

Anger Builds Against "Post-Apartheid" Swindle

Struggle Sweeps South Africa

AUGUST 4—As we go to press, South Africa's millions-strong black working class has hit the apartheid rulers and shut down the country with a nationwide two-day general strike. A week of mass actions is to follow, including occupying government buildings and a march on Pretoria tomorrow. Called by the African National Congress and its labor ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the campaign sought to pressure the government in the "power sharing" talks aimed at masking white supremacy under neo-apartheid rule. But the ANC broke off negotiations following the June 17 massacre in Boipatong town-

ship near Sharpeville by Inkatha thugs abetted by the apartheid police and army.

The weeklong campaign of protest has been carefully managed. The *New York Times* (4 August) reported that the strike "had been scaled back until it became more of a cathartic ritual aimed at letting off steam in the townships before a resumption of talks." But with anger mounting in the black townships and unions, the regime is braced for a season of turmoil which could "get out of hand" and slip the ANC/COSATU leash. Already, more than 20 people have been killed since Sunday.

continued on page 10



Marinovich/AP

Black South Africans rally to commemorate anniversary of 1976 Soweto uprising, June 16.

One Year After Yeltsin Countercoup

Soviet Workers Bleed



AP

"Tsar" Boris Yeltsin being blessed by Russian Orthodox patriarch last August. "Free market" austerity means impoverishment and economic devastation for Soviet working people. Many are driven to selling off their personal possessions to survive.



Spartacist

It is now twelve months since the forces of counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin and orchestrated by Washington gained the ascendancy in the Soviet Union. Taking advantage of the botched August coup attempt by the Kremlin "gang of eight," they launched a forced draft march toward capitalist restoration. Following the "shock treatment" inaugurated in January, the economy is dramatically collapsing. Hunger and homelessness are becoming commonplace. Inventories of meat and sausage pile up as people scavenge through garbage for scraps of food. The birth rate has reached its lowest point since the end of World War II, a measure of the

desperation gripping Soviet society. The overwhelming mass of the working people are being driven into the lower depths.

The juridical dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics last December exacerbated nationalist antagonisms and paved the way to recreating the kind of squalid fratricide which has destroyed Yugoslavia. Civil war rages in the Caucasus between Armenians and Azerbaijanis, in Moldova between ethnic Romanians and the Russian-speaking minority. In Central Asia Islamic fundamentalists are surging forward. In the Ukraine, streets are being renamed in honor of notorious pogromists like the White Guardist Petliura and Nazi collaborator Stepan Bandera. Meanwhile, stridently chauvinist elements within and outside the Yeltsin regime seek to capitalize on the turmoil at the fringes of the Russian republic in order to cohere a counterrevolutionary

Russian nationalist armed force out of the still multinational Soviet army.

The situation facing the Soviet working people grows ever more calamitous. Food prices have skyrocketed: bread now costs 20 times more and other products as much as 100 times more than they did a year ago. Pensioners and others on fixed incomes are on the brink of starvation. The only thing being produced in any quantity is increasingly worthless rubles, with the printing presses literally incapable of keeping pace. Yeltsin now regularly has a plane stuffed full of rubles trailing him wherever he travels inside the Russian republic, to dispense to workers who have not been paid for weeks or even months.

But despite the horrendous situation the workers have been plunged into, aside from the enormously popular health workers walkout last spring, various strike threats, particularly by the strategic oil workers and usually over

non-payment of wages, have remained empty. Notably, the CIA-connected "independent" miners union, which was so quick to strike for Yeltsin in 1990-91, has kept the coal miners from mobilizing their power against the ravages of Yeltsin's "shock treatment."

Until now mass unemployment has not hit. But already factories throughout the country are forcing workers to take long unpaid summer "holidays": in the defense industry center of Ryazan, all 24 of the major factories have either shut their gates or gone on three-day weeks since July 1. Overall, production dropped 15 percent just in the first quarter of the year. In the critical military goods sector, sales are expected to plummet by up to 85 percent this year, leading to as many as 2.5 million layoffs. If subsidies to bankrupt state industries are cut off, as many as 15 million more could be unemployed by year's end, raising the

continued on page 8



Free Antiwar GIs!

To counter his plummeting standings in the polls, Bush is again rattling his saber against Iraq, threatening a new round of air strikes, ordering U.S. military "exercises" in Kuwait. His "opposition" Democratic rivals Clinton and Gore, both of whom supported last year's massacre of over 100,000 Iraqis, gave the Pentagon a blank check in advance. With the prospect of a new U.S. provocation in the Gulf never far beyond the horizon, it is important to remember the GIs who refused to take part in last year's "Desert Slaughter."

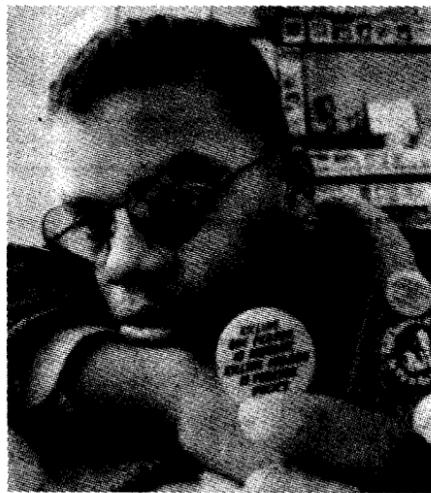
On June 18, 23-year-old black Marine reservist Tahan Jones was convicted of "unauthorized absence" and "missing troop movements." Jones was sentenced to eight months in the brig, given a dishonorable discharge and total forfeiture of pay. As an outspoken black opponent of the war who appeared at many antiwar rallies, Jones was high on the Pentagon brass' hit list.

At the end of the war Jones wrote, "This nation can't find a dime to pay for more social programs to improve the

lives of its citizens, but can mortgage the lives of its children for generations to come to pay for death and destruction around the globe. Even when I close the door to my room, I can't escape the brutality of this government, because when I turn on the television I see the LAPD shamelessly beating down a black man. This is what President Bush wants me to sacrifice life, limb or my sanity for."

As with the other applicants for conscientious objector status, the Pentagon sat on his application, then conveniently "lost" his CO papers and charged Jones with desertion in time of war for refusing to report when his reserve unit was activated. Flouting his right to a "speedy trial," they held Jones at Camp Lejeune for 13 months before convening the kangaroo court.

Last October, Marine Paul Cook was sentenced to 15 months in the brig at Camp Lejeune for missing a troop movement and desertion while in Saudi Arabia. Cook, who saw firsthand the racist depravity of the U.S. war machine in the 1989 Panama invasion, applied for CO



Forsten/L.A. Times

Tahan Jones, 23-year-old Marine reservist, got eight months in the brig for opposing Persian Gulf slaughter.

status the following year. His application denied because his beliefs were "too political," Cook refused to join the fighting in the Gulf. The military made him a sitting duck on the Kuwait/Saudi border—he was denied use of protective chemical gear, and outfitted in jungle green fatigues rather than the desert uniforms issued to all other military personnel.

Bush & Co. remember very well that over 1,700 GIs who opposed the Persian Gulf massacre applied for conscientious objector status, and hundreds of them deserted as the Pentagon sat on their applications. The conviction of Tahan Jones marks the government's determination to squelch future protest as it prepares the next military adventure. In a letter of protest sent July 10 to Secretary of Defense Cheney and Major General J.E. Livingston, the Partisan Defense Committee said, "U.S. rulers are attempting to terrorize this country into unanimous complicity with their program of increased exploitation, misery, political repression, race terror and war. Their imperialist appetites threaten the working people of the entire world. We demand immediate and unconditional freedom for Tahan Jones!" Free all the antiwar GIs!

* * *

It was a familiar, but still shocking, racist outrage. On July 16 Shasta Karuk Indian Norma Jean Croy was once again denied parole from the life sentence she received in 1979 for surviving a massive cop attack on her family.

Following an argument with a convenience store clerk on 16 July 1978, Norma Jean, her brother Patrick and

three relatives fled to their grandmother's home in the hills above Yreka, California. Twenty-seven cops wielding semi-automatic assault rifles, shotguns and .357 magnum pistols besieged the family, firing over 200 rounds at the Croys. Norma Jean Croy was shot in the back. The bullet still lies perilously close to her spine and cannot be removed. One drunken cop shot Patrick Croy twice in the back. Croy fired one shot in return, and his would-be assassin fell dead.

Shackled with a court-appointed attorney who told them he made a career of prosecuting Indians, Norma Jean got a life sentence and Patrick was sentenced to death. The California Supreme Court overturned the death sentence, and in a well-publicized retrial in 1990 a San Francisco jury acquitted Patrick on grounds of self-defense. Following Patrick's acquittal, Judge Edward Stern announced:

"I think that when Norma Jean Croy comes up for a parole hearing again, that the parole board should take into consideration that fact that this court at least believes that had Norma Jean Croy been tried in the case I heard, Norma Jean Croy would have been found not guilty.... I want the record to be clear that this is my judgment, my opinion, having heard the evidence in this case."

