

Women Workers and the Fight for Socialist Revolution

Indonesia Seethes Under IMF Austerity

**Down With
Anti-Chinese Terror!
Independence for
East Timor!**

We print below in edited form a presentation by Spartacist League of Australia spokesman Margaret Rodda at an SLA forum in Sydney on March 27.

Two weeks ago, amid growing social turmoil in Indonesia over the economic crisis racking Asia, the dictator Suharto was re-elected to a seventh term as president. In mid-February, the government banned public protests and deployed massive police and army forces on the streets in an attempt to ensure order. Nevertheless, large anti-Suharto protests have occurred almost daily on universities across Java over the past month. These have been met with fierce repression whenever students have tried to take the protests outside the campuses.

Indonesia is a powder keg. Engulfed by the Asian financial crisis, the Indonesian rupiah has undergone a massive devaluation—some 70 to 80 percent since July 1997. Business collapses, soaring prices and shortages of goods have led to panic buying and so-called “food riots,” raising the spectre of economic chaos and further social unrest. Already bridling under the extreme corruption of the Suharto dictatorship, the middle class has had its expectations of success under the Asian “economic miracle” utterly dashed as international market forces hit home.

For the working class, the austerity measures dictated by the imperialist bloodsuckers of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) mean deepening immiseration. Millions have already been laid off, with building and factory workers worst hit. Unemployment is now officially reported to be 8 million, rising from 2.5 million in mid-1997. The state-run SPSP (All Indonesia Workers Union) predicts that the number of workers who don't earn enough to cover their daily needs will reach 40 million out of a workforce of 90 million this year. The situation has been heightened by the worst drought in 50 years, with villagers pouring into cities like Jakarta in search of work. While the economic crisis has sparked worker unrest, it has also fed the growth of Islamic fervour. This has had serious consequences not only for the largely Christian Chinese minority, who have met with violence and arson at the hands of rampaging mobs, but for women workers who have played an increasingly



Reuters

Riot police attack student demonstrators in Surabaya, eastern Java, in early March. As prices skyrocket and food shortages spread under IMF dictates, protests against Suharto regime have swept Indonesian campuses.

strong role in strikes and protests.

From Thailand and Indonesia to the Philippines, massive imperialist investment over the past two decades, centrally by Japanese capital, has created a vibrant, young proletariat. This is the force which can and must fight to sweep away the bloodsoaked Suharto dictatorship, not by looking for an alliance with an illusory “democratic” wing of Indonesian capitalism, but through socialist revolution against the entire capitalist-landlord ruling class and its imperialist patrons.

To lead this struggle to victory requires the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party which seeks to link the class struggles in Indonesia with those of workers throughout Asia and across the world. The road to the emancipation of the working class of the region—and with them women, the peasantry and oppressed ethnic and national minorities—lies in the fight for a

socialist federation of Southeast Asia, linked to the struggle for proletarian revolution in Japan, Australia, the U.S. and other imperialist powers and for workers political revolution in China to stop the threat of capitalist restoration there.

The Family: Mainstay of Social Reaction

Fighting for the right to organise in independent trade unions and for wage increases and better working conditions, including maternity leave rights, women have played a militant role in workers' struggles against the Suharto dictatorship over the past decade. This is exemplified by the case of Marsinah, a young militant who became a hero to millions of women and youth after she was brutally murdered in the wake of labour struggles in East Java in 1993. Many of these new proletarians are recently arrived from vil-

lages where traditional jobs have been replaced by mechanisation or lost through encroaching urbanisation. While horribly exploited in the factories, these young women also find some freedom from the social pressures of family and village life, particularly the pressure to marry, including through arranged marriages.

Central to women's oppression in Indonesia, as in all class societies, is the institution of the family—an economic and social unit subjugating women as dependent domestic slaves and serving, along with organised religion, as a mainstay of social reaction. Suharto's “New Order” military regime, ushered in with the horrific 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath in which over half a million people were slaughtered, has strongly inculcated an ideology relegating women to the role of wife and mother. In 1974, the government passed a national marriage law which in its original form provoked widespread revolt from Islamic leaders because it threatened to abolish polygamy and weaken the role of the Islamic courts which mainly deal with family law and inheritance. To appease the Islamists, the final, revised law codified and greatly expanded the role of Islamic courts, allowing as well for the institution of polygamy, although somewhat circumscribed. The law also codified the wife's role as family housekeeper and the husband's as the family protector and provider.

The regime's key vehicles for inculcating this ideology have been government-controlled women's organisations such as Dharma Wanita and particularly the PKK (Family Welfare Movement) which permeates both urban and rural areas throughout the Indonesian archipelago.

continued on page 5



Richburg/Washington Post

Nike plant in Indonesian city of Serang. Superexploited women workers, drawn into factory production during economic boom, are now threatened with mass layoffs.



City Fathers' Dirty Deal with KKK

CHICAGO—In February, the race-terrorist Ku Klux Klan announced that it would hold an anti-immigration rally in the notoriously racist town of Cicero, outside Chicago. Evoking the racist spectre of black Chicago "gangs" descending on Cicero, town "elders" first denied the Klan a permit and then cut a sinister deal to *distribute the fascists' genocidal propaganda for them*. At a joint press conference with KKK "Imperial Grand Dragon" Jeffery Berry, Cicero town president Betty Loren-Maltese declared: "They could say whatever they wanted to. And it would cost the town a lot less than a rally" (*Berwyn-Cicero Life*, 8 March). At the last minute, the Klan decided not to take advantage of the racist officials' offer.

As Wisconsin Klan *fürher* Michael McQueeney said in federal court, in picking Cicero for their race-hate provocation, "We didn't just throw darts on the map" (*Chicago Defender*, 5 March). Adjacent to Chicago's sprawling West Side ghetto, Cicero has a long and vicious history as a racist enclave where blacks literally risk their lives after dark. It was here in 1966 that Martin Luther King Jr. backed out of a march for open housing in exchange for a "summit agreement" with Chicago's Democratic mayor, Richard "Boss" Daley Sr. When activists

from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee went ahead with the march, they were brutally attacked by a racist mob whipped into a frenzy by area Nazis.

This event helped mark the defeat of the liberal-led civil rights movement, which ran aground as it came north. Having attained the abolition of formal Jim Crow segregation in the South, which even the U.S. ruling class began to view as a liability, the pro-Democratic Party liberals had no answer to the grinding poverty, dilapidated housing and rampant cop terror in the ghettos, which are rooted in the American capitalist economic system. Thirty years later, Cicero is still only 0.2 percent black. At the same time, it has a growing Hispanic population—now making up over a third of the town's residents—which the Klan had in its sights when it announced its plan to rally there.

Outrageously, the deal cooked up by Loren-Maltese was *welcomed* by black liberals like Mark Allen of Operation PUSH/Rainbow Coalition, on the grounds that it's easier to ignore Klan literature than a KKK rally (*Chicago Tribune*, 13 March)! Meanwhile, the reformists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) initially praised the racist Cicero

officials, proclaiming that "unlike other cities which have granted the KKK rally permits without a fight, Cicero town officials fought the racists' request for a permit" (*Socialist Worker*, 13 March). ISO claims that anti-racists "won" in Cicero (*Socialist Worker*, 27 March) only show how deep its touching faith in the capitalist state runs. But from the beginning, the city officials showed their true colors by threatening to arrest anti-KKK protesters and then volunteering their services to distribute the Klan's race-hate screeds themselves.

The Klan/Nazi terrorists will be defeated neither through such appeals to the racist capitalist government to stop them nor through self-defeating confrontations between handfuls of militants and the fas-

cists with their racist cop protectors, as put forward by the Progressive Labor Party. It will take mass mobilizations centered on the multiracial labor movement—marching at the head of blacks, Hispanics, gays, Jews and all of the Klan's intended victims—to crush the fascists in the egg. This requires a political struggle against the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops, who chain labor to the class enemy principally through support to the capitalist Democratic Party. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, inculcating among workers the understanding that they must fight for a socialist revolution to put an end to the entire racist capitalist system which breeds the fascist vermin. ■

Chicago Cop Vendetta Against Black Youth

Defend Jeremiah Mearday!

Jeremiah Mearday, the black teenager who was savagely beaten and framed up by Chicago cops last September (see "Protests Hit Cop Terror in Chicago," WV No. 681, 2 January), has once again been subjected to violent attack and false arrest by the vindictive, racist thugs in uniform. The following letter of protest by the Partisan Defense Committee was sent on March 27 to Richard Devine, State's Attorney for Cook County, Illinois.

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the continuing racist police vendetta against Jeremiah Mearday and demands that all charges against Mearday be dropped.

On Thursday, March 19, for the second time in six months, Chicago cops beat and arrested Mearday on bogus charges, this time framing him on serious felony counts of aggravated battery and possession of a controlled substance.

This frame-up is an obvious and blatant act of retaliation, following just one week after the Police Board fired the two police officers who beat Mearday last September. The Police Board acknowledged that the cops pressed bogus resisting arrest charges against Mearday as part of a conspiracy to cover their own racist brutality—yet your office contin-



Wagner/Chicago Tribune

Jeremiah Mearday

ues to prosecute those phony charges!

The new police attack and false prosecution is pure and simple "payback" designed to teach Mearday (and other black youth) a "lesson" because he has put up a legal and political fight to expose the racist frame-up and beating he endured last September. Because he refused to lie down and submit to their racist terror, Mearday has now become a "marked man" in the eyes of the Chicago police.

We demand: Drop all the charges against Jeremiah Mearday! ■



TROTSKY

Bolshevism and the Struggle Against National Chauvinism

The Bolshevik Party led by V.I. Lenin championed national-democratic rights in the tsarist "prison house of peoples" as a necessary weapon in forging proletarian class consciousness. This included opposing the imposition of Russian as the official language of state, education and public life. It was only the October Revolution of 1917, placing the working class in power, which opened the door to national liberation and

equality for the peoples of the former tsarist empire. In struggling for an American proletarian revolution, we combat "English-only" chauvinism and all other forms of national and racial oppression.

Insofar as national peace is in any way possible in a capitalist society based on exploitation, profit-making and strife, it is attainable only under a consistently and thoroughly democratic republican system of government which guarantees full equality of all nations and languages, which recognises no compulsory official language, which provides the people with schools where instruction is given in all the native languages, and the constitution of which contains a fundamental law that prohibits any privileges whatsoever to any one nation and any encroachment whatsoever upon the rights of a national minority....

The interests of the working class demand the amalgamation of the workers of all the nationalities in a given state in united proletarian organisations—political, trade union, co-operative, educational, etc. This amalgamation of the workers of different nationalities in single organisations will alone enable the proletariat to wage a victorious struggle against international capital and reaction, and combat the propaganda and aspirations of the landowners, clergy and bourgeois nationalists of all nations, who usually cover up their anti-proletarian aspirations with the slogan of "national culture." The world working-class movement is creating and daily developing more and more an international proletarian culture.

