

THE MILITANT

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NATO air drills ready assault in Balkans

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Washington, London, and other NATO powers flew dozens of warplanes over Albania and Macedonia June 15, in a show of force aimed at preparing the groundwork for launching air strikes inside Serbia. The imperialist governments are using the Serbian regime's war on Albanians, who are fighting for self-determination, as a pretext for military intervention in the Yugoslav and Albanian workers states.

Following a meeting in Moscow with Russian president Boris Yeltsin the next day, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic declared his regime would resume talks with representatives of Albanians in Kosova on "forms of autonomy" and promised to allow refugees who had fled Kosova to return home. The announcement was intended to undercut some of the momentum of the U.S.-led war moves.

The meeting highlighted the growing conflict between Washington and the regime in Moscow, which has voiced its opposition to the imperialist moves toward military intervention in Yugoslavia and Albania.

These moves in the Balkans are closely tied to NATO's expansion into Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic — part of the growing imperialist encirclement of Russia. This course toward confrontation is driven by the U.S. rulers' goal of reestablishing capitalist property relations in Russia, Eastern Europe, and the republics of the former

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Philadelphia strikers halt transit for third week

BY NANCY COLE

PHILADELPHIA — Well into the third week of a strike by more than 5,300 transit workers, members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 continued to make their power felt. City bus, trolley, and subway lines remain shut down in this city of 1.5 million people.

On June 12 hundreds of strikers picketed four Bucks County stations of the R7 regional rail line, disrupting service on that suburban line for the morning rush hour. By 10:00 a.m., the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) had obtained a court injunction ordering the pickets removed.

The picketing also affected trains on Amtrak's Northeast Corridor. Workers allowed Amtrak trains to pass, but slowed them down for safety, which delayed 12 trains. By June 15 Amtrak had been granted an injunction barring union pickets, or anyone acting on their behalf, from activities within 50 feet of any track owned or leased by Amtrak.

Also on June 15 SEPTA officials held a news conference to demand that TWU members return to work the next day. Later SEPTA chief negotiator David Cohen declared that there was very little "wiggle

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Auto workers expand strike against GM

Thousands of unionists fight auto bosses' push to cut jobs

BY JOHN SARGE

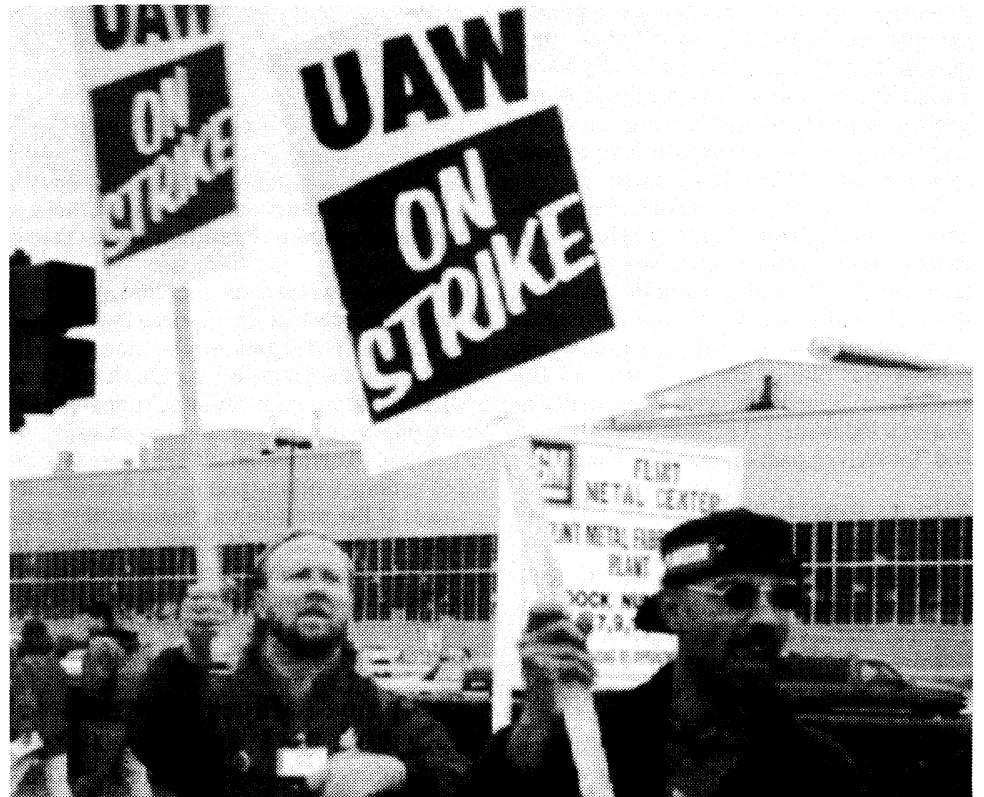
FLINT, Michigan — "I'm here to show support and get the union together," was how Steve Montefusco explained his and Chris Elliott's decision to drive from New Jersey to join the United Auto Workers union (UAW) picket lines in this industrial city, 65 miles north of Detroit. They were among the hundreds of unionists and others who gathered outside of the General Motors (GM) Delphi East plant on a rainy evening, June 11, to greet some of the 5,800 union members expected to join the strike against the auto giant.

Just after 7:00 p.m. hundreds of members of UAW Local 651 came marching out of the plant to cheers, chanting, "U-A-W, U-A-W," and "No Jobs, No Peace." Their gathered supporters included union members from across the area, small groups of unionists from farther afield, and family members.

Also present were scores of UAW Local 659 members carrying signs declaring "United We Stand." They were among the 3,400 workers who walked out at GM's Metal Fabrication Plant on the west side of town six days earlier.

Now 9,200 out of the 27,000 GM workers employed in this city of 134,000 are on

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Militant/John Sarge

Auto workers walk picket line at GM plant in Flint, Michigan, June 6.

Supporters of Puerto Rican rights gear up for July 25 demonstrations

BY JACK WILLEY

CHICAGO — In more than 15 cities across the country, supporters of the fight to free Puerto Rican political prisoners and for the independence of Puerto Rico are gearing up for a national march on Washington, D.C., on July 25.

The march is called "to denounce the Centennial of the U.S. invasion and colonization of our nation, Puerto Rico, to reaffirm our right as a nation to a true process of self-determination, [and] to demand the release of the Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war," according to the flier for

the event. The action, which will be preceded by a 24-hour vigil beginning at noon July 24, was initiated by the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, which has chapters in several U.S. cities.

The July 25 march on Washington coincides with other actions the same day on similar themes. One is a rally at the United Nations, sponsored by the New York-based Comité Puerto Rico 98. An action will also take place in San Francisco. And in Guánica, Puerto Rico, the Congreso Nacional Hostosiano and the Puerto Rican Indepen-

dence Party are sponsoring a march and rally.

On June 13 in Chicago, the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners participated in the Puerto Rican Day Parade downtown and the People's Parade in the Humboldt Park area with a float highlighting the campaign to free the 15 Puerto Rican independence fighters held in U.S. prisons today. A couple dozen activists handed out brochures about the July 25 march on Washington at both events. They were joined by activists from Minneapolis-St. Paul, Philadelphia, and other cities.

To build the July 25 action, the Minnesota group is holding a fund-raising dinner at 6:30 p.m. on June 27 at Todos los Santos Church in Minneapolis.

In New York, members of ASPIRA and the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners passed out brochures and posters during a Puerto Rican street festival June 13 and at the massive Puerto Rican Day Parade the following day. They have called a city-wide meeting June 24 at the ASPIRA offices for all those interested in helping organize to go to Washington, D.C.

Luis Sanabria, who heads up the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners in Philadelphia, reported that activists there are going to a Puerto Rican parade in Camden, New Jersey, with a float on political prisoners and to hand out leaflets about the Washington demonstration. They are also co-sponsoring, along with the Cuba Support Coalition in Philadelphia, an event called "Cuba and

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Indonesian workers protest; currency plummets further

BY NAOMI CRAINE
 AND PATRICK BROWN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — On June 15, the Indonesian currency plummeted to 14,700 rupiahs to the dollar. This was down from less than 11,000 two weeks ago, and more than 80 percent below the level of July 1997, when the economic crisis in Asia exploded.

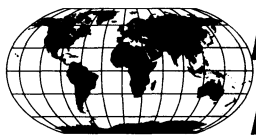
The same day, Indonesian business associations in the coffee, footwear, and textile industries announced that exports this year would fall far below their earlier projections. The government also announced it was freezing operations of the Indonesian Tourism Promotion Representative offices in seven countries due to "financial con-

straints." Indonesian government officials are still urging the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which represents the biggest U.S., Japanese, and other imperialist banks, to free up the rest of a loan package drawn up last October.

Of the \$43 billion "bailout," only \$3 billion has been delivered to date. A second payment of \$3 billion was scheduled for June. This was delayed after former President Suharto's attempts to impose IMF-dictated price increases accelerated widespread protests, which had been growing since the beginning of the year. By then, judging that Suharto was not capable of ramming such measures through without risking even

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Socialists build workers conference in Pittsburgh — page 4



Israeli regime pushes settlements

Continuing to push Tel Aviv's policy of expanding Zionist settlements on Palestinian land, Israeli troops bulldozed a Palestinian home in Hebron June 11 near a road the government intends to use for Israeli settlers passing through the West Bank. The Atrash family and neighbors protested by throwing stones and bottles at the troops but were overtaken. Tel Aviv claims it ordered the demolition because the Palestinians had no permit, but residents say the regime won't give building permits for areas projected for Zionist settlements. The Israeli government demolished the Atrash family's home in the same place in 1988. Israeli activists opposed to Tel Aviv's settlement expansions helped rebuild the home earlier this year.

The Israeli interior ministry also approved the construction of a Jewish religious seminary on an East Jerusalem site slated for an Arab girls' school. In response, Palestinian cabinet secretary Ahmed Rahman called for Palestinians to "mobilize to defend Jerusalem" against settlement expansion.

Meanwhile, Palestinian Authority president Yasser Arafat invited Hamas to join his cabinet. Hamas leaders said they would attend discussions with leaders of the Palestinian Authority but would not participate in the cabinet, because the formation of the cabinet was one of the conditions of the agreement signed four years ago between Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization and Tel Aviv, a pact opposed by Hamas.

Miners march on Moscow for payment of back wages...

Siberian coal miners marched to the Russian government headquarters June 11 with a banner that asked President Boris Yeltsin, "Boris, why are we dying for free in the mines?" Miners continue to demand that Moscow pay back wages.

In May, thousands of miners went on strike across Russia demanding \$1.45 billion in back pay. During the strike the Federation of Russian Independent Trade Unions threatened a national strike if wages were not paid by July 1.

...while Ukraine miners fight on
"Thieves, give us our money back," was



Coal miners from Siberia march through Moscow June 11 demanding payment of unpaid wages. Banners addressed to President Boris Yeltsin read: "Boris, why are we dying for free in the mines?"

the slogan written on the side of a coal miner's helmet that summarized the message of 1,000 striking miners who marched 310 miles into the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, June 11 demanding eight months' unpaid back pay plus wage and pension increases.

The strikers, who have widespread support among working people in Ukraine, surrounded the presidential headquarters parliament. Workers at 45 of the 276 mines in the Ukraine are on strike. Another demand by the strikers is more state funding for safety equipment. More than 170 miners have been killed in the mines this year.

Philippine Airlines pilots strike, defy gov't back-to-work order

Members of the Airline Pilots' Association of the Philippines went on strike June 5, crippling Philippine Airlines (PAL). The 620 unionists are protesting the company's firing of a union member, a reduction in crew rest time during stopovers on trans-Pacific flights, and PAL's retirement policies.

The airline claims such steps are needed

because of the effects of the Asian financial crisis. Philippine Airlines officials said the strike, which is causing the company daily losses of \$3.8 million, has brought the formerly state-owned company "closer to the brink of insolvency," a situation it said was aggravated by the economic turmoil.

On June 7, airline bosses fired hundreds of pilots who defied its return-to-work order. The next day 300 strikers marched to PAL offices with signs reading "No Compromise," and "We Can't Take It Any More." The Philippine government stepped in that day and ordered unionists back to work, but the union pilots vowed to stay out.

On another front of the economic crisis the newly elected regime of Joseph Estrada will have to confront, about 200 Filipino peasants poured onto a golf course June 10 in the capital city of Manila to protest the regime's default on carrying through a 10.6 million acre land redistribution to landless farmers. The action took place on the 10th anniversary of the government's land reform program. Peasants say big landowners convert land to industrial estates, golf courses, or housing developments to avoid expropriation. The farmers laid rice seedlings on the 10th hole in a three-hour protest.

Nigeria riot cops attack protests against new military government

Nigerian riot police attacked antigovernment protests organized June 12 by capitalist opposition forces following the death of Gen. Sani Abacha, the country's military ruler for five years. The opposition was calling for the release of imprisoned bourgeois opposition leader Moshood Abiola. Hundreds of protesters scattered as gun shots and tear gas filled the streets. Maj. Gen.

Abdusalam Abubakar, who stepped in after Abacha's death, promised a "democratic transition," but the new military government has given no indication it plans to release political prisoners or meet other popular demands for democratic rights.

Nigeria was a direct British colony until it won formal independence in 1962. Since then, London has continued to back repressive, pro-imperialist regimes. Abacha took power in 1993, cracking down on opponents in the cities and mounting a brutal campaign against the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP), which was waging a fight against dictatorial rule and against mass pollution of their region by Dutch Shell. Hundreds of activists including

central leaders of MOSOP were killed by the military under Abacha's orders.

Haitian boat sinks, dozens killed

A boat carrying more than 100 Haitians sank June 8 after cops in the Turks and Caicos Islands fired shots, leaving at least 30 dead, according to accounts by Haitian passengers. Turks and Caicos is a British island colony between Cuba and the Bahamas.

Many immigrants from Haiti migrate to the islands in that area looking for work. Government officials were making great efforts to prove that no bullets hit the ship or passengers aboard. They do not dispute, however, the likelihood that the gunfire by the cops caused the Haitians to rush to one side of the boat, causing the capsizing.

Former dictator in Argentina faces charges of child abduction

"Murderer! Murderer!" shouted protesters who jeered former Argentine military dictator Jorge Videla June 11 as he was escorted to court by riot cops. Videla was detained and held for questioning on charges of child abduction carried out during his time as junta leader. He has refused to testify in court. Videla presided over the U.S.-backed military dictatorship in Argentina in 1976-83, when tens of thousands of workers and other people in that South American country were "disappeared" and killed by government-organized death squads. Videla was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1985 for human rights abuses. But in 1990 President Carlos Menem pardoned him and other senior and middle-ranking officers.

—BRIAN TAYLOR

THE MILITANT

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Cop brutality and racist attacks continue to be met with public protests, from Trenton, New Jersey, to British Columbia. The 'Militant' covers these fights and explains the growing class polarization that such attacks are part of. Don't miss a single issue!



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Somalis fight for right to asylum in Sweden

BY DECHOR HIEN
AND ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — At a June 3 rally here 200 people protested against government moves to deport Somali refugees from Sweden. They carried banners demanding, "We want the right to asylum," "No temporary permits," and "The Immigration bureau knows nothing about Somalia." Most of the protesters were Somalis, a number of them young women.

This year alone the social democratic government has rejected applications for political asylum by 1,100 Somalis, according to official figures. Speakers at the rally put the number at around 2,000.

"In the last few weeks we have been trying to come together from different organizations to fight the deportations," said one man who, like most, asked not to have his name printed. "We had a smaller protest at the beginning of May in a suburban area, and now this one."

The reason immigration officials and other government officials give for the threatened deportations is that the situation in Somalia is now safe. Many Somalis know, however, that the real conditions that forced them to come here as political refugees is far from the sunny picture painted by these officials.

Supporters of Anita Östling, Communist League candidate for parliament, participated in the rally. In a campaign statement they pointed out that the government's anti-immigrant policies are giving a green light to rightist forces that have carried out racist attacks on refugees and other immigrants. The socialist candidate has been demanding, "Stop the deportations! Open the borders!" and calling for affirmative action in hiring and education for immigrants from nations oppressed by imperialism.

Some 20,000 Somalis live in Sweden, the single largest number of immigrants from Africa. Government officials and "immigra-

tion experts" often claim that Somalis are "difficult to integrate into Swedish society" as an argument for trying to get rid of them. One such "difficulty" is the fact that Somalis here have a record of vocally defending their rights, the latest example being the protests in May and June.

Unemployment among Somali immigrants stands at record numbers — more than 90 percent according to some figures.

Authorities push refugees to go home

The threat of mass deportations of Somalis was accompanied by the recent official invitation to Sweden of Aden Abdullahi Noor (also known as Gabbiyo), a general and defense minister in the dictatorial, pro-imperialist regime of Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre in the 1980s. Gabbiyo's trip to Sweden was paid for by the immigration bureau.

Gabbiyo was brought to Sweden to put pressure on Somalis to go home. He appeared on television arguing that it is now safe and that Somalis should return.

Protests followed the former Somali government official at many of his stops around the country. Angry immigrants threw bottles at him and chased him out of meetings. Facts about his unsavory past in the Siad Barre regime were publicized. The whole affair developed into a major embarrassment for the government, which finally withdrew his visa and ordered him to leave the country.

The government has taken steps to make it increasingly difficult to obtain political asylum in Sweden. The borders for legal immigration are now virtually closed. Even many refugees from shooting wars no longer qualify for asylum according to official criteria. In more and more cases they are being given temporary permits instead.

"You get a temporary permit to stay for six months," a protester at the rally explained. "Then it's renewed for another six months. And another six months. And another. Many people live like this for years,

Workers shut down London 'Tube' for two days



Militant/Phil Waterhouse

Some 6,000 rail workers on London's Underground, members of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union (RMT), above, struck June 15 and 16 to protest the recently announced plans of the Labour government to sell it off to capitalists. "Behind the privatization move is a massive attack on pay, conditions, and pensions," said striker Alwyn Thomas at Morden depot. "The strike begins to show we mean business too," he added. The bosses claimed they had been able to keep service running, but pickets insisted it was actually half of their planned reduced service. On June 19 RMT track maintenance workers throughout the country begin nine days of strike action against concessions demanded by the rail bosses. Responding to these and other labor struggles, Peter Lilley, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, warned his fellow capitalist politicians June 14, "From bus drivers in Cardiff to firemen in Essex, Underground employees in London, railway maintenance workers, and broadcast engineers nationwide, there is a creeping return to strike action."

until they're finally deported."

Some refugees who have been legal residents of Sweden for years have had their permits questioned and withdrawn. There are cases of individuals who, having lived and worked here legally for 8–10 years, have been expelled for allegedly lying on their asylum applications when they came. These tightened government policies against immigrants have resulted in thousands being driven virtually underground to escape deportation.