But what does innocence mean to the Parole Board? After a three-hour hearing, Norma Jean Croy was denied parole for the fifth time. Her attorney, James Thomson, summed up the farce, "It was the most unfair proceeding I've ever participated in. The panel refused to listen to evidence of her innocence, which was established in Patrick Croy's trial."

On July 10 the PDC wrote the California Board of Prison Terms stating, "There is nothing this state can do to rectify the centuries of murderous terror that nearly wiped out the American Indian population, nor to rectify the injustice done to the Croy family. But it can, and must, release Norma Jean Croy. We demand you do so immediately."

For more information contact the Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee, 473 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94111. Telephone: (415) 986-5591.

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■



TROTSKY

"Socialism in One Country" Recipe for Disaster

The counterrevolutionary tide which has inundated East Europe and is ravaging the Soviet workers signifies not the "death of Communism" but the collapse of Stalinism. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, came to power on the program of world socialist revolution; Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" was the antithesis of that internationalist program. Six decades ago, Trotsky explained that in the

face of imperialist encirclement and internal economic pressures generated by the petty bourgeoisie, national isolation spelled the destruction of the Soviet workers state.

In the light of the present world situation, the theory of "socialism in one country," this gospel of the bureaucracy, stands before us in all its nationalistic limitation and its braggard falsity. We do not refer here, of course, to the purely abstract possibility or impossibility of building a socialist society within this or another geographic area—such a theme is for scholiasts; rather we have in mind the vastly more immediate and concrete, living and historical, not metaphysical, question: is it possible for an isolated Soviet state to maintain itself for an indeterminate period of time in an imperialist environment, within the constricting circle of fascist counterrevolutions? The answer of Marxism is No. The answer of the internal condition of the USSR is No. The imperialist pressure from without, the expenditure of forces and resources for defense, the impossibility of establishing correct economic ties—these obstacles by themselves are sufficiently profound and grave; but vastly more important than these is the fact that the defeats of the world revolution are inevitably disintegrating the living bearer of the Soviet system, the proletariat, compelling it to place its neck obediently under the yoke of the national bureaucracy, which, in turn, is being corroded by all the vices of Bonapartism. Outside of world revolution there is no salvation!

—Leon Trotsky, "Where Is the Stalin Bureaucracy Leading the USSR?" (January 1935)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 557

7 August 1992

JUST OUT!

No. 41
Summer/Autumn 1992
\$1 (56 pages)

- "Family Values" Crusade Targets Women, Blacks, Teens
- L.A. Racist Cops Walk: There is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
- Free Abortion on Demand!
- In Honor of Our Slain Comrade Martha Phillips
- Italy: Vatican Leads Onslaught Against Abortion Rights
- Iran: Social Struggle Shakes Islamic Dictatorship
- Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women
- 80 Million Women Maimed: The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation
- Roots of Bolshevism: The Russian Revolutionary Tradition

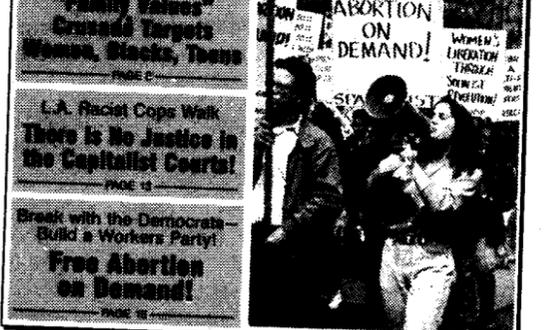
3-issue subscription \$3

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Women and Revolution

Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

NO. 41 SUMMER/AUTUMN 1992 \$1.00



Editorial Notes: Goodbye Columbus. Hello Cotton Mather 2
In Honor of Our Slain Comrade Martha Phillips 4
Italy: Vatican Leads Onslaught Against Abortion Rights 19
Iran: Social Struggle Shakes Islamic Dictatorship 46
Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women 56

80 Million Women Maimed
The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation
SEE PAGE 22

Roots of Bolshevism
The Russian Revolutionary Tradition
SEE PAGE 34

Ex-CP "Committees of Correspondence" Conference of the Living Dead

When we last tuned in, the "dissident" faction of the Communist Party USA had run into a Stalinist brick wall at Gus Hall's Cleveland convention last December, so they started divorce proceedings by forming the "Committees of Correspondence" (see "CPUSA Shatters," WV No. 543, 24 January). They couldn't claim irreconcilable differences—after all, Hall & Co. were just as eager to be on the Democratic bandwagon as the so-called oppositionists. But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, a layer in the party felt an albatross was removed from their reformist necks. Particularly with most of the CP's prominent black spokesmen in this right-wing split, they saw a career move in dropping the "Marxist-Leninist" label in order to make time on the fringes of the Democratic Party. (Whether they get anywhere with this is another matter.)

The divorce quickly became ugly: the oppositionists took the CPUSA to the Reagan/Bush National Labor Relations

violence"; a feminist NPer (who was really from Brooklyn) saying how she doesn't want to hear from white men who have a "line," etc. All this interspersed with musicians to keep the crowd entertained and ensure there was no opportunity to speak from the floor.

The crowd numbered about 1,000 (mainly ex-CPers and their families), including such "luminaries" as New York State Democratic Assemblyman Roger Greene. On Saturday the ex-CPers showed up in their new garb. There was Kendra Alexander, who now describes herself as "legislative aide to Maudelle Shirek" of the Berkeley City Council. Charlene Mitchell did mention the Soviet Union, which she said had provided "balance" in the world against imperialism, but now "it is up to us to rein in our own crazies." The socialist "experiment" in Eastern Europe "ultimately failed," she averred, but capitalism still is decadent. Mitchell wants people to "exercise the franchise"

Saturday evening offered a vision of "1992 and Beyond: The Role of the Left" in which Carl Bloice, former editor of *People's World*, said he would hold his nose and vote for "slick Willie" and the Democrats, again, but held out a hint of breaking away for a left-wing party in the sweet by-and-by. Leslie Cagan of the "Cuba Information Project" launched an anti-communist diatribe against a mythical someone from a "Marxist Leninist Vanguard Workers and Peasants Party" who "has the answers" and thus strangles "creativity." Ying Lee Kelly, one of Ron Dellums' aides, proudly described herself as a "Democratic Party hack," which got some applause.

In the discussion period, a comrade from the SL drew the lessons of the recent Los Angeles upheaval, that what is lacking is a revolutionary working-class leadership to fight for power. She noted that while we called for the powerful longshoremen's union to shut down the L.A. port, some ILWU union officials who endorsed this conference did nothing but call on the capitalist politicians. Another comrade noted that the "Democratic Party is the party of chattel slavery, of racism, of war, of the internment of Japanese Americans in this country, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki." So chastened are the Stalinists that they couldn't even scream about "Trotskyite splitters and wreckers."

The Sunday morning plenary was devoted to the CoC's statement of principles. One of the authors, Barry Cohen, prefaced the discussion by suggesting that Marx had supposedly shelved and never published his devastating "Critique of the Gotha Programme" in the interests of "unity," implying that the audience should follow this alleged example! And here we thought all this time that the importance of Marx's seminal work on the state was that it explained the need for "the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat," inspiring Lenin's *The State and Revolution* and the October Revolution. But for these reformist retirees, the great thing about Marx's critique was that it wasn't published for 15 years!

Perhaps the most forthright statement from the assembled would-be social Democrats came from William Mandel, who described himself as on the "extreme right wing," and opposed any reference to "socialism." All attempts



People's Weekly World Supplement

Former editors Carl Bloice and Barry Cohen, locked out of People's Weekly World office last December, took CPUSA to Reagan/Bush's labor court.

Board and sued for violation of contract and unfair labor practices (on the grounds that Newspaper Guild members at the *People's Weekly World* were locked out of the party paper's offices in New York)! Meanwhile, Hall forces complained that ex-PWW editor Barry Cohen had locked them out of the newspaper's computer software and threatened to have dissidents arrested for the removal of 150 computer disks (since returned). In San Francisco the two sides are suing for control of the party bookstore and meeting hall in the Mission District. Meanwhile, the Committees of Correspondence (CoC) held their first national conference in Berkeley, July 17-19, in the wake of the Democratic convention.

The confab was billed as "Perspectives for Democracy and Socialism in the '90s" and listed the usual "progressive" suspects, with perhaps more prominence given to their friends in the anti-communist Democratic (Party) Socialists of America. The first paragraph of the conference call gave the game away by talking of trying to "influence the course of the 1992 elections" (read "elect Clinton/Gore"). But of course they coated this pill with "progressive" flavoring before swallowing.

