United Front’: The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism,” *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 53, Summer 1997.)

### PKI Embraces Sukarno

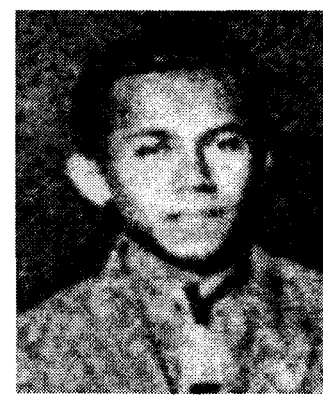
A failed uprising in 1926 led to the crushing of the PKI. In the two decades leading up to World War II, Dutch colonial repression was especially intense, as many nationalists and Communists were imprisoned in the notorious Tanah Merah concentration camp in the swamps of Dutch New Guinea. When Japan invaded in 1942, many Indonesians even viewed it as opening the road to “liberation,” an illusion that was soon shattered by the brutality of the new occupying power. Typical of many nationalist politicians in the colonies of the West European “democratic” imperialist powers, Sukarno lent his services to the Japanese occupation forces and Suharto was a young officer in the Japanese-sponsored “self-defense corps.” The collaboration by Sukarno and other Indonesian leaders with the Japanese occupiers underscores the fact that bourgeois nationalism in the colonial and semicolonial countries is necessarily dependent on one or another imperialist power.

The Stalinist CI had long since adopted its “popular front” policy submerging the proletariat in class-collaborationist alliances with bourgeois forces. In World War II, this meant support to the war effort of the “democratic” imperialist bourgeoisies momentarily allied with the Soviet Union against Germany and Japan. In contrast, Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union while opposing both the Allied and Axis bourgeoisies in the interimperialist conflict.

Following the Japanese invasion, the retreating Dutch had transported hundreds of PKI members and other political prisoners to Australia. The PKI militants, who had been in complete isolation since 1926, were “instructed” by the Australian Communist Party (CPA) on the need to



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Henricus Sneevliet (far left) and Tan Malaka, founding leaders of PKI. 1925 PKI meeting in Jakarta with banner in Arabic, Chinese and Dutch.



Tokyo University Press

subordinate the struggle for national independence to the Allies' war effort. After the war, the CPA led a four-year-long labor boycott—“black ban”—of Dutch shipping in solidarity with the renewed independence struggle. But even this internationalist effort was designed to dovetail with the aims of Australian imperialism, then under a Labor government, which sought to extend its influence to Indonesia in the waning days of Dutch colonial rule.

By the time the Dutch imperialists ceded control to Sukarno's nationalists in 1949, the PKI was marching in lock-step behind the neocolonial bourgeois rulers. The Stalinists embraced Sukarno's “Nasakom” doctrine—the union of na-

tionalist, religious and communist organizations—and PKI leader D. N. Aidit proclaimed in 1951 that the party must “place the national interest above the interests of class” (Donald Hindley, *The Communist Party of Indonesia 1951-1963* [1966]). The PKI renounced a revolt it had led in the provincial city of Madiun in 1948, which was suppressed by Sukarno's forces, who imprisoned more than 35,000 PKI members and sympathizers. The general who had crushed the uprising was even elevated to the PKI roster of “Heroes of the Working Class” (Leslie Palmer, *Communists in Indonesia* [1973]).

Aidit became an official adviser to Sukarno, while other PKI leaders were appointed as regional and local administrators. The PKI repeatedly banned strikes, opposed peasant land seizures and preached confidence in the regime's murderous police and military. Despite the PKI's wholehearted support to Sukarno, Communist militants, particularly in the trade unions, continued to face fierce repression. Nonetheless, when the government in 1961 ordered all parties to furnish it with membership lists, the PKI leadership dutifully handed over names and addresses, thus helping to seal the fate of tens of thousands who would be slaughtered four years later.

This was the bloody fruit of the PKI's Menshevik/Stalinist strategy of “two-stage revolution,” which repudiated the struggle for workers rule until an illusory future “second stage” while chaining the proletariat to the national bourgeoisie in the name of a “democratic revolution.” From China in 1925-27 to Spain in 1936-39 to Indonesia, the “second” stage was always the massacre of Communists.

