

SOCIALISM!



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Workers' control of industry by law!



In the last few weeks, there has been an extremely large number of mergers: Travelers and Citicorp (Insurance and banking), BankAmerica and NationsBank (Banking), World Com and MCI (Telecommunications), Daimler-Benz and Chrysler (Vehicles), Volkswagen and Rolls Royce (Vehicles), SBC and Ameritech (Telecommunications). This is a continuation of a trend in the U.S. economy and the international economy that took off, at least in the U.S., under Reagan who deepened the policy of allowing corporations to do whatever they want to do.

Banks and corporations are so large that they can blackmail and buy off whole governments. Even governments as large and powerful as the U.S. government aren't much compared to the large multi-national and international banks and corporations.

At the same time that we are seeing a tremendous growth in the size of banks and corporations, we are also seeing the consequences. For decades the owners of the largest banks and corporations were investing in Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia and reaping enormous profits. Then they concluded that they couldn't continue to reap the profits they wanted, withdrew their investments, and the Indonesian economy crashed. The International Monetary Fund stepped in and insisted that if Indonesian bankers and businessmen wanted to continue to receive international investment and aid that they would have to drastically cut into the working and living conditions of the population. Owners laid-off workers and cut subsidies that kept prices down. The Indonesian people were caught between a rock and a hard place, rose up, and forced the most hated representative of the rich, Suharto, to resign.

What has happened in Indonesia shows the future for workers and oppressed peoples of the U.S. and all nationalities — the unprecedented growth, merger and consoli-

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Revolution in Indonesia! ➡

Reform or revolution?

The majority of working people in the United States would like to see a peaceful reform of the capitalist system. They want more decent jobs, wages, working conditions, healthcare benefits, education, housing, more power and rights for working people and their organizations and less power and rights for the capitalists. At this point, they hope to achieve these goals through peaceful means — through collective bargaining, peaceful strikes, demonstrations, campaigning and voting for various candidates in elections.

Most working people don't think that a working class and socialist revolution is either necessary or desirable. (In a working class and socialist revolution, workers take over the most important resources, the banks, basic industries, and the land, by force; they establish their own government, composed of workers' representatives elected in workplaces democratically; they arrest and imprison the worst capitalist leaders and disperse their armed forces by force.)

Is revolution doomed to fail?

One of the arguments most often advanced against a working class and socialist revolution is that no matter what workers do, they will always be exploited and oppressed. Even if workers organize a working class and socialist revolution, eventually, some section of the leadership of this revolution will become power-hungry and/or money-hungry, use their positions to start taking more than their share, and the whole situation of exploitation and oppression will start all over again.

Since any attempt to organize a truly working class, revolutionary, democratic, socialist, communist, classless society will ultimately fail, workers might as well go along with the class society that we have today and try to reform it through peaceful means, rather than try to get rid of the obstacles that exist to the growth and development of the working class and to a classless society through revolutionary means.

Those who make this argument often point to revolutions that have taken place and to their fate as proof for their argument, revolutions like the American Revolution, the Civil War, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, or the Chinese or Cuban revolutions.

When you first look at these revolutions, it might look as if a certain group with certain principles mobilized the population

against the old forces and the old order, took power and worked to establish a new order, then degenerated and betrayed their principles. But it is necessary to look more closely at revolutions, at the revolutionary process.

The revolutionary process

A revolution is a very special thing. A revolution is a moment in time in which the social forces or classes at the bottom of a society concentrate all their mental, physical and psychological energies on rising up, on sweeping away the upper classes and everything that they use to keep them down (lies, propaganda, psychology, armed forces, family ties ...), on establishing a new order in which those at the bottom of a society have an opportunity to develop more freely and completely. In any revolution, there are those in the front ranks, the middle ranks, the rear; those standing on the sidelines; those openly opposed; those covertly opposed. Naturally, those in the front ranks, those who have been the most active opponents of the old society, the most ardent partisans of a new society, suffer the most blows. Sometimes many are killed and injured; others become exhausted, at least for a certain period of time.