So the opening big event, Friday evening's "international solidarity" meeting, looked exactly like the old CP pop-front rallies, except that the Soviet Union is now *passé*. Former Berkeley mayor Gus Newport was emcee and introduced a string of international reps: a Vietnamese Stalinist who talked about "renovation" in the Vietnamese CP while quoting from Ho Chi Minh; an FMLN speaker, boasting about their plans to "enter the government" of El Salvador in 1994; someone from the ANC/SACP, pleading with De Klerk to "stop the

to vote and "maximize the possibilities in 1992," there being "no other route except through the struggle for democracy" (got it?).

Then came Manning Marable, black scholar and political columnist, who gave the most sophisticated and left-sounding speech for the pop front. He spoke of the "collapse of consensus in the two-party system" and a "vacuum in progressive politics." DSAer Marable proposes to "build independent politics" while simultaneously "utilizing the present politics as it exists to empower working people." He praised Jesse Jackson, of course, and criticized Clinton/Gore for wanting to go after the white middle class while disavowing the "traditional" links to labor, blacks, etc., the "real America" which, says he, the Dems can only ignore at their "peril." Marable has some pet proposals to breathe new life into the Democrats, such as having "progressive" parties run someone like Ron Dellums on their tickets—so that these "left" outfits could do the donkey work for the black Democrats.

That afternoon in the workshop on women, Angela Davis rambled on about nothing in particular as per usual, followed by three or four other assigned speakers. When "discussion" finally started, a Spartacist comrade called for "free abortion on demand," and noted the tremendous gains in the early years of the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. Later, another Spartacist League speaker asked "what destroyed the Communist Party?" noting that some "old ideas" deserve to die, namely the subordination of everything to getting a Democrat in the White House, but other "old ideas" remain true, namely the class struggle and the need for a revolutionary party.



WV Photo

DSA vice chairman Manning Marable.

to repaint the sub-reformist document in more "left" colors failed. One fellow tried to alter the call for universal disarmament to make it read for "capitalist disarmament," in order to defend the "workers states." That was handily defeated. Another made an amendment to oppose "Pentagon/CIA attacks abroad, overt...and covert," but that too was voted down. The labor reformists of *Labor Militant* offered a motion for a labor party. But this Democratic donkey would not be pinned with a labor party tail, and the motion lost by about 1,000 to 2.

Finally—the chair urged people not to "tinker" so much and just stick to questions of principle. This was a perfect preface to our comrade's presentation, which went roughly as follows:

"Regarding principles: the main thread of this document is in the sentence, 'We view socialism as the struggle for democracy carried to its logical conclusion.' And later it says, 'Marxism arose, historically, from revolutionary movements for democracy.' Actually that's only partly true: Marx *broke* from the bourgeois democrats as a result of their betrayal of the 1848 revolutions, and after that he called for *independent* organizations of the working class. 'In the 20th century one of the leading proponents of the 'socialism is consistent democracy' theme was a guy named Karl Kautsky, and as you should know, Lenin launched a lot of attacks on him. Lenin's point, drawing on the lesson of the 1917 Russian Revolution, was that the working class had achieved higher forms of government, the workers soviets, which threw off bourgeois democracy.

"What Los Angeles shows is that this system will not be fundamentally changed through elections. If you want to break with Marx and Lenin, that is your right. But we—the Spartacist League—stand with Lenin." ■

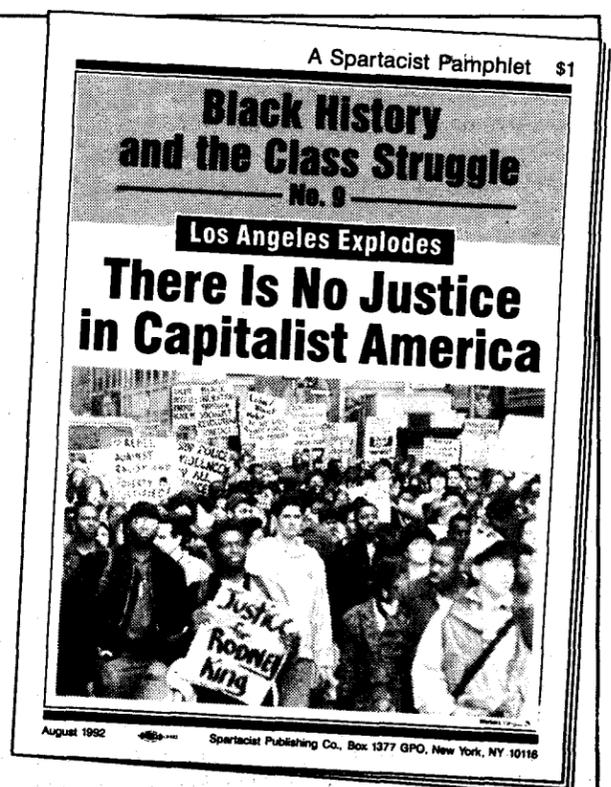
JUST OUT!

Partial contents:

- Racist Cop Terror U.S.A.
- L.A. Racist Cops Walk—There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts!
- Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case
- For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! L.A. Upheaval Shakes America
- Education U.S.A.—Separate and Unequal
- For Quality, Integrated Education for All!
- Clarence Thomas: Anti-Abortion Hanging Judge Confirmed—Sex, Race and Reaction

\$1 (56 pages)

Order from:
Spartacist Pub. Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116



Anti-Racist Protesters Face Vicious Jail Terms

California

SAN FRANCISCO—The L.A. upheaval last May shook the racist rulers of this country, and they are determined to avenge themselves on the oppressed. Police, prosecutors and courts are vindictively punishing those they seized when the multiracial poor and exploited of Los Angeles exploded in anger after a white jury freed the cops who beat Rodney King almost to death. Nearly 13,000 mainly Hispanic and black youth were arrested in L.A. According to a detailed 23 June ACLU report cataloguing the wholesale repression, the District Attorney filed felony charges against some 2,400—mostly for second-degree commercial burglary, i.e. “looting.” One of these, a 50-year-old black man, was picked up for having a pack of cigarettes and a soda in an already looted building and now faces up to three years in state prison. His case is typical.

The police-state operations were so indiscriminate and massive that the cops can't even keep track of who they busted, mainly for the “crime” of being poor and on the street in the ghettos and barrios. Over a quarter of the cases were thrown out for lack of any proof (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2 June). “The police literally placed barriers around a commercial area and rounded up everyone there,” says the ACLU report. Crammed into already overcrowded jails or forced to sleep on the ground in outside holding pens, thousands faced typical bail of \$8,000 for trivial “offenses.” One man got



Cops in San Francisco seize protester as verdict in Rodney King case provokes nationwide explosions of mass anger.

\$50,000 bail and a felony charge for allegedly taking sunflower seeds from a convenience store. Homeless people were jailed for “curfew violation” and their possessions destroyed. Others were hauled away for standing on their own front lawn or driving home after work. Migra SWAT teams swept the streets for anyone Hispanic-looking. Cops handed over 1,500 to the INS for deportation, including pregnant women grabbed off the street. Many pled guilty, told by judges or public defenders that if they didn't, they'd stay in jail for a month or more, losing their jobs and facing starvation for their families.

In San Francisco, nearly 2,000 were arrested in wholesale police sweeps. Only 10-20 percent of protesters were

black and looting was minimal, yet under a racist “state of emergency” eagerly declared by Mayor (and former police chief) Frank Jordan, the cops and District Attorney Arlo Smith targeted black youth. Of the 105 hit with felony charges, more than 80 percent are black. The D.A. bypassed normal arraignment hearings and got indictments from a grand jury in star chamber-style secret “hearings.” Defense attorneys were stunned when nine defendants—all black—returning to court on May 11 after having been released on their own recognizance were rearrested on the trumped-up “felonies” and hauled off to jail.

The majority of the “S.F. 105” are first offenders, many accused of petty

theft—a couple of T-shirts, a pair of jeans. As in L.A., those convicted face 16 months to three years in state prison hellholes. According to a spokesman for the No Justice No Peace defense committee, some have already been blackmailed into pleading guilty in exchange for 18 months felony probation and 30 days community service.

The usually tame S.F. public defender's office denounced the prosecutor for blatant racism in singling out blacks for harsh punishment while dropping charges against most white protesters arrested. On July 9, even the city Human Rights Commission asked for the charges to be dropped. But Superior Court judge Lenard Louie ruled the D.A. “did not single out any ethnic group!” “It's what the Romans used to do when the generals would pull a soldier from the ranks and shoot him to set an example,” remarked deputy public defender Grace Suarez. “The DA is doing the same thing by taking a poor kid who took a pair of shoes and sending him to state prison” (*S.F. Weekly*, 1 July).

