



Javanese Chauvinist Megawati Sukarnoputri Installed

Indonesia:

For Workers Revolution!

On 23 July hard-line Javanese chauvinist Megawati Sukarnoputri was installed as Indonesia's president following the ouster of her rival Abdurrahman Wahid. For 21 months the Wahid regime carried out brutal capitalist austerity dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Indonesian bourgeoisie. But Indonesia is a boiling social cauldron, and Wahid did not deliver the stability demanded by the Indonesian capitalists and their imperialist overlords to ensure the smooth flow of profits. In particular Wahid failed to suppress the separatist insurgencies in resource-rich Aceh and West Papua, major sources of imperialist plunder.

As calls for Wahid's removal inside and outside Indonesia grew louder, various imperialist powers signalled their willingness to treat with vice-president Megawati. In early July police refused Wahid's order to arrest the national and Jakarta chiefs of police. When he tried to declare a state of emergency and dissolve parliament, the military refused to back him. Instead, on the evening of 22 July, thousands of heavily armed soldiers and tanks surrounded the presidential palace where Wahid was holed up. The "People's Consultative Assembly" impeached him, Megawati was sworn in and, days later, under threat of arrest, he left for the U.S. for "medical treatment."

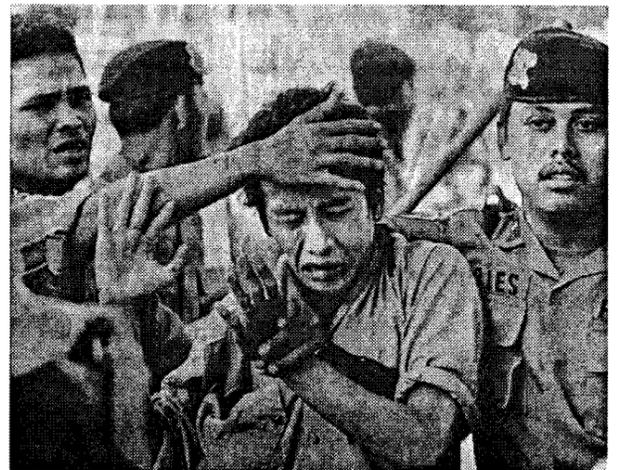
Over three years ago the brutal 32-year military dictatorship of Suharto's New Order was brought to an end by

For Proletarian Independence from All Wings of the Capitalist Class!



Sydney Morning Herald

Megawati (left), imperialist lackey, civilian face of Indonesian military dictatorship. Right: Police attack students protesting fuel price hikes, Jakarta, June. Only workers revolution can sweep away blood-drenched capitalist regime.



Reuters

massive student-centred demonstrations. In response to skyrocketing unemployment and inflation—the result of the devastating economic crisis that hit Asia in 1997—turbulent plebeian protests swept the country. When the government, in accord with brutal IMF dictates, slashed subsidies on fuel and other necessities, sending prices soaring by over 70 percent, the Indonesian powder keg exploded. Student protesters, often joined by workers, faced down murderous military repression while starving

slum masses targeted mansions and businesses of Suharto and his cronies.

It is only the proletariat, standing at the head of the toiling masses, which has the social power and historic interest to break the yoke of imperialist servitude through establishing its own class rule. During the 1998 upheavals the International Communist League insisted on the urgent need for the working class to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor, along with the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to

leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. Instead, the enormous anger of the plebeian masses was directed into supporting a supposedly more "democratic" section of the bourgeoisie under the banner of "reformasi," the reform of the capitalist state apparatus.

Scrambling to impose stability, in May 1998 the imperialists and sections of the Indonesian bourgeoisie installed Suharto's deputy B.J. Habibie, a fanatically anti-Chinese racist, as president. To contain the explosive social discontent in parliamentarist channels, a year later stage-managed elections were held. While Megawati, the daughter of Sukarno, Suharto's predecessor, got the most votes, after much horse-trading Wahid, former head of Nahdatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia's largest Islamic organisation, was made president.

Among those who sought to ensure that the courageous struggles against Suharto and Habibie stayed within the bounds of capitalism were the left nationalist People's Democratic Party (PRD). From its inception the PRD's perspective has centred on a class-collaborationist strategy of chaining the Indonesian proletariat and toiling masses to its class enemy. Early on they sought alliances with Megawati and even urged members to distribute her pictures and writings, openly backing her call for an alliance with so-called "moderate" Islamic forces in the United Development Party (PPP).

But once Wahid was in power, the PRD heavily promoted him as a "lesser evil," pushing illusions in his rambling "promises" of greater political liberality while painting him as a "moderate," secular-minded Muslim leader. Backing first Megawati, then Wahid, these petty-bourgeois nationalists would take the proletariat and oppressed masses down the same deadly road of class-collaboration that produced the bloody anti-Communist

Asylum Now for Tampa Refugees! Down With Liberal/ALP Racist War on Immigrants!

AUGUST 31—As we go to press, Australia's murderous SAS troops remain on the Norwegian vessel *Tampa* which they seized at gunpoint in waters off Christmas Island, Australia's colonial possession 2,500 kilometres west of Darwin. On board are 460 desperate refugees who were rescued by the *Tampa* from their sinking boat. The Howard government's use of the military, including dispatching the frigate *Arunta*, forcibly to prevent the refugees from landing has thrown an international spotlight on the racist "White Australia" capitalist rulers.

The bourgeoisie's frenzy against these refugees matches in its intensity the flag-waving patriotic gore whipped up two years ago when a contingent of SAS commandos led thousands of Australian troops in the occupation of East Timor. Today the government "asked" its poverty-stricken East Timor neocolony to accept the refugees. Meanwhile, Australian troops have taken over and virtually sealed off Christmas Island. As the mainly ethnic Chinese and Malay islanders chafe under this military build-up, the Union of Christmas Island Workers have demanded that

continued on page 5

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!



ASp photo

Spartacist contingent at Sydney protest, 30 August.

continued on page 6

Down With ALP Union-Busting! Drop the Charges Against AMWU Skilled Six!

The Partisan Defence Committee, the class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defence organisation associated with the Spartacist League, on 17 July sent the following protest statement, also issued as a leaflet, to Rob Hulls, attorney-general of the Labor Party government in the state of Victoria.

In a blatant act of union-busting the Bracks Labor government has charged six members of the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union (AMWU) with aggravated burglary, riot, affray and criminal damage. Those charged, including AMWU Victorian secretary Craig Johnston and AMWU state president

John Speight, face up to 25 years in jail for allegedly taking part, with 40 other trade unionists, in protest action on 15 June against Skilled Engineering. This notorious anti-union outfit mobilised scabs against a union picket line organised in defence of 29 workers sacked by Johnson Tiles, Bayswater. Militant action against scabherding and in defence of workers' jobs is no crime! Drop these union-busting charges now!

This vicious attack by the Bracks government on AMWU officials and members is an attempt to weaken one of the largest and heavily immigrant unions in Victoria whose members have recently carried out significant strikes from

Williamstown Dockyards to AMCOR Packaging. Aimed against the entire workers movement, the charges are meant to intimidate anyone who seeks to struggle against the anti-union, anti-immigrant, anti-Aboriginal attacks enforced by Liberal and Labor governments alike. This recalls the frenzied witchhunt targeting the trade unionists who in 1996 stormed the Canberra parliament in defence of Aboriginal protesters.

Bracks & Co.—echoed by their allies in the ACTU and national AMWU leaderships—smear Johnston and the other unionists as violent, but it was your ALP government that ordered the brutal and bloody cop riot against “S11” leftist pro-

testers last September. Last November, your government invoked emergency laws to break the popular and courageous “wildcat” strike by Latrobe Valley power workers.

These are yet more proof that the Labor Party in government is a capitalist government. In office, it wields the power of the state—the army, cops, prisons and courts—on behalf of the bosses. Whether Brereton's anti-union legislation banning “secondary strikes” introduced by the last federal ALP government, or Howard/Kernot's Workplace Relations Act, the capitalist state has laws against everything the working class needs to do to defend themselves.

Your government stands indicted for what it is—the agency for the repression of the working people, immigrants and all those at the bottom of this society. This attack on the AMWU underscores that the loyalty to Laborism shared by all wings of the trade-union bureaucracy is a noose around the neck of the working class. It is in the interests of all working people to mobilise in defence of the AMWU members facing charges, striking a blow against the Bracks government's union-busting. Down with the ALP government's anti-working class repression! Drop the charges against the AMWU Six!■

Indonesia: Protest Anti-Communist State Terror!

The PDC letter printed below was faxed to the Indonesian ambassador to Australia on 14 June and distributed as a leaflet.

On Friday, 8 June, 300 police surrounded the Asia-Pacific People's Solidarity Conference in Sawangan in Jakarta's outskirts as 100 cops with tear-gas and drawn automatic rifles burst in, dragging away 40 people. People's Democratic Party (PRD) leader Budiman Sujatmiko was among the Indonesians arrested. Among the 32 foreigners were activists from Asia, Europe and North America, and several from Australia. We condemn this vicious raid in the strongest possible terms. We demand immediate freedom for the Pakistani delegate held on bogus charges of violating his visa (and under threat of deportation).

Police orchestrated the raid with the anti-communist Islamic militia “Kabah Youth Force.” With the visitors removed, 50 of these sword-brandishing thugs

attacked the remaining Indonesians. Four were injured, one critically with a severed neck artery. In recent months these gangs have repeatedly attacked PRD offices. State collusion with anti-communist gangs in attacking a meeting of leftists is a harsh reminder that the Indonesian ruling class is steeped in the blood of at least *one million* communists and others slaughtered in 1965 by the Suharto-led military and anti-communist Islamic mobs. In this hideous crime they were aided and abetted by the U.S. CIA and Australian security forces who then as today demand “stability” to ensure capitalist exploitation in Indonesia.

This meeting of the Indonesian Centre for Reform and Social Emancipation and trade union and student groups was to discuss the depredations of imperialist “globalisation” on Indonesian workers. The Wahid/Megawati government's repression, directed especially but not only at the PRD, is meant to silence through terror *all* who seek to struggle

against the hideous poverty and all-sided oppression of the Indonesian toiling masses. In this they also serve the interests of their U.S., Japanese and Australian imperialist overlords. Sujatmiko—jailed for three years by the bloody Suharto regime—is under constant threat of arrest. We denounce the provocative lie of police officer Anton Bachrul Alam that Sujatmiko “plans to disrupt” the special session of the People's Consultative Assembly “by creating chaos in Jakarta.” Behind this statement is the threat of deadly state violence against Sujatmiko.

In the spirit of “an injury to one is an injury to all” we call on the international working class to rally in defence of their Indonesian class brothers and sisters. In 1996 the Maritime Union of Australia slapped rolling bans on Indonesian shipping to protest the Suharto regime's arrests of trade union leaders Muchtar Pakpahan and Dita Sari. In recent days, in Jakarta, Surabaya and other cities massive workers strikes and protests have demanded the overturn of repressive starvation labour laws. Such actions in Indonesia and internationally point to the kind of working-class struggle needed. Hands off Sujatmiko and the PRD! Down with anti-communist state terror against the workers movement!■

Spartacist League of Australia

E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com Web site: www.icl-fi.org

Melbourne
GPO Box 2339
Melbourne Vic 3001
Phone: (03) 9654 4315

Sydney
GPO Box 3473
Sydney NSW 2001
Phone: (02) 9281 2181

International Communist League

Box 7429 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Australasian SPARTACIST

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

Marxist newspaper, published quarterly by the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

EDITOR: Chris Cunningham
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Mike Wallace
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Phillipa Newman

Printed by trade-union labour.
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001. E-mail: spartacist@bigpond.com.
Subscriptions: \$5 for 4 issues; overseas \$7.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.
Printed by Spotpress Pty Ltd, 105 Victoria Rd, Marrickville. ISSN 0311-3264

No. 176, Spring 2001 Date of issue: September 2001

WORKERS HAMMER

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain

Subscription:
\$18 for 4 issues

Mail/make cheques payable to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

WORKERS HAMMER

We call: Vote ALP—against New Labour and Socialist Alliance
Labour's victory means racist rampage, war on unions



Spartacus Youth Club/Spartacist Classes

Capitalism, Communism and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

MELBOURNE

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! 16 September
For a Workers Party That Fights For Socialist Revolution! 7 October
Sundays 3 p.m., Silver Bird Garden Restaurant (upstairs)
198 Little Bourke Street, City

For information and readings call (03) 9654 4315 or write to GPO Box 2339, Melbourne Vic 3001.

SYDNEY

The State and Revolution 7 September
The Russian Revolution of 1917—For New October Revolutions! 14 September
Break with Laborism—We Need a Revolutionary Workers Party! 21 September
Fridays 7 p.m., Room 318, Level 3 (behind Students Association)
Tower Building, University of Technology, Broadway

For information and readings call the Spartacus Youth Club on (02) 9281 2181, write to GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001, or e-mail spartacist@bigpond.com.

Anti-Abortion Murder in Melbourne

Defend the Clinics! Free Abortion on Demand!