The PKI upheld Maoism, the Chinese peasant-based variant of Stalinism, and the Beijing bureaucracy was the direct adviser to the Indonesian Stalinists in their capitulation to Sukarno. The 1949 Chinese Revolution, in which Mao's peasant-guerrilla army expelled the Chinese bourgeoisie from the mainland, was a historic victory for the international proletariat. But this revolution was deformed from its inception, ushering in a workers state in which a nationalist bureaucracy—akin to that in Stalin's USSR—excluded the proletariat from political power. Confronted by unremitting hostility from U.S. imperialism, in its early years the Beijing regime maintained a façade of militant “anti-imperialism” while seeking alliances with “neutral” capitalist regimes and hailing Third World bourgeois nationalists like Sukarno.

continued on page 14



Andrew Buman

Left: Islamic students outside Jakarta parliament. Islamic reaction buttresses oppression of women and fuels racist terror against predominantly Christian Chinese minority. Below: ethnic Chinese shopkeepers in Jakarta following pogromist attack in May.



AP

# Indonesia...

(continued from page 13)

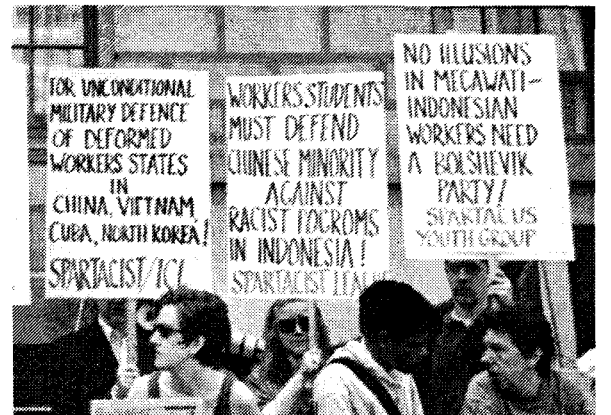
At the time of the 1965-66 bloodbath, Beijing refused to even protest the destruction of the PKI, its staunchest supporter and the largest Communist party in the capitalist world. Following the massacre, Washington became open to a rapprochement with China, particularly as Beijing's rift with the equally nationalist Stalinist regime in Moscow had grown into an open split. In explaining a possible change in U.S. policy toward China, Secretary of State Dean Rusk gloated: "We know—the whole world knows—that the Chinese Communists have suffered setbacks during the past 14 months.... They have suffered a major setback in Indonesia—the Indonesian Communist party has been decimated."

In a 1969 document, the Spartacist League warned against "the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal with China." Indeed, this deal was soon consummated with the reactionary anti-Soviet alliance between U.S. imperialism and Mao's China. Meanwhile, over the years the peasant-based Beijing bureaucracy has veered from the utopian autarky of the 1950s "Great Leap Forward" and the bureaucratic frenzy of the 1960s "Cultural Revolution" to the "get rich" gospel of Deng Xiaoping and his successors. The rule of Chinese Stalinism has today brought the country to the brink. The stark choice is capitalist re-enslavement or proletarian political revolution based on a program of internationalist communism.

## ICL Protests For Workers Revolution in Indonesia!



Australasian Spartacist



Workers Hammer

As protests against Suharto dictatorship erupted in Indonesia, ICL launched international campaign of demonstrations and forums. Protests in Sydney, Australia (top), Boston (above, left), London.

destruction in the face of the relatively strong Indonesian capitalist state, with its cohesive military. While the PKI and its Chinese patrons hailed Sukarno as an "anti-imperialist," Sukarno readily abandoned his former Communist "allies" as they were hunted down by the military

and Islamic mobs using hit lists supplied by the CIA. As part of its international crusade to "roll back" Communism, the U.S. had trained fully half of "non-aligned" Indonesia's officer corps and a third of its general staff. The imperialists also consciously cultivated Islamic fundamentalism as an anti-Communist weapon. In 1950, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles pointed to a "common bond" with the "religions of the East," whose "spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism." Three years later, the National Security Council called for "using the forces of nationalism and Islam in opposing communism." The Cold War American "AFL-CIA" trade-union bureaucracy, which was up to its neck in anti-Communist intrigues from Italy to East Europe, helped prepare the ground for the massacre by setting up anti-Communist "labor" operations for the military regime.

brothers and sisters in the region—and around the world. The fallout from the Asian financial collapse has been felt from Japan, whose economy is already reeling from years of recession, to Yeltsin's Russia and elsewhere. Japan's huge industrial proletariat is now chafing under record unemployment levels.