The American Revolution, the Civil War, and the French Revolution were all bourgeois democratic revolutions. They simply aimed to get rid of feudal or semi-feudal policies and structures, like British domination of the U.S. colonies, slavery in the U.S., and the aristocracy and feudalism in France. They simply aimed to allow for the free development of capitalists and capitalism; they never aimed to get rid of class society altogether. Naturally, those at the very bottom of society tried to take advantage of the situation and push the revolution as far as they possibly could. They could not go any further because the economy was still very primitive, the working class was still very small and immature.

The Russian Revolution was different. By the time of the Russian Revolution both the international economy and the economy in Russia were much more developed; the working class was much more developed. Society now had the technology, the productive apparatus, and a social organism capable of completely abolishing hunger, want. This was not true at the time of the American Revolution, the Civil War, or the French Revolution. The working class is the embryo, the microcosm of the new society

within the old. Workers work together to produce and distribute the things that people need to survive and prosper. If the working class is allowed to grow, if it is allowed to become larger, more educated, more organized, if it has the proper tools, a completely new kind of society will begin to flourish. Russian workers saw their revolution — overthrowing the Czarist dictatorship, establishing a workers' and peasants' government, beginning to try to build a new society — as a first step in this process.

Why didn't they go any further? Is the Russian Revolution one more example that revolutions don't do workers much good? That workers will always be exploited and oppressed?

Russian workers never thought that they would be able to resolve all problems by themselves. They overthrew the Czar, established a workers' and peasants' government, and began to try to build a new society, thinking that they would inspire workers in the most advanced capitalist countries, that these workers would overthrow the capitalists in their countries, take power and, then, together, workers in Russia, Europe, the U.S., and elsewhere could work together to build a new society.

What happened?

This didn't happen. The capitalists were able to contain the revolution. They put a tremendous amount of pressure on the new workers' and peasants' republic. Workers and peasants were forced to fight back 21 imperialist armies that invaded Russia and came to the aid of the Czarist and capitalist armies. They defeated this military attack on the revolution, but many of the most devoted and consistent workers had died in the war. The workers had used all the material resources that they had had at their disposal to fight the war. The most backward elements in the society took advantage of the fatigue and poverty of the most working class and revolutionary forces to try to ease their way back into positions of power. They claimed to support the revolution. They began to infiltrate the workers' organizations and their leaderships. They worked to isolate the most working class and revolutionary leaders like Lenin and Trotsky. Eventually, all the working class institutions that had been established by the workers in the course of the revolution were taken over, undermined, and sometimes completely destroyed by a new, privileged bureaucracy, composed of

old Czarist functionaries, old capitalists, and the most opportunist and backward elements from the old workers and peasants political parties, like Stalin. The majority of the leading committee of the workers' revolutionary party in Russia — the Bolshevik Party — did *not* betray the workers' revolution in Russia. Stalin and his allies from the old order had to kill every single one in order to acquire and keep power.

Whenever there is a successful revolution that totally changes who is on top, who is in control, there is always a huge step forward, and then a certain number of steps back, as those who make the revolution try to catch their breath, and those who opposed the revolution try to take advantage of the situation to grab back what they can. There are always a certain number of revolutionaries who abandon the cause and go over to the other side. There are also those who oppose the revolution, see that they were wrong, and honestly and sincerely come over to the side of the revolution.

Revolutionary progress

But with all this movement, forward and back, society never goes totally back to the way that it was before the revolution. The United States is still independent of England; England doesn't dictate what people in the U.S. will and will not do. Chattel slavery is still illegal in the United States; you can't buy and sell people like animals. France is still a capitalist democracy, not a feudal monarchy. In fact, if it's up to the French workers, France may not be a capitalist democracy much longer. It may be the first workers' revolutionary socialist republic in Western Europe. And the gains of the workers' revolution in Russia, Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba have not been completely and totally destroyed. There is no Czar in Russia. In important parts of Russia workers still have much more ownership and control over the factories than they do in capitalist countries. They use their de facto ownership and control to get what they need to survive. They still don't have to sell their labor in the market place as workers in capitalist countries do.

What we have to do in the United States is organize a working class and socialist revolution that is so irreconcilable, so thorough-going, that when it falls back, as it inevitably will, it won't fall back very far.