Government officials are also pushing to get refugees from Yugoslavia to go back. They have encouraged so-called humanitarian organizations to "help" refugees return. These groups help pay for "trial" trips by refugees to their native countries, giving them lump sum payments to start "a new life in the old country."

Dechor Hien and Anita Östling are members of the Transport Workers Union in Stockholm.

British imperialism fuels civil war in Sierra Leone

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — A war between rival armed factions, fanned by imperialist interests, has been going on in Sierra Leone since 1991. The havoc being wreaked on the workers and farmers of this West African country, however, only became headline news in the British press as the background to a controversy surrounding Sandline International, a British mercenary group.

The focus of attention in the big-business media is whether Sandline breached United Nations sanctions against Sierra Leone by supplying arms to Nigerian troops to oust the government of John Paul Koroma, and whether the British government knew about and sanctioned the group's actions. The Nigerian troops, fighting under the banner of the West African "peacekeeping" force known as ECOMOG, reinstalled the British-backed regime of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah in March 1998.

The British government and capitalist press have used the controversy to applaud British complicity in organizing the coup as supposedly supporting democracy in Africa.

London has long supported successive pro-imperialist regimes in Sierra Leone with arms and military training. In 1994 the British government brought in 58 Gurkha troops and, when these took heavy casualties, fell back on mercenaries provided by "Executive Outcomes," an outfit run by former members of apartheid South Africa's Special Forces.

Kabbah's Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) had come to power in March 1996 in an election financed by the British government. The SLPP, one of the longtime bourgeois parties, has traditionally represented the interests of capitalist forces in the rural areas outside Freetown. The army did not back Kabbah.

In face of a rural guerrilla opposition, Kabbah brought in Sandline to train a rural militia of 40,000 made up mostly of Mende tribal hunters called *kamajors*. Kabbah, however, was overthrown by Maj. Koroma and other army forces in May 1997.

The Nigerian dictatorship of Gen. Sani Abacha, under the ECOMOG facade, immediately sent troops into Sierra Leone with the stated intention of restoring Kabbah. On June 2, 1997, Nigerian naval vessels shelled the army headquarters in the capital city of Freetown and seized the international airport.

Washington and London made no comment on the Nigerian intervention. UN secretary general Kofi Annan, addressing the Organization of African States, called on those present "to do whatever is in our power to restore it [democracy] to its rightful owners the people. Verbal condemnation... is not sufficient," words that could only be seen as a green light to efforts to overthrow the Koroma government.

Imperialists want mineral resources

A British colony until 1961, Sierra Leone is a vastly rich country whose people are among the most exploited in the world. Imperialism has fostered the divisions between the different peoples in Sierra Leone — the Temne, Mende, and others — to maintain their domination of the country.

Sierra Leone is rich in diamonds, gold,

bauxite, and rutile (titanium oxide). Sierra Leonean diamonds are among the best in the world. This natural wealth, however, has never been developed to benefit the Sierra Leonean people but has always been sucked out of the country into the coffers of the imperialist conglomerates. Life expectancy in 1992 was 42.4 years, and infant mortality in 1994 was 200 out of 1,000 live births. In 1996, according to UNICEF's figures, 5,000 children in Freetown died before reaching their first birthday. Average income per capita is less than \$250 a year. With diamond exports to imperialist metropolises taking precedence over education, illiteracy afflicts about 80 percent of the population.

Although Sierra Leone is rich in marine resources it loses \$30 million of fish due to poaching by foreign vessels. A British "aid program in 1990, allegedly designed to help prevent poaching, cost Sierra Leone more than its entire income from fishing. Some 65 percent of the population is engaged in agriculture, but, the economic crisis and distortions caused by imperialist domination, aggravated by the war devastation, has led to increasing imports of food and fuel.

Imperialist mining companies have used private armies such as Sandline — which is linked to the South African mercenary outfit Executive Outcomes — to defend their pillage of Sierra Leone's resources with arms and by installing client regimes. Kabbah agreed to pay Lt. Col. Timothy Spicer, Sandline's boss, for putting him back in power with \$10 million worth of diamond concessions. According to a May 13 article by *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner, the mineral trader Rakesh Saxena underwrote the Sandline operation in Sierra Leone.

These conditions have periodically sparked resistance by working people and others. Since 1980 the colleges in Freetown have been closed for long periods because of strikes and protests by students and others. Throughout the 1980s there were strikes by public employees and other unions against the regime's economic policies. Under this kind of pressure, the Kabbah

government made public promises that it would take measures to resettle people displaced by the war, cut the illiteracy rate from 80 percent to 40 percent, build a health center in every chiefdom, and commence a road-building plan to link all the villages.

In March 1997, two months before it was overthrown, however, the Kabbah regime introduced a steep increase in fuel prices under pressure from the International Monetary Fund. It had already lifted restrictions on the operation of private — mostly foreign — capital and had promised to set up a so-called free trade zone. This undermined the regime and allowed Koroma's forces to carry out a coup.

Washington's complicity

Hampered by popular opposition to sending imperialist troops to intervene directly, Washington, London, and Paris have begun to set up projects to train African "peacekeeping" forces to defend their interests. In 1997 the Clinton administration launched a African Crisis Response Initiative, which aims to train 10 battalions from 10 governments in Africa.

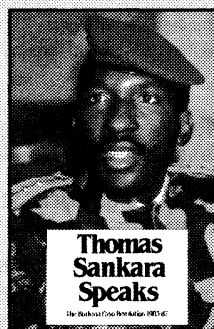
The imperialist powers have also trained troops in Uganda, Senegal, and Malawi. The last two are countries that Paris considers its preserve. The French government has replaced its troops in the Central African Republic with a force drawn from six African states and run by French "advisers." London is not the only power that backed the intervention in Sierra Leone. Bonner reports in the May 13 *New York Times* that, according to an unnamed senior Clinton administration official as well as Sandline itself, the British mercenary group kept the U.S. State Department informed of its operations "at the highest level." Sandline reportedly brought in planeloads of assault rifles, mortars, and ammunition into Sierra Leone, as well as "personnel."

U.S. State Department spokesman James Rubin tried to downplay these facts. In a May 11 press conference, he described Sandline as merely a "private security firm that protected mining and construction interests in Sierra Leone."

PATHFINDER

Thomas Sankara Speaks The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983–87

The leader of the Burkina Faso revolution recounts how peasants and workers in this West African country began confronting hunger, illiteracy, and economic backwardness prior to the 1987 coup in which Sankara was murdered. \$18.95



Available from bookstores, including those on page 12.

Socialists build active workers conference

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

PITTSBURGH — "In response to the developments in the labor movement here and around the country — the strikes against General Motors in Flint, the three-week-long strike at SEPTA, increased resistance by coal miners in Appalachia — we decided this week to sell the *Militant* at more plant gates and portals," said Diana Newberry, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party's work in the coalfields.

This is what supporters of the Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists are doing leading up to the Active Workers Conference, to be held here July 11-12.

This effort got off to a good start June 16 when two *Militant* supporters sold the socialist paper to six workers at a GM parts plant in West Mifflin, just outside Pittsburgh. The United Auto Workers (UAW) members

were eager to read the coverage on the two strikes taking place in Flint, Michigan, as well as on broader political issues. The facility is the largest UAW-organized plant in the area.

Later that day, another team traveled to the coalfields in western Pennsylvania. "We sold three *Militants* to miners at the Emerald mine as they rushed into work," said Cecelia Moriarity, a steelworker at USX Clairton Works who is the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Sales at another three UMW-organized mine portals were planned for later in the week.

"In the next few weeks," said Adam Levenstein, a student at Penn State University, "supporters of the YS here will be organizing fund-raisers to help make it possible for several interested young people to

attend the Active Workers conference. We have a party planned for June 27.

The Young Socialists are holding a class at the University of Pittsburgh entitled, "What is Socialism?" based on readings from *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon. This grew out of a class held in early June that was attended by seven people on the *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Another activity the Young Socialists are involved in here is the effort to get Dorothy Kolis, a Steelworker and Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, on the ballot. "Talking to people on the streets is one of the best ways to learn about the Young Socialists," said Stefanie Swenko, a student at the University of Pittsburgh. An Indonesian worker, who attended the June 14 Pennsylvania Socialist Workers state convention,

has asked to join the Young Socialists.

So far supporters of the socialist campaign have netted 1,265 signatures toward their goal of 3,500. On July 13 campaign supporters got 265 people signed up, despite intermittent downpours of rain. A team also sold the *Militant* at the McElroy mine in West Virginia.

The ad on this page highlights the political themes of the Active Workers Conference. All conference sessions, meals, and other activities will be held at the Marriott hotel in downtown Pittsburgh, maximizing the time available for both the organized and informal discussions. The \$95 registration fee includes the cost of four catered meals. Hotel room rates for the conference are \$109. An important aspect of building the conference will be organizing fund-raising scholarships for those who need them.

Active Workers Conference ❖ Pittsburgh, July 11-12

Main Presentations

Sea change in working-class politics

JACK BARNES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY NATIONAL SECRETARY

- Exhaustion of bosses' ability to demoralize workers and hold off defensive action by the working class
- A crisis of the working-class vanguard is precipitated worldwide
- The growing political convergence of party branch and trade union fraction work
- Facing the party's retreat and retaking the living knowledge and practice of Marxism
- Producing books and pamphlets as a combined responsibility of branches, fractions, volunteers, and the apparatus — The 'turtle' fights back
- Preparing the party's national convention by strengthening our continuity: 60th anniversary of founding of SWP, 70th anniversary of the *Militant* and Pathfinder Press, and 80th anniversary of the communist movement in North America
- From Cuba to the U.S., communist vanguard regardless of size faces challenge of sharply changed situation: lessons from interviews with generals of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces and from the life of Manuel Piñero.

Discuss plans for year-end anniversary convention of the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco

Structuring party branches and union fractions through mass work

A PANEL OF WORKER-BOLSHEVIKS

LESSONS OF COMMUNIST WORK FROM MCDONALD'S TO CASE CORP., FROM FLINT STRIKE TO THE PHILADELPHIA TRANSIT WORKERS WALKOUT, FROM DENMARK TO AUSTRALIA

NORTON SANDLER, PANEL MODERATOR

Member, International Association of Machinists; San Francisco

PANELISTS INCLUDE:

TOM ALTER Member, United Food and Commercial Workers; Des Moines, Iowa

DIANA NEWBERRY Organizer of SWP's work in the coalfields; Pittsburgh

ANNA OLSON Member, Transport Workers Union; Stockholm, Sweden

GAETAN WHISTON Member, United Steelworkers of America; Minneapolis

Puerto Rico: New rise of independence struggle as world imperialism weakens

VERÓNICA POSES

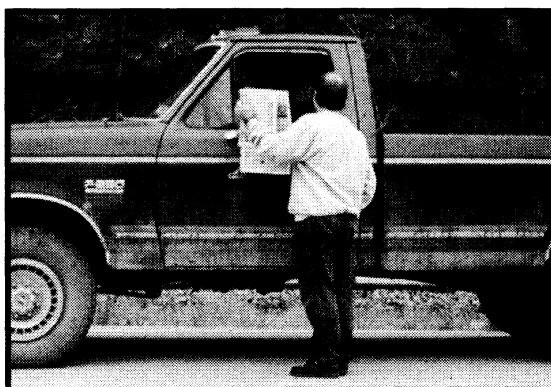
YOUNG SOCIALISTS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

- The uniqueness of the SWP's 60-year-long record placing support for Puerto Rican independence at the center of strategy for the coming American socialist revolution
- Cuba's socialist revolution: class litmus test among pro-independence forces
- Imperialist decline opens door to resurgence of national liberation struggles from Ireland to Quebec
- Build the July 25 actions! Independence for Puerto Rico! Free the political prisoners!

4 The Militant June 29, 1998



Members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) in Philadelphia on strike against SEPTA, June 1998.



Selling the *Militant* to coal miner at Marrowbone portal mine in southern West Virginia, May 9, 1998.

CONFERENCE DISPLAYS

**Retaking Marxism:
Organizing branch socialist
summer schools**

**The reorganization of labor in the party
print shop and the international
volunteer brigade digitizing Pathfinder
books**

*'The Revolution Betrayed' comes off
presses: the first joint product of
volunteers and the print shop*

*First reduction in the print shop's size and
department structure*

*Floor plan for installation of computer-to-
plate technology and photos of new
equipment*

*Plans for organizing volunteers to prepare
site for installation of new machinery*

**Puerto Rico,
the Socialist Workers Party,
and the fight for independence**

CONFERENCE SITE

Marriott City Center

112 Washington Place, Pittsburgh, PA

FOR INFORMATION CALL:

Cleveland SWP (216) 861-6150 **Pittsburgh SWP** (412) 381-9785

YS National Committee
(773) 772-0551

Schedule

Saturday, July 11

- 8:00 – 11:00 a.m. Registration
- 11:00 – 12:00 p.m. Welcome reception / Lunch
- 12:00 – 2:30 p.m. Talk on Puerto Rico and discussion
- 3:00 – 5:30 p.m. Panel discussion (1st session)
- 5:30 – 7:30 p.m. Dinner
- 7:30 – 11:30 p.m. Talk on Sea Change in Working-Class Politics and discussion

LAUNCHING OF CAPITAL FUND
TO UPGRADE PRINTING EQUIPMENT

12:00 – 1:30 a.m. Party

Sunday, July 12

- 8:00 – 9:00 a.m. Breakfast
- 9:00 – 11:30 a.m. Panel discussion (2nd session)
- 12:00 – 1:00 p.m. Lunch
- 1:30 – 3:30 p.m. Summary of conference

4:30 p.m. – Meeting of the members of the SWP's national trade union fraction steering committees

Monday-Tuesday, July 13-14

Meeting of the SWP's National Committee



May 28 picket in New York protesting victimization by U.S. government of Puerto Rican independence fighters Juan Marcos Vilar and Ruben Rivera.

HOSTS

Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Party,
Cleveland Socialist Workers Party,
Pittsburgh Young Socialists,
Young Socialists National Committee,
SWP National Trade Union
Fraction Steering Committees

Volunteers prepare 'Sexism and Science' in digital form

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

"By June 28 we will deliver to Pathfinder *Sexism and Science* in digital form," said Ruth Cheney in a June 18 telephone interview from her home in Oakland, California.

Cheney heads a steering committee of four supporters of the communist movement in the San Francisco Bay Area. The committee organizes volunteers from around the world to put into electronic format the entire back list of some 350 titles that Pathfinder Press publishes or is responsible for keeping in print and distributing.

On June 13 the first joint product of volunteers and Pathfinder's print shop came into fruition. *The Revolution Betrayed* by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky was delivered for sale that day. The body of the book was digitized by volunteers. The electronic files of the book were then used to produce printing plates through state-of-the-art computer-to-plate technology that the publisher's print shop will soon acquire. The internal design of the book was redone in the process of converting the text into electronic files. As a result, the new reprint of this title (the eleventh printing of the fifth edition) has larger and more readable type. All previous printings had maintained the original typography from the first edition in 1937, which was set by hot-lead type.

The six-color cover of this title was put into electronic format through "copydot scanning." Shop workers organized the digitizing of the cover using a company that does this kind of high quality scanning in New York — a process that in the future can be organized by volunteers as well.

The use of computer-to-plate technology will enable Pathfinder to keep its entire arsenal in print with a smaller and less complex print shop and at a lower cost for small runs. This is needed to meet the growing interest in revolutionary literature among working people who are increasingly standing up to the demands for sacrifice by the employers.

Militant business manager Maurice Williams reports that bundle orders for the socialist newsweekly are 16 percent higher on average than a year ago. In a June 12 note to the *Militant*, typical of many recent reports, Jane Harris, a member of the United Transportation Union in Newark who works at New Jersey Transit, said she sold 16 copies of the paper the previous week to fellow

workers there. "The night the issue featuring the Philadelphia SEPTA strike came out, a team of socialists who have been selling regularly about one paper per week to workers outside my work site sold four copies. During the week I sold 16."

In Los Angeles, socialist workers have been selling the *Militant* and Pathfinder books regularly outside the Longshore pay office on Fridays, reported Craig Honts, another rail worker there. "On May 29, two teams sold 52 *Militants*, 3 *Militant* subscriptions, and \$135 worth of Pathfinder titles. These sales teams have been selling 40 to 70 copies of the paper each time we've been down there since the events began unfolding with the Maritime Union of Australia," whose members recently pushed back an attack on their union.

About 100 volunteers are part of the international project to digitize Pathfinder books. They are organized into three departments, according to skill and regardless of where they live around the world — scanning, proofreading, and formatting.

"Twenty-nine volunteers are now qualified to scan books and turn them into digital files," said Cheney, "up from 15 a month ago." After the digitized manuscripts are stripped of most errors by "massaging," they are sent back to the organizing center in the Bay Area, which assigns them to proofreaders. More than 50 volunteers are doing the first read of the books and the initial correction of errors. Only a handful, though, are qualified to do the second and final proofreading. "That's still the biggest challenge and bottleneck we face in getting a production line going," Cheney said.

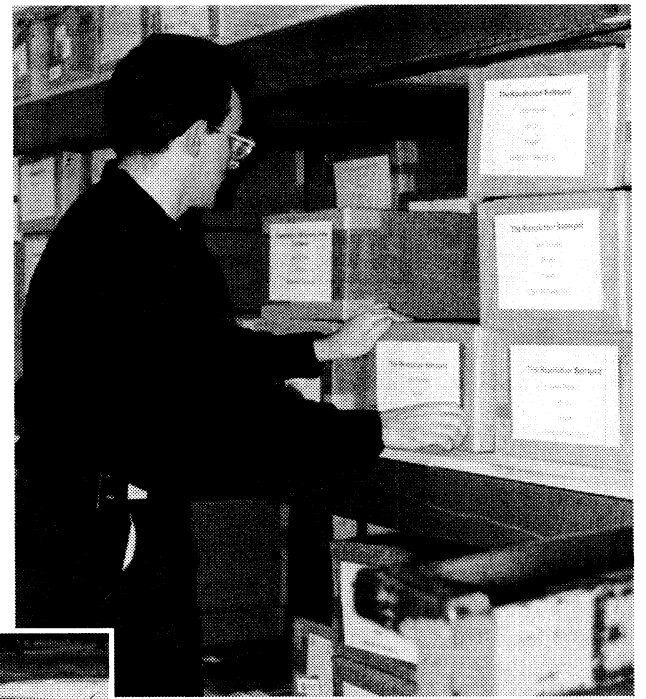
Progress has been registered in training volunteers to format the digital files of books, the final stage in preparing electronic page layouts that can be used directly to produce printing plates. "We now have six formatters, compared to two a month ago."

The steering committee insists on taking time to find and train those who can maintain the high standards for accuracy and quality that Pathfinder is known for, Cheney said. At the same time, rapidly training more volunteers in each skill, especially quality proofreading, is essential to pick up the pace of digitizing books, which is needed to meet the demand for these titles. Days after completing *Sexism and Science* by Evelyn Reed,

the Bay Area volunteer organizers are planning to finish putting *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* into electronic format. Another four titles are scheduled to be completed in July.