The recent two-day strike by the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions against IMF austerity being imposed by the police-state regime of U.S.-backed "democrat" Kim Dae Jung points to the opportunities for proletarian struggle throughout the Asian Pacific Rim. On the other hand, the distinct possibility that the dispossessed masses could be turned into fodder for chauvinist fratricide was underscored by the nuclear weapons tests by the Islamic theocratic regime in Pakistan and the virulently anti-Muslim Hindu-fundamentalist Indian government.

Key to a revolutionary-internationalist program is the call for unconditional military defense of China—as well as North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution, including its right to nuclear weapons. The Beijing regime's drive toward capitalist restoration and the cracking of the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed lifetime employment and social benefits have triggered a wave of defensive strikes. But to stop the counterrevolutionary tide, it is necessary for the proletariat to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through a political revolution.

The fate of the Indonesian proletariat—and of all humanity—hinges on one overriding factor, the need for revolutionary leadership. Against the chauvinist poison pushed by the national capitalist rulers and their labor lieutenants, communists seek to unite workers everywhere around their historic interests in sweeping away this system of imperialist exploitation, war and oppression. The International Communist League fights to build Leninist vanguard parties from Indonesia, the Philippines and China to Germany, Japan and the U.S. as part of a reformed Trotskyist Fourth International. ■



Jeff Ballinger

Protest march by Nike workers, April 1997. Imperialist exploitation has led to wave of strikes by combative, young proletariat including many women.

Mao's peasant forces had been able to topple the weak and disintegrating Guomindang regime despite the CCP's class-collaborationist program. But in Indonesia this program led to the PKI's

and Islamic mobs using hit lists supplied by the CIA.

As part of its international crusade to "roll back" Communism, the U.S. had trained fully half of "non-aligned" In-

Under Suharto's "New Order," Indonesia was a linchpin in the U.S.-organized ASEAN alliance directed particularly against the Chinese deformed workers state. In turn, Washington backed its butchers in Jakarta to the hilt. The 1975 invasion of East Timor came one day after U.S. president Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger visited Suharto, and the U.S., Australian and British imperialists continue to ply the Indonesian military with arms and "advisers." The JCET program under which the Pentagon has trained Suharto's murderous Kopassus "Red Berets" is also used to organize "counterinsurgency" death squads in Colombia. **Imperialists: Keep your bloody hands off Indonesia!**

### Toward the Indonesian Revolution!

Indonesia remains a classic case of combined and uneven development, with modern industry grafted onto a society with manifold forms of oppression that are a heritage of the pre-industrial past and were reinforced by Dutch colonialism. As the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution demonstrated, the democratic tasks facing such backward, dependent countries can only be resolved under the *dictatorship of the proletariat* supported by the rural masses and as part of a struggle for socialist revolution internationally, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries.

An internationalist perspective is a question of life and death for revolutionary militants in Indonesia, where proletarian rule would immediately be threatened by the overwhelming economic and military might of the imperialist powers. At the same time, the ongoing economic crisis underscores the strong ties linking workers in Indonesia with their class

**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**  
**Our next issue will be dated July 3.**

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# NYC...

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the entire financial district and a big chunk of Midtown would be "cleansed" of the sidewalk food vendors that thousands of working people and students rely on for coffees and lunches, depriving some 350 families of a livelihood. This gratuitous measure was carried out in the name of making the city less "chaotic" and more "civilized"!