The state openly proclaims the political nature of this racist persecution. Unlike “garden variety” theft, this was “mob looting”—i.e., part of an angry protest against brutal racist repression—and that “raises it to another level,” ranted Assistant D.A. Harry Dorfman. “You don't know that this kind of civil disturbance might not happen again some day soon.” On this basis, the racist, union-busting authorities can parlay any kind of spurious, petty charge against demonstrators or striking workers into long jail terms. Anti-racist students, blacks, Hispanics, workers, all have a vital stake in preventing this outrageous, racist injustice. And the labor movement has the social power to stop it. Those still languishing in jail as a result of May's “civil disturbance” must be freed now! *Drop the charges against the victims of police repression!* ■

Letter

Howard Chilton Remembered

Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Comrades,

Howard Chilton, 45, died of a heart attack at his home in New Orleans on June 10. He was an ardent, longtime sympathizer of the Spartacist League. Howard joined the SL briefly, as part of the 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, the radical gay group which found its way from the prevalent sectoralism of the gay milieu to proletarian politics. The fusion affirmed the centrality of the Trotskyist analysis of the Russian question at the height of Democratic president Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet war drive. And while Howard was only briefly a member in the Chicago SL local, these were the two programmatic themes of his political life.

Born and raised in Memphis, Tennessee, Howard's fight for civil rights and against the Vietnam War were shaped and supported by his father, Howard Sidney. Sidney was an early active member of the ACLU in Memphis, which was not easy in the Deep South. At Memphis State in the mid-1960s, Howard was active in SDS.

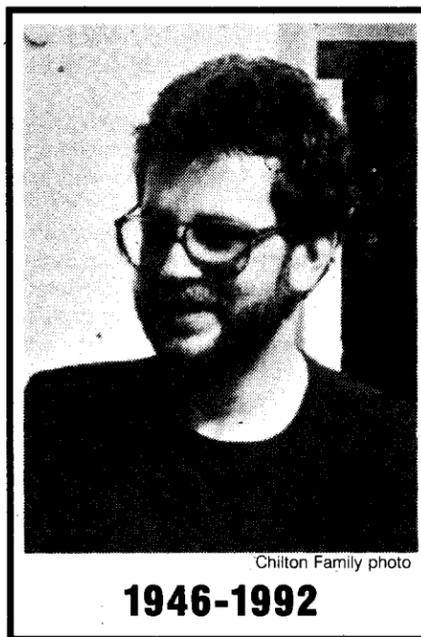
When the black sanitation workers went on strike, Howard was one of two whites to participate in their march and rally, and his name appeared in the newspaper. Late at night came the inevitable, ominous phone call. As Howard's father

recalled, proudly describing his son's actions, the would-be terrorists wanted “the other Chilton.”

From anti-gay bigotry to racism, Howard had no tolerance for intolerance. As a student of philosophy he came to see Marxism as the vehicle for the liberation of humanity. Such were the components of his trajectory from the Red Flag Union to the Spartacist League.

Years after he left the SL, Howard was delighted to renew his link to the party. He became our eyes and ears in New Orleans. A writer and a loner, in his own words a “bohemian,” Howard nonetheless installed a phone and answering machine so he could work with us. Though Howard worked hard as a waiter in the French Quarter and lived modestly, he was a regular and generous financial contributor to the party and was especially inspired by our fight against capitalist counterrevolution in East Germany and the Soviet Union.

When some class struggle broke out in New Orleans with a militant teachers strike in 1990, Howard was reporter, photographer and WV salesman. He reported on demonstrations against fascist David Duke during his KKK “election campaign” for governor in 1991. When comrades came down to New Orleans for a conference of death penalty abolitionists in the spring of 1991, and during numerous sub drives, Howard was a



Chilton Family photo

1946-1992

willing host and participant.

In July 1990, Howard wrote to us in Atlanta to thank the Partisan Defense Committee for its fight against legal lynching in the death belt, commending those with the “courage and good sense to muster the forces of labor (black and white) to liberate the class-war prisoners, to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.” Howard was the public face of that work in New Orleans. His last assignment was to distribute with his usual enthusiasm the WV supplement on the protests against the racist verdict in the case of the cops who beat Rodney King.

When comrades passed through New Orleans on vacation, he indulged a shared penchant for fine food and wine, and reveled in showing friends where

the best and cheapest shrimp po-boy could be found. (In fact, while in Chicago, Howard parlayed his expert knowledge of wines into a mid-level management position at an import company, but resigned because he could not abide being a boss.) He had few friends (he was closest to his brother Alex, a musician and songwriter), but would occasionally meet with coworkers after work for drinks and they would talk about how the French Quarter needed to be unionized. Howard was exacting and occasionally overbearing, but in this he was motivated to get things right.

Last summer Howard wrote of his “enormously rewarding” visit to New York where he “did some PDC work, went on a sale, spent a wonderful afternoon at the PRL [Prometheus Research Library], saw many old friends.” He came back to New Orleans' used-book stores with a zeal to find some volumes the PRL was looking for. Howard was broad-gauged and a voracious reader. He had a special interest in the American Civil War, and at the time of his death he was writing a play on Jay Lovestone, the right-wing CP leader who went on to become a government “labor” operative.

That we have been robbed of this compassionate man so suddenly is a sad shock. To Howard's family, especially his brother Alex, sister Cecelia, Jack Chilton and Annette Moody, we offer heartfelt condolences. The party has suffered the loss of an intellectually stimulating and precious sympathizer in a regional outpost in the Deep South. As we go forward, we will remember Howard with abiding affection.

Atlanta Spartacist League

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fourth Reich Jails Ex-DDR Chief

Free Erich Honecker!

BERLIN—Having hounded him ever since they devoured East Germany two years ago, the rulers of German imperialism have finally gotten Erich Honecker in their claws. The former leader of the former German Democratic Republic (DDR) was kidnapped from the Chilean embassy in Moscow, where he had taken refuge since last December. Honecker left the embassy defiantly giving the Communist clenched-fist salute. He was flown to Berlin where special police squads had been on 24-hour alert waiting for him. On orders from the Social Democrats' top witchhunter Jutta Limbach, SPD "justice" minister of the Berlin state government, they locked him up in the

over intact with its Nazi judges and torture chambers. Upon his arrival in Berlin, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) protested and distributed a press release at Berlin's Tegel Airport, demanding "Freedom for Erich Honecker!" They also protested before the gates of the Moabit prison, where they were joined by a group of immigrant and German youth who unfurled a huge Soviet flag. Because Honecker's capture is the high point of the most massive witchhunt since the Third Reich, the SpAD protests were widely noted in the European and German press.

The prosecution of Honecker is part of the campaign of vengeance following

(and highly successful) DDR spymaster Markus Wolf is being prosecuted for defending the DDR against the CIA Murder Inc. and its cronies in the German BND (founded by the Nazi Gehlen, who brought his anti-Soviet intelligence network from the Wehrmacht to the Americans).

Meanwhile, in SPD-ruled Hamburg, the heroic anti-fascist Gerhard Bögelein, who joined the Red Army to fight the Nazis in Lithuania, was recently sentenced to life imprisonment in Hamburg because he is said to have brought to justice a notorious Nazi judge/executioner.

In deporting Honecker the counter-revolutionary Russian regime of Boris Yeltsin made a blood sacrifice to the German bourgeoisie, which along with the American, British and Japanese imperialists is competing to finish off the gains of the October Revolution and exploit and pillage the working people of Eastern Europe and the former USSR. As the Fourth Reich of German imperialism renews the *Drang nach Osten* ("Drive to the East") of the Second and Third Reichs, this time with D-marks instead of Panzers, and throws millions of East Germans out of work, it is carrying out a witchhunt at home seeking revenge for the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany.

The upcoming show trial of Erich Honecker is being compared to the Nuremberg Trial of the surviving Nazi leaders responsible for the murder of 6 million Jews and millions of Communists, Slavs, Gypsies throughout Europe and the deaths of over 20 million Soviet citizens! The bourgeoisie of Auschwitz seeks to wipe off the guilt for *genocide* by putting the former head of the DDR on trial on charges of issuing an order which led to 187 people being shot to death on its borders...over a space of 28 years.

The pretext for Honecker's seizure, along with that of other leaders of the DDR like former defense minister Heinz Kessler, who fought with the Red Army against the Wehrmacht, and former prime minister Willi Stoph, and for bringing additional charges against Mielke, is an alleged order to shoot border violators fleeing the DDR issued by the National Defense Council in 1974. But as even the liberal *Die Zeit* (31 July) admitted, the German authorities haven't been able to come up with any such



Der Spiegel
Erich Honecker defiant as he is kidnapped from Chilean embassy in Moscow.

shoot-to-kill order: "in the official minutes, signed by Honecker, which only became law with his signature, there is nothing about that." Moreover, "the DDR had a border law that regulated the use of arms in a way little different from other states." *Die Zeit's* publisher, former SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt, ought to know: the trigger-happy *Grenzschutz* ("border police") are not known for their tender mercies.