The 16 July shooting murder of security guard Steve Rogers at the Fertility Control Clinic in East Melbourne was meant to strike terror into the women who seek abortion services and the staff who provide them. At the time of the murder 30 people were in the clinic. A potential massacre was only avoided when two men heroically tackled and disarmed the gunman in the foyer. In the days after this horrific murder the Spartacist League (SL) joined protests in Melbourne and Sydney, putting forward our class-struggle perspective to fight for free abortion on demand and women's liberation through socialist revolution.

Just before the gunman opened fire, anti-abortion bigots outside the clinic ended their daily harassment and intimidation of women seeking abortions. This murder is the chilling logic of the woman-hating terrorists who would deny women all access to abortion. Alibiing this anti-abortion murder, Right to Life president Margaret Tighe opined that "given the nature of what occurs in these places, it's a wonder there have not been more of these incidents" (*Australian*, 19 July).

Since the Melbourne Fertility Control Clinic was opened in 1972 by the late Dr Bertram Wainer, a courageous fighter for abortion rights, it has been continually besieged by anti-abortion protesters. In a 1985 interview for our journal *Women and Revolution* (No. 30, Winter 1985-86) Dr Wainer spoke of his fury at the Right to Life attacks, including fire bombings. When these fanatics invaded his operating theatre, Wainer warned they had three minutes to get out and then turned on the anaesthetic gas. As the anti-abortionists fled, Wainer and other doctors started hitting them, threw them down the back stairs and turned the hoses on them. Wainer declared to arriving TV crews: "I always wash the filth off my steps at this time of day."

The most minimal gains for working people, women and minorities, including the tenuous access to abortion that exists in this country today, have been won not through the ballot box, parliamentary lobbying or reliance on the capitalist cops and courts, but through social struggle. We fight for mass union-centred mobilisations to defend the clinics, drawing into struggle all those who support abortion rights. Our Marxist worldview is based on the understanding that society is divided into counterposed social classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Women's oppression is a cornerstone of capitalist society. We fight to build a revolutionary party based on the understanding that only by championing the defence of women's rights, minorities and all the oppressed, can the working class acquire the unity and strength necessary to over-

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

throw the exploiters through socialist revolution.

Capitalist State—Enemy of Women's Rights!

Echoing the crass anti-Americanism of the bourgeois press, the International Socialist Organisation (ISO) railed against the "spectre of US-style violence" (*Socialist Worker*, 20 July) while at a Brisbane protest a Socialist Alliance (SA) member denounced "these murderous tactics imported from the USA" (*Green Left Weekly*, 25 July). What a whitewash! Australia is a profoundly, violently misogynist society, and the fanatical anti-woman bigots are very much home-grown.

The logic of little Aussie nationalist anti-Americanism is to look to the racist, union-busting Australian capitalist state to defend women's rights—especially if the Labor Party is running it. And that is exactly what these Laborite leftists do. Instead of mobilising fighters for women's rights to defend the clinic against anti-abortion terror, on 18 July the ISO, Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) and others rallied outside the ALP-run state parliament where an SAer beseeched those inside, "All political parties should work to repeal abortion from the criminal code" (*Green Left Weekly*, 25 July).

Cut of the same political cloth, some feminists call for laws to restrict anti-abortion actions outside the clinics. In the U.S. such laws have not stopped the terror attacks on clinics and the murder of abortion providers. Instead they are invariably directed not against the anti-woman religious fanatics but against clinic defenders, union pickets and leftists. Only last May leftist protesters outside the Melbourne Nike store were fined under a 1999 by-law ostensibly introduced to stop right-wing "race hate" material. The result of preaching reliance on the capitalist cops and courts has been to physically and politically demobilise militant abortion-rights defenders.

Under capitalism, no matter which party is in government, the state—the parliament, laws, courts, cops and prisons—is committed to the defence of private property and enforcing the oppression of the working class, women and minorities. Abortion is in the criminal codes of every state in Australia, and successive ALP governments have ensured that it stays there as they govern in the interest of the

capitalist rulers they serve. Under the ALP Bracks government in Victoria, senior medical staff at Melbourne's Royal Women's Hospital were suspended last year for performing a late-term abortion, their actions outrageously made the subject of a state coronial inquiry.

The day after the clinic shooting, thousands of nurses held a stop-work meeting against the Bracks government's attacks on public hospitals. But in the meeting the Australian Nursing Federation (ANF) misleaders did not so much as mention the clinic shooting let alone lead nurses and abortion rights defenders in mass action to defend the nearby clinic, its patients and staff (some of whom are ANF members). Later they sold out the nurses' struggle for jobs. The fight for women's rights, for workers' jobs and conditions all require a political struggle against the Laborite trade-union bureaucracy.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The anti-abortion fanatics feel emboldened by the sweeping attacks of Liberal and Labor governments alike on the working class, women, immigrants and Aborigines. As we wrote last year,

"In the same measure that the bourgeoisie grinds down and impoverishes the working class, they push a reactionary 'family values' crusade as an instrument of social regimentation meant to instil obedience to authority. Attacks on abortion rights, censorship, virulent anti-gay bigotry and a vicious anti-sex witchhunt are all aimed at bolstering the repressive institution of the family, the crucial ideological transmission belt for the 'values' of the capitalist rulers."

—"Women's Rights Under Attack," *ASP* No. 173, Summer 2000/01

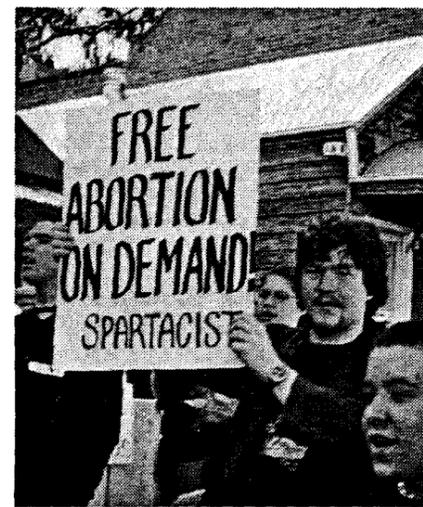
Women's liberation cannot be achieved by reforming the capitalist system. The oppression of women is rooted in private property and the institution of the family. At the heart of the bourgeois family lies the inheritance of wealth (for the rulers), and (for the workers) regimentation and indoctrination of a new generation of wage slaves. For women the family also means unpaid household drudgery, the burden of childrearing and caring for the sick and aged. Expropriating the wealth of the tiny class of capitalist exploiters, a socialist society would replace the repressive, stultifying institution of the family as a socio-economic unit through socialising its functions. Only then will women be free to become full and equal participants in society.

Many feminists and leftists call for "a woman's right to choose" abortion. But this does not address the fact that while bourgeois women can buy abortion access, legal or not, for Aboriginal and immigrant women, youth and women outside the cities, abortions are difficult if not impossible to obtain. Many women, often without access to the too-few abortion clinics, are dependent on the dangerously dilapidated public hospital system which is near collapse in many cities as health-care budgets are slashed to the bone. Our fight for free abortion on demand is linked to the fight for free quality health care for all and free 24-hour childcare, part of our struggle for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The Marxist understanding that women's oppression is rooted materially

in class society is diametrically opposed to the outlook of feminism. Fundamentally a variant of bourgeois ideology, feminism posits the main division in society as sex and not class. Feminists see women's oppression as a set of bad ideas and policies stemming from patriarchy/male supremacy, not as something integral to class-divided society. While some feminists recognise class inequality, they generally look to the capitalist state and its rulers to secure rights for women, because they believe that women's oppression can be eradicated within the framework of capitalism.

While sexual oppression cuts across class lines, class interests are decisive. Thus the feminists in fact betray the interests of women. Beholden to "democratic" imperialism, feminists stridently



ASP photo

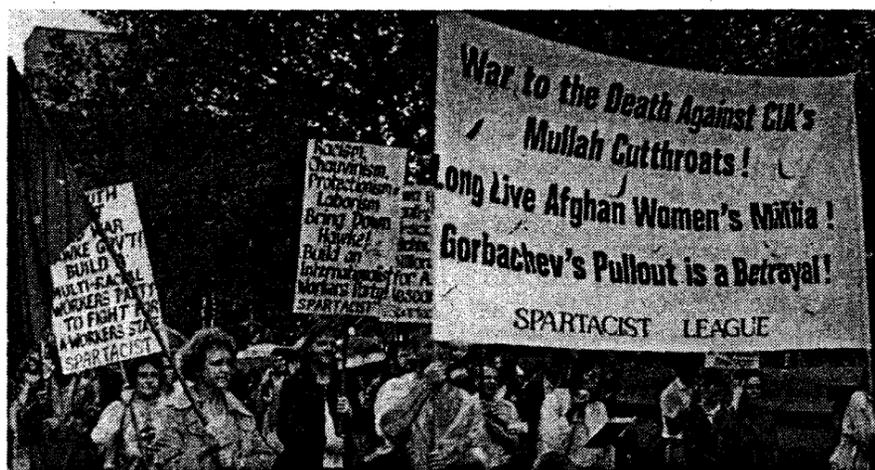
Spartacists join August 1999 protest outside Sydney abortion clinic targeted by anti-abortion fanatics.

opposed the Soviet Union's Red Army intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 which sided with the rights of women against the CIA-backed Islamic *mujahedin* who murdered teachers for teaching little girls how to read. In this the feminists were joined by the fake left, including the Labor-loyal ISO.

The ISO, DSP and other fake lefts openly supported capitalist counter-revolutionary forces from the Vatican/CIA-funded Solidarność in Poland in the 1980s to the imperialist pawn Yeltsin in the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s. The destruction of the Soviet degenerated and East European deformed workers states has meant devastation for women. In East Germany, for example, women lost their former access to free abortion and kindergartens attached to the factories, one-year paid maternity leave as well as their jobs, state-subsidised housing, pensions and more.

While the ALP-loyal fake left stood with imperialism, our party fought to the last barricade against capitalist counter-revolution. We fought for workers political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies which undermined and betrayed the workers states. Today defence of China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam against internal capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack is integral to the fight for international socialist revolution—the only road forward for women's liberation.

Women and men who want to fight for a society where women's oppression and the exploitation of the working class are things of a barbaric past should join us in building a revolutionary proletarian vanguard party that champions the cause of all the oppressed and is dedicated to destroying the capitalist system root and branch. Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■



ASP photo

Sydney, 1989: SL hailed 1979 Red Army intervention in Afghanistan against woman-hating *mujahedin*. Feminists, Laborite left stood with imperialism against USSR.

Break with Laborism! For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

Union-Busting Government Targets CFMEU

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The federal government is trying to break the powerful Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU). Since John Howard & Co. came to power in 1996 they have targeted this 120,000-strong union for destruction. From the Hunter Valley coal fields in 1997 to the Pilbara iron ore mines last year, the government has used its Workplace Relations Act to deliver a series of body blows to CFMEU workers, attacking the very right to be in a union and massively increasing thereby the profits of Rio Tinto, BHP and others. Now they've set their sights on the CFMEU's combative construction workers.

Screaming about union "corruption" and "crime," on 26 July, Howard's chief anti-working-class thug Workplace Relations minister Tony Abbott announced the Cole Royal Commission into the building industry. "For too long evil has thrived in secret," the union-hating Abbott ranted, vowing to stamp out "collusive, coercive and intimidatory practices." What Abbott means by "evil" is "no ticket, no start," the elementary but much-eroded right to work in a closed union shop. The commission's purpose is to subject the heavily unionised building industry to union-busting state repression, setting up militants for blacklisting, targeting union superannuation funds and much more. As Kevin Reynolds, West Australian CFMEU state secretary, said, "This is about trying to deregister and destroy the CFMEU" (*Australian*, 27 July).

This union-busting assault is part of the capitalist class's attacks—carried out by Labor governments as well as by the Liberals/Coalition—on every social gain, no matter how modest, wrung from them. Robbing workers of their hard-won entitlements (severance pay, superannuation contributions and more), ripping up any semblance of the right to work in safety, enforcing slave labour work-for-the-dole schemes, destroying medical and aged care—the bosses are out to remove any potential obstacles to their unbridled pursuit of profit.

Serious working-class struggle is needed to defend and extend the closed shop and smash this latest union-busting attack. Criminally, instead of leading such a fight, all wings of the faction-

ridden CFMEU bureaucracy, currently embroiled in an ugly internal struggle for control, have agreed to the Royal Commission. As the *Australian* (21-22 July) reported, "The unions dismiss the inquiry as a political stunt, but they could not have been more co-operative if they were Coalition supporters."

Elements in the CFMEU leadership set the stage for this state-run witchhunt by inviting the capitalist cops to "investigate" corruption and "lack of internal democracy" in the union. Ten months ago CFMEU national secretary John Sutton asked the National Crime Authority to investigate the union. More recently NSW secretary Andrew Ferguson bragged about how the CFMEU

struggle against the pro-capitalist union tops. This is linked to the struggle to build a revolutionary workers party that fights for workers revolution to end the whole system of capitalist exploitation and wage slavery.