Three days later, the NYPD hauled off 24 supporters of open admissions at CUNY in handcuffs. Among those arrested were a state assemblyman and 62-year-old Brooklyn College professor Renate Bridenthal, who came to the U.S. as a refugee from Nazi Germany. Their "crime" was to protest at a "public" hearing—which was cleared of the public—where the CUNY Board of Trustees rammed through plans to shut down remedial classes at the four-year colleges and exclude any student who fails any of the four entrance exams. This will effectively end the open admissions policy inaugurated in 1969, as CUNY chancellor Anne Paolucci made clear when she sneered about "cleaning out" the colleges after "30 years of neglect." Open admissions provided an avenue to higher education for working-class youth, particularly minorities and immigrants. This racist new policy will bar more than half of all Hispanic and Asian applicants and 46 percent of black students from the four-year colleges.

As the capitalist rulers slash welfare and other social services, attack municipal unions with slave-labor "workfare" schemes and decimate the living standards of working people, they have simultaneously intensified police repression in order to deter even the mildest protest. This is what is behind the racist "war on drugs," the massive increase in private strikebreaking forces and the burgeoning—and overwhelmingly black and Hispanic—prison population. Commenting on Giuliani's arrest of CUNY student protesters in his column in the *New York Times* (28 May), Bob Herbert asked acerbically, "Who needs remedial classes when you can send students straight to jail?"

Just about any protest in New York is now routinely sealed off by police barricades, intimidating those who may wish to join in from doing so. Giuliani's latest threat to eliminate newspaper stands poses a broader assault on the right to distribute political literature on city streets. And the new arrest procedures implemented by Giuliani embolden the police, as the 80,000 New Yorkers who are issued "desk appearance" tickets each year for so much as looking cross-eyed at a cop will now find themselves in jail for a couple of days or more while fingerprints and other ID are checked. Even a high-ranking CUNY official critical of the new admissions policy refused to let Bob Herbert publish his name, saying: "I saw Giuliani with the taxicabs. I don't want to be a taxicab driver." And a cabdriver from Bangladesh told the *Times* (21 May),

"Giuliani is running a dictatorship. I don't know how people here are tolerating this."

Giuliani can get away with acting like a tinpot dictator because he knows the municipal labor tops are in his hip pocket. For decades, the NYC union bureaucrats were accustomed to mouthing off against proposed cutbacks only to go behind closed doors and emerge hours later with a repackaged version of the same givebacks, as they did under black Democrat David Dinkins. "They'll take it from me," the liberal Dinkins assured the city's rulers before proceeding to put 6,000 more cops on the streets and slash thousands of municipal jobs. But Giuliani rode into office on his record as a labor-hating prosecutor and as the candidate of racist "backlash" and unrestrained cop terror. Faced with a mayor who showed no interest in posturing as a "friend of labor," the union tops just caved in from the start. As a *New York Post* (21 May) editorial lauding Giuliani put it, "It is a measure of how completely the mayor has altered the city's mindset that when he makes a dire threat, no one for a moment doubts his seriousness."

In a message clearly directed at all of NYC labor, Giuliani boasted as he shut down the cabbies' protest: "The message is: you don't get to close down the city of New York.... Don't think about it." But the leaders of the unions which in fact have the power to shut down this city would never dream of doing that. Giuliani wields the power of the capital-

ist state apparatus, the cops and courts. But in the first instance, it is the cravenly pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which acts to police the workers movement. AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill not only backs the Republican mayor at the polls but has served as a slave-labor contractor for his capitalist masters, enforcing a sweetheart deal which has led to the replacement of 20,000 unionized municipal workers by conscripted "workfare" labor. And the leadership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, whose 32,000 members keep the city's buses and subways running, signed a contract two years ago explicitly allowing for the use of welfare recipients as subway cleaners.

A solid strike by the TWU or other major NYC unions could galvanize widespread support among the city's minority population, particularly through raising demands such as full union wages and benefits for *all* workers in the city's transit system, schools and hospitals, and opposing the racist cutbacks in education and other social services. But mobilizing the power of labor to defend the interests of the working class and of all the oppressed requires a class-struggle leadership forged through political struggle against the union misleaders who chain workers to the partner parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans. The Spartacist League seeks to build a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and use the wealth of this society for the benefit of all. ■

# Philly...

(continued from page 16)

heavily minority union aimed at reaching out to other city workers and particularly to the black and Hispanic population, who are subjected to pervasive segregation and a notoriously racist police force.