In contrast to West Germany, the DDR granted asylum to hundreds of South Africans and Namibians and to several thousand Chilean refugees fleeing Pinochet's 1973 putsch. (One of those was Clodomiro Almeyda, until recently Chile's ambassador to Moscow, with whom Honecker found refuge for the last seven months despite the enormous pressure of German imperialism and the reactionary establishment in Chile where Pinochet is still commander in chief of the army.) Compare that to the "democratic" United States with its *migra* raids in L.A. barrios, its Coast Guard "deportations" of Haitian refugees captured in international waters (and its support to Pinochet while banning Chilean refugees). Or to the new SPD-backed German refugee law providing for concentration camps and "speedy" deportations.

Let us be clear: the Berlin Wall was built at the height of the Cold War, during a capitalist campaign, heavily orchestrated by the CIA, to disrupt the weaker East German economy by bleeding it of skilled labor. The Wall

continued on page 6



Spartakist
Berlin, September 1991—Spartakist Workers Party demands: "Hands Off Border Guards and Honecker! Stop the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!"

Berlin-Moabit prison. In 1935, Hitler's Gestapo threw him into the same prison, where the Communist anti-fascist resistance fighter spent a year and a half before being convicted of treason and sent to a concentration camp, where he remained until he was freed by Soviet troops in 1945.

Erich Honecker has now been a prisoner of both the Third and the Fourth Reichs. He will be put on show trial by the state which formally proclaims itself the legal successor to the Hitler regime, under a judicial system that was taken

capitalist reunification which is directed against everything recalling the former East German deformed workers state. Jailed with him in Moabit prison is former DDR state security minister Erich Mielke, who is on trial in Moabit on the basis of charges brought against him as a young Communist by the Nazis through "evidence" extracted by Gestapo torture! Former DDR border guards are being persecuted for serving on the front line in defending the DDR and the Soviet bloc against NATO imperialism. Likewise, the renowned

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

August 27 to September 30

Name _____
 Address _____
 _____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

\$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
 New Renewal
 International rates:
 \$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

\$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard*

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



1992 Quotas

Local	Quota (in points)
Atlanta	200
Boston	250
Chicago	515
Cleveland	85
Los Angeles	250
New York	1,000
Oakland	860
San Francisco	415
Washington, D.C.	150
At Large	275
National Total	4,000

Gotti, RICO and You

So the feds finally got John Gotti, the reputed head of the Gambino "crime family." The "Teflon Don" had eluded them in three previous trials. On June 23 Gotti and his codefendant Frank Locascio were sentenced to life—or more accurately, death—in prison, with no parole. Gotti is now in the Marion, Illinois maximum security prison, a modern-day psychological torture chamber.

Who are the arrogant mass murderers running this country to convict anybody? If John Gotti were running with Noriega in this year's elections, they'd be the lesser evil. Gotti's probably not nature's nobleman, but neither is the Arkansas executioner Bill Clinton nor George Bush, who regularly bombs small countries to rubble. How many B-52s, not to mention nukes, does a plumbing salesman from Ozone Park have?

In opposing the sentencing, some 1,000 Gotti loyalists demonstrated outside the Federal courthouse. One of the feds' cars was overturned, several had their windshields kicked in. The Fourth of July at the Ravenite Social Club just wasn't the same this year, nor was there much joy in Gotti's home base of Ozone Park. "It Sure Wasn't Independence Day for Gotti," headlined *Newsday* (5 July), as men passed caps with American flags

and the words, "All Americans Have Equal Rights. Free John."

They have a vital point. William Kunstler, America's most prominent civil liberties attorney, entered the fray on Gotti's behalf, joining with appeals on the grounds that the defense was unfairly hampered. Civil liberties, if they mean anything at all, apply first of all to those perceived as really far out—whether they be Marxists, religious sects (recall Rev. Sun Myung Moon or Oregon guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh) or even in fact mobsters. Everyone gets the benefits. As we have noted before in connection with the many trials of John Gotti:

"...this crackdown doesn't have much to do with justice: they are actually trying to *frame* the Mob. The RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) 'conspiracy' dragnet lets the G-men pick and choose who they feel like setting up and when; they don't need evidence of any actual crime....

"Why are we Marxists commenting on these mobster trials? For one thing, we don't believe justice is only for the innocent.... But the government has a different theory of law. They decide they want to go after somebody, invent the charges and convene star-chamber proceedings."

—"Feds Frame Up Mob,"

WV No. 400, 28 March 1986

The Star Chamber was a room in Britain's Westminster Palace where arbitrary royal "justice" was meted out. It was

abolished by the Puritan Revolution in 1641. The capitalist rulers of today's America are a long way from that tradition—indeed they are well on the way toward creating a kind of "democratic police state" in this country. Sure, you can still vote once every four years, but meanwhile the cops are running amok, as in the vicious beating of Rodney King and arrests of thousands after the racist cops walked. The laws are bent, twisted and thrown out the window to allow America's ruling elite to do whatever they feel like, whether it's kidnapping foreign heads of state or letting their cops shoot down black and Hispanic youth in the street.

Back in the '30s, they went after Al Capone, who certainly was responsible for murdering hundreds of people, many of them personally; but they vindictively used the income tax law to send him away for years. Currently the feds' weapon of choice in their more selective vendettas is the RICO conspiracy law, a prosecutor's dream. They can seize your assets on indictment, as they did with Panamanian leader Noriega, so you can't afford to pay your lawyers. The latest Gotti trial was a real travesty. He was denied counsel of his own choice, as his longtime lawyer Bruce Cutler, who got him off before, and two other defense lawyers were barred from the defense.

Vital defense witnesses were also banned, while the FBI spent millions of dollars on eavesdropping bugs and videotapes. Its key charges were based simply on the word of canary Salvatore Gravano. Two jurors who seemed sympathetic to the defense were dismissed by the judge, one because the prosecution claimed she was "biased against the Government." The jury was kept anonymous and sequestered. The scare tactics worked. After the trial a juror wrote a letter stating, "I am very sorry that I voted guilty.... We were so frightened by the marshalls and the FBI. They continually told us that our lives were in danger before the verdict" (*Newsday*, 21 June).

The original 1970 RICO law was pitched as a vehicle to get "organized crime." "RICO" was reportedly inspired by the Edward G. Robinson character Rico Bendello in the 1930 gangster



Sheehan/Newsday

John Gotti, yet another victim of the RICO racket.

classic *Little Caesar* ("RICO: A Runaway Anticrime Law," *Nation's Business*, January 1990). But the more sinister purpose of this catch-all dragnet is to provide the legal machinery to crush organized labor and the left. From COINTELPRO to RICO, militant blacks and leftists have been targets of the state's murderous frame-up machine; RICO has been used in frame-ups including the "Ohio 7" case, the Puerto Rican independence fighters of the "Hartford 15," and the "Nyack Brinks Job" witch-hunt against '60s New Leftists and black militants.

Throwing wildly out-of-proportion charges at strikers—like the recent attempt to get striking drywall workers in California for "kidnapping" because they convinced a few scabs to go home—is another of these tactics. The feds have used RICO to swarm all over the Teamsters union: running the convention, deciding who can run for office, and approving appointments. Now new Teamster president Ron Carey, who rode the feds' campaign into office, complains that the government won't release its stranglehold on the union and that it wants to continue spending thousands of dues dollars to continue its "investigation." Well, Ron, like they say in Texas, "You brung her, you dance with her."

Labor needs to clean its own house. The feds are the biggest corrupting influence in the labor movement today. And the biggest gang of criminal conspirators in this country resides in the White House and the Justice Department. For the capitalist courts and cops, as L.A. demonstrators' signs said after the Rodney King verdict, "justice" means "just us." ■



Sawchuk/Newsday

Angry supporters protest Gotti sentencing outside Brooklyn courthouse, June 23.

Honecker...

(continued from page 5)

constituted a defense, albeit in a bureaucratic manner, of the collectivized economy of the DDR. That was why the bourgeoisie hated the Wall, and why we Trotskyists defended it in the struggle for a red Soviet Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

So an average of seven people a year were killed by East German border guards defending the DDR workers state against imperialist economic sabotage. Meanwhile, in the United States, in 1990 alone, the racist Los Angeles cops routinely gunned down 62 people, according to a recent Amnesty International report! The *New York Times* (31 July) grotesquely declares that a trial offers "a chance to expose the cruelties, hypocrisy and self-delusion of Mr. Honecker's inner circle"! How about a trial to expose the cruelty, hypocrisy and self-delusion, not to mention mass murder, of George Bush's inner circle, which last year ordered the wanton massacre of over 100,000 Iraqis? The blood-drenched bourgeoisie has no right to "try" Honecker.