—V.I. Lenin, "Resolutions of the Summer 1913 Joint Conference of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. and Party Officials" (September 1913)



LENIN

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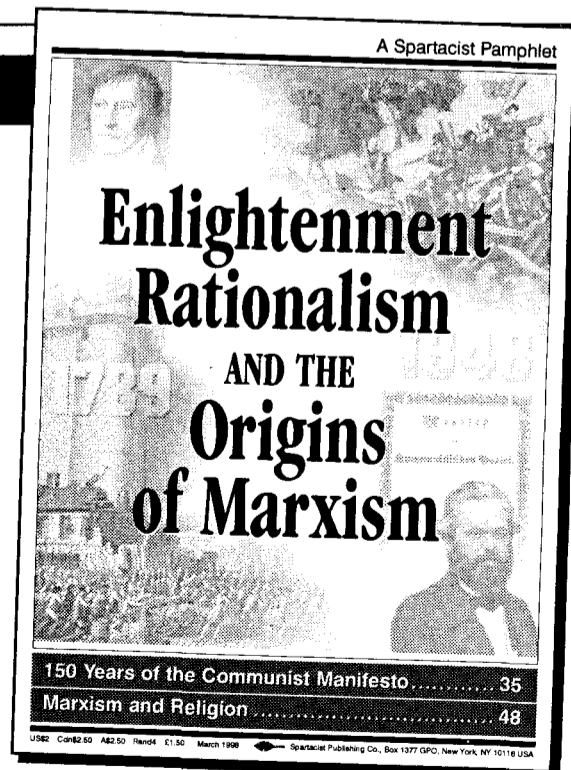
Just Out!

This pamphlet reprints presentations given by SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour on the origins of Marxism in the French Enlightenment and in left Hegelianism. Also included are "150 Years of the Communist Manifesto" and "Marxism and Religion."

In the retrograde climate of post-Soviet reaction, the struggle to reassert the validity of the program and purpose of revolutionary Marxism is crucial for our fight for new October Revolutions.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

Brooklyn's Maimonides Hospital Victory to the Nurses Strike!

APRIL 6—In an important labor battle for all hospital workers in the area, more than 700 members of the New York State Nurses Association (NYSNA) have gone on strike at Maimonides Medical Center, the second-largest hospital in Brooklyn. Since the strike began on March 30, management has brought in scores of scabs from a Denver-based strikebreaking outfit, the United Nursing Corporation. This union-busting must be stopped through mass picket lines that no one crosses!

Rather than carry out this basic act of labor solidarity, the leadership of the powerful Local 1199 health and hospital workers union has its members waltzing across the picket lines. Local 1199, whose contract expires in the coming months, and the Committee of Interns and Residents which is embroiled in a union organizing drive at the hospital, must join this strike as an elementary act of self-defense.

The multiracial strikers, many of them immigrants from the Philippines, South Asia and the West Indies, had been working without a contract since December 31. The hospital bosses provoked the strike by shelving a popular flexible work schedule. Despite the fact that Maimonides is raking in huge profits, management is trying to ram down the union's throat a give-back contract which would force nurses to pay for their own long-term disability insurance, eliminate premium pay for senior nurses and gut

Nurses picket line at Maimonides Hospital (right). April 1 union rally against threat of layoffs at Harlem Hospital. Health care workers face massive cutbacks, union-busting attacks.



Callan/Brooklyn Papers



WV Photo

medical and tuition reimbursement plans. In a serious threat to the quality of patient care, the Maimonides bosses want to further cut costs by switching

nurses to departments for which they are not trained.

The attack on the Maimonides nurses is the latest in a series of assaults on ben-

efits and pay scales at hospitals in and around New York City. The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation recently announced plans to lay off 900 hospital workers, further eroding the already dismal health care available to the city's black and Hispanic poor. On April 1, 500 workers from AFSCME Local 420, representing public hospital workers, joined by other trade unionists, protested plans for layoffs at the Harlem Hospital Medical Center, the only public hospital left in Harlem.

These cuts are only the latest in a series of blows by the capitalist rulers against health care, particularly for the poor and working people. While doing nothing to mobilize the real power of labor to fight these attacks, the pro-capitalist union tops promote phony "friend of labor" Democrats like U.S. Senate candidate Geraldine Ferraro, who made an appearance on the NYSNA picket lines. Local 1199 leader Dennis Rivera is himself a key leader of the state Democratic Party. And long before Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani took the ax to city services and jobs, Democratic mayor and racist pig Ed Koch shoved the closing of Sydenham Hospital down the throats of Harlem residents. His successor, black Democrat David Dinkins, oversaw the gutting of thousands of city and industrial jobs even as he hired 6,000 more cops. Austerity is the program of both capitalist parties.

The same bosses who oversee the deadly hospital cutbacks scream that striking unionists "endanger" the health of patients. What chutzpah! It is the capitalist profit system which denies or limits health care to vast portions of society and is responsible for the resurgence of diseases of poverty like tuberculosis. Free quality health care for all! Victory to the nurses strike! ■

Letters

"I Am Not Now and Have Never Been..."

The following was written in response to a Young Spartacus article, "ISO Threatens SYCer at S.F. State: Goons for Liberalism" (WV No. 686, 13 March), which noted a flurry of Internet messages prompted by a Spartacus Youth Club leaflet protesting the International Socialist Organization's thuggery. In the article, the writer of this letter was identified (evidently inaccurately) as having been an ISOer when he helped the ISO exclude the SL from a 1991 conference opposing the Persian Gulf War—an act he has come to regret. Nonetheless, in asserting that the ISO is committed to "revolution or nothing," he maintains an incapacity to appreciate the ISO's abject reformism, which is the motor force for the exclusionism and thuggery they employ to try to silence our revolutionary politics.

24 March 1998

Dear Workers Vanguard,

Imagine my surprise when a comrade told me I had been selectively quoted from my e-mail AND been libeled as having been a member of the ISO. While I have no objection to the comrades at WV quoting from me, since I am anti-copyright, a note saying that you were doing so would have been comradely.

However, what I AM upset about is that you have libeled me as a former ISOer. I have NEVER been a member of the International Socialist Organization, though I have worked with it on three occasions. Nowhere in my post does it say I was a member of the ISO. While you did not use my name (thank you), anyone who is a reader of both a.p.s.t. [an Internet bulletin board] and WV could easily figure out that you

were referring to me.

Let me make my relationship to the ISO perfectly clear for you. Theoretically the ISO and I are light years apart. I actually read Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, etc. I can analyze events for myself rather than relying on a leadership based in London to make all my decisions for me. In the real world, I can fight for actual reforms while keeping my eye on the prize, revolution. For them, it's the revolution or nothing.

The regretful act I took part in, keeping the SL comrades out of the planning con-

ference, was done when I was not a member of any socialist organization. At the time I felt (and still do feel, for that matter) that the SL was showing the students who had been busting their butts to put the conference together a high level of disrespect. The SL had not done what EVERY other group had done, which was to complete some minor paperwork (so we knew how much space to set aside for each group) and pay a small fee.

In retrospect, I feel that the SL should have been allowed to set up their lit table, if they paid the fee then, which they offered to do. We make mistakes, we learn from them, and we fight on.

With revolutionary regards,
M.L.

On Democratic Rights

31 March 1998

Dear WV,

Why is the PDC defending six CIA agents?

I really don't get it!

Warm regards,
Bob Malecki

WV Replies

In our article "Star Chamber Hearings—U.S. Moves to Deport Own Iraqi Agents" (WV No. 687, 27 March), we noted that the star chamber deportation proceedings used against the six CIA operatives represented "a threat not only to all immigrants but to the civil liberties of everyone in the U.S." In this case, the defense team was even denied the right to see the government's evidence until they were joined by a former CIA director—who had a security clearance!

The raft of anti-immigration and "anti-terrorism" laws adopted over the past decade have ominously sought to eliminate basic democratic protections, such as the right of due process. Because we are opposed to the enhancement of the capitalist state's machinery of repression,

we condemn these police-state laws and star chamber proceedings, even when those in the dock are Iraqi CIA agents.

As Leninists, we understand that democratic rights are indivisible. Our readers may recall that when the feds went after the Unification Church of the sinister Rev. Sun Myung Moon, denying it status as a "legitimate" religious organization and aiming to pry into the Moonies' financial records, we saw this as a dangerous precedent which would be used against left organizations and unions. The PDC and Spartacist League submitted an *amicus* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court in Moon's defense, just a short time after his *Washington Times* had published a deadly libel—subsequently retracted—against the SL-initiated labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982.

In short, if the U.S. government can do this to the CIA's Iraqi operatives, imagine what they will try to do to other immigrants, working-class militants and leftists. ■

Spartacist 4 Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Selected Monday evenings, 7 p.m.
Next classes, April 13: **China on the Brink: Stalinism—Gravedigger of Revolutions**; April 20: **Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism**; Harvard University Memorial Hall, Room 303
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays. Next classes,
April 9: **Black Oppression—Bedrock of U.S. Capitalism: The Fight for Revolutionary Integrationism**; New York University Loeb Student Center, 8 p.m., Room 513

April 23: **Confronting the Death of Communism Myth—The Revolutionary Party in the Post-Soviet World**; New York University Loeb Student Center, 8:30 p.m., Room 411
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

TORONTO

National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle Independence for Quebec!
Saturday, April 18, 7:30 p.m.
St. Paul's Centre
427 Bloor Street West
(just west of Spadina subway)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

U.S. Troops Out of Korea Now!

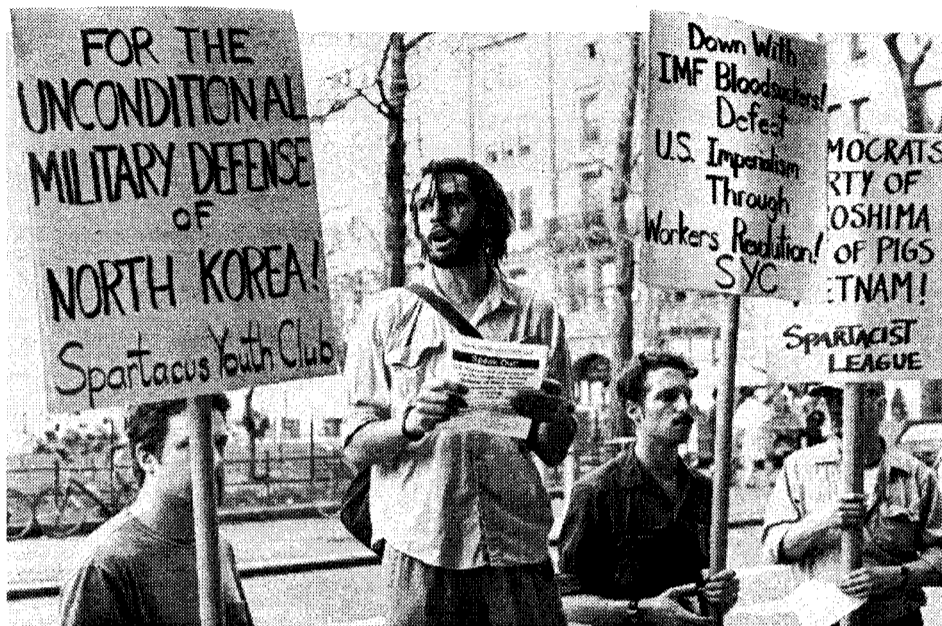
Late last month, "peace" talks aimed at bringing the 1950-53 Korean War to a formal close collapsed as the U.S. delegation refused to even discuss North Korea's demand for the removal of American troops stationed in South Korea. Beginning on March 26, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs held demonstrations across the country in opposition to U.S. imperialism and its military forces in Korea. Since the end of the Korean War, American troops have propped up the brutal capitalist regime in the South against the volatile working class, which is now chafing under austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund, and have directly threatened the bureaucratically deformed workers state in the North.