Yet during the last strike in 1995, the TWU leadership openly embraced the racist cops. The union misleaders appealed to the sinister Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) for "support" and hailed these armed guardians of the capitalist profit system as "brothers." The cops were welcomed at a strike rally, where the TWU tops broadcast the F.O.P.'s cynical statement of "solidarity" from the platform. At the time, the F.O.P. was actively courting the TWU as part of a rabid, nationwide effort to whip up support for the execution of black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. In an article laying out a strategy for victory in the 1995 strike (WV No. 620, 7 April 1995), we stressed:

"From hauling off arrested air traffic controllers in their 1981 strike, to the 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE and the destruction of the Osage Avenue neighborhood, to running scabs through Teamster picket lines during the 1994 trucking strike, the cops are the sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed."

It will be these same racist cops who will be called out against the transit strike to enforce the scabherding carried out by

SEPTA management.

With utmost cynicism, the big business press is trying to pit the ghetto poor against the union, railing that the strike "promises to be painful" for "workfare" recipients who won't be able to get to their slave-labor assignments. The capitalist rulers' destruction of social welfare programs not only serves to cut off even the minimal support for the unemployed, but is meant to help drive down the wages of the entire working class. Yet the pro-capitalist union tops not only refuse to fight these attacks but have in many cases signed on as overseers for the bourgeoisie's union-busting "workfare" schemes.

What is needed is a class-struggle leadership of the unions which would mobilize labor in a fight for jobs for all at union wages, for free mass transit and against racist oppression and cop terror. In particular, this means mobilizing labor to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—and the countless other fighters for the oppressed as well as trade-union militants locked behind bars—and abolition of the racist death penalty. It was only through an outpouring of protest and publicity—including from labor—internationally that Mumia won a stay of execution in August 1995.

SEPTA is one of the largest public transit systems in the U.S. Yet Local 234 members are among the country's worst paid transit workers. Since 1992, the TWU tops have rammed through "pro-

ductivity" schemes and other concessions putting tens of millions of dollars into SEPTA's coffers. Emboldened by these capitulations, the SEPTA bosses are now demanding an "overhaul" of work rules, increased use of part-time workers, a cut in wages for new-hires and a freeze in medical insurance payments. Despite these massive cutback demands, the TWU tops kept the members working for eleven weeks after the contract expired before finally launching the strike.

It is necessary to spread the strike to all Philly-area transit, particularly regional rail lines which transport suburbanites to their office jobs in the city. SEPTA has been able to continue its Victory-Red Arrow buses running with operators organized in the United Transportation Union (UTU), who are being allowed to go through TWU mechanics'

picket lines. This treacherous scabbing must stop: Picket lines mean don't cross! One out, all out!

All of this points to the need for a program which looks to the mobilization of labor's social power and not to the cops, courts and politicians of the class enemy. The current vendetta against the Teamsters is an object lesson in the dangers of court intervention: having invited the bosses' courts into the union, the former Carey leadership was forced out by the capitalist government as punishment for the union's successful strike against UPS last year. The Spartacist League fights for a revolutionary workers party forged through political struggle against the labor misleaders who chain workers to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Such a party must champion the cause of all the oppressed as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. ■

# New Jersey...

(continued from page 3)

Well, I might be a slave, but I will go to my grave a rebellious slave."

Like countless others, Assata Shakur was targeted by the cops because she was among the best of a generation of radical black militants who courageously fought against this racist system. Dozens of Panthers were assassinated outright in the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO terror operation, many more thrown behind bars. Among those was Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who was finally released last year after serving 27 years in a California prison for a crime the government knows he did not commit. Another is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who remains on death row in Pennsylvania following a 1982 frame-up conviction for his history as a young Black Panther leader, a MOVE supporter and an outspoken journalist who has earned international prominence as the "voice of the voiceless." Shakur's comrade Sundiata Acoli remains behind bars to this day.