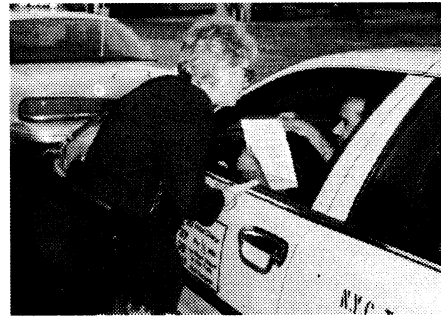
Those who would like to join any aspect of the project can contact Cheney at rcheney3@compuserve.com

To facilitate communication, the Bay Area steering



Militant/Juliette Montauk

Pathfinder print shop worker David Rosenfeld delivers to the publisher's mail room the bound copies of *The Revolution Betrayed*, the first joint product of volunteers and the print shop, on June 13 (above). Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers candidate for New York attorney general, campaigns with leaflets, the *Militant*, and Pathfinder books among striking taxi drivers in Manhattan a week earlier (right).



Militant/George Chalmers

committee has set up a web site, where proofreading and scanning instructions are posted, as well as articles on the project. These include the talk by Mary-Alice Wa-

ters "Transforming Pathfinder book production as we respond to workers resistance" from the June 1 *Militant*. The site can be accessed at www.pfvolcenter.com

Wisconsin court extends voucher system, attacks public education

BY MEGAN ARNEY

The Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld a ruling June 10 to extend the use of publicly funded vouchers to pay for religious schools. The move, a first in the United States, allows the state government to allocate \$5,000 vouchers directly to parents of children who will attend religious schools in Milwaukee.

Milwaukee already had 1,500 students attending nonreligious private schools with vouchers. With the new ruling, the number is estimated to jump to about 15,000. For each student who uses vouchers for private schools, the public school budget is cut by about \$5,000.

The state supreme court rejected arguments by the Wisconsin chapter of the National Education Association, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other organizations, who argued that the extension of the voucher program violated the First Amendment's separation of church and state. Wisconsin's highest court rejected this argument 4-2, claiming the plan would not give money di-

rectly to religious schools, but the parents of students. The ACLU said it will appeal the ruling.

The city of Cleveland, which currently gives vouchers for 2,000 students to attend nonreligious private schools, also has provisions for parochial schools, but these have been blocked by a state appeals court.

A variant on the voucher system that has been implemented more widely is so-called charter schools — private educational facilities that receive government funding. Currently, there are 784 charter schools nationwide.

In his June 13 syndicated column, ultra-rightist Patrick Buchanan heralded the Wisconsin supreme court's decision as historic and a "cause for rejoicing." He added, "Even if the Milwaukee victory is validated by the high court, the battle for public opinion is not yet won," and argued for "granting vouchers to all parents, not just the poor but the middle class." Buchanan then went on to call for dress codes, harsher discipline, teaching religion and "values," as well as "genuinely free and fair competition" in public education.

Monthly sales of Pathfinder books						
Countries/Cities	May			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	% Sold	April	March	Feb
FRANCE	30	81	270%	37%	117%	43%
AUSTRALIA	36	54	150%	114%	97%	117%
SWEDEN	60	66	110%	57%	142%	142%
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	150	156	104%	85%	95%	
Manchester	56	45	80%	54%	50%	
U.K. Total	206	201	98%	77%	83%	
NEW ZEALAND						
Auckland	35	44	126%	83%	121%	100%
Christchurch	32	15	47%	66%	81%	91%
N.Z. Total	67	59	88%	76%	103%	96%
CANADA						
Montreal	50	47	94%	115%	79%	51%
Toronto	80	54	68%	74%	100%	81%
Vancouver	50	20	40%	86%	128%	88%
Canada Total	180	121	67%	91%	100%	73%
UNITED STATES						
Chicago	77	122	158%	70%	118%	125%
Detroit	45	65	144%	116%	104%	89%
Los Angeles	120	148	123%	246%	214%	120%
Boston	85	90	106%	132%	208%	151%
Miami	65	58	89%	135%	103%	149%
Washington, D.C.	70	60	86%	160%	191%	113%
New York	245	192	78%	104%	122%	78%
Seattle	80	61	76%	75%	45%	54%
Atlanta	48	34	71%	127%	100%	152%
Philadelphia	55	36	65%	82%	105%	129%
Birmingham	45	23	51%	64%	64%	84%
Cleveland	50	25	50%	38%	62%	78%
San Francisco	200	98	49%	62%	83%	87%
Pittsburgh	63	24	38%	71%	73%	75%
Des Moines	54	20	37%	54%	100%	50%
Twin Cities	104	33	32%	61%	39%	59%
Houston	65	16	25%	34%	80%	52%
Newark	171	19	11%	41%	81%	47%
U.S. Total	1642	1124	62%	84%	96%	88%
Goal/Should be	1800	1800	100%			

IN THE UNIONS						
Unions	May			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	Total	April	March	Feb.
BRITAIN						
AEEU	5	3	60%	40%	60%	20%
RMT	6	2	33%	117%	150%	117%
TGWU	7	1	14%	0%	29%	86%
UK total	18	6	33%	50%	78%	61%
NEW ZEALAND						
EU	2	2	100%	50%	50%	50%
MWU	3	0	0%	0%	0%	33%
SFWU	1	0	0%	0%	0%	0%
N.Z. total	6	2	33%	17%	17%	33%
UNITED STATES						
UFCW	10	5	50%	130%	90%	90%
USWA	40	16	40%	38%	50%	88%
IAM	60	21	35%	62%	42%	92%
UNITE	20	8	30%	45%	70%	105%
UTU	72	19	26%	19%	21%	82%
UAW	50	11	22%	56%	14%	82%
OCAW	22	3	14%	32%	32%	114%
U.S. total	264	76	29%	45%	35%	89%
CANADA						
IAM	7	6	86%	86%	86%	86%
UNITE	6	3	50%	33%		
CAW	8	1	13%	0%		
USWA	18	0	0%	0%	17%	32%
Canada total	39	10	26%	21%	36%	45%
AUSTRALIA						
AMWU	2	0	0%	0%	0%	0%

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Manufacturers Union; CAW — Canadian Autoworkers Union; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

L.A. high school youth walk out over anti-bilingual education law

BY CRAIG HONTIS

LOS ANGELES — Hundreds of students at several high schools in this region walked out of school to protest the passage of Proposition 227, the ballot measure that bans bilingual education in public schools in California. On June 5 a spirited group of 250 students from Belmont High School here left their classrooms and marched downtown to City Hall to protest the attack on bilingual education. The police handcuffed and took away three young women.

A week later 500 students walked out at Belmont, Roosevelt, and Wilson high schools. The students converged on the downtown Federal Building. The actions occurred as a Federal Judge Charles Legge set July 15 for hearing oral arguments in the legal challenge to Proposition 227, which was filed by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Patrick Fernández, a senior at Belmont who came to the United States from El Salvador four years ago, said, "Ninety percent of the students at Belmont High oppose Proposition 227. Many of us come from other countries and want to learn English. But it's not so easy to do in one year, which is what Proposition 227 will force on us."

The big majority of students interviewed by the *Militant* outside Belmont on June 11-12 expressed opposition to Proposition 227. One student who did support Proposition 227 was Alfredo Leon, a senior who was born in the United States and grew up speak-

ing English. "Most students here oppose Proposition 227. But if you're going to come to the U.S., you need to learn English as a priority. Having one year is hard, but it will force students to learn the language instead of just coasting through school without ever bothering to learn it, which is what a lot of students do now." Silvio Hernández, a sophomore who immigrated from Nicaragua in 1995, disagreed. "Proposition 227 is really bad. All the people who come here from other countries won't understand what is being said in school. Many are going to drop out."

Walkouts also took place June 5 at three high schools in the area of Oxnard, north of here. Some 60 Channel Islands High School students marched out of class to a park three miles away, where they held a rally. At Rio Mesa High, 250 students held a rally in the school cafeteria. At Hueneme High School 70 students rallied on the campus. At Rio Mesa High School, 135 students walked out of class again June 8.

Pre-election polls had reported that Latinos in California were overwhelmingly in favor of Proposition 227. On Oct. 15, 1997 the *Los Angeles Times* stated, "Support [for Prop 227] was in the 75 percent to 80 percent range virtually across the board, among

all races, income levels and age groups. Latino voters surveyed favored the initiative by a slightly higher margin—84 percent to 16 percent — than whites at 80 percent to 18 percent." On election day, the *Times* reported that "support for Proposition 227 remained rock-solid and in fact grew in the Latino community, according to [a] poll, which showed voters backing the initiative by a 63 percent-23 percent margin."

The following day, as the voting results came in, the *Times* reported that across the state, "Latinos polled Tuesday said they opposed the initiative by a margin of 2 to 1, many describing it as discriminatory."

The 37 percent of Latinos in California who voted in favor of the anti-bilingual education measure was higher than the 23 per-

cent of Latinos who in 1994 voted for Proposition 187, a measure designed to bar undocumented immigrants from public education and health care. Advocates of Proposition 227, who included a number of prominent Latino professional figures, played on the real concerns of many people over the inadequacies of the bilingual education programs in California schools.

In the Los Angeles Unified School District, where 44 percent of the state's 680,000 students with limited English skills are reported to be enrolled, around 1,000 teachers have signed pledges to refuse to comply with Proposition 227.

Craig Hontis is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1674.



Some 250 students rally outside Los Angeles City Hall June 5 after marching from Belmont High School to protest Proposition 227, the anti-bilingual education measure passed in May elections.

Protesters blast racist cop attack on N.J. Turnpike

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

TRENTON, New Jersey — More than 300 people turned out June 5 at a meeting at Shiloh Baptist Church here to protest a recent incident of cop brutality.

Four Black and Latino students, on their way to a basketball camp in North Caro-

lina, were stopped by two state troopers on the New Jersey Turnpike April 23 for "speeding." Within minutes the cops had fired a hail of bullets into their vehicle at point-blank range, wounding three of the students, two seriously. Denny Reyes, 20, was shot six times; Leroy Grant, 23, four times;

Rayhawn Brown, 20, twice.

The attack, witnessed by at least two passing motorists who have come forward to challenge the cops' claim of "self-defense," has brought to a boil long-simmering anger over the notorious police practice known as "profiling." For years cops along the turn-

pike, one of most heavily traveled north-south routes in the United States, have routinely stopped as many as five Blacks workers and youth for every white motorist they haul over to the side of the road.

Many at the meeting here had come because either they or someone in their family or friends had personally experienced racist treatment by highway cops.

Catharine Graham, a retired state worker who is a vice president of the Trenton NAACP, told the *Militant* how she herself had been stopped early one morning on the grounds that her lights were "too bright." People do get stopped because of the color of their skin, she said. "It does happen. And there's got to be something done about it."

Victoria Sanderson, a 38-year-old lab technician, came because as a teenager she had been stopped for "speeding," ended up facing two cops with drawn rifles, and then found herself in front of a judge, charged with "resisting arrest." The incident has dogged her ever since, she said, most recently costing her a job in Texas that called for a review of her police record.

Speakers at the event included Trenton mayor Douglas Palmer and Alfred Sharpton, a Democratic party politician from New York. Sharpton spoke out, as he often does, against the individual incident of police brutality while defending cops as an institution. Like other Democratic and Republican politicians, he also promoted the "anticrime" campaign.

"We're fighting for police accountability," Sharpton said. But "we're not antipolice. We're against our children being shot in cold blood. But we're also against crime. We're against sick and savage behavior.... We're for proper police behavior."

Also prominent in the meeting and among its sponsors were members of Black Cops against Brutality, an organization that seeks to portray police abuse of working people as a problem attributable to a handful of misguided individuals.

No one was given a chance to speak from the floor. Interest in actually doing something about police abuse and its connection with broader social and political issues was reflected in the response to the *Militant*. Seventeen copies and one subscription were sold at the meeting.

FBI seizure of Palestinian's home in Chicago and anti-Arab 'terrorist' smear spark protest

BY JOHN VOTAVA

CHICAGO — In a serious attack on democratic rights and an attempt to smear the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) swooped down upon the family of Mohammad Salah June 9, confiscating his home in the Chicago suburb of Bridgeview and nearly \$1.5 million in assets of the Qur'anic Literacy Institute (QLI).

Some 500 people marched to protest the harassment of Salah June 12. They were also demonstrating against the step up in harassment of the Arab community here. Accord-

ing to the Islamic Association for Palestine, in the two days following the attack on Salah more than 30 Arabs in this area were visited by the FBI.

While no formal charges have been filed, the FBI alleges the QLI is a money-laundering operation tied to the Palestinian organization Hamas, and that the fact that Salah's employment at the QLI is a likely cover for his position in Hamas, which U.S. officials tar as a "terrorist" organization.

The FBI cites statutes supposedly designed to combat the financing of drug smuggling as a legal basis for taking such

action without charges being filed.

Salah, a naturalized U.S. citizen who has lived in the Chicago area since 1970, has denied the allegations against him.

This is not the first time Salah has faced persecution and denial of his rights for his activities. In 1993 he was arrested by Israeli police while on a mission to aid 415 Palestinian families that had been deported on accusations of being members of Hamas. He was going to deliver \$200,000 in aid to them collected at mosques across the United States. He was interrogated for 45 days with a hood over his head, his feet chained, and his hands tied behind a slanted chair that left his head and body slumped forward. Under these conditions he was forced to sign a confession in Hebrew, which he does not read. When threatened with a 12-year sentence, he pleaded guilty in return for a five-year prison term.

While Salah was in prison, U.S. president William Clinton, in an unprecedented step, froze his and his wife's U.S. bank accounts in 1995. Azita Salah, who is expecting their fourth child, is only allowed to draw a small monthly stipend from the account to pay for food and living expenses for their children.

The Islamic Association for Palestine issued a press release denouncing the action by the FBI stating: "QLI is a nonprofit, non-political, Islamic education organization whose sole purpose is to translate and interpret the holy book of Muslims, the Holy Qur'an. Labeling QLI as a money-laundering front for terrorism is viewed by community members as yet another antagonistic and intimidating attack in hopes of deterring active support of Islamic causes and organizations."

from Pathfinder

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

A PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE TODAY

Edited by Doug Jenness

How a program to fight for jobs and affirmative action, and to combat imperialism's pillage of the Third World, is crucial to uniting working people internationally. \$3.00

Available in English, French, Icelandic, Spanish, and Swedish.

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Maoism versus Bolshevism

The treachery of Stalinism in China and Indonesia

The following is the introduction to *Maoism vs. Bolshevism: The 1965 Catastrophe in Indonesia, China's "Cultural Revolution," and the Disintegration of World Stalinism*, a new Education for Socialists bulletin just published by Pathfinder Press (see add on this page). The introduction is a letter from Steve Clark to a leader of the communist movement in the United Kingdom concerning a request to reprint the 1966 pamphlet *The Catastrophe in Indonesia*, from which an article was excerpted in the April 6 *Militant*. Clark refers to a letter to the editor by Ma'mud Shirvani about Mandel's article that appeared in the April 20 *Militant*. The complete text of Shirvani's letter appears on this page.

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June 6, 1998

Dear Comrade,

The request from some comrades in the United Kingdom to reprint *The Catastrophe in Indonesia*, as well as a similar request from some comrades here in New York, prompted a discussion in the Socialist Workers Party Political Committee on several political questions that we wanted to raise with you.

The pamphlet was published in 1966 by Merit Publishers, Pathfinder's predecessor. Pathfinder subsequently withdrew it from publication because of the political line of Ernest Mandel's article, which reflected his view that Maoism was left centrist in character rather than counterrevolutionary Stalinist. It was a political error for the *Militant* to have run an excerpt from Mandel's article in the "Book of the Week Column" in its April 6 issue. Ma'mud [Shirvani]'s comments in the April 20 issue — pointing out that "the article fails to draw the central lesson: the treacherous role of Stalinism in leading the masses to defeat without a battle" — should have been printed as a special feature correcting the error. Instead, it was relegated to the letters column, where readers had no reason to believe it reflected anything more than one person's opinion.

What is in some ways most notable about both the decision of the *Militant* editor to run the Mandel excerpt and the proposals to reprint the 1966 pamphlet is that comrades did not do the political work beforehand to

go back and mine the rich record of the communist movement over many decades — the political continuity of the revolutionary working class, conquered in blood. Few did the hard but rewarding work to find out what our movement had written in the past about the struggles against Dutch imperialism and the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, the counterrevolutionary consequences of the Maoist variety of Stalinism, or even the 1965 massacre itself. This is similar to what we discussed in the international leadership a couple of years ago, when the comrades in the leadership of the SWP and other communist leagues responsible for the reporting teams to France during the wave of workers struggles in late 1995 and early 1996 did not prepare themselves and other comrades by studying the firsthand coverage and analysis of the May-June 1968 upsurge from the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* collected in the booklet *Revolt in France*.

This time around, the resources available are, if anything, even more plentiful. *World Outlook* — the meticulously mimeographed forerunner of *Intercontinental Press*, edited by Joseph Hansen — ran numerous news accounts and analyses of the 1965-66 events in Indonesia; many were reprinted in the pages of the *Militant*. In the 1940s and 1950s our magazine, now easily accessible through the *New International on CD-ROM*, carried numerous informative articles on the struggle for national liberation and socialism in Indonesia in this century, written by revolutionists in that country as well as in the Netherlands, the colonial power. The books, pamphlets, and Education for Socialist bulletins published and distributed by Pathfinder record the lessons of our class from the Chinese revolution and other post-World War II social overturns, the fight for workers and farmers governments, and the counterrevolutionary course of Stalinism from its origins to its accelerated disintegration over the past decade. Not to mention the internal bulletins of our world movement, several of the most pertinent of which I will refer to below.

When the pamphlet *The Catastrophe in Indonesia* was originally published in 1966, the Fourth International had just been reunified three years earlier. Central to the decade-long split had been the course by those in the current of which Mandel was a

leader of adapting to Stalinist and centrist forces, instead of charting a steady communist course to build proletarian parties. Reunification had been achieved on the basis of a converging political response to the Cuban revolution and its communist leadership, as well as to the openings created by the initial, post-1956 manifestations of the disintegration of world Stalinism.