The Spartacist/SYC speakouts—at Pasadena City College, the University of Massachusetts at Boston, San Francisco State University, New York University and the University of Chicago—also demanded: Down with IMF bloodsuckers! Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! For the unconditional military defense of the North Korean deformed workers state! And on April 4, our comrades of the Spartacus Youth Group, youth organization of the Spartacist League/Britain, demonstrated at the University of London under the call, "Protest Kim Dae Jung, president of South Korean police state!" as Kim was speaking there.

Besides demanding the release of all victims of police-state repression in South Korea, the SYG denounced the British capitalist government of Tony Blair's Labour Party, which most recently acted as the main backers in the international arena of U.S. imperialism's threatened terror bombing of Iraq in January. As SYG spokesman Melanie Kelly noted: "The Labour Party has always been pro-imperialist and anti-communist. We of the International Communist League fight for the revolutionary overthrow of British imperialism. From the days when the Empire lorded it over the colonial peoples, to decaying British capitalism today, racist British imperialism has waged war on workers and minorities at home and abroad."

We reprint below a speech by Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club comrade

Spartacist/SYC Speakouts



March 30: Spartacist rallies at New York University (above) and Pasadena City College.



Michelle Oberman at the March 30 Pasadena speakout.

We demand: U.S. troops out of Korea now! The almost 40,000 American troops stationed in Korea since the end of the

Korean War in 1953 represent the spearhead of the American imperialists' efforts to impose domination over Asia. The troops pose a direct threat to the deformed workers states of North Korea and China. We call for the unconditional mil-

itary defense of North Korea and China against the threat of capitalist counter-revolution and imperialist attack!

At the same time, the presence of the American military in Korea propped up the authoritarian South Korean regime of Kim Dae Jung. The government in Seoul survives with the direct support of the U.S. imperialist army, which enables it to enforce the police-state suppression of all political dissent. In its brutal repression of labor uprisings and student protests, the South Korean government has rounded up thousands of trade unionists and student activists under the draconian National Security Law for allegedly having pro-North sympathies.

It is the elementary duty of the international working class and anti-imperialist youth to rally to the defense of the workers and students of South Korea in struggle against capitalist repression. We demand the immediate release of all jailed South Korean labor militants and leftist students!

Any serious strike in South Korea immediately comes up against the capitalist police state. In May 1980, radical student protesters backed by the powerful working class launched a heroic mass uprising which took over the city of Kwangju for one week. The South Korean government was only able to put down the uprising because its U.S. imperialist overlords provided direct support. The South Korean government declared martial law and sent in the army to brutally crush the uprising, massacring 2,000 people and arresting tens of thousands. American government documents show that the U.S. was prepared to intervene militarily if their South Korean puppets were unable to crush the Kwangju uprising on their own.

Before the capitalist counterrevolution in 1991, the Soviet Union served as the main obstacle to imperialist aggression in Korea. The Spartacus Youth Club calls for the unconditional military defense of North Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba! But with the Soviet degenerated workers state gone, the deformed workers states in Asia are in great danger.

Other leftist groups, like the Progressive Labor Party—which called the former Soviet Union a "fascist state"—march right in step with the anti-communism of

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Japanese Spartacists' Statement to Korea Protests

We print below a March 29 statement by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League, addressed to the Spartacist League/SYC protests against imperialist troops in Korea.

The Spartacist Group Japan sends revolutionary greetings to your demonstration.

The North Korean deformed workers state was created in 1945 with the rout of fleeing Japanese imperial army troops by the Soviet Red Army. Since that time, the Japanese and American bourgeoisies have been on a relentless drive to destroy North Korea. Today, the imperialists are attempting to starve the North Koreans into submission while the viciously chauvinist Japanese ruling class has refused to ship them one grain of the 3.5 million tons of rice it is hoarding.

The Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945 was one of untold horror. More than 100,000 Korean women were forced into sexual slavery and more than one million men were brought

to Japan to work as forced laborers during the Pacific War, as the Japanese imperialists vied with their American counterparts for mastery over Asia and the Pacific.

Today, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, rivalries between competing imperialist powers are heating up—in the Pacific region, between Japan and the U.S. The ruling class of both countries and their labor lieutenants push protectionist poison preparing for a new inter-imperialist slaughter. As Lenin wrote of World War I, this war would be a war "between the biggest slave-holders for the maintenance and consolidation of slavery." The main enemy is at home! The main enemy of the Japanese proletariat is in Tokyo! It is the job of the American proletariat to settle accounts with its own rulers.

As the Japanese and U.S. capitalists compete for spheres of exploitation and influence, they are still militarily allied under the ANPO pact, a dagger aimed

at China, Vietnam and North Korea. The proletariat of Japan and America must join together to defend these workers states against imperialism's counterrevolutionary designs. Smash the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!

We, the Japanese section of the International Communist League, seek to build a multinational, multiracial Leninist-Trotskyist party that fights for full citizenship rights for Koreans and other minorities. We fight to build a revolutionary party that will sweep the rapists of Nanjing and the enslavers of the "comfort women" into the dustbin of history. It is only under the red flag of a Japanese workers republic that the countless victims of Japanese imperialism will be avenged.

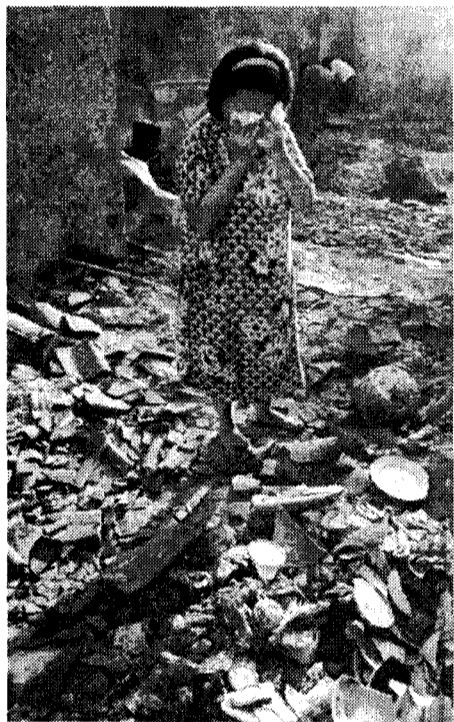
**For unconditional military defense of North Korea!
For a workers revolution in the South and for proletarian political revolution in the North!
For the revolutionary reunification of Korea!**

Indonesia...

(continued from page 1)

These organisations promote the doctrine of *Panca Dharma Wanita*—the “Five Duties of Women.” This is a companion piece to the regime’s *Panca Sila* doctrine, which has been promoted from the time of Sukarno, Indonesia’s first nationalist ruler following independence from the Dutch in 1948. Where *Panca Sila* puts forward the five “principles” of belief in one god, humanism, patriotism, democracy and social justice, *Panca Dharma Wanita* lays out the five basic roles making up the fundamental oppression of women in the family: companion and supporter of one’s husband, caretaker of the household, producer of future generations, prime socialiser of children and an Indonesian citizen.

At the same time, the contingencies of economic development have required the government to encourage women to take on employment outside the home, even as they are supposed to maintain their primary role within the family. Increased participation by women in the workforce has been accompanied by greater access to education, at least for a layer of women, along with declining birth rates, delayed marriages and greater population mobility. One reflection of the position of middle-class and bourgeois women in Indonesian society, where economic



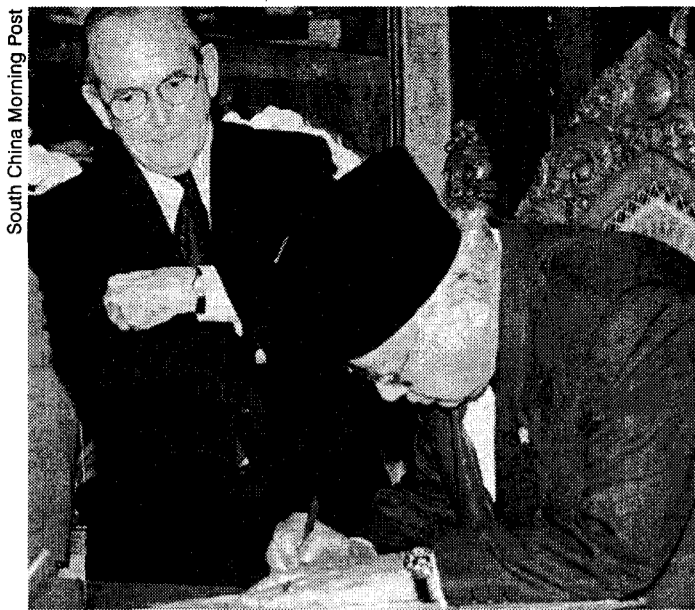
AP
Chinese shop owner victimized in racist riots.

development has taken place alongside continuing social backwardness, is the development of a distinct but small Islamic feminist movement which tries to bridge the unbridgeable gulf between access to the modern world and the demands of religion and the family.

Imperialist capital investment has also led to the emergence of an urbanised and educated, though deeply exploited, proletariat, particularly in manufacturing. Twenty million workers live in urban areas like the Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasih industrial belt. Women, particularly those who come from villages and have little education, form the bulk of superexploited workers in the prison-like factories in such areas. Huge factory complexes in Tangerang are surrounded by barbed wire and patrolled by “ex”-military guards. Workers housed within the compounds—three or four to a cell—are not allowed to leave without permission. Despite such hellish conditions, the ability of women to work outside the home means that their relationship to male workers increasingly becomes one of comrades in the class struggle, not household slaves shut away from the world.

The struggle for women’s emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle to overthrow the system of capitalist exploitation. We fight to end patriarchal practices oppressive to women, like the polygamy system and the bride price—legacies of social backwardness which

IMF chief Michel Camdessus watches as Indonesian dictator Suharto signs imperialist-dictated austerity plan.



South China Morning Post

are today upheld by religious reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers. Women’s liberation can only come about through socialist revolution extending to the advanced capitalist countries. In a socialist planned economy, the family as a social unit will be replaced by socialisation of childcare and household duties. Only then can relationships be entered into freely and without economic compulsion.

As in the 1917 Russian Revolution, women workers will be in the forefront of the fight against capitalist and semi-feudal enslavement in Indonesia. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky said in 1924 of the newly liberated Muslim women of the Soviet East: “There will be no better communist in the East, no better fighter for the ideas of the Revolution... than the awakened woman worker.”