Workers and their organizations need to fight for: workers' control and workers'



Russian miners stop the trains from running to win their demands for back pay.

management of essential industries by law; collective ownership of essential industries by law; a workers' government, composed of workers' representatives, elected in workplaces democratically, to coordinate the production and distribution of necessities; arms and military training for workers so they can defend themselves and collective property.

When the moment comes, as it inevitably will, when the working population is becoming more and more hostile to the established order, more and more prepared to risk everything to rid themselves of it and build a new society, when the capitalists and their armed forces become disoriented, start to lose their footing and quarrel among themselves, that is, at the moment when the revolution comes, workers must be prepared to *go all the way*, to take over as much as possible, to encourage every worker to become actively involved in the struggle, to seek out and do away with as many enemies of the working class as possible, so that they won't be able to take full advantage of the moment when the working class is trying to catch its breath, and try to come back.

Workers' control

One of the most important acts of the new workers' government will be to drastically reduce the length of the working day so that all working people have plenty of time to be actively involved in their unions, in working class parties, and in the workers' government so that they can keep an eye on every-

thing and make sure that nobody gets out of control. Workers' representatives will be paid no more than the average worker, will be changed on a regular basis and will be immediately recallable. It will be against the law for workers' representatives to live better than other workers.

Workers will also have to be prepared to organize another revolution if for some reason some organism starts to develop that starts to take a disproportionate share of the benefits of the revolution for itself, to deprive others, and to undermine the revolution.

Eventually, in this way, the working class will achieve a classless communist society in which everyone has what he or she needs and the opportunity to develop their talents and abilities to the fullest.

But this isn't going to happen all by itself. Somebody has to fight for it. This is why *Socialism!* is working to build a workers revolutionary socialist International. We are beginning by working to rebuild the Fourth International, an international organization founded to fight for workers revolutionary socialism in 1938. We are trying to unify all the forces associated with the Fourth International that continue to fight for workers revolutionary socialism. We are also asking everyone who is for this to join *Socialism!*

Everyone who joins the conscious and organized fight for workers revolutionary socialism against the capitalists and their lies, brings the socialist future that much closer! — Margaret Guttshall □

Solidarity with Chiapas!

The following article on the situation in Chiapas was written for *Socialism!* by revolutionaries in Mexico affiliated with *UnioS!* (*Unidad Obrero y Socialista*) and *International Workers Unity (Fourth International)*. *Socialism!* urges youth and workers in the U.S. to support the fight for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and Mexican Federal Government forces from Chiapas.

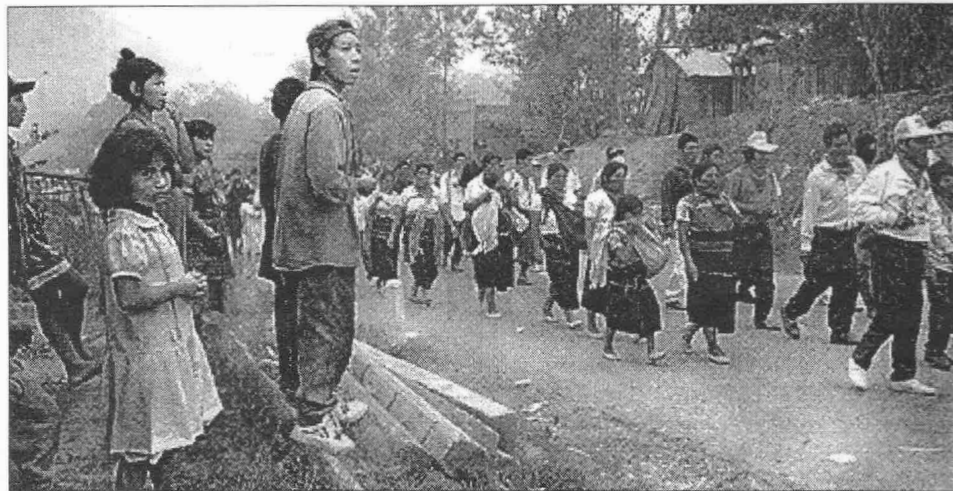
The resumption of talks between the Mexican Federal Government and the Zapatista National Liberation Army, which stopped 16 months ago, now seems very difficult for three reasons — the decision of the Mexican Federal Government headed by Zedillo to order the expulsion of foreigners from Chiapas, the disregard for the National Mediation Commission (CONAI), and the worsening of attacks on the indigenous communities in Chiapas.