The October 1965 slaughter in Indonesia, in which hundreds of thousands of workers and Communist Party supporters were killed, was the most devastating defeat for the working class since the fascist victory in Germany in 1933. As Socialist Workers Party leader Joseph Hansen wrote in his introduction to the 1966 pamphlet, the defeat in Indonesia "had grave repercussions for the colonial revolution, the workers' states and the socialist struggle in general.... The most spectacular immediate result [of the defeat] is to be seen in China. The evidence strongly indicates that it was the precipitating cause for the 'Cultural Revolution,' which has so surprised and puzzled the Sinologists."¹

In 1965-66, the SWP leadership and those who shared our views in the world movement anticipated that lessons drawn from these momentous events in Indonesia and in China itself could alter the thinking on Stalinism of some in the Fourth International majority, just as the defeat in Germany in 1933 had drawn a layer of revolutionary-minded workers and youth in and around the CP to communist conclusions. It was with that goal in mind that we agreed to collaborate in producing a pamphlet that contained the Mandel article, as well as an introduction by Hansen (a Marxist assessment of these events that retains its political value), a statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and an account of the disastrous course of the Indonesian CP by a young member of that party who had made his way into exile.

In hindsight, the impact and trajectory we had hoped for at the time did not come about. No qualitatively different articles on Maoism or Indonesia were written by Mandel or others in his current. But politics is not conducted in hindsight, and during the period the pamphlet was produced we were working with comrades around the world with the aim of advancing political clarity and homogeneity as a basis for common action in the class struggle. (For simi-

¹ Hansen's introduction is reprinted in this Education for Socialists publication.



Peasants in China burn land deeds during the 1951 land reform, one of the gains of the Chinese revolution. New booklet records lessons of Chinese revolution, the counterrevolutionary course of the Stalinist leadership in China under Mao, and the accelerated disintegration of world Stalinism over the past decade.

lar reasons, we also collaborated in 1968 to produce a collection of articles, with an introduction by Mandel, entitled *Fifty Years of World Revolution: 1917-1967*. Although this was made up of longer think pieces — a "colloquium," as George Novack liked to say — the impact of events between 1968 and 1975 did not yield a more communist colloquium, and Merit subsequently withdrew that book from publication.)

The resolutions adopted at the reunification congress in 1963 had seemed to mark a degree of political convergence on the assessment of the Chinese Communist Party, as had the draft of a resolution on the Sino-Soviet conflict that Hansen had participated in preparing for the December 1965 world congress, just a few months after the Indonesian catastrophe. Hansen was in the hospital in Paris and unable to attend the congress, however, and the amendments adopted by the majority reversed its political line. When the SWP leadership learned of these changes following the congress, they wrote a protest to the United Secretariat:

Since receiving the final draft of the resolution on the Sino-Soviet conflict, on February 21 ..., we have held a number of discussions on the problem that was created for us, by the considerable modifications that were introduced into the draft submitted to the congress.

The most significant changes involve the characterization of the Mao leadership. In the draft resolution, the Mao leadership was held to come under the general category of Stalinism although with peculiarities of its own due to the influence of the Chinese revolution. The

Continued on Page 9

Stalinism and Indonesia

The following letter appeared in the letters column of the April 20 *Militant*.

The "Book of the Week" column of the April 6 issue of the *Militant* printed selections from the article "Lessons of the Defeat in Indonesia" by Ernest Mandel. The article appeared in the 1966 [Merit] pamphlet, *The Catastrophe in Indonesia — Three articles on the fatal consequences of Communist Party policy*.

The article illustrates the depth of the catastrophic defeat that the working class and peasantry suffered in Indonesia in 1965 at the hands of capitalists, landowners, and their army.

But that article fails to draw the central lesson: the treacherous role of Stalinism in leading the masses to a defeat without a battle. Mandel's article does not mention Stalinism; reading it, one gets the impression that the problem with the Communist Party of Indonesia was that it did not understand certain theoretical questions.

However, other parts of the pamphlet do take up the question of Stalinism. For example, an article written by a young member of the Indonesian Communist party who had succeeded in making his way into exile points out, "During the struggle against the Japanese military occupation [during World War II], the PKI [Partai Komunis Indonesia] was instructed or 'advised,' under Stalin's guidance, to cooperate with the Dutch imperialist government, to carry out 'joint actions' against Japanese imperialism."

Thus they sold out the political independence of the working class and its march toward power to the class collaborationist dictates of the Stalinist bureau-

cracy in Moscow.

In his introduction to the pamphlet, Joseph Hansen explains the role of Stalinism in the defeat of the workers in Germany in 1920s and '30s and the defeat of the Spanish revolution in the '30s.

Hansen then writes, "In relation to Indonesia, Mao played a role comparable to that of Stalin in the German events. Just as Stalin, out of passing diplomatic needs, blocked the German Communist party from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped Hitler and put the German working class in power, so Mao out of similar passing diplomatic needs (an alliance with Sukarno and the Indonesian bourgeoisie) blocked the Indonesian Communist Party from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped the reactionary generals and put the Indonesian working class in power."

The role played by Stalinism in the defeat suffered by the toilers in Indonesia is not simply a question of history.

Now that the masses in Indonesia are recovering from the effects of that catastrophic defeat and are beginning to fight back against the capitalist assault on their living conditions, they no longer have to cope with such an ubiquitous counterrevolutionary agency on a world scale that, using the prestige of great Russian and Chinese revolutions, could derail their struggles into reformist paths and to defeat.

In fact, imperialism has been weakened by the collapse of Stalinist apparatuses worldwide.

Ma'mud Shirvani
New York, New York

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E. Timorese step up national struggle for independence

BY BOB AIKEN

JAKARTA, Indonesia — With the resignation of Indonesian president Suharto May 21, East Timorese independence fighters have stepped up their struggle.

More than 3,000 people rallied June 10 at the University of East Timor in Dili, the East Timor capital, to reject President B.J. Habibie's June 9 offer of "special status" for East Timor.

On June 12, nine days into a protest by more than 250 inmates at the Becora jail in Dili, Habibie released 12 students imprisoned there for "anti-Indonesian" activities. The jailed students delayed their release by one day in solidarity with the other prisoners who are protesting prison conditions and demanding the release of East Timorese political prisoners.

Habibie initially said Xanana Gusmao, imprisoned in Cipinang jail in Jakarta, and other East Timorese political prisoners would not be freed. On June 13, however, Habibie said he was considering the release of Xanana, a leader of Frelitin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), the organization leading the fight against the Indonesian army occupation.

Seven hundred Indonesian troops broke up a protest by 1,000 East Timorese students at the Foreign Ministry June 12. The troops attacked the students with batons and forced them to board buses provided by the military. The protest, which drew East Timorese students from across Java and Bali, was called to demand the release of political prisoners and a referendum in East Timor on self-determination.

East Timorese students "stood in the front line" of this year's protests against Suharto, "among those urging action," Russuo, an organizer of the Jakarta protest, told the *Militant* in an interview here June 4. "Now it's the East Timorese time." "The growth of the movement against Suharto has meant more space for us," Russuo said, but "the legacy of the Suharto regime remains. The military influence is still strong."

1975 Indonesian invasion

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in the eastern part of the chain of islands that make up Indonesia, was invaded and occupied by the Indonesian armed forces in 1975, with the collusion of the imperialist powers, the United States and Australia in particular. The slaughter and famine that followed cost tens of thousands of lives out of a population of 700,000.

Despite 23 years of brutal repression, however, the Suharto regime was unable to defeat the East Timorese struggle for national self-determination.

"The East Timorese will not accept and will fight" any continuation of Suharto's policy, Russuo declared. Under Habibie, "the official stance," that East Timor is a fully integrated province of Indonesia, "remains the same," he said.

The level of repression by the Indonesian state remains high in East Timor, Russuo said, citing the killing of five civilians in a house at Liquica April 22. "Killings occur almost every day," he said. The activities of independence fighters are "considered criminal offenses," he explained.

In the two weeks since Suharto resigned, "the situation has definitely been more open," he added.

People in Dili have been hit by the economic crisis sweeping Indonesia, Russuo said, but "economic hardship has been experienced for years" in East Timor. "Food has been scarce since the Indonesian invasion," as much of the livestock have been killed, and travel restrictions imposed by the military prevented people from growing crops where they normally did.

As part of its response to the current economic crisis, the Indonesian government has forced East Timorese to sell 1,000 cows at very low prices to be used as "food for rich people" in Indonesia during the last few months, Russuo said.

Most people in East Timor are subsistence farmers, he said, and "many people can't grow food because their land has been taken over" by migrants from Indonesia, in a program organized by the Indonesian government. "When the East Timorese protest" about this, Russuo said, the government, which doesn't recognize traditional land ownership, says they have no land title certificate. They are also "accused of collaboration with Frelitin."

"We understand that the transmigrants are also poor people from Java and Bali," Russuo said. "We accept their presence there as friends, so long as they take land which is not being used."

Part of how the East Timorese students are testing out the newly acquired political



Students demonstrate for independence June 10 in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

space in Indonesia is the formation of a national East Timorese student organization, which was announced at a press conference in Yogyakarta June 6. Local East Timorese student organizations had originally been set up by the government to promote integration with Indonesia, Russuo said, but these legal organizations are led by pro-independence fighters today.

This reporter had met June 2 with a spirited group of 20 East Timorese students in Bandung. With translation in both Indonesian and Tetun, the East Timorese language, they outlined the fight for East Timorese self-determination. "Ninety percent of East Timorese support independence," the leader of their group, Garry, stressed.

The students, some of the 400-500 East Timorese students in Bandung, were excited about the demonstration called for Jakarta, and planned to take part.

Russuo said he expected hundreds of East Timorese students from across Java and Bali to come to the action. We will "protest until they adequately address our demands." Timorese workers in Jakarta were part of the pro-independence movement, he said, and some will probably join the protest too.

Some of the Indonesian pro-democracy groups "don't support East Timorese self-determination," he said, while others "have asked to join the demonstration."

"Our standpoint is that the East Timor question is an integral part of the *reformasi*."

Indonesia drivers fight for union rights

BY BOB AIKEN

AND PATRICK BROWN

JAKARTA, Indonesia — Sismadi, a driver for the state-owned PPD bus company, pulled a union application form out of his pocket. So far "over 260 have applied" to join SBSI from his depot alone, he said.

The Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI, Indonesian Prosperity Labor Union) was registered as a legal union June 1, a few days after its central leader, Muchtar Pakpahan, was released from prison. In the following days union membership among Jakarta drivers exploded.

Sismadi was one of a dozen drivers and conductors who gathered at a roadside lunchstop at PPD's Depot E at Kampung Malayu June 6 to speak with the *Militant*. They were confident PPD would now give them the OK, required under the labor laws, to join SBSI.

"All 9,000 will join" at the company's nine depots across Jakarta, he declared.

When PPD bus drivers and conductors struck June 3-4, angry over low wages and employer corruption, most had not formally joined the union. The strike was organized through small gatherings at roadside lunchstops. PPD workers distributed a leaflet calling the strike at all the depots. More than 3,000 struck the first day and 6,000 the second.

Several hundred workers occupied Depot E during the strike and joined a rally of 1,000 people at the PPD head office June 3 to press their demands.

Workers at the rally gave Pakpahan a "rousing welcome," according to the *Jakarta Post*. Nevertheless, they rejected his suggestion to go home and leave matters to their union representatives. After that, Pakpahan said, "I support your wish to stay here. As long as you promise to safeguard against

any destruction" of property. The following day, the Minister of Transport, accompanied by the local district military commander, addressed the assembled bus drivers, and promised that their grievances would be addressed.

If they had gone on strike before President Suharto's May 21 resignation, the drivers at Depot E said, some of them would have been abducted by the military and accused of being members of the then-banned SBSI. Now they felt confident to act.

Jakarta's bus drivers are part of a public transport system that includes several bus companies, minibuses, taxis, three-wheeled scooters that seat two passengers, and motorcycle riders who carry paying passengers.

The crew of three on the buses — a driver and two conductors who collect money and act as lookouts, helping the driver negotiate Jakarta's swirling traffic — typically work long hours, between 5:00 a.m. and midnight, for low pay.

The crews work under two payment systems. One is called *satoran*, a quota system under which the crew pays a fee for the use of the bus, dividing any surplus takings among themselves. The other is *komisi*, where the crew gets a percentage of the takings — 10 percent, reduced, drivers said, to 4 percent by deductions such as health insurance and compulsory credit union savings. Other public transport workers labor under similar systems.

Sismadi, a driver at PPD for 20 years, showed us his pay slip for the month. The bottom line was 162,200 rupiahs (about \$15) — below the official minimum wage of 172,500 rupiahs for the Jakarta region.

Another driver, Ashadi Gino, said that as well as wanting their wages increased to at least the minimum, they wanted their pension plan improved. Under the current scheme, 50,000 rupiahs a month is a typical pension after 20 years of service.

He also said pay deductions for workers

insurance had "not been forwarded for years." — the money had "disappeared."

"The credit union money is totally gone," Sismadi reported, adding that workers, in another scam, had been "asked to make a down payment of 700,000 rupiahs" for basic housing. "But the developer never built anything, and the money has not been returned yet."

Johnnie, the SBSI organizer who arranged the interview with the PPD crews, was a conductor himself until he was sacked for union activity four years ago. Back at the SBSI offices he introduced *Militant* reporters to some of the other activists in the Transport Section of the union, including section chairperson Godfried Aritonang and Torrey Abkory, who currently work as clerical workers at PPD.

They were among 25 PPD unionists who were held and interrogated for two days and two nights at the East Jakarta Military District headquarters in September 1997.

Ukok and Hericson were drivers at Maya Sari Bakti, a private bus company, until they were fired for union activity in August 1996. They too had been held at the East Jakarta Military District headquarters, Hericson said, and were "beaten, thrown against the wall, and burnt with cigarette butts." They "were abducted at 8:00 a.m., interrogated, and released at 4:00 a.m. the next day at the Cililitan bus terminal," Ukok added.

The company had "hired army personnel as security — sometimes dressed in civilian gear, [but] sometimes in military gear" if they really wanted to intimidate someone, from the time the company began operations in 1972, Hericson said. "Many bus drivers had been beaten up."

Aritonang said union officials had received 3,000 applications to join the SBSI Transport Section since the union was unbanned June 1. This included some 30 workers at the port in Jakarta, where there had been no union members before.

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Indonesia workers protest; rupiah falls

Continued from front page

deeper rebellions, Washington and its capitalist allies in Indonesia, including key elements among the military officers, pushed Suharto into resigning.

Since Suharto's May 21 resignation, the country has been marked by political ferment, including actions directed at local authorities and the national government, actions by peasants, protests by supporters of the East Timorese independence struggle, and a number of strikes.

In the city of Surabaya, in eastern Java, thousands of workers at the Maspion Group, a manufacturer of household appliances, ended a strike after winning pay raises. Workers also wrested from the company a one-hour prayer break on Fridays for Muslim workers, who form the big majority.

Strikers at a shoe factory in Jakarta also won a wage increase. Other issues are still in dispute, such as the workers' demand that the plant manager and personnel manager — both of whom are police officers — be replaced.

The Indonesian daily *Kompas* reported June 16 on a protest by peasants whose land had been taken for a golf course nearly a decade ago. They planted cassava and bananas on greens and carved the words "Reform," "People's Land," and "We Are Taking What Is Ours" into one of the fairways.

The *Indonesian Observer* noted that, as in "many land disputes during the later years of former president Soeharto's 32-year rule, the farmers [had in 1989] received paltry compensation for land they had worked for generations.... [receiving] Rp 30 (0.2 cent)

per square meter, or US\$634, for the 31 hectares they had worked since 1961."

The defense minister and army chief, General Wiranto, expressed the concern of Indonesia's rulers and their imperialist overlords about the continued political unrest. In early June Wiranto "warned" that the "commotion of political activity, the various statements and demonstrations — if they are allowed to continue — can disrupt stability."

For the moment, the various "security forces" that are so visible in the country are generally playing a relatively low-key role. However, police used batons in dissolving protests in Jakarta by East Timorese independence supporters, and stated they planned to question demonstrators.

Deep recession in Japan

The economic crisis that is sweeping Asia and the Pacific took a sharp turn for the worse in June. Along with the rupiah, currencies across the region dropped sharply against the U.S. dollar in mid-June. The Japanese yen fell to an eight-year low of 146 to the dollar, the Philippine peso dropped 5.7 percent to 42.6 to the dollar, and the Australian dollar hit US\$0.58.

In this country, the New Zealand dollar traded at 49 U.S. cents, falling below 50 U.S. cents for the first time since 1987. Less than two years ago the New Zealand dollar

was trading at 71 cents.

Japan has officially entered its deepest recession in more than 50 years. The Gross Domestic Product contracted 0.7 percent in the 1997 fiscal year, which ended in March. The unemployment rate rose to a record high of 4.1 percent in April, while industrial output dropped 1.6 percent that month. The net outflow of funds from Japan in stock and bond investments in April was \$25.75 billion.

An IMF report issued in May cited the Japanese economy and the situation in Indonesia as the two most pressing questions in the region for the imperialist lending agency. An *Asia Pulse* news story read June 14, "The report called on Japan to implement permanent tax cuts, while broadening its tax base by reducing tax thresholds and cutting government spending." In clearer

terms, this means cutting taxes for big companies while raising them for workers and farmers and cutting social programs.

The May riots

Meanwhile, the Indonesian military have announced they will conduct an investigation of riots that took place in Jakarta and other cities in mid-May. Signs of the considerable damage caused by fires and stones during these events can be seen in many parts of Jakarta. Further riots in several towns on Java were reported on June 17, following demonstrations that demanded lower prices and protested government corruption.

Indonesia's newspapers frequently carry reports of "outside forces" that purportedly instigated much of the rioting in May. Some

Continued on Page 14



Some 25,000 Maspion strikers rally in Surabaya June 8 after marching 12 miles and standing up to attack by police and troops. The workers won their main demands, including a pay raise.

The treachery of Stalinism in China, Indonesia

Continued from Page 7

direction of the changes introduced into the draft resolution was to substitute for this a characterization of the Mao leadership as left centrist.²

As it turned out, the lessons of the blood-bath in Indonesia and of the devastating bureaucratic social convulsions during the "Cultural Revolution" in China did not result in a narrowing of political differences in the leadership of the Fourth International. The record of this widening political divergence is fully documented in: *Discussion on China (1968-1971)*, an *International Information Bulletin* produced by the SWP in the early 1970s; and *International Internal Discussion Bulletin* no. 13 in 1973, which contains the draft resolution "Two Assessments of the Chinese Cultural Revolution: A Balance Sheet," submitted to the 1974 world congress by, among others, Joseph Hansen, Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, and Alan Harris.³

The debate took form around a resolution on the "Cultural Revolution" drafted by SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack, initially in consultation with Ernest Mandel, in preparation for the 1969 world congress. Once again, as in 1965, the line of the draft resolution was reversed through a series of amendments, this time submitted by Mandel, Pierre Frank, and Livio Maitan at a meeting of the United Secretariat prior to the congress. To clarify the differences, the SWP leadership prepared the draft resolution and the proposed amendments in dual columns — a painstaking labor that computer technology would make substantially simpler (although perhaps less visually effective) today! The resolution in this dual-column format can be found in both the above-mentioned internal bulletins, which some comrades in the Communist League undoubtedly have and that can be photocopied for comrades who want to read these documents. The collection *Discussion on China (1968-1971)* also contains Hansen's reports on this aspect of the 1969 world congress to the June 11 and June 18 New York

City branch meetings and to the August 29-September 1 SWP convention.⁴

In the very first paragraph of the resolution drafted by Hansen and Novack, the modifier "Stalinized" was deleted from the description of the Chinese Communist Party — and the amendments continued in that political vein throughout. The issues in dispute were summarized as follows at the opening of the balance sheet submitted to the subsequent 1974 world congress:

Those who spoke [in 1969] for the Maitan-Mandel-Frank amendments argued that while the Cultural Revolution had begun as an intrabureaucratic struggle, it had developed into something else. Mao and his followers, they contended, were sensitive to mass pressure for reforms. They said that significant concessions to the masses would be forthcoming as a result of the Cultural Revolution despite the bureaucratic character of the Mao faction. They regarded Maoist foreign policy as eclectic and inconsistent, wavering between opportunism in some countries and objectively anti-imperialist or revolutionary positions in others. The supporters of this resolution rejected the view that Mao would favor rapprochement with American imperialism at the expense of the world revolution.