Indonesian Prison House of Peoples

An important question addressing the oppression of women in Indonesia is abortion, which is illegal. This issue was highlighted earlier this year when a number of doctors and nurses were arrested for performing abortions and their clinics closed and files seized. At the same time, abortions are reportedly not uncommon among middle-class women, who have greater access to education and a certain degree of personal freedom, along with the money to pay for the procedure. For poor and working-class women, access to free, safe abortion is an explosive issue. There is a huge stigma attached to pregnancy outside marriage, with illegitimate children and their mothers shunned by society. According to a report in the *Sydney Morning Herald* (3 January), 1994 statistics revealed that 450 out of every 100,000 pregnant women died in Indonesia—the highest maternal death rate in Southeast Asia. Sixteen percent of these deaths were reportedly from unsafe abortions.

The fight for free abortion on demand is closely linked to the struggle for free, quality health care for all. Medical care in Indonesia is poor even by standards for the so-called “developing” world. Along with very high rates of death in childbirth are high infant mortality rates. In the countryside, some 80 percent of pregnant women and children under five years of age are undernourished. This situation is aggravated by the collapse of the rupiah and skyrocketing costs for goods like medical supplies.

With a population of over 200 million, Indonesia is the fourth-largest and one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The Suharto regime has pursued an aggressive population control program, from which single women are excluded. While the government’s KB (*Keluarga Berencana*) program provides free access to contraception for married women, many have been threatened or bribed into participating. These pressures are intensified by the involvement of the Indonesian military (ABRI) in the program as part of its so-called “dual function” in military and civilian affairs—the recipe by which bloody military terror has been repeatedly unleashed to regiment and suppress the population.

Another aspect of the population control program is the regime’s “transmigration” policy, resettling landless poor from densely populated areas, particularly in Java, to outlying and ethnically distinct areas such as Irian Jaya and East Timor. This policy has stoked the flames of longstanding ethnic and religious unrest. For example, the East Timorese have been struggling for independence against the genocidal Indonesian military occupation since 1975. More than 200,000 East Timorese—fully *one-third* of the population—have died either by direct murder, such as the slaughter of over 200 demonstrators in the East Timor capital of Dili in 1991, or from disease and starvation.

The infant mortality rate in East Timor is one of the five worst in the world. East Timorese suffer high levels of malnutrition, TB, malaria and sexually transmitted diseases, while desperate economic conditions have led young women into prostitution or forced marriage. East Timorese women, who are largely Catholic and reject birth control on religious grounds, are often coerced into compliance, intimidated when visiting health care facilities where doctors and nurses are often accompanied by soldiers. Covert sterilisations and injections are widely suspected, such as when only female students at a senior high school were given alleged anti-tetanus injections. Such barbarity underscores the very real fear of the East Timorese that the Indonesian government intends to carry out the genocide of their people.

Only a revolutionary overthrow of the existing capitalist imperialist system can even *begin* to address the oppression, degradation and misery of women as well as the rights and emancipation of national minorities throughout the archipelago. Indonesia is a prison house of peoples—home to some 300 different ethnic and national groups who suffer under the repression of the Java-centred bourgeois regime. Most notably, there have been struggles for independence waged by the Acehnese of north Sumatra and the people of Irian Jaya, as well as by the East Timorese. We call for the

immediate independence of East Timor—not through appeals for some imperialist, UN-brokered deal as pushed by the Indonesian leftist People’s Democratic Party (PRD), but as part of the fight for workers revolution in Indonesia.

The reformist Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in Australia promotes the PRD’s class-collaborationist politics, fostering illusions in “democratic” Australian imperialism. However, we make clear that the Australian ruling class is no friend of the East Timorese or Indonesian masses. In a letter last December to the Australian immigration minister, the Partisan Defence Committee denounced the denial of entry visas to East Timorese activists at that time as “an act of blatant political censorship, underscoring the Australian government’s complicity in the Indonesian government’s slaughter and suppression in East Timor.” The letter went on: “Following the 1991 Dili massacre the Australian military stepped up its arming and training of the Indonesian military, including of the elite Kopassus counterinsurgency torture/killer units, who are the cutting edge of repression throughout the archipelago.” We also noted that this ban on East Timorese activists marked another step in the Australian government’s racist war on immigrants, refugees and Aborigines, the spearhead for broad-gauged attacks on the trade unions and the working class as a whole.

Islam as a Political Factor

Some 90 percent of Indonesia’s 203 million inhabitants describe themselves as Muslim, making Indonesia the largest Islamic country in the world. However, particularly on Java where Islamic beliefs were syncretised with pre-existing animist, Hindu and Buddhist traditions, a large proportion of Muslims have been described as *abangun* (nominal). Alongside the *abangun* are the *santri*, or devout, Muslims. Approximately 56 million belong to two organisations reflecting the main strands of *santri* Muslims: the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), based on the rural Islamic schools called *pesantren*, and the urban-based, “modernist” organisation Muhammadiyah. With widespread resentment among the new middle classes at the nepotism, cronyism and corruption of the Suharto clique, there has been an increasing “*santrification*” of *abangun* Muslims.

The Suharto regime has nurtured a special relationship with the “modernists,” reflected in shifts in the army leadership and in the formation in 1990 of the Indonesian Association of Muslim Intellectuals (ICMI), led by Suharto’s newly appointed vice president Habibie. Suharto has also sought to appease conservative Muslim interests by elevating the status of the Islamic courts and passing laws mandating, for example, compulsory religious instruction in the schools. In the late 1980s, registry offices were no longer permitted to perform marriages, making marriage between people of different religions virtually impossible to

continued on page 6



AFF
March 26: Malaysian security forces stand over bodies of “illegal” Indonesian immigrants they gunned down at detention camp. Thousands of immigrants are slated for deportation as financial crisis deepens.



Supri



AP

Hatred of Suharto regime has fed growth of bourgeois-nationalist and Islamic "opposition." Left: January march by supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri, banned leader of Indonesian Democratic Party. Right: May 1997 election rally for Islamic United Development Party (PPP).

Indonesia...

(continued from page 5)

obtain. The rise of Islam as a political factor in Indonesia can only be as a force for reaction. It is necessary to fight for the separation of state and religion and to combat theocratic reaction, including opposing discrimination against all religious minorities.

The past few years have seen an increasing number of violent attacks by Islamic mobs on Sino-Indonesians and Christian churches, such as the attacks that broke out in towns around Tasik-

sions. In 1994, the ban on teaching Chinese was eased and Chinese-language tourist pamphlets were permitted. However, restrictions on the import, sale or distribution of Chinese-language material remain in force, and the prominent display of Chinese characters on buildings is banned. This year, the Suharto government even banned public celebrations of the Chinese New Year.

Today, anti-Chinese attacks are reaching a level not seen since 1965. In the absence of a revolutionary proletarian party uniting workers across ethnic and national lines, discontent is likely to be further deflected in the direction of

straits to Malaysia and Singapore, where Chinese make up 30 and 78 percent of the population, respectively. There they often replace Chinese, Malay and Indian workers in the lowest-paid, hardest and dirtiest jobs. Over a million Indonesians legally worked overseas in 1997. Alongside them are an estimated equal number of so-called "illegal" workers, whose ranks have been swelled in the past year as thousands cross the straits to find work and even food. In the past three weeks, almost 4,000 Indonesians have been rounded up by Malaysian security forces, part of the mass of foreign workers throughout Southeast Asia who have

formed the rural sector, with peasant households displaced by development projects. One result has been a significant depopulation of villages, particularly of women. Those from rural areas moving to the cities in search of work cannot fail to notice the vast gulf between the rich and poor. In Jakarta alone, millions live in shantytowns without running water or electricity.

Indonesia is a country where Leon Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution is manifestly applicable. In the backward countries in this century, the epoch of imperialist decay, the democratic gains achieved by the earlier European bourgeois revolutions, such as political democracy and agrarian revolution, can no longer be carried out by bourgeois nationalists, who are weak and dependent on their imperialist masters. The 1917 Russian Revolution showed the way forward for countries like Indonesia. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the capitalist class was expropriated and a workers state erected on the foundations of a planned, collectivised economy—the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society. This happened in a country with a small but socially concentrated working class, alongside a large, backward peasantry and many national minorities.

The Bolshevik Revolution represented an enormous leap forward, particularly for women. The new Soviet government immediately removed all impediments to legal equality for women, giving them the right to vote, making marriage and divorce simple matters of civil registration, legalising abortion and outlawing discrimination against homosexuals. Day-care facilities and communal dining rooms and laundries were established to free women from household drudgery.

But in an isolated, backward country, these efforts could only hint at the possibilities for women had socialist revolution spread to the advanced industrial countries. In 1923-24, a consolidating, conservative bureaucracy led by Stalin usurped power through a political counterrevolution. Under the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country," the Stalinist bureaucracy opposed the fight for international extension of the revolution. It glorified the backwardness of the young Soviet state and reversed many of the Bolsheviks' measures to liberate women. Strangled by the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was finally destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. This was an enormous setback for workers and oppressed the world over. However, it was not communism that died in the Soviet Union, but its nationalist perversion, Stalinism. Today, we raise the call for new October Revolutions—the only solution to the wars and poverty rooted in capitalism.

No to Class Collaboration!

The austerity measures dictated by the U.S.-dominated IMF clearly illustrate the dependent nature of the national bourgeoisie in backward countries like Indonesia. With unrest mounting under the rule of the aging Suharto, the U.S. and



Community Aid Abroad

East Timorese in city of Dili demonstrating in 1991 for end to Indonesian military rule, moments before troops massacre over 200 people.

malaya in West Java in 1996. Today, the Chinese minority, which includes a fabulously wealthy elite, is being made a scapegoat for the economic crisis besetting Southeast Asia. The British television program *ITN World News* carried a report recently that at least one of the recent anti-Chinese pogroms, in the town of Praya on the island of Lombok, was organised by government security forces. In the wake of the attack, many Chinese residents simply fled, too frightened to reopen their shops. Muslim shopkeepers interviewed by ITN described how they were warned in advance by cops to stay out of the marketplace that day. They said that the "rioters" had never been seen in the village before, but had been bused in by the police. It was only when the mob, finding Chinese shops closed, moved on to non-Chinese areas that security forces stepped in.

The capitalist rulers have long fostered national and communal divisions to ward off multiethnic class struggle. Chinese Indonesians have historically been the target of racist reaction. In the 1965 bloodbath, ethnic Chinese were singled out by anti-Communist mobs. In the wake of the massacres, Chinese organisations affiliated with the Stalinist regime in Beijing were proscribed and all Chinese-language schools closed down. Only since the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and China and the expansion of tourism and trade between the two countries has Jakarta been compelled to make some conces-

pogroms. Every manifestation of anti-Chinese chauvinism must be fought down the line by class-conscious workers throughout Indonesia. Down with anti-Chinese terror!

Throughout Southeast Asia, there are millions of poor and working-class Chinese who are class brothers in the struggle against capitalist exploitation. The need for united, internationalist proletarian struggle is underlined by the fact that increasing numbers of Indonesian workers have been compelled to cross the

been deported since last summer. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

For Permanent Revolution!