Spanish, Northamericans, French and people of other nationalities doing different kinds of community work in Southeastern Mexico have been forced to return to their countries of origin, since, according to the government, their work constitutes interference in the national life of Mexico.

According to the immigration authorities' discourse, the expulsion of foreigners — on occasion violating individual rights, like the right to legal representation — is necessary since the conflict in Chiapas and its solution belongs solely and exclusively to Mexicans.

What is taking place is the expulsion of foreigners, well-known for many years, in the midst of thousands of outcries against violations of human and civil rights against the indigenous communities. It began with a propaganda campaign that began with the journalist Lolita de la Vega's memorable visit to Chiapas, which included a helicopter supplied by the government. This so-called news announcer denounced the supposed interference of men who are white and speak foreign languages in the La Realidad community. Although the governments of those expelled have not lodged any kind of official protest with the Mexican authorities, international organizations and the expelled have denounced the aggression, intimidation, and obstacles to accomplishing various tasks in support of the indigenous communities, work which has been taking place in Mexico for many years, even before the Zapatista rebellion emerged.

Another aspect, which is also a cause for



Indigenous peoples march in the Chiapas village of Amparo-Aguatinta, defending the popular councils which are under attack from federal police.

concern and contradicts official speeches, is the disregard for CONAI (the National Mediation Commission, which facilitated discussions between the Mexican Federal Government and the Zapatista National Liberation Army), in particular, the official disqualification of its most well-known member: the bishop of San Cristobal, Samuel Ruiz.

Officials proposed that the Catholic hierarchy, which before seemed to defend Ruiz, now begin negotiations to remove him, with the argument that "there can be no better gift for Pope John Paul II on his next visit to Mexico than peace in Chiapas," for which, according to their logic, it is necessary to do everything possible.

They are promoting the creation of a new mediation commission, composed of people more inclined and receptive toward the government's positions, no matter what the cost may be.

The situation in Chiapas has become more difficult for the indigenous peoples and for the Zapatistas. The substitution of Julio Caesar Fierro, accused of promoting and protecting the white guards, and of Emilio Chuayffet, have not contributed to resolving the conflict. On the contrary, they have proposed to continue exacerbating the conflict.

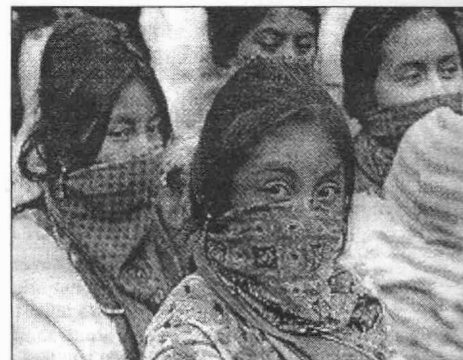
The military encirclement of Chiapas is getting worse. The most recent example is the dismantling of the indigenous community Ricardo Flores Magon; prior to that the siege against Taniperlas, as well as the numerous complaints of attacks and harassment received by the human rights organi-

zations in the area. These acts even violate the "Law for Dialogue, Conciliation, and a Dignified Peace" in Chiapas, approved by the Mexican Congress in March, 1995, according to which the leaders and negotiators of the Zapatista Liberation Army and their possessions would not be touched or bothered by any Mexican Federal Government authority.

Even the Commission for Harmony and Peace (COCOPA) has indicated that these types of actions are part of the continuation of the attacks and change the agenda agreed to in the negotiations.

In the face of the almost permanent attacks on the Zapatista indigenous communities, it is necessary to promote self-defense in order to save lives, so that the Chiapas communities can have groups that organize and head up their own self-defense. The zones associated with the ruling party (Revolutionary Institutional Party/PRI), where the anti-Indian, terrorist "White Guards" and paramilitary groups are hiding,

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Zapatistas defend councils.

U.S. bases out of Panama!