For the Independence of the Trade Unions from the State

As a matter of principle the Spartacist League opposes all intervention by the capitalist state (whether administered by outright bourgeois parties or the ALP), its courts, commissions and cops into the union movement. The capitalist state is not neutral but exists to defend the class interests of the capitalist exploiters. It is organised to prevent the proletariat from

of a privileged labour bureaucracy who scavenge crumbs from the super-profits derived from brutal Australian imperialist exploitation of peoples from Fiji to Papua New Guinea to Indonesia and beyond. The perspective of communists is to split the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership, centrally through fighting to forge a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions.

Cops Out of the Unions!

The burning necessity for such a political fight is glaringly revealed in the betrayal of the recent struggles against the NSW Labor government's drive to destroy Workcover compensation for injured workers. On 19 June, several hundred workers blockaded the state parliament in Sydney to stop Labor MPs from voting for legislation which would deprive injured workers of billions of dollars. ALP premier Bob Carr mobilised mounted police to smash the workers' blockade. A week later, 250,000 angry workers walked out in a state-wide general strike, a taste of the social power that must be brought to bear against the capitalist system as a whole.

The union tops only called for a two-hour strike, but construction, electrical, manufacturing and printing workers struck for 24 hours. Desperate to keep the workers under tight control, the bureaucrats held more than 200 highly orchestrated, indoor meetings across the state. Railing against the "American system" of workers compensation, they called for workers to appeal to their local members of parliament while embracing the cops as fellow unionists and even "comrades." Among the featured speakers was the legal officer of the NSW Police Association.

A Spartacist supporter, opposing Carr's attacks on workers compensation, exposed this class treachery at the Wollongong meeting:

"Police do not belong in the union movement. They are our enemies, employed to defend and protect the bosses' interests. The police should be out of the workers movement. If we are going to successfully fight the attacks we need to break from Labor. No reliance on the bosses' state!"

The rate of unionisation is steadily declining—today under 25 percent, half what it was 20 years ago—but organising cops and security guards is a growth industry for the union bureaucracy. In Victoria the Trades Hall bureaucrats voted in 1998 to admit the police association as "fellow trade unionists." Last year the Labor Council of New South Wales



Australian CFMEU march in Sydney, 1997. Royal Commission into building industry is part of capitalists' drive to destroy union rights.

purged people from the union and "provided the NSW Police with a 10-page report" (*Australian Financial Review*, 31 May). Meanwhile Reynolds, a "left" factional opponent of Ferguson and Sutton, declared he had "no problem at all" with the union calling in the police to investigate its affairs.

But as posters around building sites in Sydney declaring "Cops have no place in our industry" show, not everyone is in favour of inviting in the class enemy. As well, a 10 August Melbourne Trades Hall meeting denounced the Royal Commission amid declarations that construction workers would walk off the job if commission investigators showed up. This would be a powerful first step. But to build upon this and to wage a battle independently of and against the capitalists requires forging a class-struggle leadership in the unions in political

struggling in its own interests and, ultimately, to prevent workers from taking power themselves. From the Painters and Dockers Union to the Builders Labourers Federation in the 1980s, "corruption" allegations and government investigations have been the pretext for attempting to destroy the unions.

The question of state intervention in the unions is a fundamental dividing line in the workers movement. On one side are the revolutionary Marxists who understand that the interests of the capitalist class, which owns the means of production, and the workers, who must sell their labour to the capitalists to survive, cannot be reconciled. From this flows our struggle for the complete independence of the working class from its exploiters and their state. On the other side are the Laborite trade-union misleaders, who push the lie that the capitalist state can act in the interests of the working class.

Inviting the cops and courts to snoop in internal union affairs, as Sutton, Ferguson & Co. have done, is class treason. It is counterposed to the very purpose of union democracy: the open debate over conflicting strategies in order to enable the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests against the employers and their state. The working class must clean its own house!

The ALP parliamentary and trade-union misleaders have always acted to shackle the working class to the capitalist state. They knife class struggle by diverting working-class anger into the arbitration and industrial courts, selling the lie that these institutions of the capitalist state are a neutral "umpire." The ALP's "White Australia" anti-Asian racism and tariff protection for Australian industry are the two other "pillars" of Australian social democracy, which preaches that workers will achieve a good life by joining with "their" racist imperialist rulers in the name of a mythical "national interest."

These labour lieutenants of the capitalist class reflect the material interests

Australasian SPARTACIST

Marxist newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia

Workers Vanguard/Australasian Spartacist

Marxist working-class biweekly of the Spartacist League/U.S. and Marxist newspaper published quarterly by the Spartacist League of Australia (includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* plus another Spartacist pamphlet)

\$20 for 22 issues WV and 4 issues ASP

Australasian Spartacist (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

\$5 for 4 issues Overseas: \$7

Workers Vanguard

(includes English-language *Spartacist* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)

\$15 for 22 issues

Name _____

Address _____

Suburb _____ State _____ P'code _____

Country _____ Phone _____ E-mail _____

Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001



Program of the Spartacist League

Australian Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

\$2 (24 pages)

Mail/make cheques payable to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

named a cop "organiser of the year"!

The entire history of the class struggle proves that the cops are not allies but the sworn enemies of the working class. But this fundamental understanding of the capitalist state—which is regularly beaten into the heads of strikers, anti-"globalisation" protesters, Aborigines on the streets, refugees in detention camps—is denied by many so-called leftists.

The International Socialist Organisation (ISO) and its co-thinkers internationally, for example, are notorious for their long-standing "solidarity" with cops and their security and prison-guard auxiliaries. The ISO has supported security guard "strikes" such as Armaguard in Queensland and they enthused over the "1923 Victorian Police Strike" retrospectively advising the cops that they "could not achieve any gains" because "The Police Association, the closest the police had to a union...ruled out any form of industrial action" (*Socialist Worker*, 22 January 1999).

When cops demand more rights or take "industrial action," as the Melbourne police did at a sinister 5,000-strong meeting on 31 July, they want more power and better weapons to use against the workers and oppressed. Similarly, when the violent racist screws who run the concentration camps for refugees, some of them "members" of the Liquor, Hospitality and Miscellaneous Workers Union, demand more "rights" it is to have a freer hand to torment and torture. Cops, prison and security guards are a sewer of concentrated racism and misogyny—those who welcome cops and prison guards into the unions are incapable of waging a struggle on behalf of the working class and oppressed.

ALP Paved Way for Howard

Virtually every one of the current Howard government's attacks on working people traces its origins to the previous ALP federal governments of Robert Hawke and Paul Keating. During its 13 years in power the ALP built mandatory detention centres for immigrants, intensified murderous attacks on Aborigines, slashed Medicare and enforced fees for

tertiary education. The massive decline in unionisation began under Labor which hogtied the unions with the class-collaborationist Accord designed to prevent working-class struggle by requiring cap-in-hand kowtowing to government-dictated wages and conditions.

The Liberals' attack on construction unionists also has an ALP "pedigree." In the 1980s, the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) stepped outside the "national consensus" which the Accord was supposed to enforce, and the ALP smashed them. A Royal Commission into BLF "corruption" was used to jail BLF leader Norm Gallagher and to deregister the union. This was backed by elements in the union bureaucracy who organised a 1984 Building Workers Industrial Union demonstration in Sydney featuring signs reading, "We demand a Govt. Enquiry into BLF & Corrupt Building Companies." This campaign directly aided the bosses' destruction of the militant BLF.

Today ALP state governments continue to carry out attacks on the unions. In Victoria, Bracks & Co., with the backing of Victorian Trades Hall secretary Leigh Hubbard, invoked the Emergency Services Act against the Latrobe Valley power workers. They are going after unionists for daring to oppose scabherding outfits (see page 2) and are drafting legislation to facilitate ferocious police assaults on picketing workers and protesters.

Howard and his attack-dog Abbott portray the ALP as "captive" of the trade unions, an expression of class hatred for the proletariat. The ALP is based on the unions, but it is thoroughly pro-capitalist in its leadership and program. Indeed, the attacks by the state Labor governments have generated working-class anger and disgust with the ALP. There have been a spate of threatened and actual union disaffiliations from the ALP such as the NSW Firefighters.

This has the pseudo-socialist fake lefts in a tizzy as refusing to support the pro-capitalist ALP is in their eyes the crime of crimes. The Workers Power group, for example, means that union disaffiliation...would divide the union movement" which should remain tied to the



Stephen Cooper



Steven Siewert

June 19: ALP premier Carr (right) salutes cop attack on unionists blockading NSW parliament in protest against law gutting workers compensation.

ALP "in order to fight inside Labor..." (*Workers Power*, November 2000). They and eight other groups have formed the Socialist Alliance (SA) whose central political purpose is to corral workers and youth back into the ALP fold. Pushing for "Labor to win the coming federal election" while posturing as an "alternative," SA offers a grab bag of demands which are at best reformist tinkering with the capitalist system.

We revolutionary Marxists forthrightly declare: No vote to the ALP! No vote to its Socialist Alliance lackeys! Build a revolutionary workers party! For us what's vital is not simply an organisational but a *political* break from Laborism—the program which ties the working class to their exploiters. And that requires a political struggle against all wings of the union bureaucracy.

For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!

The CFMEU leadership likes to posture as "progressives" and are seen by some as being "leftist." But the CFMEU tops look to the union-busting Royal Commission not only to "expose" the bosses' corruption, but also to continue their ugly racist campaign against so-called "illegal workers" on building sites. Last year the CFMEU bragged that they had fingered "scores of illegal workers on Sydney building sites" with the result that "many have been arrested, detained and deported" (*Unity*, December 2000).

The capitalists foster and manipulate racism as a wedge to divide workers and prevent integrated proletarian struggle. In raving against "illegals" and fingering workers to the government, the CFMEU tops, like the union bureaucracy as a whole, act as a transmission belt to the working class for the most retrograde bourgeois reaction. They are also spitting on some of the prouder traditions of building workers. In 1996, building workers took the lead in defending Aboriginal protesters against the cops' assault outside parliament in Canberra, and in 1989, they demonstrated against the cop killing of a young Aboriginal man, David Gundy, in Sydney.

Unlike the fake leftists who crawl before the ALP and the trade-union tops, we fight to transform the working class from a class in itself to a class for itself, conscious of its role as the gravedigger of capitalism. We know this requires a concerted struggle against the bosses' agents and their "left" tails under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. Steeled in struggle such a party will fight for complete independence of the working class from the capitalist state. It must be a tribune of the people, exposing and attacking every manifestation of capitalist tyranny, winning more and more of the advanced layers of the proletariat to its banner while fighting for nothing less than the destruction of the capitalist state through victorious working-class revolution. ■

Asylum Now!...

(continued from page 1)

the Tampa refugees be let onto the island and given immediate assistance.

The racist hysteria over refugees directly targets immigrant workers, an important and combative section of the unionised workforce. Political strike action by the multiracial working class in Australia, hitting the Australian rulers where it hurts—their profit ledgers—is urgently necessary to demand asylum and full citizenship rights for the Tampa refugees and all immigrants. In support of the crew and asylum seekers, the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) has called for the Tampa to be allowed to proceed to Christmas Island. If the manifest power of the Maritime Union (MUA), the local ITF affiliate, and other unions were unleashed, it would strike a powerful blow against the bi-partisan anti-immigrant offensive.

The MUA did hold a stop-work on 28 August in support of the besieged Tampa crew. But instead of defending the refugees, MUA national secretary Paddy Crumlin accused the government of hypocrisy, because it "actively solicits foreign shipping and third world labour to carry Australian cargo between Australian ports..." (MUA Media Release). While deploring the SAS storming of the Tampa, Crumlin declared that "People smuggling has to be combated," the code words used by the racist, anti-immigrant Labor Party.

This is a concrete example of how protectionism, the lie that the bosses and workers have a common "national interest" against overseas workers, fuels the

racist frenzy against immigrants. The poisonous bourgeois ideology—racism, nationalism, male chauvinism—pushed by the Laborite union bureaucracy strangles the potential power of the organised working class. In a political struggle against these pro-capitalist traitors a revolutionary internationalist workers party must be built—one that will bring to the proletariat the understanding that the struggle of the working class and minorities will go forward together or fall back separately.

We print below a 30 August protest statement by the Partisan Defence Committee to prime minister John Howard.

Your refusal to allow the Norwegian vessel Tampa carrying 458 refugees to land is an act of racist barbarism. The seizure of the Tampa by 60 machine gun-toting SAS commandos, and their attempt to force this ship out of Australian waters, is nothing less than an act of piracy. We demand immediate asylum and full citizenship rights for these refugees. Many are seriously ill and at least four women are pregnant—they should receive all necessary medical attention now, by *competent* medical practitioners.

Most of the people on the Tampa are fleeing the bloody and savage Islamic Taliban regime in Afghanistan which brutally enslaves women. That the Taliban is in power today is precisely because the U.S. (and, among others, its Australian junior partners) backed in every way the fundamentalist *mujahedin* cutthroats against the Soviet Red Army's liberating intervention in Afghanistan in the 1980s.