Just as the Dutch plundered massive wealth from Indonesia during its colonial rule, the country today is a rich source of superprofits for the imperialists, with impoverished workers brutally exploited in the factories, oil fields, mines and rubber plantations. Particularly in land-starved Java, industrial expansion has trans-



Tempo

Women workers have played key role in labor struggles throughout Southeast Asia, as in this strike in Indonesia.

Nation Reporter Deported for Exposé

U.S. Trains Indonesian Death Squads

When protests triggered by IMF-imposed austerity broke out in Indonesia last fall, the Suharto regime was quick to call out the army to ensure "order." Battalions of the dreaded Kopassus Red Berets, which are notorious for widespread torture and killing of suspected political opponents, were rushed to the capital city, Jakarta. Lurking in the shadows were U.S. operatives, who were training Indonesian special forces in urban combat and carrying out joint military exercises with Jakarta's assassination teams.

The role of the U.S. special forces in Indonesia, where the capitalist regime has a long history of unleashing military terror against national and ethnic minorities, trade unionists and leftists, was revealed by journalist Allan Nairn in the *Nation* (30 March). Barely two days after the article appeared, and only hours after Nairn had held a press conference with opponents of the regime, he was seized by Indonesian police intelligence officers and summarily deported.

In his article, Nairn described how for the past five years the Pentagon has been running a secret training program for Indonesian military units, including Suharto's presidential guard as well as Kosrad, the army command unit responsible for Jakarta. But the main recipients of U.S. military training have been the Kopassus death squads. Since 1992, of 28 joint exercises carried out by the Indonesian military and U.S. Green Berets or Air Force units, 20 have been with Kopassus. In the summer of 1996, as military forces were brutally suppressing mass protests following an army/police assault on the headquarters of Megawati Sukarnoputri's Indonesian Democratic Party, a team from U.S. Special Operations Command-Pacific was flown in to train Kopassus and other units in their terror operations.

Several Democrats in Congress have waxed indignant over the continued training of Indonesian special forces despite a 1992 Congressional ban on funds for such efforts following the Suharto regime's massacre of more than

200 people in East Timor the year before. In fact, the Pentagon's collaboration with the Indonesian military butchers has been vastly expanded under a subsequent program, known as "Joint Combined Exchange and Training." While occasionally pontificating about "human rights" violations, the U.S. imperialists have long propped up the bloody Suharto dictatorship, beginning with the 1965 military coup and subsequent massacre of over half a million Communists and others—with hit lists supplied by the CIA (see "CIA's Hit List for 1965 Indonesia Massacre," WV No. 503, 1 June 1990).

Today, Washington is moving to shore up its military presence from Indonesia and Malaysia to the Philippines, reflecting intensified U.S.-Japanese imperialist rivalry in the region. This only underscores the necessity for internationalist proletarian struggle from Indonesia to Japan and the U.S., led by Trotskyist parties fighting to end imperialist depredation and police-state terror through world socialist revolution.



Forum Keadilan

other imperialists are likely to play a big role in deciding his succession. We warn against any support to such bourgeois "oppositionists" as Megawati Sukarnoputri—the daughter of Sukarno—who was banned in 1996 from running in the regime's rigged presidential "elections." A recent historical analogue was Washington's promoting of the aristocratic Cory Aquino in the Philippines as a successor to the venal, hated regime of Ferdinand Marcos in the mid-1980s. Backed by fake leftists such as the DSP, who mislead the workers movement into the trap of class collaborationism, Aquino wholeheartedly defended the interests of her class, the capitalist rulers, and their imperialist patrons against the working class and oppressed masses.

Reformist "socialists" who seek to tie the working class and oppressed to a "progressive" wing of the capitalist class follow the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of "two-stage" revolution: fight for "democratic" capitalism today and socialism some time in a future that never comes. As repeatedly demonstrated by history—from the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang Nationalists, to the Chilean military's overthrow of Allende's popular-front government in 1973—this program means the mass murder of communists and workers.

Hundreds of thousands were massacred in 1965 anti-Communist bloodbath which ushered in Suharto's rule.



New York Times

In Indonesia in 1965, the predominantly Javanese-based PKI was the largest Communist Party outside the Soviet Union and China, comprising some 3 million members and another 14 million supporters in trade-union, peasant, women's and youth organisations. But the PKI's political support to Sukarno under the watchword of *gotong royong*—"national unity" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie—paved the way for the massacres which decimated the organised working class and destroyed the PKI. Under Sukarno, the PKI gained cabinet posts, while using its authority to repeatedly ban strikes and suppress militant peasant movements. Pledging to enforce "the cooperation between the people and the Armed Forces, in particular the Police Force," the PKI served to strengthen the very repressive apparatus which later came down on it.

This regime was an example of a popular front, a class-collaborationist coalition in which the proletariat and oppressed are chained to the class enemy. The Indonesian masses were politically, organisationally and militarily disarmed when the generals, backed by imperialism, struck to behead the PKI. In carrying out the repression, reactionary Islamic fundamentalists were unleashed against the PKI, its allies and the Chinese minority. Members of Gerwani, the

PKI-linked women's organisation, were particularly targeted for murder, torture and imprisonment. Those who survived were blacklisted and ostracised by their communities.

The U.S. and Australian imperialists were up to their necks in the 1965 massacres, providing the Indonesian generals with a hit list of 5,000 Communists. The mobilisation of Islamic reactionaries was

also promoted by Washington. In 1950, John Foster Dulles, who later became U.S. president Eisenhower's secretary of state, explained:

"The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us, and our task is to find it and develop it."

—quoted in Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (1973)

This "bond" was cemented in the blood of Indonesian workers and peasants.

The smashing of the PKI and stabilisation of Indonesia as an anti-communist bastion both emboldened Washington to massively escalate its war in Vietnam and created the conditions for the development of a "defeatist" wing of U.S. imperialism, which felt that withdrawal from its *losing* war in Vietnam would not jeopardise its strategic interests in the region. Since that time, Indonesia has played a key role in the counterrevolutionary ambitions of imperialism in East and Southeast Asia, for example as the central local player in the ASEAN anti-China bloc.

Today, the Stalinist regime in Beijing has brought the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. As Trotskyists, we call for the unconditional military

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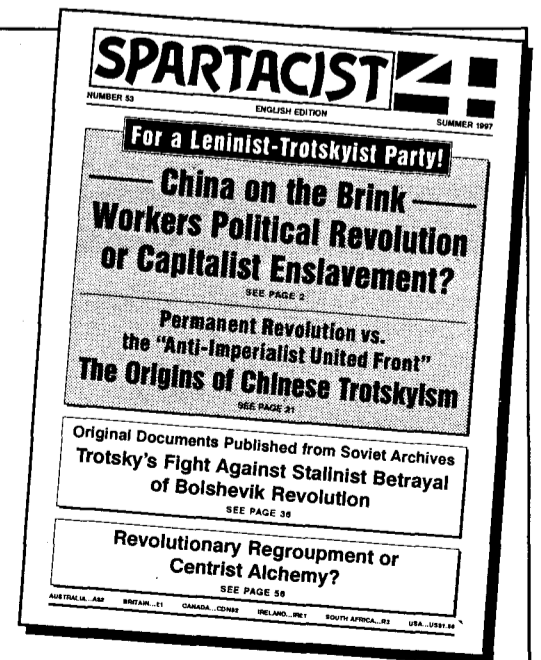
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Indonesia...

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defence of China and the other deformed workers states—Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, while fighting for proletarian political revolution to stop the bureaucracy's drive toward capitalist restoration.

Vast amounts of military equipment, training and funds have been provided by the U.S. and other imperialist powers to prop up Suharto's generals and crush internal dissent. Agreements for joint military exercises between the U.S., Indonesia and Australia reflect not only the imperialists' strategic interest in China but their fears of instability in Indonesia itself. This is critical for the U.S. as it pursues its ambitions in the region against rival Japanese imperialism. The post-Soviet world is marked by the intensification of such inter-imperialist rivalries, which had previously been restrained in the greater interest of Cold War anti-Soviet unity.

Indonesia has special importance to the imperialists because of its strategic location. The Malacca Strait, running between the Indonesian island of Sumatra and the Malaysian peninsula and Singapore, provides the quickest shipping route between the Pacific Ocean and the oil-rich Persian Gulf. In the event of imperialist conflict, control of the strait will be vital. Indonesia is also the largest supplier of oil to Japan outside the Near East, while 90 percent of Japan's oil imports pass through Indonesian waters. Reinforcing the appetites of Japanese imperialism toward Indonesia is the memory of the U.S. naval blockade of oil which impelled Japan's entry into World War II.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Over the last decade, workers' struggles in Indonesia have led to the formation of independent trade-union organisations such as the Indonesian Workers' Welfare Union (SBSI), founded in 1992 by Muchtar Pakpahan, and the Indonesian Centre for Working-Class Struggle (PPBI). The PPBI is led by Dita Sari, who has repeatedly been imprisoned for her role in



E.P. Dutton & Co.

First meeting of young women's political group in Tashkent, Central Asia, following October Revolution of 1917. Bolshevik victory was giant step toward liberation of women throughout former tsarist empire.

organising strikes and protests, such as a 1995 demonstration against the occupation of East Timor. It is aligned with the left-nationalist PRD, which like the PPBI was formed in 1994. An umbrella group of student, worker and peasant associations, the PRD includes many students who have gone on to organise trade unions, strike struggles and anti-government protests in key industrial centres. A number of them have been arrested in the course of these struggles. Free all class-war prisoners in Suharto's dungeons!

The courage and dedication displayed by these militants in the face of military repression is evident. However, the PRD's political support to Megawati reveals its class-collaborationist strategy. The PRD explicitly calls for alliances with the two legal non-government parties, the Islamic-based United Development Party (PPP) and the bourgeois-nationalist Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), and all other so-called "democratic forces." Political groups which are simply the left wing of the existing capitalist order cannot offer any perspective for the liberation of women, or anyone else for that matter. As part of the fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class, we seek to win the most advanced workers to the understanding that the political independence

of the proletariat from the ruling class is a necessary precondition for successful struggle against the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression.

We seek to build an internationalist revolutionary party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the proletariat in defence of all the oppressed against the common class enemy. Particularly in Asia, the fight for the emancipation of women is a key component of this perspective. We call for equal pay for equal work, and for their full integration into

the workforce. We champion the complete equality of women. The elimination of women's oppression requires a tremendous leap from the existing material conditions. And this can only be achieved through socialist revolution, leading to the creation of an *international planned economy* based on elevating human production to meet the needs of all.

For Indonesian workers, revolutionary internationalism is a matter of life and death. A proletarian revolution would immediately face hostile imperialism. Thus the fight for proletarian power must be linked to a perspective of workers revolution in the imperialist centres—Japan, Australia, the U.S.—a perspective which requires the construction of internationalist vanguard parties. The Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League, stands with our class brothers and sisters of the region in opposition to all the imperialist machinations of the Australian ruling class—from its depredations in Bougainville to its role in spying for and training Suharto's military terror regime. We seek to break the most class-conscious elements away from the racist Labor Party—the key obstacle to forging the vanguard party necessary to lead the workers to victory in this country. For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

Australasian Spartacist



Spartacist League/Australia contingent at May 1997 Melbourne protest against Suharto dictatorship.