From the victimization of these militants to the daily terror meted out to black people in the ghettos and on the streets and highways, the racist capitalists amply confirm Shakur's statement, "The basic reality in the United States is that being black is a crime and black people are always 'suspects' and an accusation is usually a conviction." But despite their



Marilyn Vasta

**Former Black Panther Assata Shakur in exile in Cuba.**

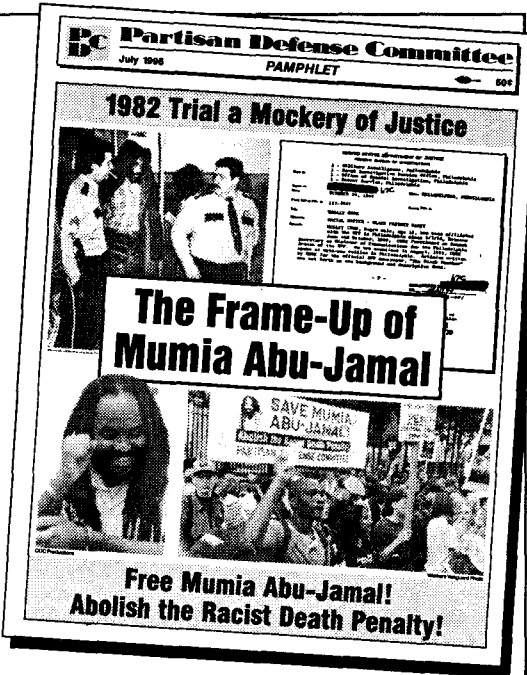
personal courage, the Black Panthers rejected the only strategy to sweep away the racist bourgeois order—socialist revolution by the multiracial proletariat—opting instead for a reformist program which included the utopian call for "community control" of the police. As the armed enforcers of the capitalist profit system, the cops' job is to violently suppress workers and minorities. Racist repression and cop terror will be ended only when the working class seizes state power under the leadership of a multiracial Leninist vanguard party. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party.

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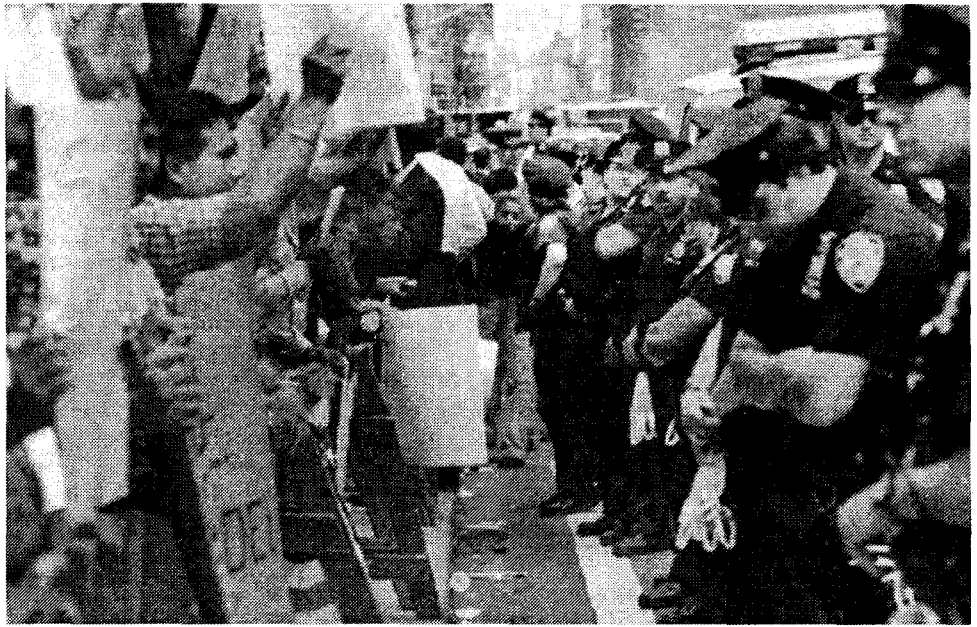


## Giuliani's NYC

# "Quality of Life" Police State



Albans/Daily News



Franco/NY Times

Racist NYC mayor Giuliani (left) unleashes cops against protesting taxi drivers, May 21.