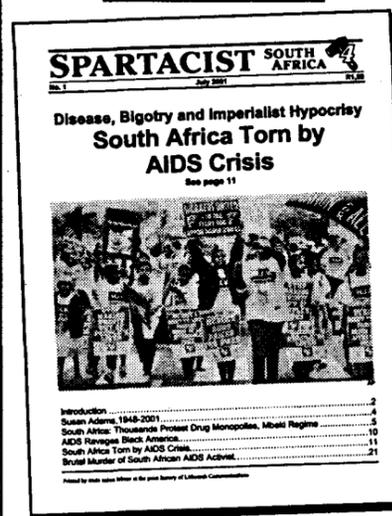
In 1939 Jewish refugees aboard the *St. Louis* fleeing the Nazi Holocaust were refused asylum by the U.S. and Canada. In the same spirit, the Australian government threw Jewish refugees into outback concentration camps, just as today you lock up refugees and immigrants in hell-hole detention centres where they are beaten and tortured by camp guards and driven to desperate hunger strikes.

The whipping up of anti-immigrant hysteria is part of your government's vicious attacks on unions, Aborigines and women, and it is no aberration. White Australia racism is alive and well in the Australian ruling class. It is also the natural bond between the Liberal/National Party Coalition and the Labor Party "opposition." The ALP has been at the

forefront of the racist frenzy and has backed virtually every anti-immigrant measure your government has taken. Kim Beazley declared that he "instantly" supported the government's measures against the Tampa refugees. So too does the fascistic One Nation of Pauline Hanson.

For our part, as proletarian internationalists, the defence of immigrant rights and the battle to overcome racial and ethnic divisions is strategic to forging the working-class unity necessary to wage a struggle to bring down this entire racist capitalist system. We fight to mobilise the multiracial working class to demand: Close the detention camps! Asylum now for refugees—no deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! ■

Just Out!



Spartacist South Africa

Spartacist South Africa is the first issue of the newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

This extraordinary first issue is devoted to the battles unfolding over HIV/AIDS—an agonising and polarising social crisis that is tearing South Africa apart. In so doing it lays bare the anti-working-class, anti-woman, anti-poor nature of the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress-led capitalist government.

Contents include:

- Susan Adams, 1948-2001
- South Africa: Thousands Protest Drug Monopolies, Mbeki Regime
- AIDS Ravages Black America
- South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis
- Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist

No. 1 \$1.00

Subscribe: \$6/4 issues

Mail/make cheques payable to: Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

massacres of 1965-66 that brought Suharto to power. The PRD must bear some political responsibility for their part in preventing workers and the oppressed from breaking from their capitalist exploiters, as they do for the capitalist misery and repression Megawati's regime will bring.

Megawati: Imperialist Lackey

Megawati, the woman the PRD championed for so many years, is a deeply conservative Indonesian nationalist. A strident proponent of a unitary Indonesian state, she holds in contempt Indonesia's oppressed minorities and nationalities and supported Suharto's 1975 brutal annexation of East Timor.

Backed by the blood-drenched military, Megawati touts her links with them and was pictured last year strutting around in the uniform and red beret of the murdering Kopassus special forces. Propped up by the Golkar party of ex-dictator Suharto, her new cabinet includes two former high-ranking Kopassus officers. One of them, A.M. Hendropriyono, head of the State Intelligence Coordinating Body, is infamous for his involvement in a massacre of scores of villagers in Lampung, Sumatra in 1989.

With good reason the imperialists expect Megawati to do their bidding and harshly crack down on the working class and oppressed. The day after her victory the rupiah shot up, reflecting guarded imperialist approval, and in late July the Australian and U.S. imperialists agreed to re-establish "limited" contact with the Indonesian military.

The government is nearly bankrupt with a staggering 80 trillion rupiah budget deficit (\$13 billion). Indonesia's foreign debt is US\$154 billion—102 percent of the country's gross domestic product! Half the budget services this imperialist debt bondage. Promised IMF loans have been repeatedly held up as the IMF vultures demand more cuts to fuel and other subsidies, deepening the already desperate poverty endured by the masses.

Indonesia is a dependent neocolony. It has fabulous natural resources—oil, gas, gold, timber—and in particular the U.S., Australian and Japanese imperialists seek ruthlessly to remove all obstacles to their plunder of this wealth. Straddling the major sea lanes between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea through which Japan's oil and Asia's exports to Europe must move, Indonesia also has enormous strategic importance to the contending imperialist powers. The U.S. and their Australian lackeys, as well as their rival Japan, Indonesia's largest trading partner, want a stable, unified Indonesia. This is not only to rake in vast profits but also as part of the imperialists' counterrevolutionary drive against the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. This was underscored in a proposed new defence link between the U.S., Australia, Japan and South Korea recently announced after a meeting of U.S. secretary



AP
Indonesian marines guard ExxonMobil gas fields in Arun, Aceh. Javanese-chauvinist Megawati regime serves imperialist interests.

of state Colin Powell and Australia's foreign minister Alexander Downer. A U.S./Australia communique reasserted the imperialists' long-standing support to Indonesia's "territorial integrity."

For years the Javanese chauvinist bourgeoisie has ruled over this prison house of peoples through bloody military repression. At the same time, ruling-class elements have stoked communal violence such as in the Maluku Islands. The very storms they whip up undermine neocolonial stability and the "orderly" pursuit of profit making. Aiming to prevent separation, the Australian and U.S. governments suggested offering Aceh and West Papua some kind of autonomy deal. Accordingly, on 16 August, while arrogantly declaring that Aceh and West Papua "should remain within the context of preserving the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia," Megawati introduced a sham "autonomy" law which the Acehnese separatists, not surprisingly, rejected. Proletarian revolutionaries in Indonesia must struggle against the Javanese chauvinism which poisons the unity of the working class.

If the Indonesian bourgeoisie is unable to suppress the struggles of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the archipelago, then "foreign intervention," as U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage recently hinted, is a possibility (*Australian Financial Review*, 19 June). Enforcing neocolonial stability was precisely the purpose of the 1999 Australian-led invasion and occupation of East Timor. In addition to acting as "deputy sheriff" for the U.S., Australia's leading role marked its aim to suppress the struggles of the peoples of the region to free themselves from imperialist exploitation. Rallying around the flag, virtually the entire fake left joined marches and demonstrations screaming for the racist Australian imperialist military to occupy East Timor. They hailed the chauvinist Labor Party and trade-union bureaucracy who whipped up anti-Indonesian racism as they mobilised to demand Australian imperialist intervention. It was the Marxist Spartacist League which upheld the banner of proletarian

internationalism against our "own" ruling class demanding: Australian/UN troops get out! Independence now for East Timor! In August the East Timorese held UN-orchestrated elections under the boot of some 8,000 troops, and the Australian imperialists have declared they will stay for two more years. After the elections it is the UN that will decide who forms the government.

Last year as communalist bloodshed swept the Malukus and separatist movements in Aceh and West Papua strengthened, the danger of imperialist intervention in Indonesia sharply escalated. Underscoring that it was the occupation of East Timor that opened the door wide for this, we declared:

"the Australian workers movement has a particular duty to oppose the intervention of our 'own' rulers—anti-woman, anti-Aboriginal, anti-immigrant union-busting bigots at home, racist overlords of oppressed neocolonies abroad, from Papua New Guinea to the Solomons to Fiji. Australian imperialists get out of East Timor and stay out! Hands off Indonesia!"

—ASp No. 172, Spring 2000

Capitalist Crisis Fuels Islamic Reaction

In 1997, industrial workers in Indonesia comprised just 19 percent of the workforce, but contributed almost half of the country's gross domestic product. In conditions of severe repression workers waged many militant battles. However, the massive 1997 economic crisis threw millions out of work, plunging at least 100 million people in Indonesia into horrific destitution. By 1999, half of children under five were underfed. As the blood-sucking IMF's "rescue package" kicked in, large-scale privatisations were carried out, subsidies for essentials like food, fuel and education were slashed and virtually all restrictions on imperialist investment were removed.

As a result of the economic crisis, there has been a growing tide of communalist violence which has served to undercut working-class struggle. Feeding off the destitution and human misery, a number of Islamic religious parties also emerged, such as the National Mandate Party of the vicious anti-Chinese, anti-Christian bigot Amien Rais and Wahid's National Awakening Party.

Wahid, Rais and Megawati have all stoked the flames of communalism and Islamic reaction. Rais has led rallies calling for *Jihad* (holy war) against Christians in the Malukus. Wahid repeatedly threatened to mobilise his NU base against those who sought his downfall. Suicide squads were formed at massive prayer rallies as NU leaders debated whether it was proper to kill Wahid's opponents. Megawati sought to discredit Chinese women who had been brutally raped during the pogroms instigated by the army during the communal violence that followed Suharto's fall in 1998. Today her position rests heavily on an Islamic alliance which answers to Rais.

In Indonesia as elsewhere, the rise of religious fundamentalism is a reactionary reflection of the absence of a communist

alternative and the bankruptcy of nationalism. Bourgeois nationalist leaders such as Megawati, unable to alleviate mass poverty or advance towards social justice, offer chauvinism and religious obscurantism. For the masses religion becomes not only a consolation but an illusory opposition to an unbearable status quo which is easily put to the service of capitalist reaction. In Indonesia the growth of political Islam, in all its variants, is a deadly threat to the multi-ethnic proletariat and especially to the deeply oppressed women of the archipelago.

During the 1990s women entered the workforce in large numbers playing a leading and often heroic role in numerous class battles. Coming into the factories from the villages, many of them found a measure of freedom from the strictures of family and village life. Yet these women are still subject to harsh Islamic dictates, many enshrined in law, including a ban on abortion while arranged marriages remain common. The doctrine of *Panca Dharma Wanita*, the "Five Duties of Women," encompasses measures designed to keep Indonesian women shackled to the patriarchal family. The economic crisis hit women workers with double force as many were thrown out of work and compelled to return to their villages. And the rising tide of Islamic reaction has seen more and more women don the Islamic headscarf (*jilbab*).

The fight for women's emancipation is integral to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. Communists fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to



Dita Alangkara, AP

Workers protest IMF austerity, May Day, Jakarta. Proletariat holds key to emancipation of all the oppressed from imperialist exploitation.

women, like the polygamy system and bride price—legacies of social backwardness today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. We fight for full equality for women, for free abortion on demand and for the separation of mosque and state.

For Proletarian Independence! For Permanent Revolution!

When the Wahid government ordered a 30 percent increase in fuel prices in June, angry protests and strikes broke out across the archipelago. Police tear gassed and fired "warning shots" at protesting students while bus drivers and other transport workers struck in cities across the country, facing down threats of massive state repression. Later that month, the Wahid government retreated from its plans to abolish severance pay for retiring and resigning workers in the face of more worker-protests. In response, the imperialist investors who had demanded this measure screamed about labour "terror" and denounced "union rights" and "assertive" workers. In July,



New York Times

A million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese were massacred in 1965 bloodbath which ushered in the rule of Suharto.

9,300 workers at the strategically important Bandung state aircraft factory struck against company corruption and graft and for a three-fold wage increase.

Indonesia is a country where capitalist development was belated. Unlike in Europe, for example, where the emerging national bourgeoisie had to sweep away the accumulated rot of the *ancien régime* in order to come to power, in countries such as Indonesia the domestic capitalists developed under colonial and then imperialist rule which was based upon and utilised deep social backwardness and diverse forms of oppression that are a heritage of pre-capitalist times. Far from fighting to achieve social modernisation, the weak Indonesian bourgeoisie, tied to and dependent upon imperialism, fears the threat the proletarian masses pose to its private property more than it desires to free itself from the imperialist yoke. The bourgeoisie cannot resolve the burning democratic needs of the masses—such as political democracy, equality for women, separation of religion from the state—much less alleviate the misery and poverty that consigns hundreds of millions to a life of desperate struggle to survive.

The proletariat is capitalism's gravedigger. Brought together in huge modern industries, the workers uniquely possess the class interest to overcome the communal, national, religious and other divisions which are manipulated by the capitalists to "divide and rule." A Trotskyist party in Indonesia today would struggle against the hold of Javanese chauvinism which poisons and obstructs proletarian unity, upholding the right of self-determination for oppressed nations. The proletariat is the social force capable of accomplishing the democratic tasks, but only if it draws behind it the oppressed masses and establishes its own class dictatorship, abolishing the system of capitalist exploitation.

Mobilising around its own interests, the working class must struggle for the establishment of political liberties, for women's rights and for an end to the imperialist subjugation which sucks the lifeblood from the workers and peasants. Its ally in this is not some mythical "democratic" or "anti-imperialist" section of the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat and oppressed throughout Asia and beyond, from Japan to South Korea to Australia. If it is not to be strangled by backwardness and imperialist intervention, a victorious socialist revolution in Indonesia would necessarily have to extend to the major imperialist centres, appealing to the proletariat to throw out their own capitalist exploiters.