An appeal to workers of the Americas and all countries

Because of its geographical position, Panama has been the object, throughout its history, of the greed of the world powers in each historical epoch, who have deprived it of its free self-determination, its independence and its sovereignty.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, with the construction of the Canal and the imposition of military bases on national territory, generations of Panamanian men and women have shed their blood and suffered arrest, imprisonment, torture, death and exile in order to defend the sovereignty and the dignity of our Panamanian nation.

The U.S. army has been the instrument of the aggression of the governments of the United States against Panama for a century and a half. Throughout this time period, the United States has organized 21 military attacks on Panama; the most brutal were in January, 1964, when the U.S. army assassinated 21 Panamanians and wounded more than 500, and then in December, 1989, causing the worst disaster in Panamanian history, with hundreds of wounded, dead, missing and the destruction of neighborhoods and the national economy.

The CMA (Centro Multilateral Antidrogas; Multilateral Anti-Drug Center) will be the new weapon that the United States and its allied government and party will try to use in order to continue intervening in an open and reckless way

in the internal affairs of the countries of the region, reaffirming in this way their political hegemony in the new century.

For this reason, all the governments, peoples and organizations in Latin America and throughout the world must clearly and firmly oppose the death project known as the CMA in order to guarantee peace and security in the region at the beginning of the next century.

Nevertheless, the Panamanian government is negotiating a contract with the United States that will allow various U.S. military bases to continue in Panama, disguised as the "Centro Multilateral Antidrogas," supposedly to fight the scourge of drugs that is plaguing humanity, particularly the United States, which is the main consumer and promoter of drugs.

In order to strengthen this maneuver, they have invited other countries in the Americas to join in this contract.

We cry out against this maneuver and call on organized workers to reject it and demand that their governments refuse to participate in it.

U.S. bases out of Panama!

No support to the Multilateral Anti-Drug Center, a U.S. base in disguise!

For further information and to express support, contact:

The National Movement in Defense of Sovereignty

(www.pk2000.com/MONADESO)

Chiapas

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have not been touched by the Mexican army.

In this way it will be possible to avoid massacres, like the one at Acteal, and the forced movement of indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples will have an important weapon with which to defend their communities in opposition to the constant attacks, in which the landholders and the government have gunmen armed with the most powerful rifles in order to liquidate the almost unarmed indigenous peoples.

While all this has been going on, the Zapatista National Liberation Army has not been calling for mobilizations to counteract the government's actions and the militarization of the region.

Only a national movement will be able to weaken the military escalation and force the

government to return, without conditions and without tricks, to the negotiating table. Only in this way will it be possible to force the government to comply with the San Andreas Accords.

The Zapatista National Liberation Army and its leadership are doubly obliged to call for a mobilization, for reactivating the national and international mass support, so strong a few months ago.

Mobilization and solidarity are the most effective weapons with which to achieve the objectives of the uprising of the indigenous peoples, including: respect for their culture, the right to work on the land that they live on and the demand for the independence of their communities.—Teresita Pereyra and Daniel Gonzalez □

Workers' control

Continued from front page

dation of all powerful multi-national banks and corporations, the sudden withdrawal of capital, the dictation of economic policies that cause layoffs, hunger, disease, death.

What can young people and working people in the U.S. do about this situation? Many think that the solution is to go backwards. They want to pass laws limiting the size of banks and corporations, limiting their ability to merge, limiting their ability to contribute to political campaigns, candidates, parties and elected officials. But this has been done before. There is a brief period in which the size and power of banks and corporations may be cut back, then the process starts all over again.

In order to go forward, in order to insure that the banks and corporations that we all contribute to and that we all depend upon, serve the interests of the majority, it is necessary to fight for some kind of daily control over these banks and corporations by the people at the bottom.

The working class —those who work in extracting fuel, in the mines, the fields, the various means of transportation, the various processing and manufacturing plants, the accounting offices, the various education and training facilities, construction — is the sector of the population that is in the best position to exercise this control from every point of view. The workers have the power: they do the work. They have the knowledge: they know how to do things and what the majority needs. They have the first steps toward the necessary organization: unions and a Labor Party.