Korea...

(continued from page 4)

the American ruling class and refuse to defend the collectivized property forms of these deformed workers states. And while their newspaper, *Challenge*, notes the presence of the American troops still stationed in South Korea with their guns pointed north, Progressive Labor doesn't call for U.S. troops out of Korea!

The fate of the Korean workers on both sides of the 38th parallel is linked to the fate of workers' struggles throughout Asia, especially in the Chinese deformed workers state and in the industrial powerhouse of Japan. We fight for workers political revolutions to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies in North Korea and China, to put political power directly in the hands of the workers through the formation of soviets, or workers councils. Key to this

struggle is the formation of Leninist-Trotskyist parties founded on the principle of revolutionary internationalism in Korea, China, Japan and throughout the region.

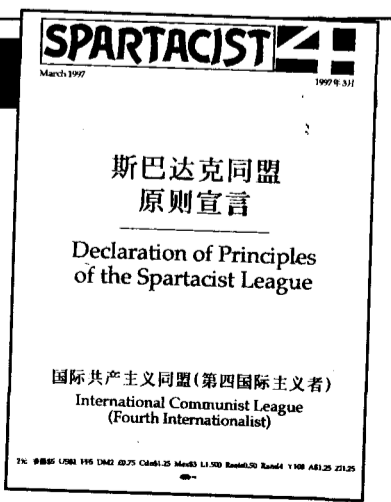
The SYC seeks to mobilize youth behind the power of the labor movement in class struggle to demand: U.S. troops out of Korea now! For the unconditional military defense of North Korea! For revolutionary reunification of Korea—through workers political revolution in the North combined with proletarian revolution in the South! Anti-imperialist, radical youth must align themselves in struggle with the social power of the integrated labor movement because student movements alone cannot fundamentally change things in this society. Only the multiracial working class has both the class interest and social power to put an end to capitalist oppression and imperialist war once and for all through socialist revolution! ■

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"English Only" Racism...

(continued from page 12)

for school districts to choose to teach solely in English. Several districts in Southern California, including Westminster with its large Vietnamese population, have already ended bilingual programs. Today in California, which has the largest proportion of immigrants of any state in the country, some 36 percent of students speak a language other than English at home, but only one-third of those with limited English capacity are in bilingual classes.

This latest referendum comes hard on the heels of Proposition 187, passed in 1994, which banned undocumented immigrants in the state from attending public schools and receiving non-emergency medical care. While a recent ruling by the federal courts declared Prop. 187 unconstitutional, the referendum had its intended effect: opening the floodgates of racist reaction against *all* immigrants and setting the stage for renewed attacks on the black ghetto poor. In 1996, voters approved Proposition 209, which eliminated affirmative action programs in public education and government hiring and contracting. Black, Latino and Native American admissions to the University of California system, which had earlier abolished such programs, have been decimated—dropping over 60 percent at UC Berkeley and 36 percent at UCLA for 1998.

The Spartacist League calls to *vote no on Proposition 227!* But we warn that the bourgeoisie's assault on those at the bottom of this society will not be stopped at the polls. A barrage of racist attacks against immigrants and blacks has been unleashed by the capitalist ruling class as the front line of an offensive against the working class as a whole. Intent on ratcheting up the rate of exploitation to better compete with its imperialist rivals, the U.S. bourgeoisie seeks to eliminate the costs of social services, to break the back of the unions and to keep workers divided along racial and ethnic lines. The multiracial working class must be actively mobilized against Proposition 227 and all forms of anti-immigrant chauvinism. *For full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

As Marxists, we oppose all attempts to impose English as an "official" language. We stand in the tradition of V.I. Lenin, the leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution, who wrote: "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language." At the same time, we understand that it is vital for those who live here to be able to learn English—the only means for incorporation into an English-speaking industrial society that requires a common language for production and commerce.

The problem is *not* the ability or desire of immigrants to learn English but the cruel reality that poor and dark-skinned immigrants are segregated into

ghettos which lie outside the economy of this society. This makes learning English a fairly tenuous prospect. In the so-called "post-industrial" economy of decaying American capitalism, the racist rulers will not spend money to educate or provide other social services to those they deem just a surplus population. In the barrios and vast black inner-city ghettos, funds for education have been slashed to the bone. Meanwhile, billions are poured into the prison system where black and Hispanic youth are incarcerated way out of proportion to their numbers in this country.

We advocate free, quality bilingual programs as a rational approach to providing a bridge for students from their primary language to standard English. Learning a new language can be done through immersion, but that's pretty brutal, especially for young people as they simultaneously seek a basic general education. Knowledge of two languages,

and Gloria Matta Tuchman, a former Orange County school board president who has actively campaigned against bilingual education since 1985. The initiative would require that all public school instruction be conducted in English, replacing current bilingual programs with "English immersion" classes. Children under ten with little English capacity would be grouped together by English proficiency regardless of age or native language. After one year, the kids would be transferred to mainstream English-only classes. Those who don't manage to pick up enough English would be tracked into classes where "underperforming" children are warehoused, branded as incompetent, stupid or worse.

The racist measure includes a "waiver" allowing children to be taught in a bilingual setting, but only in very limited cases, e.g., older children deemed to have "special physical, emotional, psychological, or educational needs." Even then,

Indeed, an international comparison of high-school seniors has found the performance of American youth at the bottom of all industrial nations considered in the study.

The nationwide decline in education has been exacerbated in California by the effects of Proposition 13—a 1978 measure which substantially cut the property taxes that fund many of the social programs in the state. Prop. 13 was a "tax revolt" by older, white, middle-class property owners who didn't want their "tax dollars" going to programs perceived as benefiting blacks and Latinos. Thus, in the last decade the state budget has largely remained the same, while the school-age population has seen huge increases. California's school system rated last year as one of the very worst in the country. Although all poor and working-class kids suffer, the hardest hit have been in the inner-city schools. A couple of years ago, the mainly Latino parents of



Sebastião Salgado



Butow/SABA

U.S. rulers' anti-immigrant drive means increased terror along border with Mexico, feeds racist mobilizations like Los Angeles demonstration against "illegal" immigrants.

which is common in many industrial countries outside the insular North American continent, is an asset. In wealthy school districts outside Washington, D.C. and in San Francisco, the *public* school system offers "immersion" schools in French and a number of Asian languages—the rich and powerful know how to give *their* children an edge.

We fight for free, quality, integrated education for *all* children. But even such a just and basic demand runs up against the capitalist economic system of production for profit, with its inherent inequalities, ruled by an exploiting class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance. What is necessary is to *break the power of the bourgeoisie* through a *social revolution*. This requires the forging of a revolutionary workers party to fight for an egalitarian socialist society, which will eradicate the material basis for all discrimination based on race and ethnicity.

Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal

Proposition 227 is the brainchild of one Ron Unz, a Silicon Valley businessman and former Republican candidate for gov-

among other restrictions, there would have to be 20 or more such children in a given grade level in the school. The proposition would also allocate \$50 million for each of the next ten years to fund English language instruction for parents and others who "pledge to provide personal English language tutoring to California school children." In other words, trained—and unionized—bilingual educators are to be replaced by a kid's relative who is supposed to teach English while looking for a job or after putting in 12 hours of backbreaking labor.

According to a recent poll, Prop. 227 has the support of two-thirds of California voters, including among Asians, and is backed by a significant (but diminishing) number of Latinos. Its claim that "public schools of California currently do a poor job of educating immigrant children" is a truism that echoes widely among parents who know that their kids will never make it without fluent English and a real education. A recent major study noted that in the U.S. "40 percent of minority children attend urban schools, where more than half of the students are poor and fail to reach even 'basic' achievement levels" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 March).

children attending Oakland's Lazear Elementary School led a three-week boycott in protest against its 40-year-old "portable" classrooms with no windows, poor ventilation, leaking roofs and rats.

Given the drastic cuts in education funding, it's no surprise that there is a dearth of bilingual education teachers. In a majority of school districts, many if not most classes are taught by a teacher-in-training or an English-only teacher aided by a bilingual assistant. According to one longtime Oakland teacher, even with existing bilingual programs, teachers have to fight to get the additional stipends due them—\$2,200 a year—much of which they use for necessary materials. In many school districts, they receive no extra pay. Meanwhile, the grossly overworked teaching assistants, largely minority men and women working their way through college, receive no benefits and will face massive layoffs if the proposition passes.

Functionally, today, bilingual education does not exist. Seventy percent of Latino students attend segregated schools, isolated from English-speakers for the better part of their elementary *continued on page 10*

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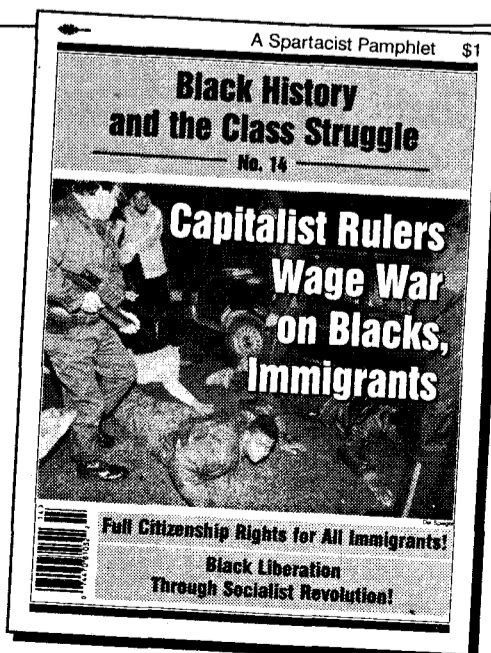
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"English Only" Racism...

(continued from page 9)

school years. One fourth-grade bilingual education teacher in San Jose described to WV how half of his class enters with reading skills below grade level, some as low as first grade. A third-grade bilingual education teacher in Oakland noted the absence of any curriculum, program or teaching aids. Furthermore, segregation often takes place within the school itself. A former bilingual student who grew up in Southern California in the 1980s described the degrading treatment of non-English-speaking students:

"When I was in high school, the recent immigrants were physically segregated to one little section of the school. The bus loading zone was 20 yards from their classroom, so they basically came and went without anyone even noticing them. If they ate in the cafeteria, they were guided in separately by their teacher so they never ate with the rest of the students."

For Latinos, the results of these policies are staggering. Latinos score one to two grade levels below the national norm in academic tests for reading, math and science. High-school dropout rates are as high as 40 percent, while 56 percent of students are functionally illiterate. An illustration of the utterly racist character of this system of public education is that black children and American-born Hispanics who speak only English are often dumped into bilingual education classes as "filler." As in the days of strict Jim Crow segregation in the South, today's public schools are "separate and unequal": the bourgeoisie ensures that a small minority get the requisite technical training to become the future administrators and skilled workers capitalism needs; the rest are recipients of society's "maligned neglect."