Those who favored the original resolution also viewed the Cultural Revolution as an intrabureaucratic struggle, but insisted that neither of the contenders would make major concessions to the masses. The supporters of this position held that Mao's policy on the international plane was fundamentally opportunist, aimed at reaching an accommodation with American imperialism and at practicing class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the colonial and semicolonial countries.

Underlying these two opposing views was a disagreement on the character of the Chinese Communist Party. The amendments proposed by Comrades Maitan, Mandel, and Frank showed that they considered it to be "bureaucratic centrist," i.e., that under the pressure of the masses or in resisting imperialism the Maoists could occasionally be expected to take positions close to those of revolutionary Marxism.

The original document analyzed the policies of the Maoists — socialism in one

country, the two-stage theory of revolution, zigzags in pursuit of peaceful coexistence, opposition to proletarian democracy — as expressions of the interests of a "crystallized bureaucratic caste" that ought properly to be called Stalinist because of its essential similarity to the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy consolidated in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s.

Most important, as Hansen concluded in his report to the 1969 New York City branch meetings:

[L]ooming behind all of these differences is the question of how to go about building a revolutionary combat party. In the United States, this concerns us a great deal. We see it in relation not only to the Communist party, which is no longer the great problem it once was, but in relation to the ultraleftism of [the Maoist] Progressive Labor [party], of tendencies in the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] and other formations, notably the Black Panthers. We have the impression that other sectors of the world Trotskyist movement face comparable problems in their daily work of forging a combat party.

The amendments to the original resolution pointed to actions by the Chinese CP that "objectively favored anti-imperialist struggles in various parts of the world, especially Southeast Asia, the Arab countries and Africa." The balance sheet by Barnes, Hansen, Harris, Waters, et al responded:

This statement did not withstand the test of events. Even at the time it was written, the memory was still fresh of the debacle in Indonesia in 1965 in which as many as several hundred thousand members and supporters of the pro-Maoist Indonesian CP were slaughtered as the price of that party's Peking-approved prostration before the Sukarno regime.

The balance sheet also pointed to the example of the workers and peasants government in Algeria, where "Peking for its own factional reasons was the first government in the world to recognize the reactionary Boumedienne regime after the coup that overthrew Ben Bella in June 1965." Only a few months after this 1973 balance sheet was issued, Peking was also among the first governments in the world to recognize the bloody fascist-like dictatorship in Chile, slamming the door of its embassy in Santiago in the face of refugees from

Pinochet's reign of terror.

My aim in this note is not to review all the political questions taken up in these and other publications of our world movement. But these handful of references alone should shed some further light on statements in Mandel's article such as, "The leaders of the PKI [Indonesian CP] did not assimilate these lessons of history" — or a sentence not included in the *Militant* excerpt: "Underlying this erroneous tactic [of blocking mass actions by workers and peasants "aiming at the conquest of power"] is a false theoretical concept of the conditions for victory in the colonial revolution and of the nature of the state...."

But responsibility for the defeat lay not with bad ideas, but with the self-serving class-collaborationist course of the privileged bureaucratic caste in Peking and its subservient followers in the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party. Only by clearly understanding the accountability of Stalinism for the 1965 catastrophe in Indonesia can we accurately appreciate the historic significance of the fact — underlined by Ma'mud in his letter to the *Militant* — that the Indonesian workers, peasants, and youth who are today beginning to return to political life no longer confront this massive counterrevolutionary obstacle that repeatedly stood in their path to victory throughout much of this century.

As class-struggle developments unfold such as those in Indonesia and the broader "Asian crisis," all of us — individually and collectively — will act with greater political self-confidence and effectiveness if we do the disciplined work to ground what we are doing and what we are saying in the hard-won revolutionary continuity of the working class. In this regard, possibly, communists can be considered deeply conservative — a trait we emulate from Lenin, who never failed to test his political judgments against the class-struggle experience generalized in the works of Marx and Engels for the use of current and future generations of proletarian fighters. There is no better source of this written record of struggle than the books, pamphlets, and periodicals the communist movement is now reaching out to our members and supporters the world over to help us keep in print.

Comradely,
Steve Clark

² Quoted in "The Anatomy of Stalinism" in *The Mao Myth and the Legacy of Stalinism in China*, by Tom Kerry (Pathfinder, 1977), p. 157.

³ Reprinted in new booklet (see page 7 ad).

⁴ The dual-column resolution and reports by Hansen are reprinted in new booklet.

Northwest Airlines unionists publicize fight for contract

BY MARY MARTIN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — On June 12 unionized workers at Northwest Airlines carried out a day of coordinated informational picketing in airports in thirteen cities. The actions were part of a campaign by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) to demand a new contract with a wage raise and protest the sluggish pace of the federally mediated negotiations.

On June 16 the IAM announced it reached a tentative settlement with Northwest Airlines. As the *Militant* went to press, no details had been made public. IAM officials said it could take four to five weeks before union members reviewed and voted on the agreement.

The IAM, which organizes 27,000 mechanics, ticket agents, and ground operations workers at Northwest, has been in more than 20 months of contract negotiations with the company. The central issues for the union are a wage raise with retroactive pay for the period since the old contract expired in October 1996, and a pension increase.

The informational picket lines were set up at Northwest terminals in Atlanta; Chicago; Detroit; Los Angeles; Memphis, Tennessee; Minneapolis-St. Paul; New York's Kennedy and La Guardia airports; Newark; Philadelphia; Seattle; San Francisco; and Washington, D.C. Participation in the actions ranged in size from a half dozen in Washington to 100 in Los Angeles.

Northwest flight attendants and pilots joined the IAM workers on the picket lines in several cities. The Teamsters union, which organizes the flight attendants, and the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA), are also in stalled contract negotiations with the company. In their last contracts, all three unions gave concessions in wages and work rules to the airline. Over the past decade the IAM has given \$897 million in concessions, and in exchange received some stock and one pay raise of between 1.5 and 3 percent.

At the international airport in Atlanta, 75 picketing members of IAM Local 2665 handed out 4,000 leaflets explaining their

contract fight to passengers and other airline workers.

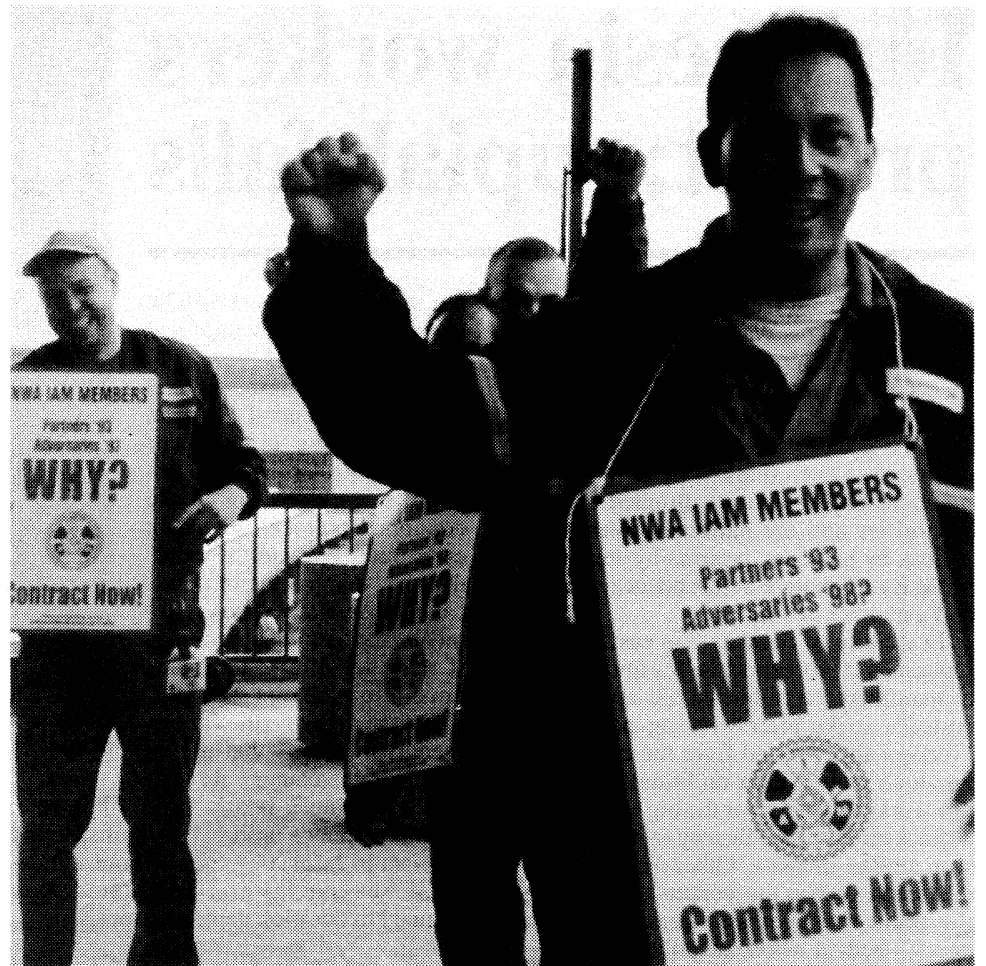
In Detroit at a picket line of 60 from all three unions, flight attendants distributed a flyer to passengers explaining that the company was to blame for the widespread delays in Northwest flights. For two years Northwest bosses have refused to negotiate a new contract with the flight attendants while granting huge salaries and bonuses to executives.

Many Machinists, flight attendants, and pilots have been participating in a "work safe" or "work-to-rule" campaign, refusing to take unsafe shortcuts or succumb to speedup pressures at work to solve the company's problems of chronic understaffing related to Northwest's competitive drive for higher profit. As a result more Northwest flights have been delayed or canceled. The company has publicly accused workers of disrupting operations and retaliated with firings, disciplinary write-ups, cancellation of vacation days, layoffs, and forced overtime.

The pilots union, which authorized a strike by a 99 percent vote in May, is facing employer demands for a three-tier wage scale and a 10 percent pay cut for the majority of the pilots.

At the Los Angeles International Airport, Brian Spencer, a young ramp worker who spent his day off on the picket line, told the *Militant*, "My father was a Steelworker and I saw the struggles they went through in Wisconsin. The companies were trying to rack up the USWA [United Steelworkers of America]. Young folk need to spend time to come up and picket. We have the union to protect our rights."

In a related development 18,000 United Airlines passenger service and reservations employees will vote in coming weeks on joining the IAM, which is conducting informational picketing at some United hubs. In addition, 850 ticket agents, aircraft cleaners, and baggage handlers at Mesaba Airlines will vote in July on joining the IAM. Northwest Airlines directs Masaba's flight



Militant/Jane Harris

Workers at Northwest Airlines in a dozen cities held informational picket lines demanding a contract June 12. Above, picketing at Newark International Airport.

operations under a 10-year agreement.

FAA investigation

The day of the IAM's national picketing, it was reported that the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) was investigating allegations that Northwest Airlines improperly maintained its DC-9 aircraft and that the FAA's inspector in Minneapolis did not properly oversee Northwest operations.

According to a *Wall Street Journal* article, Northwest has the oldest fleet of airplanes among major U.S. airlines. In 1994, as a cost-saving move, Northwest chose to begin a refurbishing program for the aging DC-9 fleet instead of replacing them with new aircraft. In 1996 in Atlanta and Minneapolis, Northwest engineers, who are nonunion, complained that tight deadlines and a shortage of maintenance staff were forcing them to neglect all but the most urgent maintenance directives of the FAA. Northwest asserts it addressed this problem by hiring

more maintenance mechanics.

The numbers of recorded flight problems with the DC-9, however, is greater than for other airlines. These include fuel leaks, cabin pressurization problems; faulty landing gear indicators, and cargo hold corrosion that could compound fire hazards. These problems led to 217 unscheduled landings of Northwest's DC-9 aircraft in 1997. This compares with a combined total of 87 unscheduled DC-9 landings by Continental, Midwest Express, US Airways, and TWA.

Mary Martin is a member of IAM Local 1759 and a Northwest ramp worker in Washington, DC. Also contributing to this article were Northwest workers and IAM members Mark Friedman in Los Angeles; Jeff Jones and Tony Lane in Minneapolis; Olga Rodríguez, at New York's LaGuardia airport; and Mike Italie in Atlanta. Jay Ressler, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1299 in Detroit, also contributed.

Racist killing in Jasper, Texas, sparks outrage

BY LAURA GARZA

JASPER, Texas — Hundreds of people, coming from small nearby towns and cities throughout eastern Texas, joined local residents here, filling the grounds of the Greater New Bethel Baptist Church June 13, for the funeral of James Byrd Jr., a 49-year-old Black worker who was murdered a week earlier by racist thugs. The brutal killing has drawn national attention.

Three white men have been charged in the murder. The murderers beat Byrd, chained him by the ankles, and dragged him from the bumper of a pickup truck for about

three miles, an act that ripped off parts of his body, which were left strewn along the way.

The church overflowed and most of the crowd stood outside in near-100-degree temperature. They included members of many local chapters of the NAACP, friends of the Byrd family, and individuals who just hopped in their cars to make the trip because they wanted to take a stand against the racist murder.

The funeral also drew a slew of local and national politicians including Jesse Jackson; Rep. Maxine Waters of Los Angeles; Alfred

Sharpton of New York; Houston mayor Lee Brown; and U.S. transportation secretary Rodney Slater, who read a message from President William Clinton.

The murder has sparked a debate on what it represents. Local sheriff William Rowles has repeatedly stated there is no problem with racism in Jasper, adding, "We have no organized KKK [Ku Klux Klan] or Aryan Brotherhood groups." Byrd's murder, he said, was an anomaly. But Black residents of this and surrounding towns disputed the rosy picture some capitalist politicians have tried to paint. They pointed to unequal treatment given to Blacks by cops and the lack of satisfactory action in the deaths of other Blacks in this area.

A Black paper mill worker and friend of Byrd's family said, "I don't think we need to be taking up arms." He was responding to the actions of a few members of the Dallas-based Black Panther Party, led by Khallid Muhammad. After the funeral the group paraded through town sporting guns, surrounded by dozens of cops. Some 200 extra cops were brought into town on the day of the funeral.

A white teacher attending the funeral expressed misgivings that the killing could give the wrong impression that racists had free rein in Jasper. "This is not Vidor," he said. Vidor is a town in eastern Texas with a reputation of being a racist white enclave, where a 1994 battle to desegregate public housing involved organized actions by the Ku Klux Klan. Jasper is about 40 percent Black. Many of those at the funeral said they were determined to see justice done and would be watching the trial carefully.

Politicians from both the Democratic and Republican parties have argued that the matter should be left to the "justice system" and, with much talk of "healing and recon-

ciliation," sought to discourage any protests. Texas governor George Bush put the blame for the killing on people with a bad "heart," stating that only religion, not government action, could change a person's heart.

State and federal officials have said they are seeking a way to make the charge a capital crime, for which the death penalty could be imposed. Some capitalist politicians have suggested expanding the vaguely worded laws against "hate crimes." The big-business papers have mostly described this as a "hate crime," avoiding the description of it as a racist killing.

Lea Sherman, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 29th district in Houston, expressed a different point of view. "The problem is the government has been doing things that send a signal that racist actions will be more tolerated, including eliminating affirmative action at the University of Texas, attacks on immigrant workers, and cuts in public education." The reason, she underlined, is that the government represents the rich, who benefit from racist discrimination and maintaining second-class status for Blacks.

"The labor movement should take the lead in defending affirmative action, demanding adequate funding for public education, supporting equal rights for immigrants, and fighting for a real raise in the minimum wage," Sherman said.

The socialist candidate voiced her campaign's opposition to the death penalty, which the Texas government has been using at an accelerated pace. "Executions will be used disproportionately against Blacks and other working people," Sherman stated.

Laura Garza is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 969 in Houston.

from Pathfinder

The Eastern Airlines Strike

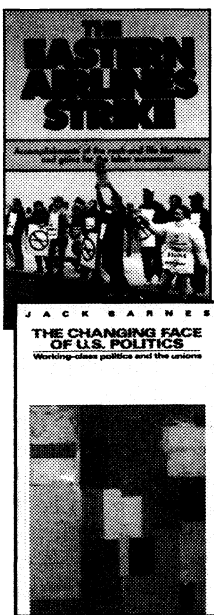
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SEPTA strike is solid

Continued from front page

room" in the existing contract offer and that the sole motivation for them to return to work before signing a contract would be "so that workers can get paychecks." He added his standard refrain that if the contract proposal were submitted to TWU members, it "would be enthusiastically adopted by the union membership."

Strikers put a lie to that, as they have repeatedly, by mobilizing 600 people in Philadelphia City Council chambers the next day to add their voices to deliberations about a resolution introduced by council president John Street. Weighing in on the side of SEPTA management, Street had proposed seeking a court order to force TWU Local 234 back to work and compel both sides to sit down and negotiate until an agreement has been reached. No such back-to-work order has been used against transit workers in the seven strikes they have waged here since 1975. Street, a liberal who has posed as a "friend of labor," had previously taken his distance from Mayor Edward Rendell's openly strikebreaking, pro-SEPTA stance.

By the time of the city council meeting, however, Street had backed down from calling for a back-to-work order. Strikers crowded into city council chambers, chanting steadily for half an hour before council members showed up. At one point Rendell emerged from a meeting on the same floor, and 75 strikers followed him down the hallway and on down the building's spiral staircase with deafening chants of "No contract, no work," and "Ed Rendell, Go to Hell!"

One striker's hand-lettered sign read, "Philly is a labor town, David L. Cohen going down."

Council proceedings were brief since prior agreement had been reached with several council members who opposed the back-to-work portion of the resolution. Afterward, Local 234 president Steve Brookins declared the result a "clear victory" and "something we can live with."