This is the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*. The International Communist League fights to build a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party in Indonesia, a tribune of the people, to raise the working class to consciousness of its historic task, built on the granite foundation of *complete independence of the proletariat from all wings of the capitalist exploiters*.

"Reformasi Total" Means Class Collaboration and Defeat

As the drive to oust Wahid gathered force, the PRD built pro-Wahid blocs centring on Nahdatul Ulama. Prostrating himself before the leaders of this huge Muslim organisation, PRD leader Budi-mas Sujatmiko called on NU to help "build a movement to destroy the remnants of the new order as the key platform in accelerating the process of reformasi total" (PRD statement, 23 January).

The PRD is allied with the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), and, like the DSP, ardently supported Australian troops in East Timor. The DSP also backed Megawati in 1998, and this year gave Wahid "their critical support" urging "progressive forces" to "take sides against the anti-democratic and deeply corrupt New Order forces, who are gathered behind the push for vice-president Megawati Sukarnoputri to

replace Wahid as president" (*Green Left Weekly*, 20 June).

During Wahid's regime there was an escalation of deadly anti-communist Islamic violence of which the PRD itself has repeatedly been the target. Wahid briefly mooted overturning the 1965 ban on Communism, but backtracked in the face of virulent anti-communist protests. The works of novelist Pramoedya Ananta Toer, imprisoned by Suharto for eleven years on Buru Island, are being removed from bookstores after threats from an outfit called "United Islamic Youth." In June a Jakarta conference sponsored by PRD groups was viciously attacked by cops and anti-communist thugs (see statement, page 2). At the time of Wahid's ouster, 19 PRD supporters were languishing in jails.

The PRD touted Wahid's "democratic" credentials. But it was Wahid, whose fate the PRD now mourns, who ordered a massive military assault on Aceh in April. By May the death toll there was already



Melbourne, 1997: Spartacists warn against illusions in Megawati pushed by fake left.

higher this year than it was at the peak of military operations against the Free Aceh Movement under Suharto (*Australian*, 17 May). With Megawati in the presidential palace, the PRD is pushing yet another coalition with bourgeois forces, this time embracing Megawati's sister Rachmawati and her National Forum party, 75 NGOs (non-governmental organisations), the student wing of NU and ... "radical sections" of Megawati's own Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle (PDIP). Backing one or another Javanese chauvinist bourgeois politician, the PRD and their reformist Australian acolytes in the DSP contribute to the strengthening of the repressive, unitary Indonesian state.

The PRD are petty-bourgeois nationalists who rarely mention socialism. As Sujatmiko told an April 2000 Melbourne meeting, "We cannot defeat imperialism and advocate socialism at the same time." This is but a more overtly right-wing version of the "two-stage revolution" originally pushed by the Mensheviks (the pro-capitalist wing of Russian social democracy who opposed the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution), then later by the Stalinist betrayers and all manner of petty-bourgeois nationalists. This class-collaborationist trap for the proletariat has always meant tying the masses to the capitalist class enemy. As the tragedy of 1965 proved, the first stage means murder of the communists; there never is a second stage.

In one of the most savage massacres in modern history, over a million Communists, workers, peasants and ethnic Chinese were slaughtered in 1965-66. The leadership of the pro-Beijing Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)—the largest Communist party in the capitalist world—preached "joint unity" with then-president Sukarno and his Indonesian Nationalist Party to form a "united national front, including the national bourgeoisie" which would carry out "not socialist but democratic reforms."

Suppressing workers strikes and mili-

tant peasant struggles in the name of "unity," the PKI lulled the masses with the illusion that Sukarno would protect them. Politically disarmed by this program of "two-stage revolution," the working class was unable to defend itself when the Indonesian generals, backed by imperialism, struck to behead the PKI after the counterrevolutionary October 1965 coup led by Suharto. The 1965-66 bloodbath—a holy war against Communism—was the work of an alliance between the army and Islamic fanatics directly aided by the American CIA and Australia's ASIS. This catastrophe for the Indonesian proletariat was the direct product of the support by the PKI to the capitalist government of Sukarno. Megawati's father (see "Lessons of Indonesia 1965," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 55, Autumn 1999).

Neither Megawati nor Rais have criticised, much less repudiated, the horrific massacres of 1965-66. Indeed, Rais has declared that Indonesia must guard against reviving communist teachings. Between 1962 and 1965, Megawati's new vice-president Hamzah Haz, leader of the PPP, was head of the Yogyakarta Muslim student movement and prominent in NU. It was NU's youth who played a leading role in the bloodbath of 1965.

Ominously, a leader of the Golkar-sponsored Gepako (Anti-Communist Movement) in Yogyakarta has threatened a repeat of 1965, saying, "there is potential for the same conflict again, as in the 1960s. And now things are more crowded, more cruel. If we have to, Gepako can fight again." —*South China Morning Post*, 25 April

Megawati's PDIP has its own strike-breaking Satgas militia and murdering thugs like Eurico Guterres, head of the PDIP "youth wing" and a leader of the pro-Indonesia militias who massacred East Timorese in 1999.

Opponents of the Struggle for Proletarian Power

The central lesson of 1965 is that the proletariat and bourgeoisie have no common class interests. For the proletariat party to proceed otherwise is suicidal and a betrayal. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution is the alternative to placing confidence in fantasies resting upon the backward, imperialist-dependent bourgeoisie as a vehicle for liberation. We Trotskyists of the International Communist League uniquely stand on this program. Fake leftists in both Indonesia and Australia either openly oppose the program of permanent revolution or claim to "defend" it while gutting its revolutionary content. The DSP, for example, published a lengthy pamphlet in 1999 on Trotsky's "errors" on permanent revolution and the Indonesian PRD echoes these views.

So too does the Indonesian Democratic Socialist Association (PDS). In November 2000 the PDS split from the PRD based on the latter's support to Wahid

and making the struggle for women's liberation and work in the labour movement a "non-priority." But the PDS shares the PRD's nationalist outlook, advocating a program that begins and ends with "reformasi total." PDS leader Muhammad Ma'rif may praise Trotsky's "brave opposition to Stalin," but he does "not agree with the basic idea of Trotsky—the theory of permanent revolution—which is a dividing line between those who belong to the Trotskyist tendency and those belonging to others" (*Socialist Review*, May 2001).

Permanent revolution is indeed a dividing line. Against the Stalinist bureaucracy's anti-Marxist dogma of building "socialism in one country"—which meant the subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie and the appeasement of imperialism internationally—Leon Trotsky, the Left Opposition and later the Fourth International fought for the continuity of the revolutionary internationalist program of Bolshevism. Permanent revolution was the core of the program on which the 1928 Left Opposition was formed following the crushing defeat of the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution, a direct result of Stalin's policy of subordinating the working class to the Chinese bourgeoisie.

ISO, WP: Permanent Laborism

With the PRD so obviously jumping from one bourgeois faction to another, the International Socialist Organisation's (ISO) Tom O'Lincoln takes the opportunity to posture against the "stages theory of revolution," declaring,

"In practice, there is never complete democracy under capitalism, so we never get to the socialist stage...."

"Our own approach, based on the theory of permanent revolution, attempts to develop struggles that may initially be limited to democracy and take them in a socialist direction, without any sharp division between stages."

—*Socialist Review*, May 2001

This has nothing to do with the program of permanent revolution, but is literally a regurgitation of the two-stage program: first, struggles "limited to democracy," then a "socialist direction."

In Indonesia and elsewhere the ISO and its co-thinkers do exactly that, and many of the "struggles" they champion are not remotely "democratic." In 1998 this outfit promoted the illusion that Megawati and Rais could create "a rank and file revolutionary movement in the army, to split it from below" (*Socialist Worker*, 6 March 1998). Today they sing a different tune, describing Megawati as "more clearly a front for the right," claiming her "PDI-P was always fairly conservative, with ties to sections of the military" (*Socialist Worker*, 3 August).

O'Lincoln's current "analysis" notes Megawati's husband's links to "right-wing religious fanatics." This is rich coming from people who have for years

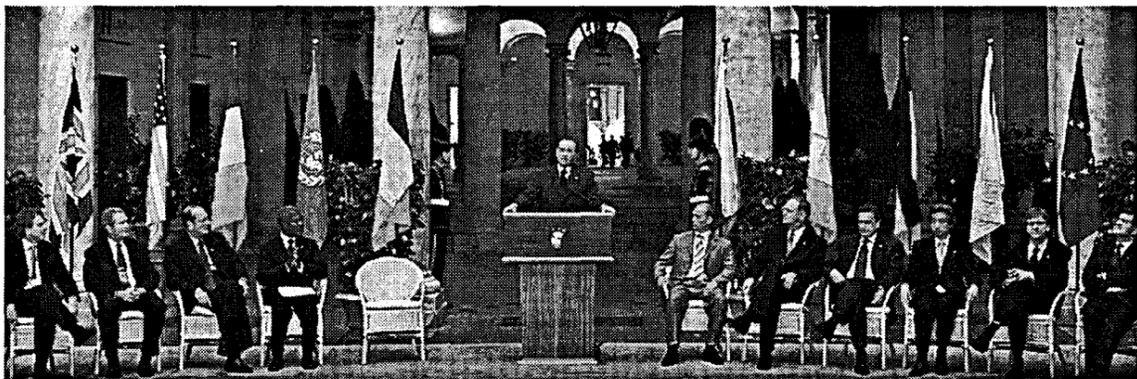
continued on page 10

SPARTACIST No. 55, Autumn 1999
\$2 (56 pages)

Mail/make cheques payable to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

SPARTACIST
Deklarasi Prinsip-Prinsip dan Beberapa Elemen dari Program Liga Komunis Internasional (Internasionalis Keempat)

Bahasa Indonesia - \$1.25 (16 pages)



Imperialist rulers gather in palatial setting in Genoa, while world's working masses face exploitation and poverty.



Action Press

Genoa...

(continued from page 12)

an official in the CGIL trade-union federation, a demonstration expected by organizers to bring out 100,000 drew as many as three times that number, as workers took to the streets in outrage when they heard the news. In the days that followed, cities and towns throughout Italy were rocked by spontaneous outpourings against state repression and the right-wing government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi.

But the reformist leaders of the working class—the Democratic Left (DS) of Massimo D'Alema, Fausto Bertinotti's RC and the trade-union bureaucracy—aimed their fire not at the uniformed killers of the capitalist state but at anarchist protesters in the so-called "Black Block." DS withdrew its support for the Saturday demonstration, while Bertinotti solidarized with the "forces of order" and complained that the police had not stopped the "trouble-makers" and "anarcho-insurrectionists."

Our leaflet "Berlusconi and the G-8: Imperialist Butchers!"—produced through the night under conditions of a state of siege—was the first statement to be issued in response to the killing. Our call for massive protest strikes against the deadly police rampage went down well with the many members of the FIOM metal workers union who joined in the Saturday demonstration and with marchers in the syndicalist-influenced COBAS union contingents. "When is the strike?" one FIOM worker asked. Another said that we're absolutely right in saying that the bullets that struck down Carlo Giuliani were directed against the working class. Workers listened attentively as one of our comrades leafletting the union contingents soapboxed, "What will we have after Berlusconi? This struggle must not end in another five years of capitalist popular-front government. We should fight for workers power and for socialist revolution!"

Genoa Draws a Blood Line

The massive and murderous police repression in Genoa was on a level usually

seen in the suppression of working-class upheavals or popular insurgencies in the neocolonial "Third World." Yet here it was directed at a protest movement which does not in any immediate and direct way threaten the material interests of the Western imperialist bourgeoisies. Behind the bloody crackdown on the streets and the hysterical uproar over "anarchist hooligans" lies the climate created by capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe. Drunk with glee over the "death of communism," the capitalists and their social-democratic lap dogs imagined that there would no longer be left-wing tendencies that rejected the ultimate authority of bourgeois parliamentary rule.

The re-emergence of anarchism as a militant and growing current among young radicals was an unexpected as well as repellent development for West European ruling circles, especially for the social democrats, who regarded their political/ideological victory over Communism as final and irrevocable. In their eyes, the very existence of a militant anarchist movement is a crime against the natural (i.e., bourgeois) order. Internationally, the most bloodthirsty defense of the repression in Genoa came from social-democratic rulers like British Labour prime minister Tony Blair. Echoing the imperialist butchers were the reformist organizers of the mainstream "anti-globalization" protests, who denounced the cops for not being hard enough against "violent" protesters or smeared the anarchist youth as "provocateurs."

In the wake of Genoa, there is now a clear left-right division—written in blood—within the "anti-globalization" movement. That division is not primarily over protest tactics, or "violence" versus "nonviolence." Rather, at root what is at issue is the question of the "democratic" legitimacy of the existing parliamentary capitalist governments. On that question, we stand with the anarchists against the left social democrats, including those who occasionally masquerade as Marxists or Trotskyists. Having capitulated to their own bourgeoisies from the Cold War against the Soviet Union in the 1980s to the 1999 U.S./NATO war against Serbia, these pseudo-Marxists take their stand with the capitalist state.