Bilingual Education and Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism

There were times in the past when the capitalist rulers saw a need to teach immigrants English. The long history of bilingual education in this country dates from the middle of the 19th century, when an open-door immigration policy brought some 15 million new immigrants into the U.S. Beginning in 1839 in Ohio, laws were passed in various states authorizing bilingual public education in areas with significant numbers of newly arrived European immigrants. Thus, by the turn of the century, there were at least 600,000 children—4 percent of elementary school enrollment—receiving part or all of their education in the German language.

However, in the age of imperialism and war beginning around the turn of the last century, immigration and all its derivative aspects have been subject not only to capitalist economic crises but also to the political exigencies of bourgeois rule. With the onset of World War I, Theodore Roosevelt's cry that "a hyphenated American is not an American at all" exemplified the anti-immigrant xenophobic wave which saw the end of all bilingual education. During this time,

15 states designated English as the sole language of instruction in all schools. German-Americans were denounced as being agents of the Kaiser, German-owned businesses were burnt out and vigilantes aided government authorities in shutting down any and all German-language institutions.

In states like California and Texas, anti-immigrant racism goes back to the period when these territories were seized from their Mexican-Spanish settlers, as codified by the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The *Tejanos* and *Californios*, seen as the "issue of Spanish and Indian blood," were the subject of both linguistic and ethnic discrimination. *Tejanos* were harassed for refusing to learn English while at the same time being segregated into Spanish-only schools. The

quarter of its 30,000 students speak limited English. Moreover, the area is adjacent to the state's southern metropolitan center, Los Angeles, which is now 40 percent Latino (about the same proportion as whites).

The New Social Darwinism

Proposition 227 really has nothing to do with the utter failure of what passes for public education in this country, and everything to do with racist reaction. Proposition sponsor Gloria Tuchman is a former board member of the nativist "U.S. English" organization, whose founder, John Tanton, denounces the "great storm from the Third World" threatening America. The *Arizona Republic* published a memo by Tanton in 1988 which lays out the vile racism

Valley went to Washington, where they demanded an increase in the number of visas allowed for high-skilled foreign workers. Looking to reduce labor costs in the short run, Silicon Valley wants to use the "best and the brightest" among immigrants. At the same time, efforts such as Clinton's much-ballyhooed "educational reform" reflect a concern on the part of the ruling class that the U.S. is not producing sufficiently educated people to keep a competitive edge against its imperialist rivals.

In Unz's world, new immigrants are to be culled, sorted out and tested in straight "survival of the fittest" manner. Those with the ability to become bilingual on their own due to privileged circumstances—e.g., those with access to private tutoring, or who come from educated households—are deemed to be an asset to the country. The rest, often from impoverished, rural families where no one is literate in any language, are to be used as superexploited, terrorized and preferably illiterate unskilled labor—nannies, janitors, farm laborers, electronics assembly line workers. In this neo-Social Darwinian nightmare, blacks are simply given up for lost, the unsuitable issue of decades of liberal largesse.

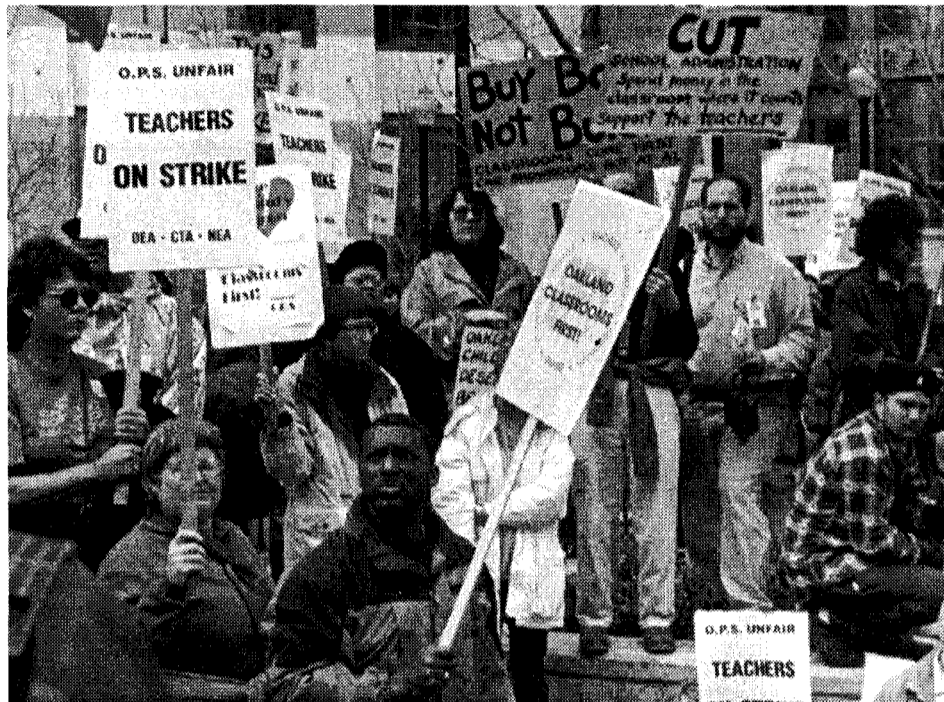
Most every major politician in California has joined the anti-immigrant chorus, championing measures to increase the militarization of the border, establish a national ID system and the like. But the capitalist exploiters have never wanted the complete closure of borders. Rather, immigration has historically been turned on and off like a faucet, with restrictions lowered when the demand for cheap labor is high and raised when the economy cannot further absorb an immigrant workforce. Anti-immigrant repression, exemplified by Clinton's draconian 1996 immigration "reform" which has already led to a massive increase in deportations, also serves to cow immigrant workers in fields and sweatshops across the country, who are scared to seek medical treatment or send their children to school—much less join a union—lest they be targeted for deportation.

Black Oppression: Bedrock of American Capitalism

Prop. 227 follows the U.S. rulers' time-tested divide-and-rule policy, pitting different sectors of the oppressed against each other, the better to exploit the whole working class. In a viciously racist diatribe published in "Immigration or the Welfare State" (*Policy Review*, Fall 1994), Unz railed against "the rise of black xenophobia and the criminal pathology in many black neighborhoods," claiming that "black-Hispanic tensions in California have risen enormously since the Los Angeles riots, during which Hispanic families with small children were attacked and brutalized by black mobs."

In fact, the 1992 L.A. rebellion following the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King was remarkable for its multiracial character, as poor black and Latino youth took to the streets in outrage over racist cop terror and savage social inequality. This unity of the oppressed terrified the ruling class, which lately has sought to pit the ghetto against the barrio by arguing that the large influx of immigrants from Latin America and the Far East has led to greater black impoverishment.

Lending their hand to the racist capitalist ruling class have been black Democrats and nationalists, who helped whip up support among the black population for Proposition 187. Tensions between blacks and immigrants were also evident last year when the Oakland school board sought "bilingual funding" to teach "Ebonics" in its overwhelmingly black schools—a thinly veiled expression of their resentment against the funds, however pitiful, that go toward such programs for Latinos (see "Desperation, Segregation and the 'Ebonics' Controversy," *WV* No. 660, 24 January 1997). The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) has voted to oppose Proposition 227, but only by a very slim margin, with black teachers overwhelmingly opposed to continued



1996 Oakland teachers strike won widespread support from workers, minorities in fight for more pay and against dismal conditions in schools.

racist logic behind these policies was expressed by an agricultural boss in Texas: "The illiterates make the best farm labor" (*Hold Your Tongue: Bilingualism and the Politics of "English Only"*, James Crawford [1982]).

In California, while the proceedings of the 1849 constitutional convention were published in Spanish and English, anti-Mexican laws were promulgated shortly thereafter. Beginning in the 1860s, black, Asian and Native American children were banned from California public schools for two decades. And in 1879, three years before the federal government adopted a law barring Chinese immigration and in the context of racist riots by nativist whites, the anti-Chinese Workingmen's Party succeeded in getting the state's first "English only" statute adopted.

This gives the historic dimension to the current anti-immigrant frenzy in the U.S. which is being promoted by the capitalist ruling class in order to split the proletariat and derail any possibility of united class struggle. It's no accident that the base for those pushing Prop. 227 is Orange County. The area has long been synonymous with white, right-wing conservatism. But now in one jurisdiction, the Orange Unified School District, one-

behind "U.S. English": "Will the present majority peaceably hand over its political power to a group that is simply more fertile?... As Whites see their power and control over their lives declining, will they simply go quietly into the night?"

The other leading light behind Prop. 227 is Ron Unz, who likes to posture as a friend of immigrants. (He was even featured as a speaker at a 100,000-strong demonstration against Prop. 187 in Los Angeles in 1994 organized by liberal Democrats and supported by the bulk of the reformist "left") To deflect accusations of anti-immigrant bias, he has recruited Jaime Escalante, the Bolivian-born Los Angeles teacher celebrated in the movie *Stand and Deliver*, to co-chair the Prop. 227 campaign vehicle, One Nation/One California.

In pushing the initiative, Unz rails that "several of California's most important industries, including agriculture and tourism, rely heavily on undocumented labor. What if that pool suddenly became unavailable?... How many business executives would feel comfortable if they knew that their offices were cleaned each night by native-born Americans with a long history of drug addiction and imprisonment?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 May 1995). In spewing these racist code words for blacks, Unz sets out his real program: a political alliance of conservatives and "family-oriented, and socially conservative" Hispanics and Asians with a "small-business background" against blacks and other "undesirables." While Unz is positioned on the right of the political spectrum, his program has largely been implemented by Democrats and Republicans across the country, from eliminating welfare benefits and savagely attacking immigrant rights to destroying affirmative action in the schools.

Unz reflects his base in California's Silicon Valley, which, in the minds of its denizens, is a gilded Horatio Alger utopia, flush with the proceeds of a giddy stock market, where new billionaires are made every day without anyone getting their hands dirty in messy factories. Nonetheless, last month the CEOs of some of the biggest computer firms in the

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bilingual education. At the same time, immigrants are taught to believe that blacks are responsible for the miserable conditions of life in the ghettos. Faced with Prop. 209's attack on affirmative action, many immigrants bought the line that either they get education and jobs or blacks do, but not both. Thus, blacks, Latinos and Asians are turned against each other for the benefit of the racist rulers.

The subjugation and segregation of much of the black population at the bottom of this society is an essential foundation stone of American capitalism. Blacks in the U.S. form a race-color caste which has historically been used as a "reserve army" of the unemployed, to be hired only during labor shortages. Today, the ghettos have simply been cut off. Immigrants are dropped right in the middle of the American racial divide. Upon arrival, they are left to eke out a meager subsistence with a standard of living often worse than blacks. Light-skinned immigrants tend to assimilate after a generation or two, with the possibility of advancement. Those with dark skin remain mired in poverty, trapped behind the color bar which is fundamental to capitalist rule in this country.

Unchain Labor's Power!

The question of education particularly resonates among workers, who know that their children are not receiving even the level of education and skills training that they themselves struggled to attain. But as long as the fight for the right to quality education remains within the framework of the capitalist profit system, it will only boil down to a squabble over the re-allocation of scarcity, in which the children of both blacks and immigrants lose.