A fight for workers' control of the banks and basic industry by law is a fight for an alternative to the growing dictatorship of the owners of the giant multi-national banks and corporations. It's a fight to unify and mobilize the entirety of the oppressed population around the working class and against the owners. It's a step toward overthrowing the power of these owners and their governments and replacing them with an international federation of workers' revolutionary democracies. It's a step toward organizing working class, revolutionary, and socialist societies in which working people call the shots, own the most essential properties, plan and organize the production and distribution of necessities, and have everything that they need — decent jobs, working conditions, wages, healthcare, education and housing for all.

If this is what you want, join us! □

Anarchism and Marxism

Anarchists and Marxists have worked together in many struggles, from the struggle against fascism in Spain in the 1930s to the struggle against racism and fascism today. But the situation today is different from the one 60 years ago. The crisis and defeats of Stalinism offer an opportunity for Anarchists and Marxists to reevaluate their differences and shared goals. This article is an attempt to explore our common goals and consider our differences

Marxist socialists and anarchists have many goals in common. Both want to eliminate capitalism and establish a classless society where all people are free to live without exploitation and oppression. Both accept that a revolution is necessary to achieve this. Many anarchists — not all — also believe the working class has the power to make that revolution. Both anarchists and Marxists want the abolition of private property.

Many anarchists consider Marx's analysis of capitalism to be valuable, but they reject the Marxist concept of a workers' state as a means of transition to socialism. The eventual goal is the same — the *elimination* of the state — but there are different views on how to get there.

Smashing the state

Anarchists believe that the people will rise up and smash the capitalist state, creating a revolution. The problem, as they see it, is in preventing another state from being created in place of the smashed one. According to one anarchist, "in the course of a revolution, the working class spontaneously throws up organs through which it tries to reorganize society. These organs, however, are normally made subservient to the new state within a short period of time."

These organs for reorganizing society are workers' councils and committees. This is something Marxists agree with — the basis of workers' democracy must be workers' councils and committees. But anarchists don't want to organize beyond that level — in the form of a workers' state — and we consider a workers' state essential to the survival of a socialist revolution.

There isn't any doubt that the nature of the bourgeois state is the rule of the minority over the majority — through violence and coercion. Marxists and anarchists agree that this is the reason there are police, courts and prisons. The entire system of rule imposed by the bourgeois state is necessary to force the will of the small, ruling class on the rest of society. And, as strong as that state appa-

ratus must be to oppress millions and millions of workers, it will not be "smashed" without matching the forces that oppress us with equal strength.

This is why Marxists are convinced of the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once the capitalist, ruling class is thrown out of power, it's necessary to impose the will of the working class — the proletariat — in order to prevent the capitalists from regaining power. In the beginning of the revolution, this must be done by establishing a working class state apparatus and using it to impose the rule of the proletariat on the capitalists.

How will the state be eliminated?

One of the largest concerns of anarchists is that any state will perpetuate itself. This is not necessarily the case, however, in a workers' state. As we said before, the purpose of the bourgeois state is to impose the will of the minority on the majority. If the state is, instead, controlled by the entire working class — now the clear majority in most of the world — there is no longer any need for a whole system of police. Once this is the case, "the more the functions of state power are performed by the people as a whole, the less need there is for the existence of this [state] power." (Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.) Hence the state begins to wither away.

The example that Marx used to discuss how the state withers away in the hands of the working class was the Paris Commune. In *The Civil War in France*, he notes that "...The first decree of the Commune ... was the suppression of the standing army, and its replacement by the armed people...." The workers themselves become the enforcers of the state, which eliminates the need for a special force — the army, police, etc. In this circumstance, the majority — the workers — are ruling over the minority — the bourgeoisie — and the state, as an entity separate from and against the majority, no longer exists.

Democracy in a workers' state

The fact that in a workers' state all the workers control the society does not eliminate the need for organizing representatives and committees. So, in order to employ representative democracy without creating a privileged caste, such as elected officials, judges and police are under bourgeois democracy, it's necessary to keep workers' elected representatives under the workers'



Paris Commune.

control. The best ways to do this were also established in the Paris Commune. First, all the workers had the right to vote to elect their municipal councilors. These representatives were revocable at any time if they did not follow the dictates of their constituents. Second, elected representatives were only paid the average worker's wages, they did not have special privileges. And, in the Paris Commune there was no separation between the legislative and executive functions — those who made the laws also had to implement them. In this way, rather than being separate and above the laws they made, representatives of the Commune had to see the results of their laws first-hand, and were directly responsible to their constituents.