A victorious workers revolution in Germany would have its own score to settle with the Stalinists for their real crimes against the working class, such

as allowing Hitler to march to power without a fight in 1931-33, turning over German Communists to Stalin's firing squads in the late 1930s (or even, during the Hitler-Stalin pact, sending them back to Hitler's Germany), sabotaging a fight for socialist revolution in all Germany in 1945 in the wake of the Red Army victory, and putting down the 1953 workers uprising against the Ulbricht regime. *But defending the DDR workers state (naturally in a bureaucratically deformed manner) was not one of those crimes. Selling out the DDR was!*

Honecker has just published a book, *On Dramatic Events*, in which he denounces the drive of the major capitalist powers for counterrevolution that breeds mass immiseration and new imperialist wars. He scathingly attacks Gorbachev's perestroika and the Gorbachevites within his own party, the Modrows and Gysis who sold out the DDR. Yet he can offer no alternative but the class-collaborationist lie of "peaceful coexistence" with rapacious imperialism, and the nationalist myth of "building socialism in one country" (or in the case of the DDR, half a country).

In his final chapters Honecker claims to be the "truest patriot," recalling Stalin's offer of a "democratic, neutral Germany" as the imperialists were gearing up the Cold War and the rearmament of West Germany and West

Europe. But the conservative, nationalist bureaucracy could only govern through anti-working-class repression, atomizing the class-conscious proletariat, while Stalinist "reformers" would introduce "market mechanisms" that undermine collectivized property, thus attacking the bulwarks of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The SpAD, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), was the only organization in Germany that unambiguously opposed capitalist reunification and fought for a proletarian political revolution in the DDR. In January 1990 the Spartakists initiated a mass united-front anti-fascist demonstration at the Treptow Red Army war memorial in Berlin. Taken up by the East German governing party, the SED/PDS, it brought out a quarter million people, the largest anti-fascist demonstration in German history. But the bourgeoisie together with the SED/PDS leadership saw in that powerful pro-Soviet and DDR-defensist demonstration the spectre of civil war. Following Treptow the bourgeoisie brought its witchhunt against the Stasi and the PDS to a white heat. The SpAD has consistently defended them, despite the PDS' sellout of the DDR and its abject capitulation to the witchhunt.

The German bourgeoisie, assisted by its SPD "bloodhounds," is using this cru-

sade to demonize communism and to atomize the working people of eastern Germany in the face of the catastrophic effects of capitalist reunification. In Bonn there is an all-party front in the Bundestag waging a vicious racist campaign against refugees and immigrants, fueling fascist terror. After swallowing the former DDR and dismembering the former Yugoslavia, the Frankfurt bankers and Bonn politicians want to finance their conquest of the East by increasing the rate of exploitation and slashing social benefits of workers in West Germany.

Yet the West German labor movement is not taking that lying down: before being sold out, the recent powerful public sector and transport workers strike evoked solidarity strikes in the East and shook German capital. Union opposition to current plans to slash health benefits which affect all workers must unite workers East and West, immigrant and German. Hatred for the Kohl government and his SPD handmaidens is even generating a backlash against their anti-Communist crusade. But to defend itself, the German working class must confront the witchhunt head on: Freedom for Honecker, Mielke, Stoph and Kessler! Hands off Markus Wolf! No prosecution of the DDR border guards! Freedom and honor for the anti-fascist hero Bögelein! Stop the anti-Communist witchhunt! ■

Young Spartacus

SL Zaps WAC Attack

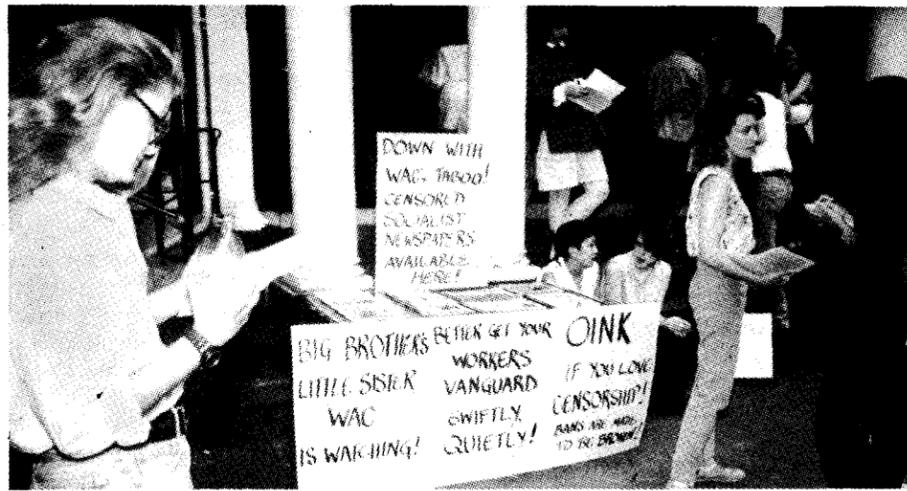
In high-spirited mockery of the Women's Action Coalition (WAC) and their anti-communist ban, the Spartacist League zapped WAC, big time, at their July 29 meeting in New York City. Brushing past a security guard who sputtered about orders banning leftist groups from "private property," our comrades set up a literature table and an eye-catching billboard warning, "Big Brother's little sister WAC is watching! Better get your *Workers Vanguard* swiftly, quietly! Oink if you love censorship! Bans were made to be broken!"

We can hardly claim to have received a "positive" response, but we sure had the joint jumping! One woman insisted that WAC was "full of PhD's" and "too smart for candy-coated Marxism," and as for the working class, she knew Dennis Rivera (head of hospital workers Local 1199). When we retorted that Rivera wouldn't pull out his members to defend abortion clinics because he's in the pocket of anti-abortion Cardinal O'Connor, she squealed, "Why should Dennis Rivera support abortion?" and turned on her high heels to summon security.

The security guard reappeared and

threatened to kick over our table, and to bring his dog next week. But we quickly brought him to his senses by threatening to scream for 50 women to come out front for defense against this threatening man. "Please don't do that!" begged WAC's "facilitator." WAC's drum corps finally stopped beating in protest over a young male *Workers Vanguard* salesman, and an apoplectic whale who verbally abused and physically threatened other Spartacist members finally subsided on the advice of her own ilk.

Meanwhile, members of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) found themselves tightly stuck between a rock and a hard place. To survive in WAC they must reverse the ban on "political groups." But they exclude genuine Trotskyists like us from their own meetings and have no appetite for openly fighting for their views. Our zap attack on WAC had them sputtering. "There are other ways to fight this," hissed one. Finally one ISOer came out with *Socialist Worker*—a token opposition to WAC's ban—while her comrades wrangled to get the red purge on the formal agenda for WAC's meeting. Dumped to the end



Bans are made to be broken: WAC (aka Wuppies Against Communists) ban on left literature was ridiculed by Spartacists at New York meeting.

of a long agenda, the point was tabled and not discussed. Way to go, ISO!

Our strategy met with more success. There's nothing like heated political debate to "raise consciousness"...and a lot of hackles. Over 50 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold and *everyone* read our leaflet. Some asked, "Don't you

think you're being a *little* divisive?" "No. *Very* divisive," we replied. It is our aim to win those who are looking for a way to defend women's rights away from the WAC piglets who want to shackle the struggle for women's liberation to the Clinton-Gore campaign. We reprint the Spartacist leaflet here.

Big Brother's



Little Sister

Sshhhh...WAC is watching. The Women Against Communists (WAC) have declared in the name of *Lebensraum* that communist literature and communist people are *verboten* at WAC meetings. What's next? Parental or state consent as a precondition for allowing young women to read leftist newspapers? Spousal notification required for married women who want to talk to reds? How about imposing a 24-hour waiting period on women who want to turn the pages of *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution!* Perhaps some of WAC's oh-so Soho *artistes* could design warning labels for literature WAC deems too "politically explicit" for young girls in search of social change. With WAC on the Democratic Party's bandwagon, maybe Tipper will lend an experienced

Down With WAC's Anti-Communist Ban!

hand to WAC's legal eagles on how to Gore the First Amendment ("Me First, You Banned").

Last week, WAC's "facilitators" tried to shut down leftist literature tables and force socialists out to the street. Where force failed, parliamentary maneuvering prevailed and WAC's leading ladies rammed through a bureaucratic diktat, banning socialists from speaking or distributing literature at WAC meetings. In attempting to censor what WAC members can hear and read, do these politically correct Carry Nations think they have something like the maritime 12-mile limit to claim as their exclusive and "subversive-free" zone? As for gag rules on "political organizations," we challenge WAC to gag every supporter of the Democratic Party at tonight's meeting—the silence will be deafening!!