The question before the huge numbers of young radicals who have been drawn to the "anti-globalization" protests of recent years is: how do you change the world? While the protests have succeeded in forcing the imperialists to schedule future meetings in isolated backwaters, this does nothing to impede the workings of the capitalist system. To do away with imperialist exploitation requires a political mobilization of the proletariat in a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The large workers contingents on the streets of Genoa in solidarity with the anarchist youth against the state, and also in defense of immigrant rights, point to the potential for realizing this revolutionary perspective. But it is necessary to combat the obstacles that stand in the way: the trade-union bureaucracies and the reformist political parties, which currently govern many of the capitalist states in West Europe, as well as the false, anti-proletarian consciousness of the anarchist youth.

The International Communist League fights for the authentic communism of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks. Our

perspective is proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist. We recognize that the fundamental conflict in society is the struggle between labor and capital. Because of its central role in production, the proletariat has the social power to bring down the capitalist exploiters and their whole system of racism, sexism, class exploitation, national oppression and imperialist war. The proletariat has the power and the class interest to create a society based on collectivized property and a rational, planned international economy, a workers state leading to a classless, communist society and the withering away of the state. To achieve this goal requires the construction of an international Leninist-Trotskyist egalitarian party. We struggle to become the party fit to lead socialist revolutions internationally.

Integral to our fight is holding on to proletarian conquests already wrested from the capitalist class. That is why we Trotskyists fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe against imperialist attack and capitalist restoration. In East Germany in 1989-90 and then in the Soviet Union, we fought to rouse the workers in a political revolution to defend the collectivized property forms and replace the Stalinist misleaders with the rule of workers councils. This perspective is urgently posed in China today in the face of renewed imperialist military machinations and economic encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms."

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement. Today the basic premises of authentic Marxism must be motivated against the false and prevalent misidentification of the collapse of Stalinism with a failure of communism. Stalinist rule was not communism but its grotesque perversion. The Stalinist bureaucracy, a parasitic caste resting atop the workers state much like a labor bureaucracy sits atop a trade union, arose in the Soviet workers state under conditions of economic backwardness and isolation due to the failure to extend the revolution to any of the advanced capitalist countries. The Stalinists claimed they were going to build "socialism in one country," an impossibility, as Leon Trotsky (and before him Marx and Engels) explained, since socialism is necessarily international in scope. "Socialism in one country" was a justification for selling out revolutions internationally in order to appease world imperialism.

Today, the proletariat has been hurled back worldwide. Unhindered by Soviet military might, the U.S. imperialists ride roughshod over the planet. America's imperialist rivals, especially Germany and Japan, no longer constrained by Cold War anti-Soviet unity, are pursuing apace their own appetites for control of world markets and concomitantly projecting their military power. These inter-imperialist rivalries outline future wars; with nuclear weapons, this threatens to extinguish life on the planet. The task of wresting power from the capitalist exploiters is more urgent than ever.

State of Siege in Genoa

When our comrades arrived in Genoa on July 18, they found a ghost town. An inner "red zone" four kilometers (nearly three miles) long was completely encircled by a 12-foot-high metal barrier.

Police within the red zone carried out continuous searches of apartments and harassment of the heavily immigrant population. Reports of letter bombs and attempted bombings were wielded to fuel a huge anti-terrorist campaign by the bourgeois media. In preparation for the arrests, an anonymous police official told *La Repubblica*, "The Bolzaneto barracks were transformed into a 'lager' [concentration camp]" by the Mobile Operational Group (GOM), an elite unit formed under the popular-front government in 1997 and headed by a former chief of the



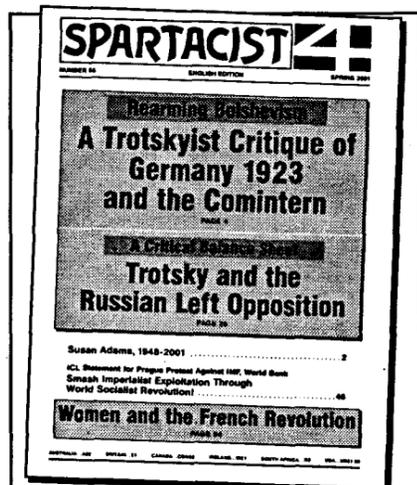
Liberazione

COBAS union contingent in Genoa protest.

military secret service. He reported that arrested protesters "had their heads smashed against the wall" and were "beaten when they refused to sing 'Facetta Ner' [a fascist hymn]." Protesters were also forced to shout "Viva il Duce!"

On July 19, the first of three days of protests, there was a large anti-racist demonstration of some 50,000 people. Though immigrant contingents were largely lacking due to the fear of repression, there were some contingents from the CGIL and COBAS trade unions. The next day, police gunned down Carlo Giuliani as he, along with many others, stood up to a cop rampage against a demonstration called by the COBAS to coincide with a general strike. Many workers now consider this government to be composed of murderers. A number of workers telephoned *Radio Popolare*, a leftist radio station in Milano, objecting to "nonviolence." One said, "I am nonviolent. I was in Genoa and got shot with a tear gas canister from a police helicopter. My family was attacked. Next time, I will defend myself."

On July 21, workers poured into the streets in defiance of the reformist misleaders, and the DS-dominated union officialdom, as did many RC members. Thousands of metal workers, not only from the CGIL-affiliated FIOM but also from the more "moderate" CISL and UIL union federations, joined hands with the protesters against the police. There was a lot of anger, and whenever a



No. 56, Spring 2001

\$2.00 (64 pages)

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co.
GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

police helicopter circled overhead there were chants of "Assassini, assassini!"

The police attacked the middle of the demonstration, cutting off the RC and trade-union contingents, which came under heavy attack and a constant barrage of tear gas. Demonstrators seeking refuge or trying to find their way back to their buses were hunted down by police squads whose orders were clearly to injure as many as possible. In one case, a youth was seized by police, dragged away and beaten. He then fell ten feet into the riverbed. When he managed to scramble up, the police shot him with a tear gas canister at pointblank range; he was saved only by the intervention of other protesters.

That night, police went on a massive rampage. Mounted police entered the Convergence Centre in Piazzale Kennedy while cops smashed their way into the Media Center, headquarters of the Genoa Social Forum and the Indymedia Internet news service, destroying computers and equipment and seizing film and evidence of police brutality. At the same time, hundreds of police surrounded and smashed into the Diaz school and the Casa dei Popoli, bloodying the GSF demonstrators sleeping there. People were dragged along the ground. *Il Manifesto* compared it with Chile under Pinochet's reign of terror. Of the 92 people arrested, fully 62 had to be hospitalized. The "Digos" (political police) also searched the homes of many protesters to seize photos and other evidence of police violence. Even the Genoa offices of *La Repubblica*, a leading bourgeois daily, were searched.

Tuesday, July 24, saw huge mobilizations with FIOM and CGIL banners prominent everywhere: 40,000 in Venice, 30,000 in Bologna, thousands more in towns and cities from north to south. In Rome, 30,000 marched screaming "Assassini!" In Milano, as many as 50,000 or more chanted, "Berlusconi resign!" In Genoa, 10,000 marched with a big banner reading "You Believe That You Killed Him, but Carletto Lives Through Us." In Brescia, workers at the Stefana steel plant struck for two hours to protest the arrest of a FIOM shop steward at the march in Genoa on Saturday.

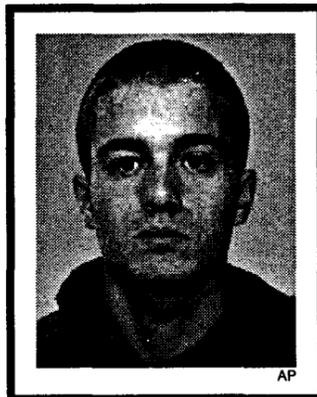
Labor struggle is likely to grow as the Berlusconi government moves to carry through attacks on pensions, public education, health care and workers' living standards. And there is enormous turmoil within the left as many radicalized youth are looking around, and not necessarily to the traditional reformist parties like RC. One young woman was seen on the subway in Milano distributing a leaflet she had written giving her eyewitness account of the cop rampage. The leaflet concluded: "I am starting to think that maybe we live in a society that is only apparently democratic and that showed itself on this occasion for what it really is."

Sections of the bourgeoisie are worried that there is no effective reformist force with the influence to restrain and control the working class. Reflecting this, RC has simultaneously rallied to defense of bourgeois "law and order" while making an appeal to the youthful protesters, writing in *Liberazione* that "a new generation is building itself an alternative political identity: it refuses the existing order of things and dreams of another kind of world. This is the reason they attack it with savage violence."

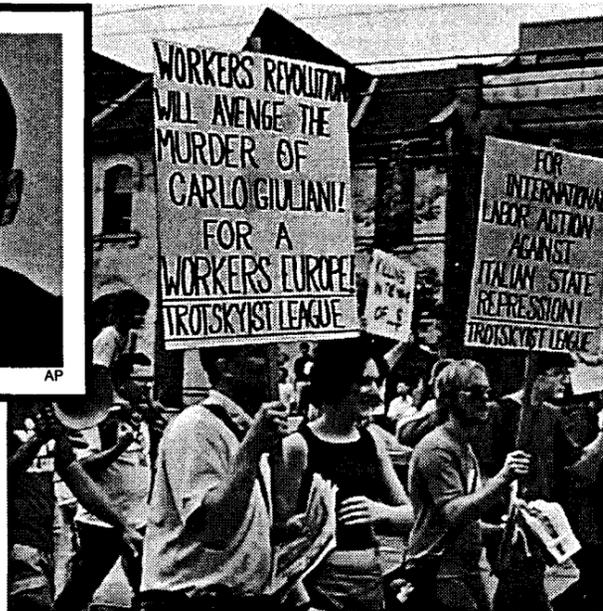
Many demonstrators tend to see the brutality of the cops as evidence of a turn toward a police state and call for the resignation of the Berlusconi government. The presence of Gianfranco Fini's fascist National Alliance and Umberto Bossi's racist Northern League in the government has surely galvanized the cops, many of whom are genuine fascists. But the reformist misleaders' denunciations of this right-wing parliamentary government as fascist are in the service of building support for a new popular front to "fight the right." In fact, the kind of brutal repression seen in Genoa is part of the normal functioning of capitalist "democracy." In the years following the revolutionary

upheavals of the "Hot Autumn" of 1969, the cops assassinated a number of leftist students. Just as DS and RC now rail against "anarchists," their Communist Party predecessor at the time sought to isolate a "violent fringe," thus helping to restabilize the bourgeois order.

The reformist misleaders used the upsurge of workers struggles that brought down the previous Berlusconi government in 1994 to usher in a series of popular-front governments, bringing together D'Alema's DS and openly bourgeois forces, generally propped up by RC. This bloody cabal of fake "socialists" and ex-"communists" presided over Italian imperialism's participation in the



Toronto, 21 July: ICL sections joined protests internationally against police killing of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani in Genoa.



Spartacist Canada

U.S.-led 1999 Balkans War. And it was the former DS-dominated government that organized the arrangements for the G-8 summit.

Support for RC in particular as a "lesser evil" is evident within the syndicalist-influenced COBAS unions as well. This is not surprising. COBAS leader Pietro Falanga echoed the reformists in insinuating that the Black Block anarchists are a tool of the cops. While RC lauds "progressive" cops who denounce the government's actions in Genoa, one of the COBAS unions itself has a base among municipal cops and also organizes prison guards. In welcoming the hired thugs of the class enemy into the ranks of labor, the COBAS leaders demonstrate their own confidence in the capitalist state.

What's needed is a new, revolutionary leadership of the working class, a tribune of the people and fighter on behalf of all the oppressed. It is necessary to break with the class-collaborationist politics pushed by those who, in the name of a "lesser evil," subordinate the vital interests of the proletariat to those of its capitalist exploiters and oppressors. It's necessary to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights to set up a workers government through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist system.

"Left" Fingermen for the World Bourgeoisie

In the wake of the Genoa events, there has been a furious outcry internationally—not against the evident, widespread, murderous violence perpetrated by the cops but against the "violence" of anarchist and other leftist protesters. Going into Genoa, Britain's Blair urged Berlusconi and other capitalist rulers "to be a lot more robust" in cracking down on protesters, while German Social Democrat Gerhard Schröder screamed for responding to "violent" protest "decisively and with full force." Positively dancing on the grave of Carlo Giuliani, Blair admonished any who criticized "the Italian authorities for working to make sure the security of the summit is right," while his cabinet member Peter Hain, a former "peace" campaigner, railed against "balaclava-clad demonstrators out there to basically trash the place and bust a skull."

Sections of the ICL around the world participated in or initiated protests against the bloody repression in Genoa and in solidarity with the anarchist youth under attack. Much of the "left," taking their cue from the social democrats they helped install in power, spat on even the most elementary expression of solidarity with the leftist youth against the capitalist state and joined in the crescendo of attacks against the anarchist Black Block. In Britain, the Cliffite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) attacked the Black Block's actions as "very different from people who defend themselves against police attacks" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 July). In another article in the same

issue, SWP honcho Chris Harman favorably quoted a Genoa protester saying, "The police could have chosen to deal with the penetration of the anarchists."