Eventually, though, there would be no special group of people or institutions to manage society. The necessary social functions would become more and more simple over time, as the productivity of labor increases and all the needs of the people are supplied by their shared labor. With no need to oppress the majority of the people, the business of the workers' state becomes a simple matter of accounting and control of production. There would no longer be special state institutions because they would not be necessary — there would be nothing for them to do.

Eliminating oppression, violence

Of course, workers' democracy where the majority rules is preferable to bourgeois democracy, where the bourgeois minority rules through money and exploitation. But workers' democracy is not the final goal. Democracy is still a state which subordinates the minority to the majority — which at some point requires the systematic use of force. This will be necessary in the first stages of socialism, to defend the revolution

Indonesia ...

from the bourgeoisie which wants to take back power. Eventually, however, when the generations who lived by exploiting others are gone, people will become used to a society without subordination. When everyone is used to being paid equally, according to their work, and when increases in productivity meet everyone's needs, there will be no need for any systematic force of one section of the population against the other.

Beyond this, it will become unnecessary to calculate and divide up the fruits of labor strictly according to shares equal to the work of each individual. When scarcity is eliminated by an economy which plans for people's needs instead of seeking profit, everyone's needs will be met. In these circumstances, it will be possible for people to look beyond equal work and to recognize that some people have different needs. Some may be able to work more than others. Some may have more children, and greater need, than others. When their material circumstances have changed, people themselves will change. It will be possible to live by the maxim: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*.) In this situation, according to Lenin, we will have reached the stage of communism "when people have become so accustomed to observing the fundamental rules of social intercourse and when their labor has become so productive that they will voluntarily work according to their ability." (*The State and Revolution*) And once we've reached this level of development, there will be no thought of any need for a "state."

Utopian or Scientific?

Some people think that this vision of society — where people voluntarily work according to their ability and take what they need — is utopian. It is, however, based on a dialectical materialist analysis of society's development. This analysis traces the societal changes that have built capitalism, and has allowed us to understand how best to fight it. It is only with this understanding that we can ever achieve socialism. And, we believe, it offers a much more realistic and practical view of what's necessary to get there than is offered by anarchism. —K. Morgan and T. James □

(In a coming issue, we will take a closer look at what happened in Russia, why the workers' state was taken over by a monstrous, privileged, dictatorial bureaucracy and what needs to be done about this.)

Continued from the back page

big economic groups and Suharto. Emergency plans to provide jobs and other necessities to the people now. Nationalize enterprises that have been laying off workers!

The other great democratic task is to fight for the calling of a Constituent Assembly. The students, the workers, the people who have thrown out Suharto, they are the ones who must decide how to politically and economically reorganize the country. Our proposal is that working class and student organizations must begin to govern; they are the ones who can carry out an emergency plan and guarantee the democratic rights of the working people of Indonesia, including Timor's right to self-determination.

The revolutionary process in Indonesia is another blow against imperialism. The government that was the axis of capitalist "stability" in Southeast Asia for 30 years is gone. It demonstrates, once again, that the globalization and the neo-liberal recipes of the IMF and the World Bank, which give credit to regimes only if they agree to severely attack the working and living conditions of the people, are no solution for the working class and poor people. The only solution for the masses of Indonesia and all countries is to fight for workers' governments and for socialism.

Workers, youth, popular sectors throughout the world, have welcomed Suharto's fall with happiness. And they are right. As the Russian miners said: "Indonesia is not indifferent to us." International solidarity with this exemplary struggle continues to be a fundamental task of all fighters. Its complete victory over the dictatorial regime of Suharto and Habibie will be another new and valuable contribution to the struggle

being waged everywhere against imperialism and its accomplices.
International Workers Unity
(Fourth International)
May 25, 1998 □

Is a truly socialist society possible?