This is precisely the strategy offered by the bourgeois-liberal opposition to Prop. 227, notably the Mexican American Legal Defense Fund—which advocates rights for *legal* immigrants only—and the National Association for Bilingual Education. These groups are reduced to arguing that bilingual education "costs no more and often considerably less than English-only alternatives" and bemoan-



Hernandez/SF Examiner

Day-care workers in San Francisco's Mission District who were harassed, threatened with disciplinary action for speaking Spanish on the job.

ing that the Unz initiative would "violate the principle of local control." A host of reformist "socialist" groups tail after the liberals, despairing of the ability to mobilize the working class around a program of revolutionary change. Seeking to pressure the capitalist rulers to shift some money into education and other social programs, these outfits are in effect calling for a defense of the racist status quo.

To win the right to free, equal educational opportunity for all requires a socialist revolution which rips the wealth of society out of the hands of the tiny class of capitalist exploiters and creates a planned economy where production is based on the needs of all. Those who labor must rule! The only force that can achieve this is the multiracial working class, which derives its power from its place in production. In freeing itself from exploitation, the proletariat will also liberate all sections of society from the manifold forms of oppression rooted in class divisions.

Thousands of students went out on the streets to protest Propositions 187 and 209, but their struggles were contained within the realm of electoralist pressure

politics. The AFL-CIO union tops and liberal groups leading these demonstrations sought to channel opposition into votes for the capitalist Democratic Party, which has presided over the all-sided attack on workers and the poor. The same union tops who have allowed the introduction of two-tier wages and the massive expansion of part-time labor without a fight have not lifted a finger against the destruction of social welfare programs that has condemned millions of blacks and immigrants to starvation, disease and death. Many AFL-CIO officials openly support anti-immigration laws and appeal to anti-Asian racism in the name of "protectionism." The labor tops share the fundamental outlook of the racist capitalist rulers, embracing the aims of U.S. imperialism.

The California Teachers Association, representing 280,000 teachers throughout the state, remained neutral on the question of Prop. 227 until four months ago and has since offered only token opposition. For its part, the National Education Association issued a statement in March 1996 which "defends" bilingual education with an appeal to the

interests of capitalist law and order:

"Language restrictions also would make it more difficult for law enforcement officials to gather information from informants or victims who do not speak English.... (CIA operatives could not speak with foreign informants in their native tongue)!"

Last year's successful UPS Teamsters strike gave a taste of the potential to link the power of labor to the anger of the ghettos and barrios, as tens of thousands of black, Hispanic and immigrant workers manned picket lines which brought the wheels of profit to a halt. Translating that potential into a conscious, fighting labor movement requires a political struggle against the trade-union misleadership which keeps the working class tied to the capitalist rulers. The key to unlocking the chains that bind labor to its exploiters is the creation of a revolutionary party of the working class which seeks to mobilize labor in defense of blacks and immigrants against racial oppression, combatting the false consciousness that the bourgeoisie uses to keep the workers passive and divided along racial and ethnic lines. The multiracial working class must be won to the understanding that the source of exploitation and oppression is the capitalist system, whether administered by Democrats or Republicans. The state—the courts, cops and army—exists to keep the ruling class in power.

Doubly oppressed black workers, who are integrated into strategic sections of the proletariat, can and must play a leading role in the fight for proletarian revolution in the U.S. Latino immigrant workers often bring with them a tradition of militant class struggle, which has already enriched labor battles of drywall workers and janitors in Southern California. Immigrant workers are, in turn, a living bridge to the proletariat of Mexico, Latin America and Asia. We in the Spartacist League/U.S., then, take up the fight against Proposition 227 not least because we want to arm workers and the oppressed with the educational and linguistic tools necessary for them to become members and leaders of an internationalist, revolutionary party of the working class. ■

Berkeley...

(continued from page 12)

Latinos, Asians and other minorities—against each other. With the inner-city ghetto population increasingly marginalized, *outside* the capitalist economy, the bourgeoisie no longer believes it has to offer even a token appearance of racial equality.

From the beginning of the current affirmative action battle in 1995, we have put forward a class-struggle perspective and warned that the liberal pressure politics of begging the Democrats and the UC Regents is a dead end that could only bring defeat. Reformist and liberal student organizers concentrated first on pleading with the Board of Regents to resuscitate the affirmative action programs they had just killed, then focused on an impotent voter registration campaign to defeat Proposition 209 which outlawed affirmative action throughout the state. The principal demand of the SCSC on April 2 was the truly pathetic call on UC Berkeley chancellor Berdahl to "break" the unjust law. But the university administration exists *precisely* to ensure that the dictates of the capitalist masters are enacted on campus. We say: Abolish the administration and Board of Regents! The university should be controlled by those who work and study there!

At the protest, the SCSC organizers handed demonstrators reams of petitions to get the "Equal Educational Opportunity Initiative" (EEOI) on the June ballot. But in fact, the EEOI accommodates the very forces of racist reaction who have destroyed affirmative action. Written by students at Berkeley's Boalt Law School in an attempt to allow the UC chancellors a way around Prop. 209, the EEOI states only that "in order to pro-

vide equal opportunity, promote diversity, and combat discrimination in public education, the state may consider the economic background, race, sex, ethnicity, and national origin of qualified individuals." The initiative asks the very state which is dismantling affirmative action programs to ameliorate the racist purge of the campuses and would actually restore *less* than the pre-Prop. 209 programs. The EEOI explicitly echoes the racist assumption that affirmative action has meant that "qualified individuals" have been dumped in favor of "unqualified" minorities, while its stated goal of "diversity" is a thoroughly meaningless concept that ducks the question of racial oppression. And nowhere does the EEOI even begin to address the question of discrimination in employment.

SCSC speakers at the sit-in invoked the "spirit of the '60s," which never transcended liberal protest politics. They put forward the perspective that minority students should organize for "empowerment" in "their" communities—Filipinos for Filipinos, blacks for blacks, Chicanos for Chicanos. This liberal sectoralism—the idea that each oppressed sector should "organize" itself—is no threat to the bourgeois social order. In fact, for the capitalists it is a positive boon, as the "sectors" fight each other for a piece of the shrinking pie. Sectoralism is counterposed to the class consciousness necessary to build a revolutionary party which can unite the multiracial working class against exploitation and *all* oppression in the fight for socialist revolution.

Despite its occasionally militant-sounding rhetoric, the SCSC politely handed the mike to City Councilman Kriss Worthington—a member of Clinton's racist Democratic Party which has pledged to "mend" (i.e., slowly strangle) affirmative action—while denying the

communists of the SYC and the liberal radicals of the Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action By Any Means Necessary (BAMN) the right to speak. SYC members heckled Worthington, a representative of the class enemy.

BAMN is a front group of the self-styled "Revolutionary Workers League," which claims to be Trotskyist. But the BAMN journal, the *Liberator*, has nary a word to say about capitalism or the working class. BAMN has tried to stake out a role for itself as the "militant" wing of the affirmative action struggle, but its main slogan—"Don't Resegregate Higher Education"—merely yearns for the racist status quo before the dismantling of affirmative action. Imploring Democratic Party politician Jesse Jackson to "build a mass militant civil rights movement," BAMN's strategy is in essence no different from the liberal legalism of the SCSC.

The UPS strike last summer gave a

small but real taste of the potential to unlock the social power of the multiracial working class. This social power—currently shackled by the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats—must be unleashed to beat back the racist assault. This requires the leadership of a Leninist revolutionary party which fights for a socialist future. The SYC seeks to win students to the side of the working class in this struggle. As we wrote in a 1995 leaflet:

"The elimination of affirmative action in hiring means students already have powerful allies in the workforce at every UC campus and beyond.... We need to appeal to these workers to join us in our struggle. We also need to appeal directly to the ghettos and barrios throughout the Bay Area. We can do that if we make our fight at Cal their fight—for an education for *every* child.... *The strategy necessary to win this struggle against the racist assault is one which seeks to build student/labor/minority mobilizations for open admissions and jobs for all.*" ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

No to California Proposition 227!

Down With "English Only" Racism!

For Free, Quality Education for All Children!

In a frontal assault on immigrants, a referendum for the California state elections in June called the "English for the Children" initiative would ban bilingual education in public schools and eliminate the pitiful amount spent each year for special language programs. The "English-only" bigots behind Proposition 227 are riding the wave of anti-immigrant frenzy pushed by America's racist capitalist rulers who have massively increased state repression against legal and undocumented immigrants, militarized the border with Mexico and condemned millions to starvation through axing welfare benefits.

Prop. 227 directly targets the estimated 1.4 million students in California—one-quarter of the student population—who have limited capacity in English. Although the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1974 that schools must

Bilingual first-grade classroom in New York City. Spartacist protest in San Francisco in defense of immigrant rights, 1993.



Rios/Photo Researchers



WV Photo

provide some instruction in a child's primary language, "English only" has more and more become a reality in California schools. In 1986, English was made the "official" language by a state constitu-

tional amendment, and last year, at the urging of Republican governor Pete Wilson, California officials mandated that statewide academic standardization tests be given only in English.

Individual school districts have long been able to opt out of bilingual programs, and just last month, the state Board of Education made it even easier
continued on page 9

UC Berkeley: Hundreds Protest Racist Purge For Open Admissions, No Tuition!

The extent of the racist purge at the University of California (UC) was exposed last week when the elite Berkeley campus announced the racial break-

Young Spartacus

down for those admitted to next fall's entering class. These will be the first students selected since the Board of Regents axed affirmative action in 1995. And the figures are staggering. Of the 8,000 students admitted, only 191 are black—some 2 percent of the total. Berkeley accepted 66 percent fewer blacks this year, 58 percent fewer Chicanos and 61 percent fewer American Indians.

Administration spokesmen tried to paper over the damage done by pointing out that the overall drop in minority admissions was far less in the UC system as a whole. But this just points to increasing segregation, as blacks and Latinos are relegated to the less prestigious campuses like Irvine and Riverside, while Berkeley becomes a preserve for more privileged whites and Asians.

On April 2, hundreds of outraged stu-



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Berkeley, April 2: Hundreds protest elimination of affirmative action at University of California. Spartacus Youth Clubs demand free, quality, integrated education for all!

dents protested this racist purge in a noontime rally called by the Students of Color Solidarity Council (SCSC). Some 500 took off on a spirited march through

downtown Berkeley, going past Berkeley High School. Gates were locked shut to prevent the heavily minority Berkeley High students from respond-

ing to the demonstrators' calls of "Berkeley High—Out!" Nevertheless, a few students scrambled over the fence and joined anyway. The demonstration then returned to the university, where some 300 students sat down in the central intersection for three hours.

The SYC participated in the march and sit-in, carrying signs calling to "Defend Affirmative Action and More—For Open Admissions, No Tuition!" and "Free, Quality Integrated Education for All!" We demand the right to education for all, with state-paid living stipends. In racist capitalist America, which was built on a bedrock of black oppression, to pose a fight for such a basic democratic demand requires a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system.

Affirmative action programs were designed as a sop to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, aiming among other things to co-opt a small layer of black militants into the "middle class." Such programs *accept* racist social inequality under capitalism and are consciously designed to pit sections of the working class—as well as blacks,
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