This despicable line was echoed by the French group ATTAC, which includes Cliffites and members of Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French affiliate of the United Secretariat (USec). A 20 July ATTAC statement criticized the Italian police because "they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Block." In Germany, Angela Klein, a leading member of the Editorial Board of the USec-connected paper *SoZ* favorably quoted the following rant in her article in *Junge Welt* (23 July): "The black of this Black Block was the black of the fascists, not the black of the anarchists."

As organizers of the "anti-globalization" movement that is being attacked by the governments they support, these groups try to walk both sides of the street. But even when they denounce the police violence, it is from the standpoint of bolstering the "democratic" credentials of the imperialist rulers. In a 20 July statement on its Web site, the Cliffite-

dominated Globalise Resistance in Britain pleaded, "We call on Tony Blair, and other political leaders, to condemn this killing." The French LCR even appealed to Berlusconi, Fini & Co., declaring in a leaflet co-signed with the anarchist Alternatives Liberaires and others: "We call on the Italian government to publicly condemn the methods employed by the forces of order!"

The conflicting opportunist appetites buffeting the USec and Cliffites were most evident in the right-centrist British Workers Power (WP) and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI). A statement posted on the WP/LRCI Web site on July 23 was headlined, "After Genoa Repression Turn to the Working Class." In the mouth of WP, this means suckering militant anarchist youth back into the social-democratic fold and "left" Labourite parliamentarian lash-ups like the Socialist Alliance, which WP helped build in the recent British elections. Thus, the WP/LRCI statement calls for a revolutionary party "free of all the filth of Stalinism"—but has not a word about the Labourite "filth" in which WP wallows.

Safeguarding its standing in the eyes of the social democrats, WP made clear that "we organised for non-violent civil disobedience" and attacked the Black Block for "the futile activity of smashing up property." Nonetheless, the statement explicitly denounced "those in the movement who have focused condemnation on the 'black bloc.'" But in a new version of the statement distributed at a July 28 London protest, WP expunged even this tepid expression of solidarity with the militant anarchists under attack by the whole of the international capitalist order. Falling into line behind the rest of the Blairite "anti-globalization" crowd, WP now joins in the cop-baiting denunciations of the Black Block as "infiltrated by police who use them to provide an excuse for police repression."

That the police insinuate provocateurs into the workers movement and left-wing protests is a given for anyone at all familiar with the workings of the capitalist state, and there is certainly evidence that undercover cops, and the fascists, engaged in provocations in Genoa. But for the pseudo-Marxists, any affront to the legitimacy of parliamentary "democracy" is deemed a provocation. As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin noted in *The State and Revolution*:

"The opportunists of modern Social-Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol, denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

For our forthright statement in defense of the anarchists against state repression, our comrades in Genoa were likewise

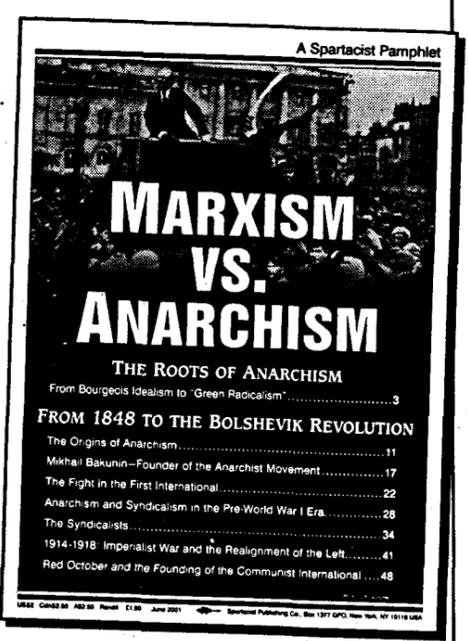
continued on page 10

This pamphlet reprints a series by Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour originally published in *Workers Vanguard*. It presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

\$2.50 (56 pages)

Mail/make cheques payable to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001



Genoa...

(continued from page 9)

denounced as "provocateurs" by the social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats. And one of our comrades was attacked as a "provocateur" at a July 28 protest in Berlin for denouncing a platform speaker from Schröder's Green coalition partners as a representative of the German imperialist state.

Anarchism vs. Bolshevism

A 21 July statement by "Black Block activists" stands in refreshing contrast to the fake Marxists' kowtowing to "democratic" imperialism. The statement proclaims:

"Day by day, the capitalist world order produces a diversity of violence. Poverty, hunger, expulsion, exclusion, the death of millions of people and the destruction of living spaces is part of their policy. This is exactly what we reject.

"Smashed windows of banks and multinational companies are symbolic actions. Nevertheless we do not agree with the destruction and looting of small shops and cars. This is not our policy....

"We are angry and sad about the murder of Carlo Giuliani. Let us turn our grief and anger into resistance."

Such militants are motivated by rage against the capitalist murder machine. But trashing the symbols of imperialist power does not constitute a strategy for resistance, much less revolutionary struggle,

against the bourgeois order. The point is to *seize* the means of production from the bourgeoisie, to overthrow capitalism and replace it with global workers rule. Personal outrage is no substitute for a mass movement centered on the power of the working class, which alone has the social power to lead all the oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order. Many young radicals do not see the proletariat as an agency for social revolution because they equate the workers organizations with the misleaders who have a stake in preserving the capitalist system. We seek to exacerbate the contradictions between the aspirations of the workers at the base and the pro-capitalist politics of the tops in order to break the workers from reformism and win them to a revolutionary perspective.

Those who call themselves "anarchist" run the gamut from subjective revolutionists who solidarize with the proletariat to right-wing petty-bourgeois thugs who hate the working class and attack communists. At bottom, anarchism is a form of radical-democratic idealism that combines militancy and adventurism with bourgeois liberalism. Rejecting the state in general—and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by the revolutionary working class in particular—the anarchists are led to genuflect before the existing, bourgeois state. During the Spanish Civil War, anarchists became ministers in the popular-front government

which disarmed and repressed the armed workers struggle against capitalism, opening the road to decades of Franco's dictatorship. Today in Italy, the "official" anarchists of *A* magazine rushed to assure the bourgeoisie of their hostility to the "violent" protesters in Genoa: "We believe that indiscriminate violence and terrorism (even psychological) are tools of the power, not of those who want to effect without coercion a deep social transformation of a libertarian nature.... Those who send bombs, who devastate a town with the help and complicity of the police...have nothing to do with us."

For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the parliamentary reformism of the social democrats, the ex-Stalinists and the fake leftists who prop up and maintain the capitalist order. In "*Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder*," which aimed at winning the best of the anarchists and syndicalists of his day to Bolshevism, Lenin remarked: "Anarchism was not infrequently a kind of penalty for the opportunist sins of the working-class movement." The Russian Revolution redefined the left internationally, and its final undoing is having a similar impact in reverse.

The murderous state of siege in Genoa was the mark of an economic system which has become a barrier to technological and social advance. The leaders of

international capitalism gathered there preside over an anarchic mode of production which is now rapidly spiraling into a global recession. Behind their scripted statements of agreement lie backstabbing intrigues aimed at furthering the interests of their respective bourgeoisies in the face of declining profits and increasing competition. In a leaflet addressed to the COBAS call for a general strike on the eve of the Genoa protests, the LTd'I declared:

"Many in the anti-globalization movement see the enemy in the 'transnationals' or in the international financial institutions like the IMF, World Bank, WTO, etc. As revolutionary Marxists, we understand that the main enemy is at home! For the Italian workers and oppressed, it's the Italian capitalists, their state, cops and army, courts and prisons. They must be disarmed, overthrown and expropriated. We fight for a system where those who labor rule, not based on bourgeois parliamentarism but on forms of proletarian power, like the Russian soviets in 1917, and where the means of production will be used in the interests of everybody to build a socialist egalitarian society on an international scale....

"In order for the workers struggling at the head of all the oppressed to win and to uproot the rotten capitalist system, we need a revolutionary leadership that fights irreconcilably against class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and their governments. The ICL fights to build such a multiethnic, revolutionary workers party, struggling for workers power worldwide. Join us!"

Indonesia...

(continued from page 7)

portrayed Islamic fundamentalism as an "anti-imperialist" or "revolutionary" alternative. In 1979 they cheered on the reactionary Khomeinist "mass movement" in Iran. One of the greatest crimes of this viciously anti-Soviet organisation was their support to the CIA-backed *mujahedin* fanatics in Afghanistan whose victory over the Soviet Red Army has led to the Taliban and its regime of mass terror against women. Consistently anti-communist, in 1998 they grotesquely equated the anti-Suharto student protests with the howling anti-Communist student mobs of 1965-66:

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

Thus does the ISO put its stamp of approval on the bloodbath of a million Communists, workers and peasants and ethnic Chinese.

While mouthing words about "permanent revolution" for Indonesia, in Australia the ISO is cravenly prostrate before the pro-imperialist ALP. In 1999, while the ALP was demanding Howard send troops to East Timor, the ISO endorsed and marched in Melbourne demonstrations demanding Australian imperialism occupy East Timor. Now that the occupation has become so glaringly brutal and rapacious, the ISO wails that the "colonisation process has been quite disgusting.... Yet large sections of the Australian left cheered it on" (*Socialist Review*, May 2001). The ISO was in the

thick of those "sections" of the left cheering on the troops. In particular they raved that the union bans against Indonesian businesses, the explicit purpose of which was to pressure the Australian government to send troops to Timor, were "magnificent." To this day they do not call for the Australian occupying troops to get out of East Timor.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) tries to assume a more leftist posture, criticising the PRD for having "aligned itself with Wahid as representing some sort of 'progressive wing' of the ruling class" (*Workers Power*, August 2001). They also claim, at times, to be for permanent revolution. But WP's real program is class collaboration, spelled out in their international co-thinkers' *The Trotskyist Manifesto* (1989). Here they come out explicitly for the "anti-imperialist united front," the formula which has been used over and over to justify suicidal subordination of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, starting with Stalin's liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party in the 1920s into the Guomindang, Chiang Kai-shek's party of the nationalist Chinese bourgeoisie (see "Permanent Revolution vs. the 'Anti-Imperialist United Front'—The Origins of Chinese Trotskyism," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 53, Summer 1997).

Like the ISO, WP also ultimately looks to "democratic" imperialism to liberate the masses in the colonial world. In September 1999 WP hailed the chauvinist anti-Indonesia trade-union bans and marched cheek-to-jowl with the DSP, the ISO and the Labor Party in the "Peacekeepers In" mobilisations. To cover their left flank, WP has called, at times, for

Racist Australian Imperialists Get Out of PNG Now!



Post-Courier

In late June, Australian imperialism's Papua New Guinea puppet regime murdered six people following mass worker and student protests (above) against privatisations and brutal austerity diktats imposed by Australia, the IMF and World Bank. The fight against brutal superexploitation of the peoples in the region means revolutionary struggle to overthrow the Australian imperialist state at home.

"Australian and UN troops out now" and even denounced the DSP for being "at the head of the chorus calling for imperialist intervention in East Timor" ("Independence for East Timor: For a working class solution," undated pamphlet).

But as federal elections approach, even cheap rhetoric hinting of opposition to the imperialist subjugation of East Timor has fallen off the radar screen as WP is sharing the sheets with the DSP in Socialist Alliance, an electoral vehicle dedicated to putting the Labor Party in power. For WP, even the pretence of anti-imperialism is highly expendable, always subordinate to their opportunist appetites to ingratiate themselves in overtly pro-imperialist, Laborite milieus.

Towards the Indonesian Revolution!

Support to "democratic" imperialism is not new for these pseudo-socialists. The ISO, DSP and WP were all cheerleaders for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and they hope to do the same in China now. We Trotskyists, opposing our "own" ruling class and seeking its overthrow through workers socialist revolution, have always *defended* those states where capitalism has been overthrown. Unconditional military defence of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state—and Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam—

against imperialist attack and internal capitalist counterrevolution is central to revolutionary struggle. This is urgently posed in China now in the face of renewed imperialist military machinations and economic encroachments promoted by the Stalinist bureaucracy's "market reforms." Proletarian revolution in Indonesia would powerfully aid the fight to mobilise the Chinese workers in a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist traitors.

Workers and youth continue to be drawn into struggle by the ineradicable contradictions of capitalism, and the struggles of the Indonesian working class in the face of IMF-imposed starvation and bloody communalism point the way forward. But for the workers to emerge as an independent revolutionary factor requires forging an internationalist vanguard party committed to leading the proletariat to the seizure of state power. By studying the dearly bought lessons of revolutionary Marxism, centrally that the working class and the bourgeoisie have no class interests in common, the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party will be cohered. Based on such a program, the future Indonesian Bolsheviks will break the chains of dependent capitalism, leading the proletariat to power at the head of all the oppressed. For workers revolution in Indonesia! For international socialist revolution! ■

EAST TIMOR
Stop the Killing
Indonesia OUT
Peacekeepers IN

Demonstration: Wed 8th Sept
Dept of Foreign Affairs (Opp Spring Elizabeth Street) Open

International Day of Action &
Student Strike: Fri 10th Sept
Opp Spring Elizabeth Street Open

Support Timorese Resilience
U. Trades Hall, Socialist Worker, Resilience and solidarity groups.

Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

of murder if the jury had known 13 years ago that a guilt-racked teenager had admitted committing the crime." The judge in that case acknowledged, "Surely the jury would have found reasonable doubt." But not the judge in Jamal's case! Even in the face of the blatantly racist jury-rigging presided over by hanging judge Albert Sabo in Jamal's 1982 trial, Beverly's confession would have been a bombshell. Beverly asserts outright, "I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene." Beverly explains that he had been hired to kill Faulkner because the officer "was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area." In his own affidavit filed at the same time as Beverly's, Mumia states: "I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

Jamal, driving a taxi, arrived at the scene after Faulkner's shooting and was himself shot by a cop as he came running over after he saw his brother, Billy Cook. In another affidavit, Cook testified that when Mumia ran to the scene, "he had nothing in his hands. I heard a shot and I saw him stumble.... I had nothing to do with the shooting or killing of the police officer. My brother Mumia Abu-Jamal had nothing to do with shooting or killing the police officer."

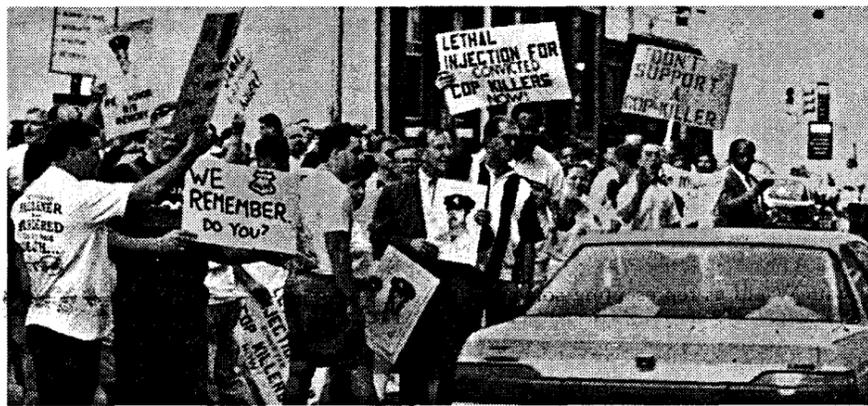
The only "eyewitness" who claimed to see Jamal shoot Faulkner was a prostitute named Cynthia White, who was working the streets under police protection and was not seen at the site of the shooting by any other witness. White, who initially denied seeing Jamal with a gun, changed her story repeatedly to suit the D.A. and cops. Another purported witness was a cab driver who had a record for arson and was allowed to continue driving with a suspended licence in exchange for his testimony; he also changed his original story. The supposed eyewitnesses constituted one of the "three legs"—all lies long since discredited—of the D.A.'s frame-up case, along with phony ballistics evidence (that did not even show that Jamal's gun had been fired the night of the killing) and a tale concocted by the cops two months after the killing that Jamal had confessed while near death in the hospital that night.

Beyond a reasonable doubt, the testimony of the prosecution's witnesses was coerced, fabricated and extracted through promises concealed from the defence. Five witnesses reported seeing a man flee the scene, just as Beverly says he did, while Jamal was on the ground with a bullet in his chest. Beverly said he

wore a green camouflage jacket that night; four witnesses, including two cops, said they saw a man with a green army jacket. One, William Singletary, reported that the man who shot Faulkner was wearing a green army jacket. Neither Mumia nor his brother was wearing a green jacket. Beverly's declaration also fits with the fact that the FBI was at that time engaged in at least three investigations of police corruption in the Center City District that Faulkner patrolled. As the PCRA papers submitted by Jamal's new lawyers—Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman, Nicholas Brown and Michael Farrell—state:

"It is difficult to conceive of any more compelling evidence of the Petitioner's actual innocence than the signed confession of the man who shot Police Officer Faulkner. It found a wealth of support and corroboration in the available evidence both in and outside the existing record. It clearly undermined every single aspect of the Commonwealth's case against the Petitioner, from the purported eyewitness testimony through the purported scientific evidence to the evidence of the alleged confession. Not only did it identify the true killer of Police Officer Faulkner, but it also provided an innocent explanation of how the Petitioner came to [be] found shot at the scene. It raised the issue of the prosecution perpetrating a fraud upon the courts, by suborning perjury."

In fact, what Yohn and the capitalist rulers he represents have concluded is that the Beverly declaration and accompanying affidavits by Jamal and Billy Cook so thoroughly expose the police frame-up and prove Mumia's innocence



Philadelphia cops screaming for Jamal's execution besiege hospital workers union hall, 1995.

beyond the shadow of a doubt that they must be suppressed. In the three months since those affidavits were filed, the mainstream media outside Philadelphia have maintained a complete blackout on this spectacular new development in what is the most prominent death penalty case in the U.S. *We accuse the capitalist courts, the forces of racist "law and order" and their auxiliaries in the media of a conspiracy aimed at lynching an innocent man!*

These forces seek to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal because they see in this former Black Panther Party spokesman and MOVE supporter the spectre of "black

revolution," because they want to silence forever this "voice of the voiceless" who is renowned for his eloquent journalistic exposures of the racist capitalist injustice system. From the time he was a teenager in the late 1960s, Mumia was targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation, which resulted in the assassination of 38 Panther activists and the frame-up of hundreds more. When they found Jamal at the scene of Faulkner's killing in 1981, they seized the opportunity to set him up for a legal lynching. In arguing that Jamal should be sentenced to death, the D.A. pointed to his past as a member of the Black Panther Party and his reference to the Maoist slogan, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In barring the Beverly confession, Yohn cited the one-year limit on new evidence mandated by the Anti-Terrorism

interest last May after Williams authored a treacherous and mendacious "inside account" aptly titled *Executing Justice*, which denigrates the Beverly confession as "bona fide lunacy," "patently outrageous" and "absurd." The aim of this despicable act, as Weinglass himself admitted in a letter to Jamal appended to the new papers, was to carry out a "pre-emptive strike" against the new evidence should it ever surface—and that is how it has been used by the prosecution. Excerpts from Williams' book made up the bulk of the D.A.'s papers opposing the Beverly deposition. The D.A.'s reply to the new PCRA papers relies so heavily on Williams' lies that it does not bother to make a single substantial argument against the 272 pages of PCRA material. As Jamal's new attorneys state in the PCRA petition: "Jamal's interest lay in proving his innocence, overturning his conviction and death sentence and winning his freedom. There can be no strategic, tactical or rational reason for his own attorneys to have suppressed the evidence of his innocence."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows what the racist death penalty is all about. A legacy of medieval barbarism and, in the case of the U.S., black chattel slavery, the death penalty is the ultimate sanction in the capitalist state apparatus of repression against workers and minorities. The capitalist rulers want to kill Mumia in order to send a chilling message to all those who challenge cop terror in the ghettos, who stand up for labour's rights on the picket lines, who protest U.S. imperialist mass murder abroad.

The U.S. bipartisan rush to speed up the pace of legal lynching, exemplified by the 1996 act now wielded by Yohn against Jamal, led two years ago to the highest rate of executions in nearly 50 years. At the same time, popular support for the death penalty is at its lowest point in more than two decades, as ever more cases come to light of innocent people sentenced to death. The Partisan Defence Committee opposes the death penalty on principle, for the guilty as well as the innocent. We do not accord the state the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

Yohn's decision, as does every previous court ruling in Jamal's case, highlights that fighters for Mumia's freedom can have no illusions that justice will be found in the courts of the capitalist class. Mass protest centred on the social power of the multiracial labour movement is not only urgently needed to win Mumia's freedom but would strike a blow against the whole capitalist frame-up system. ■



Spartacist-initiated Revolutionary Contingent at 12 May Jamal rally in San Francisco.

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

Black History and the Class Struggle

South African Workers Battle ANC Neo-Apartheid Rule

No. 15 \$1 (48 pages)

No. 16 \$1 (48 pages)

Make cheques payable/mail to:
Spartacist ANZ Publishing Co., GPO Box 3473, Sydney NSW 2001

New Legal Defence Fund Contributions Urgently Needed!

Mumia's new legal team is challenging the frame-up with the explosive new evidence of his innocence. Your donations are urgently needed to help pursue efforts in the courts to fight for his freedom.

Send contributions earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal" to Partisan Defence Committee, P.O. Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230 which will forward the full amount to the Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048, USA.



**Overthrow the Imperialist Butchers—
For Global Workers Rule!**

Blood and Bullets in Genoa



Riot cops in Genoa charge past body of Carlo Giuliani, 20 July. Killing sparked mass protests, including 30,000 in Rome (right) on 24 July. Reuters



AP

The following article is based on eyewitness reports by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) and is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 762, 3 August), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

MILANO, July 30—As the imperialist rulers met in palatial surroundings at the Group of 8 (G-8) summit in Genoa (Genova), the rest of the city was subjected to one of the biggest “security” buildups in Italy since the downfall of Mussolini’s fascist regime and the end of World War

II. Cops killed at least one young protester in cold blood on July 20 and carried out repeated rampages against thousands of others. On Saturday, July 21, after the “anti-globalization” demonstrations in Genoa had come to an end, the police staged Gestapo-style raids in the dead of night against a number of protest headquarters, including the Genoa Social Forum (GSF), smashing into sleeping protesters with their nightsticks and leaving the floors and walls spattered with blood.

At least 49 people remain under arrest. Hundreds more were tortured by cops

screaming fascist slogans, while for days political police prowled the hospitals looking to round up those who were injured. Initial reports of a second demonstrator, a young woman, killed by the cops have been utterly buried by the bourgeois media. But with dozens still reported as “missing,” there is no way of knowing how many protesters may actually be dead. *Il Manifesto* (25 July) reported that a doctor had told Rifondazione Comunista (RC) parliamentarians that a young woman named Lisa had been killed. It also reported that a protester in Alessandria Prison “had seen a woman

being shot in the throat with a tear gas canister, fall down and get hit by a police jeep,” adding that he was “sure she was dead.” A subsequent article reported that 18 of the “disappeared” might still be held in police barracks because “evidence of beatings on their bodies was too serious and too visible” to let them be seen in public (*Il Manifesto*, 28 July).

The outrage provoked by the massive police repression in Genoa has created a sharp polarization within Italian society. The day after the killing of 23-year-old protester Carlo Giuliani, the son of *continued on page 8*

Mumia Abu-Jamal in Peril

Judge Bars New Evidence of Innocence

The Partisan Defence Committee is distributing the following statement issued by the U.S. PDC on 26 July.

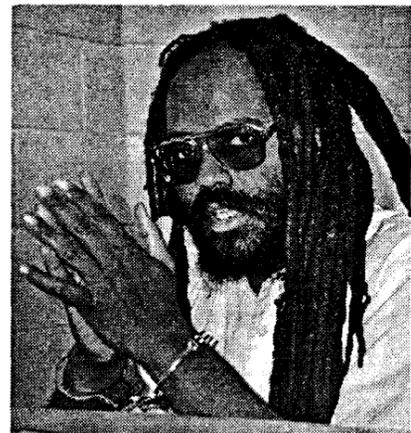
In a 19 July “memorandum and order,” U.S. district court judge William Yohn ruled in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Mumia Abu-Jamal’s innocence. Yohn has barred the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he was “paid to shoot and kill” Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in December 1981, the killing for which Jamal was framed up and railroaded to death row. While Yohn stopped short of

turning down Mumia’s federal *habeas corpus* appeal outright, this ruling brings Jamal a huge step closer to the execution chamber. His fate must not be allowed to rest in the rigged scales of the racist capitalist “justice” system that perpetrated his frame-up in the first place. The Partisan Defence Committee calls on all working people, all opponents of racist injustice, all death penalty abolitionists—in the U.S. and internationally—to mobilise on the streets and in protest strikes to demand: **Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!**

Yohn’s order is wantonly malicious in

every respect. Responding to a request by Jamal’s new legal team that Beverly be deposed in court in order to safeguard his testimony, Yohn went far beyond that particular issue to try to bury the new evidence of Jamal’s innocence, even gratuitously advising the Pennsylvania state court to reject the new Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) papers filed by Jamal earlier this month. Yohn even invokes the infamous 1993 *Herrera* decision that evidence of innocence was no bar to execution. Parrotting the prosecution’s line, Yohn argues:

“I cannot conclude that petitioner has alleged information sufficient to estab-



Workers Vanguard

lish that had the statements contained in the Beverly declaration been presented at trial, no reasonable juror would have found petitioner guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.... Moreover, given that the state presented evidence of four eyewitnesses, none of which corroborates Beverly’s story, a reasonable juror still could have found petitioner guilty beyond a reasonable doubt.”

Only yesterday, the *New York Times* (which has not breathed a word of the new evidence in Jamal’s case) reported: “A Bronx man was freed from prison yesterday by a federal judge who said that he never would have been convicted

continued on page 11