Stripped of the bicycle shorts, the Gaultier bras, the glitz, the cloying girlishness, the yuppie "women's empowerment" rhetoric, WAC is nothing but a trendy white ladies auxiliary to the Democratic Party. While trying to paint itself as a vibrant, new organization of fighters for women's rights, the junior McCarthyites running WAC are heading to the same dead end that bourgeois feminism has always led to. They repress the left and sacrifice the struggle for women's rights, especially poor, mainly minority women, the better to scramble for votes for the party of "democratic" imperialism. WAC threw its resources into "actions" around the Democratic Party convention—obscenely begging this party of racism, war, and exploitation to stand up for the rights of women! WAC's political quest is to replace the gray-suited capitalist swine in Congress with a few sows in little black ensembles. And there's nothing so convenient as a good red hunt to pave the way for feeding at the capitalist trough. Oink!

Politics makes strange bedfellows. Many of WAC's artists and writers took to the streets in defense of Salman Rushdie, yet today stand united with the Ayatollahs in crusading against Marxist "blasphemy." For our part, we believe that political censorship, whether emanating from Ayatollah or Cardinal, "born-again" bigots or leftover feminists, is all equally loathsome. Evidently a lot of women felt the same way and voted with their feet, leaving WAC for good after the red purge last week.

This kick in the butt must come as something of a shock though to craven reformists like the ISO (International Socialist Organization) who buried themselves deep inside WAC as the "best builders" of liberal protests. As for the Revolutionary Workers League, now the hapless lad who was left standing in the rain can ask his female comrades who crawled into a WAC meeting without protesting male exclusionism, "who's all wet now?"

We in the Spartacist League are proud to fly our own colors. At the June 13 march in defense of abortion rights, cops clearing the way for Cardinal O'Connor set upon and arrested eleven protesters, including four Spartacist supporters carrying signs proclaiming, "Down with Bush, Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" From Warsaw to Berlin to Dublin to New York, abortion rights have become a key battleground in the struggle between social progress and social reaction. As we wrote in that forbidden fruit, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 555, 10 July 1992):

"The march of counterrevolution across East Europe has meant increasing attacks on women and minorities. Yet the bourgeois feminists and their leftist hangers-on stood with U.S. imperialism in hailing the woman-hating *mujahedin* "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and clerical-nationalist *Solidarność* in Poland. The

Spartacist League/U.S. and our sister sections of the International Communist League around the world have stood forthrightly in defense of abortion rights as part of our struggle against capitalist counterrevolution.

"The Spartacist League has consistently fought to mobilize the working class to defend the rights of women and all the oppressed. We call on labor to defend abortion clinics, seeking to break away the ranks of the organized labor movement from the reactionary misleaders who wallow in all the social backwardness ordained by their bourgeois masters. The 'pro-choice' Democrats offer the shell game of 'lesser evil' politics at the polls in November. We seek to build a revolutionary party which will serve as a 'tribune of the people,' fighting all forms of social oppression as we organize to sweep away this disgusting system. **Free abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all! Women's liberation through socialist revolution!**"

WAC? WHAM? Thank you Ma'am... we'll stick with Lenin and Trotsky!

If you think taboos were made to be broken, then give us a call at (212) 267-1025. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Soviet Workers...

(continued from page 1)

possibility of a massive social explosion.

Yeltsin banked on imperialist dollars and deutschmarks to finance his counterrevolutionary drive. In June he went to Washington to sign away the core of the Soviet army's nuclear defense—the multiple-warhead SS-18 and SS-24 missiles—but got nothing in return. The International Monetary Fund bankers' cartel continues to demand more blood. Grandiose promises of a vague \$24 billion aid package evaporate as the IMF withholds even the first billion unless Russia slashes its budget deficit by two-thirds, privatizes state-owned industry and cuts off subsidies to bankrupt enterprises—all by Christmas. Even Yeltsin is forced to resist the IMF ultimatum to jack up domestic oil prices to world market rates, which would completely wreck industry dependent on cheap energy.

It is clear to all that this chaotic situation cannot long continue as it is. The wheels of industry can no longer continue to turn on the basis of IOUs—more than two trillion rubles, almost \$20 billion, since January. The government's privatization scheme (based on doling out coupons to the workers which can be converted into cash) would produce hyperinflation on the scale of Weimar Germany in 1923. Calls are growing on all sides for a "strong government" to "save Russia." Sergei Baburin, a leading spokesman for the "patriots" of the "Russian Unity" bloc in the parliament, claims: "By the end of this year we shall almost certainly have an iron-fisted dictatorship in this country. The only question is, what kind?"

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) warns: *In the absence of mass organized working-class resistance and with the Soviet army in increasing disarray, the danger is sharply posed that the forces of capitalist restoration will be able to consolidate a bourgeois state, however fragile, unleashing a bloodbath against workers and national minorities.*

Politically atomized and paralyzed by decades of Stalinist bureaucratism and betrayal, the Soviet workers are today being offered nothing but the most retrograde nationalism by Stalin's heirs. The situation has grown rotten and overripe. It is urgently necessary to cohere an internationalist cadre in an all-Union Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus firmly committed to the program of the October Revolution, before every vestige of the revolution is swept away.

Counterrevolution Seeks a "Strong State"

As the milieu of yuppie intellectuals and speculators around Yeltsin has dissipated, representatives of the managers of state-owned industry have moved into the corridors of government. In July a

Yeltsin's militia (police) move to break up June 22 demonstration in Moscow.



"Civic Union" bloc was formed by Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoi, a former military officer, who recently surpassed Yeltsin in the polls; Arkady Volsky, a former aide to CP leaders Andropov and Gorbachev, now head of the powerful "Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs" which controls two-thirds of industry; and Nikolai Travkin, head of the virulently anti-Communist Democratic Party. In May three industrial figures associated with Volsky were appointed to Yeltsin's cabinet, apparently undercutting the sway of his "free

racy that also aimed at restoration of capitalism, but at a slower pace and *under their control*. Where the yuppie speculators would like to destroy the country's industrial capacity to satisfy imperialist *diktat*, the factory managers chafe that the IMF will destroy the enterprises they someday hope to own outright.

In turn, shifts in the army have brought another trio to the fore: Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who ordered troops to defend Yeltsin last year; Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, former commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan;

iron hand. And their overriding need is to forge a state apparatus capable of suppressing the workers.

From the moment he gained the ascendancy Yeltsin has been working feverishly to consolidate a bourgeois state. He now appears to have a repressive force loyal to the counterrevolutionary regime, in the elite Russian OMON units. OMON squads were unleashed against a Soviet Army Day march in February, again in June to disperse demonstrators outside Moscow's Ostankino television center, and to tear down the one Soviet flag which was still flying over a public building in Leningrad. At the same time, the trial currently underway in Moscow of the banned Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) as a "criminal" organization aims at sending a warning to potentially recalcitrant elements in the apparatus as well as to all who would resist the restorationist drive.

Yeltsin has begun building up an exclusively Russian army, and the Soviet Navy has begun flying the old tsarist naval emblem, the St. Andrew's cross. As fighting escalates between the ethnic Romanian Moldovan-nationalist regime of Mercea Snegur and Russian-speaking nationalists in the Transdnister region, there are increasing calls for a full-scale Russian military intervention. General Lebed of the 14th Army denounced the Snegur regime as "fascist," and at least one battalion is fighting alongside the Russian-speaking irregulars and Cossack "volunteers" in tsarist regalia.

Stalinist groups like the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRП), chief organizers of anti-Yeltsin protests, increasingly dispense with even lip service to the cause of socialism as they sign on as drum majors in the sinister chauvinist crusade. The "patriots" seek to cohere a "strong state" by playing the card of Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism. While Pamyat and other fascists now parade with impunity through the streets of Leningrad, a June 12 conference in Moscow of the Russian National Synod, the *Sobor*, marked an important stage in the strengthening of more powerful fascist-corporatist forces.

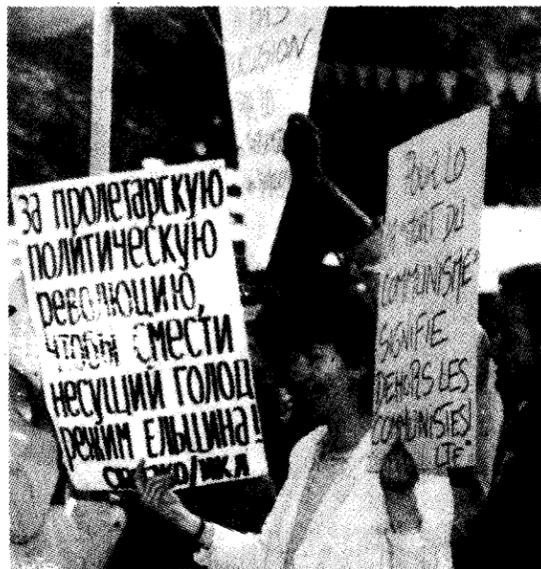


Siberian oil workers threatened to strike after not being paid for weeks. Multinational Soviet proletariat must enter field of battle against capitalist-restorationist drive.

market" economic czar Yegor Gaidar.