Harlem preacher Calvin Butts may not have been politically precise when he denounced Mayor Rudolph Giuliani for "moving toward a fascist state" in New York City last month, but he sure captured the sentiments of much of the city's downtrodden and increasingly besieged black, Hispanic and immigrant population. In the space of one week, the racist Republican mayor unleashed his cops to break up a demonstration by the city's largely immigrant taxi drivers, ordered the arrest of two dozen opponents of the racist purge of City University (CUNY), announced plans to bar food vendors from many Manhattan streets and implemented new arrest procedures which effectively amount to "preventive detention." Giuliani's intentions were underlined when his top cop ranted that protesting cab drivers were "terrorists" and a planned protest by street vendors

were denounced as "violence." "That's why we have a 38,000-member Police Department," Giuliani warned ominously. Under the Orwellian guise of improving the Big Apple's "quality of life," Giuliani and his cops are fostering a climate of fear and intimidation throughout the city. This comes as nothing new to the residents of the city's ghettos and barrios for whom police terror is a daily fact of life. Increasingly, black and Hispanic families refuse even to allow their kids to play in the streets for fear they will be gunned down by a trigger-happy cop. Now it isn't even safe to stay indoors. Barely a week has gone by recently without at least one report of cops breaking down apartment doors without warning, terrorizing black families and wrecking their homes on the basis of bogus "tips" by drug "snitches." In the latest of these Gestapo-like "drug raids," a SWAT team

busted in the front door of a Brooklyn family in the early morning hours of May 1, detonated a concussion grenade, handcuffed 62-year-old Basil Shorter, his wife and two children and ransacked the apartment for an hour and a half. The self-styled "pro-immigrant" mayor has also taken his ax to the city's large immigrant population. Giuliani was furious when the city's cabdrivers—many of them Caribbean, South Asian and Russian immigrants who drive 12 hours a day, seven days a week in order to make ends meet—staged a hugely successful one-day strike to protest new regulations jacking up fines and insurance payments to such exorbitant levels that many drivers would end up working for literally nothing. Giuliani's "payback" came when cabbies assembled at the entrance to the Queensboro Bridge eight days later for a protest motorcade to City Hall. They

were met by a wall of cops. Those who made it to City Hall on foot were shoved off by the cops to a corner several blocks away. Cabs trying to cross into Manhattan without passengers were summarily stopped and their drivers dragged out and arrested. Giuliani revealed, "We broke their strike—destroyed it, really." This former U.S. Attorney was unruffled when even a federal appeals court later ruled that his action was a violation of the constitutional right to assembly. Meanwhile, sidewalk artists have been driven off the pavement outside the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Black Israelite sect has been forced to end its 20-year tradition of soapboxing in Times Square, and in traditionally free-wheeling Greenwich Village the cops will now seize your car if the radio is too loud. On May 23, a mayoral panel announced that

*continued on page 15*

# Victory to Philly Transit Strike!

## Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

JUNE 2—Philadelphia buses, subways and trolleys ground to a halt at noon yesterday as 5,500 members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 went on strike against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA). In the face of management attempts to ram through attacks on wages, jobs and working conditions, workers on several suburban lines joined the walkout, the fifth transit strike in the city since 1977.

With much of the city's population reliant on public transit, the impact of the strike was felt immediately. Democratic mayor Ed Rendell openly railed against the strike, hailing SEPTA's "outstanding offer." With Philly a pos-

sible venue for both the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 2000, Rendell threatened that if any TWU pickets show up at possible convention sites "the police will be there" to clear the way. Already, courts have issued injunctions limiting pickets, and at least two strikers have been arrested. Drop the charges now!

A victory for the TWU against SEPTA's drive to cripple the union would strike a blow for all city labor and the minority poor. In the first instance, this means building mass, militant picket lines, defying the strikebreaking cops and anti-union court injunctions. But this requires a conscious strategy by this

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MacMillan/Philadelphia Daily News

TWU protest outside City Hall on first day of transit strike.