Local TWU officials have advocated binding arbitration since early in the strike, an approach that SEPTA has adamantly rejected.

Meanwhile, SEPTA and the TWU met for



Militant photos/Kathy Mickells

Right: SEPTA workers rally June 10 in Philadelphia. The SEPTA bosses and city authorities have underestimated the strength of the striking transit workers. Above: Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st District, takes her campaign to the picket lines.

two hours June 15.

Nancy Cole is a member of the International Association of Machinists.



5,000 paperworkers strike 11 plants in Canada

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ
AND ELSSA MARTINEZ

SHAWINIGAN, Quebec — Five thousand paperworkers in 11 plants launched a strike June 15 against Abitibi-Consolidated, the world's biggest newsprint producer. The workers are members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union (CEP). The company owns 18 paper plants in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Of the 11 plants involved in the strike, four are in Ontario, five in Quebec, and two in Newfoundland — some 40 percent of the paper produced by the company.

Contract negotiations have not yet started. The strike is over how negotiations will take place. Abitibi-Consolidated is demanding negotiations take place plant by plant. Workers insisted the contract be negotiated com-

pany-wide, and voted 95 percent against the company's proposal.

The company had threatened to shut down the Chandler and Wayagamak plants in Quebec, and the Kenora plant in Ontario, if workers went ahead with the strike. The company is now seeking an injunction to end the strike at its four Ontario plants.

"They're looking for a way to break our union," said Réjean Laroche, who works at the Laurentide plant, in the St. Maurice river valley in the heart of Quebec. "But people are waking up, and we will remain on strike as long as necessary."

In the early 1990s, the bosses wrested major concessions from paperworkers in eastern Canada. They succeeded in cutting the workforce while increasing production. At the Shawinigan Belgo plant, for example,

the company laid off 300 workers, with seniority of up to 16 years. "With the remaining two-thirds of the workers, we're breaking production records almost daily," said Robert Guertin, who has worked in the plant for 22 years.

Workers emphasized the bad working conditions they face, including rotating shifts and few weekends off. "At the Wayagamak plant in Trois-Rivières, there is a pool of 54 workers who frequently have to work on all three shifts during the same week," noted Denis Rousseau. "About 20 of them are on call."

The unionists are digging in for what many of them expect to be a long strike. "The first thing I asked when I got here was if our picket shack was insulated for winter," Alain Charette, from the Laurentide

plant, said jokingly. The company has built up stock for a few weeks. But the strike is preventing Abitibi-Consolidated from taking advantage of higher newsprint prices and a lower Canadian dollar relative to the U.S. dollar. The vast majority of the paper produced in Canada is sold in the United States.

The strikers hope to establish a favorable pattern for the 20,000 workers at other paper companies in eastern Canada. For years, the three plants in the St. Maurice area have set the pattern for the other workers. "It's the first time workers from this area have gone on strike together with workers from Ontario," noted Philippe Hanna from the Algo plant. At a meeting of representatives of the 25,000 paperworkers who are members of CEP in eastern Canada, a proposal was adopted to ask paperworkers not directly involved in the strike to donate the equivalent of two hours' pay per week to strikers. Representatives of the three Fletcher Challenge pulp and paper plants in British Columbia, whose nine-month strike ended in April, attended the meeting.

When negotiations do start, the unionists are planning to fight for better wages and a lowering of the retirement age to 55. "We have to fight. Nothing is won forever," said Robert La Haye, who like many other strikers of this area, participated in two other strikes in 1975 and 1987. "We don't know if we'll win. But every time we've fought, our union spirit has become stronger."

Michel Dugré is member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees and the Communist League candidate for mayor in Montreal. Elssa Martinez is a CEP member and Communist League candidate for Montreal city council.

Auto workers expand strike at GM

Continued from front page

strike. Montefusco, a painter with four years seniority at the auto giant's Linden Assembly Plant, said, "I'm hoping to set an example for other people in my local and show how we can stick together," when asked what he expected to gain out of his long drive. He and Elliott, a chaises assembler with three years on the line, were laid off earlier in the week due to a lack of parts caused by the first walkout.

The official reasons for the strike are health and safety, outsourcing, and subcontracting issues. But like the nine strikes at GM plants last two years, workers at Delphi East see the central question as jobs. The work force at Delphi East has shrunk from more than 13,000 to the present 5,800 as GM has downsized. The auto giant has reduced its Flint-area workforce by two-thirds over the last 20 years. Local 651 struck Delphi for four days in 1996.

Strikers were in high spirits because between the two plants GM's whole North American operations are threatened. "Everything GM makes, we'll shut it down. This will show them," declared Linda Washington, a multi-function worker at Delphi East. Members of Local 651 produce fuel pumps, speedometers, and other small parts, while members of Local 659 produce large metal parts like fenders and engine cradles. Due to shortages of parts made at the two struck plants almost all GM assembly plants in North America are expected to be closed by the third week of the strike. On June 17 GM stocks closed at \$69.75 — a nearly \$7 drop from the start of the strike June 5.

GM, at the urging of Wall Street, seems to be digging in its heels for a drawn-out fight, even though UAW officials have made it clear that they want to quickly settle. As they did during the strike in Dayton in March 1996, the UAW leadership has agreed to send in some workers to work on non-GM products. Press reports indicate that between 100 and 200 members of Local 651 went back into the Delphi complex to produce parts destined for Wal-Mart, Chrysler, Harley-Davidson, and others. Some strikers have expressed opposition to this move. Those companies "won't be here if GM

goes," Brenda Kelly, a parts inspector, told the *Flint Journal*. "I really feel [the strikers] should all be out here."

At the Metal Fabrication Center, union officials have been on a campaign to prove that they want to help GM increase productivity.

GM is prepared for a fight. The company was sitting on \$13.6 billion in cash at the end of the first quarter. During the first week of the strike two internal memos designed to anger most workers and possibly scare some were leaked to the press. The first, a "corporate briefing paper," laid out the auto maker's plans to double the number of vehicles assembled in Mexico over four years. The implication is that the industrial giant will be shifting production from the United States and Canada to Mexico because it continues to lose market share. The second "leak" was that the auto bosses are considering closing GM's largest assembly plant, which employs 6,400 workers in Lordstown, Ohio, by 2003.

Even though the auto maker is losing an estimated \$50-60 million a day, GM is pushing hard against the UAW, as international competition increases in a world of shrinking markets. The *Wall Street Journal* summed up this course with a headline in the June 12 issue, "For GM, a Hard Line On Strike Has Become a Matter of Necessity." The article claims that GM "has no choice but to fight for the right to run a streamlined, lower-cost company."

The big-business press points to GM's lost market shares versus its major competitors to claim that the auto giant needs to shed at least 40,000 more hourly workers to become as productive as the other auto companies. GM has already slashed the number of hourly workers in its factories by more than 80,000 in seven years.

This strike goes beyond just the workers in Flint or the bosses in the GM Building in Detroit. An estimate by Standard & Poor's research firm places the cost to the U.S. economy at \$2 billion by the end of June. Thousands of auto parts workers are being laid off. Major railroads that supply GM factories and move cars are affected. Steelmakers will see their earnings shrink.

The workers in Flint are digging in for a protracted fight. Unionists reported that the locals were discussing setting regular solidarity days for the picket lines. A support action was called for the morning of June 17. Strikers invited their supporters to assemble at the Metal Fabrication Center and then travel to Delphi East.

Johnnie Earnest, with 23 years at Delphi East, captured the sentiment of most people this reporter talked to: "I'm staying out as long as it takes."

John Sarge is a member of the UAW in Wayne, Michigan, and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Michigan's 14th District.

Socialist candidates back transit strike

PHILADELPHIA — Supporters of Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st District, have championed the transit strike from the beginning. They have distributed hundreds of statements headlined, "Support the Transit Workers! For Expanded Public Transportation!" In the statement the socialist candidate pledges to tell the truth about and help mobilize support for the striking SEPTA workers.

That is what campaign supporters have done as they have fanned out across the city to collect signatures to put the socialist alternative on the ballot in November. Nearly 800 people signed the Socialist Workers nominating petitions in the first 10 days of the drive. Socialists here aim to collect nearly double the 1,000 names required for ballot status by the end of June.

While some people approached by socialist campaigners have argued against the strike — and some have been won over after hearing the facts — there are many more who have said that the SEPTA strikers are fighting for all working people. Campaign supporters have spoken with Teamsters, city workers,

nurses, and construction workers while petitioning, and all have told similar tales of takeback demands and appreciation for the SEPTA strikers.

"I spoke with three teachers over the course of petitioning on Saturday, June 13," reported John Staggs, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. "And each of them wanted to know where the candidate stood on the strike before they would sign. They all believed this strike was critical for labor."

J.P. Crysdale of the Young Socialists described the response he got to petitioning that day as "enthusiastic." One woman who signed the petition, Crysdale explained, "came back with her husband who is a TWU striker. I gave him a statement on the strike and he said, 'Are you for real? This is great!'"

Socialist campaigners have been at nearly every strike support activity and at many picket lines since the beginning of the battle. At the June 10 labor solidarity rally of 1,500, campaign supporters sold 32 issues of the *Militant* and signed up 22 of those who stopped by a campaign literature table to put the socialist candidates on the ballot.

NATO air drills prepare assault in Balkans

Continued from front page

Soviet Union, an aim they have been unable to achieve in any of the workers states.

NATO's "Operation Determined Falcon" deployed 85 warplanes from 13 countries. "This is a vivid demonstration of the ability of NATO to rapidly project power into the region," Lt. Gen. Michael Short, commander of the U.S. Air Force in NATO's Southern Command told reporters. U.S. defense secretary William Cohen said the U.S. forces, including three amphibious assault carriers in the Adriatic Sea, will remain in the region for military action if necessary.

Tension between Washington, Moscow

As friction between Washington and Moscow flared, the Russian defense minister, Gen. Igor Sergeyev, objected that NATO officials had failed to inform him about the military maneuvers during his visit a week earlier to NATO headquarters in Brussels.

During a June 15 visit to Moscow by U.S. general Henry Shelton, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Sergeyev said he had been misled. "We agreed first of all, it was necessary to resolve it with political measures. And all of a sudden, on arrival in Moscow, I learn about the start of an exercise. That was a surprise," he said angrily.

Shelton dismissed Sergeyev's complaints that he was not notified. "At the NATO meeting in Brussels last week, there was discussion of an exercise," Shelton replied. "I do not know if he was informed of the exact time."

At the June 11 meeting in Brussels, NATO defense ministers had ordered commanders to draw up military options, from air strikes to intervention by ground forces against Serbia.

The Chinese government has also expressed its objections to military intervention. In a June 16 news briefing, Foreign Ministry spokesperson Zhu Bangzao said Beijing "supports relevant Yugoslavian parties to solve this issue through political dialogue." He called on NATO forces to "refrain from interfering in internal affairs of a country."

Nonetheless, Clinton administration officials repeated a warning made the previous week by Cohen and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright that Washington would launch a military assault unilaterally "if necessary," even if the Kremlin and the United Nations objected.

The day after the air maneuvers over Albania and Macedonia, the UN Security Council approved a one-year extension of the NATO occupation force in Bosnia. The imperialist operation there includes some 150 warplanes and 34,000 troops, dominated by Washington's 8,500 GIs.

Serbian assault on Kosova Albanians

On the eve of NATO's military show of force, Belgrade launched an early morning attack on the Kosovar villages of Kramovik and Rakovinë. The next day two Yugoslav army helicopters opened fire with machine

guns and dropped hand grenades on refugee camps near Kosova's border with Albania.

About 10,000 Albanians have fled from Kosova into northern Albania since June 10, and more than 300 have been killed since March.

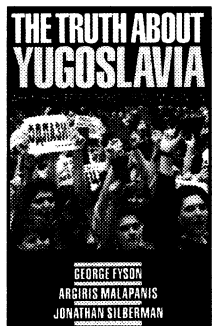
Belgrade's war on the Albanians in Kosova aims to crush their struggle for self-determination, one in which increasing numbers of Albanians favor independence. Serb military forces have razed entire villages near the border with Albania. They have planted land mines in that area to impede the movement of combatants from the Kosova Liberation Army (UCK) and make it difficult for them to use Albania as a staging area. The UCK, a guerrilla group founded in 1992 with the aim of fighting for independence, has been rapidly recruiting members.

While posing as defenders of the Albanians against Belgrade's assault, Washington and the other imperialist powers are opposed to independence for Kosova. They have condemned the attacks by the UCK as "terrorists" acts. In fact, U.S. big-business commentators complain that the Milosevic regime's indiscriminate attack on Albanians in Kosova "has radicalized the local population behind the separatists," as William Safire noted in an opinion piece in the June 18 *New York Times*.

Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Repub-

lic of Kosova and leader of the pro-imperialist Democratic League of Kosova (LDK), has more openly called for U.S. intervention into Kosova as a solution to the crisis.

Albanian prime minister Fatos Nano too has welcomed imperialist intervention into Kosova, saying his government was prepared to make all logistics facilities available to the NATO exercises. Nano speaks for the ruling middle-class layers in Albania, which have unsuccessfully tried to integrate that workers state into the world capitalist market.



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Protest Racist Murder in Texas. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

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Los Angeles

The 150th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto. Why It Remains a Key Guide in the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Harry Ring, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Puerto Rico: 100 Years of Resistance — The Struggle for Independence and Freedom for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. Speaker: Irving Forestier, National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, Orlando, Florida, chapter. Fri., June 26, 7 p.m. 230 Auburn Ave. (Corner of Butler). Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 577-7976.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Speak Out Against Racist Attacks: From the Murder in Jasper, Texas, to Police Brutality in Chicago, Illinois. Speaker: Shelton McCrainey, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 7999, activist in Greater Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality; Rev. Paul Jakes Jr., Pastor, Old St. Paul Missionary Baptist Church, Chairman of the Greater Chicago Committee Against Police Brutality. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. (At Division stop on CTA Blue Line). Donation: \$4. Tel: (773) 342-1780.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Eyewitness Report from Indonesia. Speaker: Naomi Craine, editor of the *Militant*, just returned from reporting trip to Indonesia. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 59-4th Avenue (near Bergen St.) Donation: \$5. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

What Next for Ireland After the Approval of the "Good Friday Agreement"? Panel discussion. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South Street (at 19th). Donation: \$4. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ireland Today: New Stage in the Fight Against British Rule. Speaker: Clive Turnbull, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 26, 7:30 p.m. 1930 18th St. NW, (enter on Florida Ave. just west of 18th St.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

BRITAIN

Manchester

No Sanctions on India and Pakistan! Speaker: Ann Fiander, Communist League. Fri., June 26, 7 p.m. First Floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Political Polarization in Australia: What is the meaning of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party Gaining in the Queensland Elections? Fri., June 26, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

—CALENDAR—

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Socialist Workers Campaign Meeting. Speakers: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th District, member of the United Transportation Union; Ted Leonard, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Massachusetts, member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. Sat., June 27, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$5. For more information call (617) 247-6772.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Socialist Workers 1998 Washington State Campaign Kick-Off Rally! Hear candidates Nan Bailey for U.S. Senate; Jeff Powers for U.S. Congress, 7th District; Scott Breen for State Senate, 37th District. Sat., June 27, 7 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers 1998 Campaign Committee. 1405 E. Madison. For more information, call (206) 323-3429.

CANADA

Surrey, British Columbia

Communities Against Racism. March and Rally. Sun., June 28. March: 1:30 p.m. Surrey Central Skytrain Station. Rally: 3 p.m. at Bear Creek Park, King George Highway and 132 St. For more information, call 604-543-7223.

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OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19300. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

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Toronto: 851 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M3. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

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NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

What can we say? — “I confess. I’m tired of Asia. It has turned into one long, boring disaster movie with no heroes — just a lot of dazed, pathetic characters milling



Harry Ring

among exploding markets and empty skyscrapers.” — Tom Petrino, *Los Angeles Times* stock market analyst.

How boring — “Financial des-

peration is blamed for an increase of nearly 36 percent in suicides in the first quarter of this year.” — *Los Angeles Times* dispatch from South Korea.

Firm stand — President Clinton responded to the Southern Baptist Convention declaration that wives must “submit graciously” to the leadership of their husbands. A member of the church, the prez threw up his hands in exasperation and declared: “What can I do about it?” An aide assured that Clinton, often has views that are “not identical” to that of the church.

Managed-sex care — California Blue Cross agreed to cover part

of the cost of Viagra, the \$10 impotence pill. It will pay for six pills a month for men with ailments related to impotence, like diabetes and prostate cancer. How did it decide on six a month? It consulted big-time researchers and, natch, its accountant.

Warehouse them — With rooms to spare, a home for the elderly in Santa Barbara, California, proposed to take in more roomers. The city agreed to six day-care seniors. Some residents on the block of one-family homes objected that it would mean more traffic and lower property values. Declared one resident: “My problem is that this is an institutional use in a residential neighborhood.”

Seems rational, no? — In a letter to the *New York Times*, David Stein, a professor of surgery, is critical of a survey which found that more than half of New York surgical residents work more than 95 hours week. The real problem, he says, is not lack of sleep but mistakes resulting from lack of familiarity with patients. Cutting their hours would mean students would be familiar with fewer patients.

More seriously than profits? — Tests by the Consumer Association found that a third of small, family-sized cars in England posed an unacceptably high risk of serious injuries in accidents. A spokesperson hoped the tests “will force manufacturers to take safety more seri-

ously.”

‘A cop in every corridor’ — With an apparent majority on the New York board of education, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is expected to realize his goal of turning school security over to the police department.

Federal crackdown — U.S. Filter Corp. makes a water-purification system for people whose kidneys no longer filter away toxins. In a February visit, Food and Drug inspectors found there were no consistent quality and safety procedures in place. A warning letter was sent to the company May 27 and made public June 10. Company stock rose 56 cents a share.

Birth of communist movement in United States

Below we print excerpts from *The History of American Trotskyism: 1928-38* by James P. Cannon. The author was a leader of the working-class left wing of the Socialist Party and became a leader of the Communist Party of the United States following the October 1917 Russian revolution. Expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for continuing to defend the communist course of V.I. Lenin, Cannon was a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Copyright © 1944, 1972, 1995 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JAMES P. CANNON

The Socialist Party Left Wing, which later became the Communist Party, was directly inspired by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Prior to that time American militants had very little opportunity to acquire a genu-

BOOK OF THE WEEK

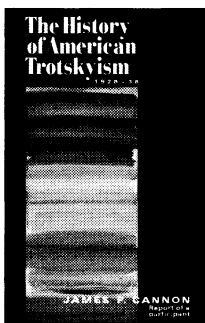
ine Marxist education. The leaders of the Socialist Party were not Marxists. The literature of Marxism printed in this country was quite meager and confined almost solely to the economic side of the doctrine. The Socialist Party was a heterogeneous body; its political activity, its agitation and propagandistic teachings were a terrible hodgepodge of all kinds of radical, revolutionary, and reformist ideas.