Public Forum

Saturday, June 6, 7 pm

International Institute
John R and Kirby, Detroit

Sponsored by: News and Letters, *Socialism!*, Trotskyist League, Workers World Party

What is Socialism! fighting for?

Workers revolutionary socialism

A workers revolutionary socialist international

Rebuilding the Fourth International: unifying all the tendencies fighting for the Fourth International's revolutionary socialist program

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Suharto has fallen!

Now let's finish with his regime and the IMF's policy!

Capitalist globalization is very far from imposing a "new order" on an international scale. In Russia, a powerful miners' strike has just forced Yeltsin to retreat. In France and other European countries, struggles against unemployment and in defense of workers' conquests are growing. The imperialists, especially those in the United States, are not succeeding in resolving the world economic crisis and are being challenged, especially on their policy in Iraq and the Middle East. Everywhere workers and peoples are confronting the so-called "neo-liberal" plans. In the midst of this rise in struggles, Indonesia is one of the hottest points.

Southeast Asia is going through a very serious crisis. The recent economic-financial windstorm provoked the devaluation of currencies, bankruptcies and layoffs throughout the region. This set off strong social struggles; among them the Korean workers stand out. The so-called "Asiatic tigers," until a short time ago pointed to as model countries by the imperialists, are going from bad to worse. In Indonesia, 70% of its 210 million inhabitants live in poverty, without any aid, with a minimum wage of \$15/month; 8 million workers are laid-off. The IMF imposed emergency measures to ensure that Indonesia would pay its external debt and to ensure greater domination of the economy, eliminating subsidies to fuel, electricity and transportation. But it was precisely this policy, above all the rise in the price of fuel, that detonated the hatred of the Suharto regime that had been accumulating for years.

In the capital, Jakarta, thousands of people in poor neighborhoods took what they needed from commercial establishments after university students began their protest actions. The indisputable vanguard of the mobilization, the students, inspired broad and growing popular sympathy. More than 30,000 students in 50 universities maintained the occupation of the Parliament, received food and drink from the population, and fraternized with a section of the soldiers. Their slogans were: "Why must the people suffer hunger and fear?" "Down with Suharto, we want democracy!" Finally, on May 21, Suharto announced in a feeble voice: "I am not going to be president any more ..." and Habibie, the vice-president, assumed the presidency. It took 10 days of mobilization to bring down a dictator who held power for 32 years, in a first and incon-



testable democratic victory in the revolutionary process that is opening in Indonesia.

In 1965-66, when Sukarno was president, as head of the army, Suharto massacred 500,000 people, mostly communists and people suspected of being communists. In power, he built a corrupt and dictatorial regime, persecuting all political and trade union opposition, distributing power among family members and friends and accumulating a personal fortune of about 40 billion dollars. Among his crimes is the massacre of 100,000 people from Timor, an old Portuguese colony held by Indonesia by force. Suharto did all these things with the collaboration of the imperialist powers, the supposed defenders of "democracy."

Now Suharto has fallen. His son-in-law, General Subianto, has also been replaced. The official ruling party — Golkar — is divided and the regime has become completely weakened and in crisis. The students and the Indonesian masses in general have a thirst for justice and a dignified life. Conditions are better for the intervention of the working class. For this reason, the imperialists, the army and the bourgeois opposition in the Popular Democratic Party and the Islamic Party, Muhammadiyah, are seeking a smooth and peaceful transition, under the control of Habibie, with a clear goal: they want to preserve the armed forces and try to keep the mobilization from advancing and bringing down the entirety of the regime.

This first and important victory, the fall of the dictator Suharto, can encourage new steps in the youth and popular mobilization. As the students have said, it's also necessary to get rid of Habibie, Suharto's puppet. It is also necessary to fight for freedom for all political prisoners, dismantling the repressive apparatus and punishing members of the regime who committed crimes.

Nor should economic corruption go unpunished. It is necessary to nationalize Suharto's property and wealth, as well as the property and wealth of all who have been part of his regime. Break with the IMF, which has been an ally of the dictatorship and whose plans have been strangling the Indonesian people. Stop paying the external debt, which is now more than 80 billion dollars. Confiscate the land and the money in the hands of the international bankers, the

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Indonesian students occupy the Parliament.