In those days before the last war, and even during the war, young militants coming to the party looking for a clear programmatic guide had a hard time finding it. They couldn’t get it from the official leadership of the party, which lacked serious knowledge of such things. The prominent heads of the Socialist Party were American counterparts of the opportunist leaders of the Social Democratic parties of Europe, only more ignorant and more contemptuous of theory.

Consequently, despite their revolutionary impulses and spirit, the great mass of young militants of the American movement were able to learn little Marxism; and without Marxism it is impossible to have a consistent revolutionary movement.

The History of American Trotskyism
Report of a Participant, 1928-38
JAMES P. CANNON

“Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine,” Cannon says, “but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist International.” In this series of twelve talks given in 1942, James P. Cannon recounts an important chapter in the efforts to build a proletarian party in the United States. \$18.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12.

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia changed everything almost overnight. Here was demonstrated in action the conquest of power by the proletariat. As in every other country, the tremendous impact of this proletarian revolutionary victory shook our movement in America to its very foundation. The inspiration alone of the deed enormously strengthened the revolutionary wing of the party, gave the workers new hope, and aroused new interest in those theoretical problems of revolution which had not received proper recognition before that time.

We soon discovered that the organizers and leaders of the Russian revolution were not merely revolutionists of action. They were genuine Marxists in the field of doctrine. Out of Russia, from Lenin, Trotsky, and the other leaders, we received for the first time serious expositions of the revolutionary politics of Marxism. We learned that they had been engaged in long years of struggle for the restoration of unfalsified Marxism in the international labor movement.

Now, thanks to the great authority and prestige of their victory in Russia, they were finally able to get a hearing in all countries. All the genuine militants rallied around them and began studying their writings with an interest and eagerness we had never known before. The doctrine they expounded had a tenfold authority because it had been verified in practice.

Furthermore, month by month, year by year, despite all the power that world capitalism mobilized against them, they showed a capacity to develop the great revolution, create the Red Army, hold their own, make gains. Naturally, Bolshevism became the authoritative doctrine among revolutionary circles in all the workers political movements of the world, including our own here.

On that basis was formed the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. It had publications of its own; it had organizers, speakers, and writers. In the spring of 1919—that is, four or five months before the Communist Party was formally organized—we held in New York the first National Conference of the Left Wing faction. I was a delegate to this conference, coming at that time from Kansas City.

It was at this conference that the faction virtually took shape as a party within a party in preparation for the later split. The official organ of the Left Wing was called the *Revolutionary Age*. This paper brought to the workers of America the first authentic explanation of the doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. Its editor was the first one in this country to expound and popularize the doctrines of the Bolshevik leaders. Thereby, he must be historically recognized as the founder of American Communism. This editor was a man named Louis C. Fraina. His heart was not as strong as his head. He succumbed in the struggle and became a belated convert to bourgeois “democracy” in the period of its death agony. But that is only his personal misfortune. What he did in those early days retains all its validity, and neither he nor anybody else can undo it.

Another prominent figure of the movement in those days was John Reed. He was no leader, no politician. But his moral influence was very great. John Reed was the American socialist journalist who went to Russia, took part in the revolution, truthfully reported it, and wrote a great book about it, *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

The bulk of the membership in the early Left Wing of the Socialist Party were foreign-born. At that time, more than twenty years ago, a very large section of the basic proletariat in America were foreign-born. Prior to the war the doors of immigration had been



U.S. Socialist Party left wing, which became Communist Party, was inspired by Bolshevik revolution. Above, 1917 demonstration of Bolshevik soldiers in Moscow.

wide open, as it served the needs of American capital to accumulate a great labor reserve.

Many of these immigrants came to America with socialist sentiments from their home countries. Under the impact of the Russian revolution the foreign-language socialist movement grew by leaps and bounds. The foreign-born were organized into language federations, practically autonomous bodies affiliated to the Socialist

Party.

There were as many as eight or nine thousand members in the Russian Federation, five or six thousand among the Poles, three or four thousand Ukrainians, about twelve thousand Finns, etc.—an enormous mass of foreign-born members in the party. The great majority rallied to the slogans of the Russian revolution and after the split from the Socialist Party constituted the bulk of the members of the early Communist Party.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



June 29, 1973

ATLANTA, June 14 — Anger over police shootings that have left five Blacks dead and three other wounded in the past four months has become the key issue in the 1973 municipal elections here.

This afternoon dozens of angry Blacks stormed out of a Fulton County courtroom as the judge announced his refusal to indict a white cop who shot and critically wounded a 14-year-old Black woman June 4. As the hearing on the indictment of [officer J.D.] Roberts began yesterday, 200 demonstrators converged on the Fulton County court house after marching from Capitol Homes. They carried signs reading “Justice for Pamela Dixson,” “End Police Terror,” “Black Control of the Police,” and “Fire Chief Inman.”

Black Democratic Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson is considered the leading candidate for mayor. Three months ago he was calling for the firing of Inman, but he has since retreated. Jackson now says, “I’ll dismiss him if I find he can’t do his job after I take office.”

The “law and order” statements of these Democratic candidates were echoed today by Judge Kermit Bradford in his refusal to indict Roberts in the shooting of Pamela Dixson.

“It seems,” Judge Bradford said, “that respect for law enforcement has reached a new low in Atlanta, Ga. Justice will not be served by anarchy and street justice.... The only hope of a society gone mad is Christian sanity.”



June 28, 1948

The Chinese labor movement was silent for about 20 years after Chiang Kai-shek took power in 1927. The movement rose strongly again after V-J Day.

During the Japanese occupation, half of China and the eastern sea coast was under Japanese military control. At this time it was almost impossible for the workers to fight, although their living standards rapidly went from bad to worse.

With the defeat of the Japanese imperialists, a political vacuum existed for a while. The labor movement, which was already fermenting during the Japanese occupation, grasped the opportunity, and emerged into the open.

After the Kuomintang took over the power from the Japanese, they were forced to concede to the workers the right to strike and to organize into trade unions.

The workers’ victory pushed the movement to a higher level. Strikes soon spread to every industrial city, centering especially in Shanghai.

According to statistics of the Social Affairs Bureau of the Shanghai municipal government, there were more than 2,000 strikes from September, 1945 to April 1946, involving FOUR MILLION WORKERS. These are the official figures. The actual numbers were far higher. The sliding wage scale was won the first time by the Chinese workers in the course of this gigantic strike wave.

Build July 25 demonstrations

The *Militant* urges its readers to build and participate in the July 25 actions calling for the release of 15 Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. jails and for self-determination and independence of Puerto Rico. A national march will be held that day in Washington, D.C. A similar march and rally will take place the same day at the United Nations. In Puerto Rico, advocates of independence are building a united action on that date.

July 25 is the 100th anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico, one of the acts that marked the rise of U.S. imperialism in the world. But July 25 also marks 100 years of irrepressible struggle by Puerto Ricans for their national self-determination. Despite their power and resources, the colonial masters in Washington have proven unable to stamp out the resistance and national aspirations of the Puerto Rican people, including the independence movement.

Today there is a new rise in nationalist and pro-independence struggle among Puerto Ricans, both on the island and in the United States. A new generation of *boricua* youth are becoming active in this fight. Many Puerto Rican fighters sense that their main enemy — the imperialist rulers headquartered in Washington — are weaker today. This imperialist decline has led to a resurgence of national liberation struggles within the imperialist countries, from Quebec to Northern Ireland.

In the United States, the growing political resistance among Puerto Ricans — resistance to second- and third-class status in U.S. capitalist society — is intertwined with the broader pickup in working-class struggles.

A number of Puerto Rican *independentistas* are attracted to the example of Cuba's socialist revolution. Through

their 1959 revolution Cuban working people shook off political and economic domination by imperialism and won genuine independence — only 90 miles from U.S. shores. The workers and farmers government in Cuba has consistently championed the Puerto Rican independence struggle in all international forums.

For workers in the United States, championing the fight for Puerto Rico's independence is central to building a revolutionary movement that can lead a fight to get rid of capitalist rule and establish a workers and farmers government. Uncompromising support for Puerto Rican independence has been at the heart of the strategy of the communist movement in the United States for the coming American socialist revolution, since the 1930s. This is why the *Militant* has consistently supported the Puerto Rican independence struggle and the campaigns to free all Puerto Rican political prisoners locked up in U.S. jails.

Militant readers have plenty of opportunities to build the July 25 actions. This means promoting the range of events that are being held in several cities over the coming weeks to publicize the demonstrations. They can be built among co-workers on the job as well as on high school and college campuses. Where coalitions to organize contingents to the actions exist, we urge you to join and build them. In other cities you can work with others to initiate such a coalition — to organize to get buses to the demonstration, to raise funds broadly to enable the maximum number of people to attend the rallies, and to appeal to unions and other organizations to support these events, among other activities. These actions can attract fighting unionists, from the auto workers on strike against General Motors to the striking transit workers in Philadelphia.

Oppose school voucher scheme

The June 10 Wisconsin Supreme Court ruling permitting state-funded individual vouchers to pay for religious schools is a blow to public education and to the separation of church and state. This decision should be opposed by all working people.

Like Social Security, unemployment compensation, and health insurance such as Medicare and Medicaid — all gains that the working class has won over decades — public education is a way that working people collectively get back a small portion of the value they produce from the capitalist class as a whole. These programs provide some possibility for workers to make it through a lifetime: to have pensions, to be able to provide care for the young, to get some education.

For more than a decade, these social gains have been under attack by the employers and both parties that represent them, Democrats and Republicans, alongside the bosses' direct offensive to drive down wages and working conditions. Their aim is to put more of the burden for social responsibilities on individual workers and their families. That's where the initial steps to undercut public education, in the form of vouchers or "charter schools," comes from.

Education doesn't rise above the class basis of society. Under the capitalist system the public schools serve primarily to train working-class youth for a life of subservience to a boss, while breaking down human solidarity. Millions of young people do not gain even basic literacy from these institutions, and the conditions are worsening

in face of today's growing economic crisis.

Some people, including some workers, respond by seeking individual solutions they hope can improve education for their children, including schemes like charter schools and vouchers.

Ultrarightists such as Patrick Buchanan seize on this as part of their "culture war." In calling for general education "vouchers" — in other words, an end to universal public education — Buchanan harps on about moral decay, secularism, and drug-dealing "hoodlum kids." He attempts to whip up an emotional reaction against an ever-widening layer of scapegoats who he claims are responsible for the economic and social devastation caused by the capitalist system. The rightist movement he seeks to build will ultimately be used against the organizations of the working class.

The right to a free, public, and secular education is a democratic gain for the working class that has been won and extended in struggle. The first free public schools in the South of the United States, for instance, were established in the period of Radical Reconstruction following the Civil War, as former slaves fought to win full equality and rights.

Defending public education is part of fighting for the social solidarity of the working class — solidarity that is needed to build a movement that can fight to overturn the capitalist system and forge a workers and farmers government. That is the only way to finally achieve real education as a lifetime right for all.

July 25 Puerto Rico protests

Continued from front page

Puerto Rico are Two Wings of the Same Bird, 1898-1998: 100 Years of Struggle Against Colonialism and Imperialism." The event begins at 7:00 p.m. on June 26 at the Painted Bride Art Center.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, Kahlil Jacobs-Fantauzzi, a leader of Comité 98, reported the coalition there is organizing local actions July 24-25. A vigil and picket will take place at the Federal Building in Oakland on July 24 and the main march and rally to the UN Plaza in downtown San Francisco will be July 25.

Activists have been holding weekly meetings at the union hall of Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 2850. They are organizing a series of events at the Mission Cultural Center leading up to the action. Fantauzzi explained, "We have drawn in fighters from the Philippines and are keeping at the forefront the history of U.S. suppression in Guam, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines up through today." Upcoming events include a July 14 documentary film showing on the Puerto Rican political prisoners and

a July 16 teach-in.

Comité Puerto Rico 98 in New York will be holding a march from Columbus Circle to the UN building in Manhattan. The group had a float in New York's Puerto Rican Day Parade and leafleted the crowd about the action. Activists in Boston report that they are organizing buses to the UN rally.

For more information about the national march on Washington, write to Afirmación Boricua 98, P.O. Box 76360, Washington, D.C. 20013, e-mail at Jornada98@aol.com or check out the web site at www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Senate/6098

For more information about the rally at the United Nations, check out the web site at: www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/lobby/9272 or call 888-509-2103.

For more information about the action in San Francisco, call 800-431-4818, ext. 126. Outside California, call 510-893-3131, ext. 126.

Heather Wood in St. Paul contributed to this article.

On bilingual education

In a letter published on the facing page, Rick Young writes that an editorial in the June 15 *Militant* left unclear our stance toward Proposition 227 — a ballot referendum ending bilingual education in California that was approved in June 2 state elections. The *Militant* defends bilingual education — a gain of struggles by Chicanos, *mexicanos*, Chinese immigrants, and others for civil rights and against racist discrimination.

The editorial Young refers to pointed to why Proposition 227 got such a broad hearing, including among a significant number of Latinos. While the big majority of Latinos opposed it, sensing its reactionary character, more than a third of Latinos who voted June 2 approved the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

measure. A larger proportion of workers who are Black and white voted for it as well. The big-business promoters of Prop 227 — who included some prominent Latino figures — did not wage a racist or openly anti-immigrant campaign around the measure. Instead, they played on real concerns that many working people have over the abysmal quality of the education that working-class youth receive in the public schools, in order to win support for a measure that, as the *Militant* editorial pointed out, is "designed to deal blows to the rights and confidence of the oppressed." That's why the editorial explained that the role of education under capitalism — with or without bilingual education — is "to prepare working people for a life of toil in the mines, mills, and factories." While defending the right to bilingual education — and public education in general — as gains for working people, class-conscious workers shouldn't try to pretend that these institutions are better than they are. The fact that only a government of workers and farmers can open the door to education as a lifelong right for all is one good reason to join the fight for socialism.

It's worth adding that the main focus of the June 15 editorial was correctly on the significance of the defeat of another referendum, Proposition 226. That measure challenged the right of trade unions to give money to political campaigns, and sought to increase the ability of the employers and government to intervene in internal union affairs. While it had been clear for months that Proposition 227 would be approved, the rejection of Proposition 226 by a 53-47 margin was an upset of what the polls had forecast. It registered the fact that in the final weeks before the elections, as working people began to smell that Proposition 226 meant deeper employer and government intrusion into the rights of the unions and their members as well as broader assaults on working people, the tide began to turn against the measure. A big part of the capitalist class got cold feet. They feared provoking deeper anger among working people.

"Supporters in California," an article in the June 4 *New York Times* noted, "attacked the Republican National Committee for not channeling significant resources into the drive. Republican officials in Washington criticized the backers in California for bickering over how best to pitch the initiative. And supporters everywhere criticized major California business organizations for their refusal to take on labor." The defeat of Proposition 226 was a victory for the working class. — NAOMI CRAINE

Indonesia

Continued from Page 9

anti-Suharto activists have assigned a key role in the events to military provocateurs or criminal elements.

From the discussions that *Militant* reporters were involved in, including with a security guard in a riot-torn market in Jakarta, it is apparent that angry crowds gathered spontaneously on hearing the news of the slaying of four student protesters by the military at Trisakti University May 12. The ferocity of some of the actions that followed reflect the immense social tensions building in this country, beset by economic crisis and massive inequality of wealth. Enterprises associated with the Suharto family and at least one cop station were attacked and burned down in the rioting that some were involved in. So too were luxurious shopping malls, hated symbols of affluence.

But the principal victims of the rioting were the stores and homes of small shopkeepers who are of Chinese origin. Chinese traders have long been targeted as scapegoats by the regime — including during the military coup and bloodletting of 1965-66 that brought Suharto to prominence. Long-standing policies have closed off many avenues of employment for people of Chinese descent. Chinese face systematic discrimination in government employment and the armed services, which together constitute a huge part of the economy. Discrimination extends to language as well. One indication of this was a statement by H.M. Arub, the speaker of the provincial legislature in South Sumatra. According to the June 9 *Jakarta Post*, Arub called on Indonesians of Chinese descent to use either Bahasa Indonesia or the predominant ethnic language in the area for everyday use, not Chinese.

McDonald's workers file union cards, fight firing

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about

ON THE PICKET LINE

and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

CLEVELAND, Ohio — Bryan Drapp, 19, and Jamal Nickens, 20, who led a strike against the McDonald's restaurant in nearby Macedonia, were fired June 11 for allegedly threatening a manager. They said they planned to file a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to challenge the firing. Since their strike in April, the McDonald's bosses reneged on their agreement with the workers and stepped up harassment against those involved in the strike.

Drapp and Nickens turned in union cards from 21 workers to the NLRB June 1. Of the six workers who signed the April agreement, only Drapp and Nickens were still working at McDonald's. The others were either fired or pressured to quit. Both Drapp and Nickens themselves had received suspensions.

Jed Greene, owner of the Macedonia McDonald's, claimed Drapp and Nickens lacked co-worker support. The workers "feel strongly that they [Drapp and Nickens] do not represent the rest of the crew's opinions or feelings, and they feel these two individuals are operating in their own self-interest," Greene said. Nickens reported that when his co-workers heard this statement a number of them called the media themselves to express their support for the union organizing campaign. They did so even though McDonald's had made them sign a new employee handbook the week before that prohibited them from talking to the union or to the media. Nickens explained that many workers signed this handbook without reading all its provisions and because they believed they would not get their raises if they did not sign.

Meanwhile, workers at two McDonald's restaurants in Akron and in Youngstown, Ohio, have contacted the Teamsters Union to ask for union representation cards.

Montreal casino workers turn lockout into strike

MONTREAL — On June 4, the day after the employer declared a lockout, unionists at the Montreal Casino voted by a 86 percent margin to strike. The 1,800 workers —

cashiers, service, restaurant, and maintenance workers — are affiliated to the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN).

Workers at the casino, which is owned by the Quebec government, reported that wage parity and working conditions are the main issues. According to cashiers Line

Bergeron and Martin Couture, "cashiers make an average of CAN\$14 an hour doing basically the same job as croupiers, who make CAN\$18 an hour." The union has demanded a CAN\$2-an-hour increase over three years plus an adjustment of the pay scale of 60 cents an hour, nine paid sick-days, and a paid half-hour meal break.

Other demands include better shift premiums, time-and-a-half pay for working holidays, and a change in subcontracting and part-time work. "In 1995, 80 percent of casino employees had a full-time job. Today there are only 52 percent," explained Gilles Lauzier, a maintenance worker who is on the negotiating committee. The union wants to change the part-time jobs into full time rather than increasing subcontracting. The strike is the second since the casino opened in 1993. Workers expect a long strike due to the confrontational attitude of the company, despite the busy season.

The casino workers' strike is part of an increase in labor struggles in the Montreal area. On May 31 some 150 school bus drivers blocked the bridge to Bizard Island, a wealthy Montreal suburb, to protest a planned 25 percent pay cut. In Rivière-des-Prairies, 300 nonunion workers walked out in June at the Bas Iris plant, which manufactures socks. The company, which employs 1,500 workers, mostly immigrants, cut the workweek due to a drop in production. Workers have protested the loss of pay, imposition of biweekly pay, and arbitrary firings. The company has tried to prevent workers from joining the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE). In Brownsburg, northwest of Montreal, 100 of the 324 members of the Steelworkers union, on strike for three weeks against the explosives company ICI, prevented a dozen trucks from leaving the factory June 5. The unionists, who ended the strike June 13, won a full pension at age 55, but demands for better working conditions were not met.

Tennessee foundry strikers turn away scabs

CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee — Workers have been on strike at Wheland Foundry's two plants here since May 2 when their contract expired. The members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 3967 are fighting for overtime pay and insurance benefits. "The company wants us to work four days

for 10 hours one week, three days for 12 hours another week, making up four hours the following week, all at straight time," explained picket George Wigfall. "If we let that happen here, other companies will do the same to other workers."

Local committeeperson Barry Pierce estimated the Broad Street foundry was operating about 50 percent of the time, using supervisors and temporary workers hired by the Labor Ready office across the street and others responding to a newspaper ad. The pickets have consistently turned away potential scabs through discussion and Pierce said many quit after a few days, some citing safety problems. Pickets tell these workers to come back and apply after the strike when they will be remembered and welcomed.

Of the 1,300 workers in the bargaining unit, more than 900 are union members, not including the couple hundred who have joined in the last two months, Pierce said. Tennessee is a so-called right-to-work state, with "optional" union membership. Mike Johnston, who is not a union member, pickets almost every day. When asked if he was thinking about joining, he answered yes, that now he saw the union "fighting for our rights."

Mechanics strike at 27 St. Paul car dealerships

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Demanding better pay and rejecting a proposed five-year contract, 850 mechanics, runners, lot workers, and body shop and parts workers have been on strike against 27 car dealerships in St. Paul and its suburbs since May 1. The strikers, members of International Association of Machinist Lodge 77, face the challenge that some of the larger car dealers own more than one lot. Keith Caughey, general sales manager at Wally McCarthy Oldsmobile in Richfield told the *Pioneer Press* that his facility is making service available to customers at the struck Roseville Car dealership.

Mark Howard, who works at Midway Chevrolet, said the contract offer only gave them an increase of \$2.10 an hour over five years. Mechanics now earn around \$14.50 an hour excluding incentive pay. He said they had rejected the second contract offer because "they tried to offer an increase of \$3 but they took it out of our medical and pension fund." Striker Kurt Fahlstrom added, "The proposed raises also excluded the lowest-paid class and [workers in that category] soon realized it was a scam."

Pickets have faced scabs at one of the 27 dealerships. At Lakeland Ford, 75 pickets showed up the morning of June 1 after reports that scabs might try to cross picket lines. According to pickets, five former strikers are currently working.

Indiana steelworkers strike over two-tier wage

HAMMOND, Indiana — Reject-



Casino workers in Montreal demonstrate at employer's head office. Sign reads: "The casino cuts personnel everywhere and then claims their trademark is customer service — Wake up!!"

ing a proposed two-tier wage system — \$5 an hour less, no pensions, and reduced vacations for new hires — 275 steelworkers went on strike at Niagara LaSalle Steel here May 18. The Progressive Steelworkers Union represents the strikers, which covers only this plant. The plant is the nation's largest independent producer of cold-drawn steel bars, and delivers mainly to the auto and agricultural implements industries, including John Deere and Caterpillar.

"For new hires, we proposed getting rid of the whole extended vacation plan because it is so disruptive to production," Niagara owner Michael Scharf told the *Hammond Times*. "By not affecting current employees, we put the cost on new employees. That's why the strike makes no sense." Pickets laughed at Scharf's statement. "The new guys are our future," one striker told the *Militant*. "We are looking at our children, our community. And, if they get this permanent division into the contract, it'll pit us against each other all along the line."

Strikers said that workers from other steel mills have come by the picket line to show their solidarity. United Steelworkers of America Local 1011 at LTV Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, heard a report from representatives of the strikers and voted to take a plant-gate collection for them. Meanwhile, the company has moved to hire permanent replacement workers.

Alaska Airline workers call in sick

SEATTLE — Some 60 ramp workers at Alaska Airline here, many of them organized by the In-

ternational Association of Machinists, called in sick on May 29. This came at a time when the company failed to meet the deadline on an economic package, which led many workers to believe there would be no wage raise. The absence of many experienced workers that day delayed more than 30 flights in the morning and idled thousands of pounds of cargo. The company resorted to using new hires to fill in, raising the question of safety.

Despite record profits in the first quarter of 1998, the company has proposed only a "minimum 3 percent raise for all employees not at the top of the new scale." Presently 77 percent of ramp workers have not reached top pay scale. Since the defeat of a strike here several years ago, Alaska has employed a four-tier wage system. The starting wage for ramp workers, who have been without a contract since September, is \$8.27 an hour, topping out at \$11.96 after 12 years.

Mechanics and cleaners at Alaska, who recently voted to join the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association, a craft-minded outfit, are still negotiating a contract.

Tony Prince, member of USWA Local 188 in Cleveland; Alexandre Geoffroy, a Young Socialist in Drummondville, Quebec, and Michel Prairie in Montreal; George Williams, member of the United Auto Workers, and Kristin Meriam, member of the USWA in Birmingham, Alabama; Gaetan Whiston, member of USWA Local 9198 in Roseville, Minnesota; John Studer, member of USWA Local 1011 at LTV Steel in East Chicago; and Nan Bailey, member of the IAM in Seattle, contributed to this column.

LETTERS

Teachers oppose embargo against Cuba

On Sunday, June 7, 1998 at the California Teachers Association (CTA) State Council, the state representative assembly of the CTA, the following motion was passed:

"That the CTA President write a letter urging each California U.S. Senator and Representative to sign on and seek passage of SB 1391 and companion bill HR 9151 entitled 'Cuban Women and Children Humanitarian Relief Act' calling for the lifting of the embargo against Cuba."

The motion was overwhelmingly

passed by the State Council. There was very little debate on this motion. It appeared that the assembled delegates realized that Cuba poses no threat to the United States. During the debate there was no discussion on Cuba's political system.

This motion is a victory for all those who support the Cuban revolution, and it was moved by teachers who have been to Cuba and have seen what the Cuban government has been able to accomplish educationally.

This July the National Education Association (NEA), of which the CTA is an affiliate, and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT)

will have their national conventions. At these conventions similar motions will be brought forward on a national level.

*Alberto Valdivia
United Teachers AFT Local 1021
Los Angeles, California*

'Militant' unclear on bilingual education

I found your editorial June 15th under the title "Prop 226 defeat: gain for labor" unclear.

Unless one infers that bilingual education is part of immigrant rights, one would not know where the *Militant* stands on this important issue.

I think adding more confusion is a general attack on capitalist education without clearly defending bilingual education.

The attacks on bilingual education will increase as capitalist politicians attempt to scapegoat anything "un-American" or "foreign" for the economic crisis.

*Rick Young
Chicago, Illinois*

More debates

Please run more debates/exchanges on disputed issues: "Discussion With Our Readers." More basic education articles (e.g. what is the state). More articles/analysis

of gay issues.

*E.H.
Seattle, Washington*

Reason to renew subscription

You're indispensable.

*A.M.
New York, New York*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Australia: ultrarightist party wins seats in Queensland state election

BY JOANNE KUNIANSKY

SYDNEY, Australia — In the biggest shake-up of the bourgeois two-party system in this country in decades, an incipient fascist formation — Pauline Hanson's One Nation party — gained up to 10 seats at its electoral debut in Queensland state elections June 13, primarily at the expense of the governing Liberal-National party coalition of state premier Robert Borbidge. Hanson formed One Nation in April 1997, some 13 months after being elected an Independent federal Member of Parliament (MP).

The vote, which according to Brisbane's *Courier-Mail* "became a referendum on One Nation," showed the depth of social tensions and sharp political polarization — the product of deepening economic depression conditions and slashed government services, particularly in the countryside.

The rightist party failed to gain a foothold in metropolitan Brisbane, the state capital, where the Australian Labor Party (ALP) took at least five seats from the Liberals. This follows an increase in working-class resistance and solidarity, which were advanced by the recent battle by wharfies around the country to defend their union.

Bourgeois politicians on all sides were stunned by the 23 percent vote for One Nation. Borbidge's National Party, the state's dominant coalition partner, saw its support decimated. The election results give a major boost to the ultraright group's veneer of parliamentary respectability. One Nation's newly elected candidates include two active-duty cops and several small businesspeople.

With the final vote totals expected on June 18, three seats are still undecided out of a total of 89. At press time, One Nation appeared likely to take 10, the Nationals 23, the Liberals 8, Labor 44, with 2 seats going to Independents. The final result poses the possibility of a hung parliament and another election. The ALP may win a single-seat majority or the support of the two Independents to form a government. Failing this, a minority government could be formed by the coalition partners supported by One Nation MPs. The prospect of such an unstable government potentially dependent on One Nation has alarmed Australia's capitalist rulers. The *Australian Financial Review* editorialized June 12, "Australia cannot afford to have its leading growth state governed by a party that is forced to dance to the tune of Hansonomics."

This was summed up as "centered on the farcical idea of a State bank lending money [to farmers] at 2 percent; the mantra that scrapping all arts, Aboriginal and multicultural government funding will help the lot of Anglo-Aussie battlers; a relaxation of gun control laws and a gospel of protectionist, interventionist economics." The big-business daily concluded that "a majority Labor government would be better for Queensland than a Coalition reliant on One Nation support."

Hanson attacks Aboriginal rights

In a June 2 speech in federal Parliament, Hanson accused the government and the ALP of conspiring to set up "a number of taxpayer-funded sovereign Aboriginal states." She said people were pretending to be Aboriginal to "claim a share of the booty of the native title scam as well as various other public-funded perks not available to other Australians." Hanson pledged to abolish all indigenous-specific funding and "the nonsense and inequity that is native title." Native title refers to recent legal recognition of limited Aboriginal land rights.

Hanson added, "Queenslanders will be the first Australians ... to have the chance to elect a real alternative to the multicultural and politically correct Labor and Coalition parties, whose [policy] fulfills the agenda of overseas interests, not ours."

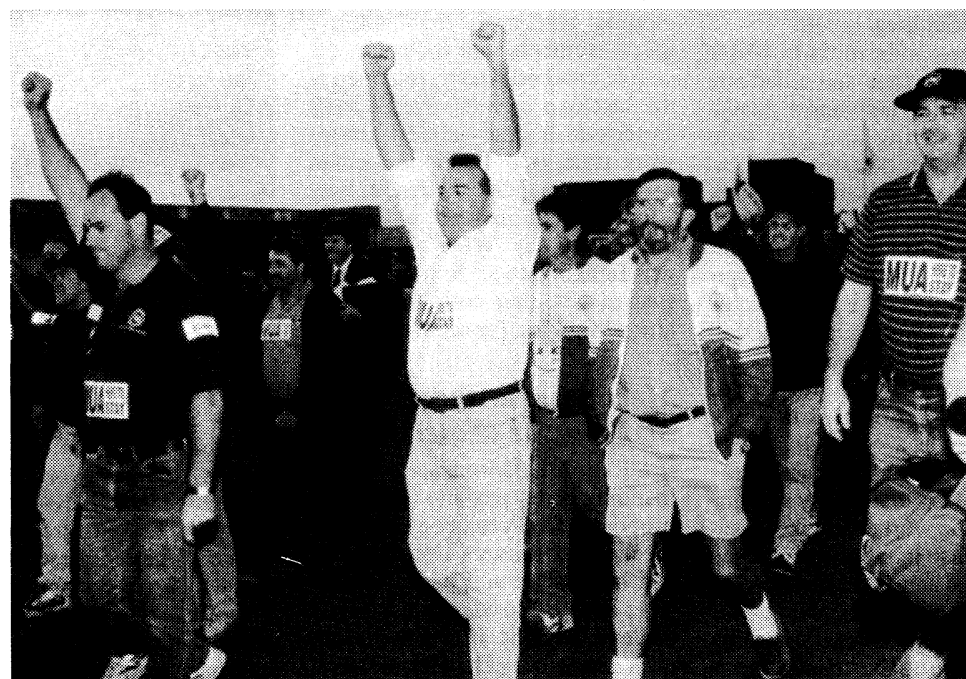
As opinion polls began to reveal the scale of support for One Nation, Prime Minister

John Howard was forced to condemn Hanson's speech, calling it "verg[ing] on the deranged" and "fanning racist sentiment."

All parties in bourgeois politics here encourage supporters to rank their opponent parties according to what each party sees as in its interests. The voting system in Queensland allows a primary vote to be cast, with

thing ... equivalent to a fascist party."

Hanson told a crowd of supporters in Rosewood, a rural Queensland town, "Over the last couple of years, the things that I say you can start to see them implement as policies." She pointed to her calls to reduce immigration, to make the unemployed work for the dole, and for harsher criminal sen-



Members of Maritime Union of Australia triumphantly return to work in May after defeating government-backed union-busting attempt. The electoral gains of ultrarightist One Nation party register the increasing class polarization in Australia.

the option of ranked votes once the primary vote has been counted. The coalition parties' "direction of preferences" to One Nation ahead of Labor sparked an outcry in the liberal bourgeois press. Labor how-to-vote cards handed out on election day put the ultraright party last.

Despite hopes they could stem hemorrhaging to the right, the National and Liberal preferences to One Nation had the opposite result. Paul Everingham, former state Liberal Party president and former chief minister of the Northern Territory, in opposing the decision, called One Nation "some-

tences. Less than a week after the prime minister had attacked Hanson over her call for cutting off Canadian pork imports as "cutting off our nose to spite our face," the Cabinet responded to this very pressure by retreating on its supposed free-trade stance and pledging A\$8 million (A\$1=US\$0.59) in assistance to the pig industry. Hanson immediately claimed credit for this U-turn.

Meanwhile representatives of Queensland's 6,400 canegrowers, many of them family farmers, expressed concern at any exacerbation of trade disputes with Canada, which could affect A\$250 million

in sugar exports.

Hanson is the national mouthpiece for an organization that now claims 275 party branches and a membership of 25,000 mainly across the rural hinterland of Australia. She has dismissed as "rubbish" claims that One Nation's ranks have been swelled by cadres of armed militias as well as other long-standing ultrarightist groups.

However, the national head of the AUSI Freedom Scouts militia, Ian Murphy, said that he had personally organized a public meeting for Hanson during her visit to western New South Wales last October. Murphy said, "We make no secret that we are people who support One Nation all the way, but to label us extremist is ridiculous."

Despite ruling-class fears of One Nation's potential destabilizing impact nationally, Howard continues to push for an early federal election.

Ron Poulsen, Communist League candidate in the upcoming federal elections and member of the Textile, Clothing and Footwear Union of Australia, said, "Pauline Hanson's One Nation party plays on the fears and insecurities, especially in the middle classes, born out of economic depression. The rise of One Nation is not the product of electoral maneuvers. Hanson's One Nation scapegoats Aborigines and Asian immigrants to deflect anger from the real cause of unemployment and worsening living conditions—the tiny minority of super-rich capitalist ruling families and their exploitative, crisis-ridden system."

"Howard's government can't answer Hanson's demagoguery because it has accelerated attacks on Aboriginal and immigrants rights, attacked health care, aged care, and education, and led an assault on the union movement. Nor can Hansonism be answered by the deep economic nationalism of the trade union officialdom and the Labor Party. As a candidate in the elections I will counter the nationalism of all the other parties with a program that stands for international working-class solidarity—the only way to combat the effects of the capitalist crisis."

Joanne Kuniansky is a member of the Australian Workers' Union (AWU).

S. Africa teachers push back layoffs

BY T.J. FIGUEROA

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Hundreds of thousands of teachers across South Africa scored a victory June 10, when the government agreed to nullify planned layoffs and negotiate teacher-pupil ratios on a national level. Three teachers unions, led by the largest — the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), which is overwhelmingly black — had planned a countrywide strike if their demands were not met. The teachers had broad working-class and student support for their actions. Their actions struck a blow in favor of nonracial, unitary public education.

"The media say we're greedy, that we don't care about the children," said SADTU member Ezad Jacobs at a celebratory march of 5,000 teachers outside Parliament here June 11. "But that's a lie. We were prepared to strike to transform education in this province and in this country, which is still a mess left over from apartheid." Marchers expressed their support for the agreement, but many also pointed out that it would take further struggle to get the National Party-run provincial government here to implement equitable education.

When it took hold of the reins of government following the first democratic, nonracial elections in 1994, the African National Congress inherited an education "system" in which the large majority of funding was directed to white schools. Certain prov-

inces — such as the Western Cape — received substantially more for education than others. Black township schools were — and still are — poorly equipped, understaffed, and in generally bad shape. Schools in rural areas are often nothing short of a disaster. A persistent remnant of the apartheid era is the unequal distribution of teachers by province. A township school on the flats of Cape Town might have one teacher for every 40 students. But in the rural Eastern Cape, that ratio might be more like 1:70.

The ANC government early on abolished apartheid education, which included entire separate structures in the apartheid "homelands." Today, the largest item in the national budget is education spending.

But the government says it cannot go beyond its budget and would not allocate more funds to the nine provincial education departments. As a result, tens of thousands of teachers hired as "temporaries" were to be laid off. Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu told Parliament that "the situation where whole education budgets of provinces are consumed by educator salary bills is not sustainable ... and therefore untenable. We cannot compromise the fundamental principle that the public service is budget driven."

Teachers reject this view. SADTU protested that provincial education budgets should not determine the number of teachers to be employed, and teacher-pupil ra-

tios should not be determined by provincial education departments. The union demanded that the ratios be determined nationally.

SADTU president Willy Madisha said that if the regulations remained, "there will be massive job losses as every province will determine the number of teachers it wants to employ and the teacher-pupil ratios will not be the same. There will never be a balance and inequalities will remain."

Bengu signed the agreement with SADTU representatives only hours before the walkout was to begin. It includes a moratorium on provinces retrenching permanent or temporary teachers occupying posts deemed "necessary" or "substantive," and giving all temporary teachers employed before July 1996 permanent status. Meanwhile, negotiations on redeployment of teachers to poorer areas will continue. Targets for teacher-pupil ratios are now to be decided at national level. The agreement does not cover the several thousand temporary teachers who have been laid off. SADTU says it will continue to try to win their jobs back.

What was to have been a national protest march June 11 turned into large-scale teacher celebrations in cities and towns throughout the country, at which the union leadership reported on the agreement. Tens of thousands participated in marches and festivities.