Some Western commentators worried that Yeltsin's recent appointments would slow down the capitalist "reforms," noting that the "military-industrial complex" was the base of support for last year's failed coup plotters. But no less an imperialist spokesman than the *New York Times* (2 August) gives the new cabinet ministers "solid credentials as advocates of a free market system." This only underlines our comment at the time of the August fiasco that it was a "perestroika coup" of elements of the bureauc-

and Major General Aleksandr Lebed, head of the army unit outside Yeltsin's "White House" last August, and now head of the Russian (formerly Soviet) 14th Army in Moldova. Grachev, Lebed and Rutskoi all served under Gromov in Afghanistan. While the so-called "patriotic opposition," spearheaded by hard-line Stalinist has-beens who now find themselves shunted aside, rails against Yeltsin's sellouts to the West, all of these groupings and layers converge around Russian nationalism and forces who are determined to restore capitalism with an



Le Bolchévik

ICL sign: "For Proletarian Political Revolution to Sweep Away Yeltsin Starvation Regime!"

Russian-Language Spartacist Bulletin No. 3

The Leninist Party-Tribune of the People

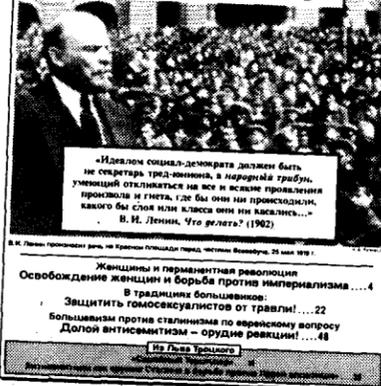
- Down With Anti-Semitism, Tool of Reaction!
- Women's Emancipation and the Struggle Against Imperialism
- Defend Homosexuals Against Persecution!
- Articles by Leon Trotsky:
 - "Thermidor and the Family"
 - How Stalin Used Anti-Semitism Against the Left Opposition
- Martha Phillips, 1948-1992

Price: US \$2 (48 pages) Nos. 1 and 2 also available

Order from/pay to
Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA

Бюллетень Спартаковцев №3 SPARTACIST

Ленинская партия - Народный трибун



Марта Филлипс 1948-1992
Издательство: Спартак
Почтовый ящик 12019, Москва, 19 мая 1992

Writing in the late 1920s, at a time when Stalin's conciliation of the petty capitalist Nepmen and rich peasant kulaks was increasing the danger of capitalist restoration, Leon Trotsky commented:

"Is it actually likely that in the event of the defeat of the [proletarian] dictatorship, bourgeois democracy will replace it? No, that is the least likely of all possible variants. Revolutionary dictatorship has never in history been replaced by democracy."

In order to consolidate its hold, the nascent bourgeoisie would have to go beyond a transitional regime to consolidate "a more serious, solid, and decisive kind—in all probability, a Bonapartist or, in modern terms, a fascist regime."

The legacy of decades of Stalinism, which usurped political power and atomized the proletariat, has opened the door to the present counterrevolutionary situation. Today it is clearer than ever that the *only* way to reverse the counterrevolutionary tide lies in the mobilization of the *multinational* Soviet proletariat. After last August's coup and counter-coup, we raised the call: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counter-revolution!" We noted that "while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, the outcome is not yet definitively decided." We added: "Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counterrevolution" (WV No. 533, 30 August 1991).

There is overwhelming sentiment against the reintroduction of capitalist exploitation, reflected in the up to 90,000 who turned out to commemorate the anniversary of the October Revolution last November and again in March by an anti-Yeltsin protest of more than 200,000. But the Soviet working people can and must launch themselves on the road of independent political struggle before they find themselves locked out of their jobs and deprived of any possibility for struggle. As we warned in a 25 February leaflet, of which some 100,000 copies have been distributed:

"Workers: the moment is growing late. Do not wait until your children grow pale from hunger. The would-be bosses are taking the streets of Moscow away from you. Form authentic soviets now! Drive out the restorationist forces through workers political revolution! Defeat all attempts at nationalist fratricide—down with the poison of anti-Semitism! What is needed urgently is to bring together the cadre of a Leninist-Trotskyist party, dedicated to restoring the proletarian foundations upon which the multinational Soviet workers state was built."
—WV No. 546, 6 March

Stalinists Aid Counterrevolutionary Drive

The various degeneration products of the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy have locked themselves into the counterrevolutionary drive, either through open support to a "market economy" or through promoting Russian nationalism, which is the cement of the restorationist forces. Despite their occasional claims to oppose capitalist restoration, the RKRП, whose most prominent spokesman is Viktor Anpilov, and a handful of smaller "hardline" groups like Stalin apologist Nina Andreyeva's All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (VKPB), have formed a grotesque "red-brown coalition" with outright Great Russian chauvinists like Alexander Nevzorov, the fascist Zhirinovskiy and the *Sobor*. At protests organized by the "Toiling Russia" coalition, workers who turn out to oppose capitalist restoration find themselves inundated with chauvin-

ist rhetoric from the podium. This serves not to mobilize but to *demobilize* workers in search of struggle.

The sinister gathering of the Slavophile *Sobor* on June 12 included monarchists, black-shirted fascists and Cossacks in full regalia—as well as the RKRП. Reportedly financed by the head of the Nizhni Novgorod stock exchange and headed by "former" KGB general Alexander Sterligov, who sided with Yeltsin last August and has worked under Rutskoi, the *Sobor* railed that the Yeltsin regime is an "administration of national treason" which is "Russophobic and Jew-loving," and declared that "a shadow government has been formed and is ready to take power immediately." The conference featured anti-Semitic notables like writer Valentin Rasputin, who raved that "Communism was an evil that won over the country." The presidium elected by the conference included Rasputin, as well as the monarchist Nevzorov and anti-Semitic "red" general Albert Makashov, a member of the RKRП Central Committee.

The rump Stalinists have increasingly taken on the political coloration of the openly pro-capitalist nationalists they tail. A recent issue of the Toiling Russia newspaper *Sho Delat* ("What Is To Be Done") carried a rehash of the anti-Semitic tsarist secret police forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," illustrated with a photograph of Yeltsin



Der Spiegel

Cossack "volunteers" in Moldova, as Transdniester fighting becomes focus of Great Russian chauvinist crusade.

standing in front of a Star of David. Nevzorov, Zhirinovskiy and Makashov were all prominent at the June 12 demonstration called by Toiling Russia outside the Ostankino television center to demand a chauvinist "Russian Hour," while signs proclaimed, "Russian TV Means TV Without Jews."

In the political spectrum of the Soviet left, proceeding from red-brown to pale pink, other remnants of the former CPSU tend toward social democracy. Alexei Prigarin's Union of Communists and Anatoly Kryuchkov's Russian Party of Communists—which both issued out of the Marxist Platform wing of the former CPSU—and Roy Medvedev's Gorbachevite Socialist Party of Labor (SPT) all support the introduction of a market economy with one qualifier or another. Manifesting some degree of identification with the old Union, these groups organized a small protest, which the RKRП and Toiling Russia conspicuously boycotted, at the opening of the trial of the CPSU on July 6.

But counterrevolution will not proceed on the terrain of social-democratic gradualism, and these groups also find themselves sucked in by the undertow of the increasingly emboldened Russian-chauvinist movement. All three of them joined the RKRП and such reactionary outfits as the "Union of Cossacks" and the "Fund for the Restoration of the Shrine of Christ the Savior" in signing a popular-frontist "Declaration on the Founding of the United Opposition" in March which called for "salvation of the Fatherland...through joint action on the basis of civil peace." The SPT even praised the *Sobor*.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Writing of the Stalinists' bloc with nationalist reactionaries last January, we

Moscow demonstrator's sign reads: "Gorbachev-Yeltsin: Capitalism = Fascism. No to the private property of criminal millionaires. Confiscate what has been stolen from the people and put it to use for Soviet collective enterprises and farms."

Shone/Gamma-Liaison



warned: "This is not only a sinister but a dangerous game, for the fascists whom it fuels and legitimizes will treat their erstwhile ostensibly Communist 'patriotic' allies no less ruthlessly than they will treat the Soviet workers, Jews and other nationalities, should they be given half a chance" (WV No. 543, 24 January). Now, having done the donkey work for more powerful forces, the Stalinists find

Labourite Militant group in Britain) have taken to tailing the RKRП et al. without a hint of criticism of the fascism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism which is rampant in the "patriot" milieu.

There are Soviet militants who want to fight for the communism of Lenin and Trotsky. Millions know what capitalism has in store for them, and want to resist the destruction of their livelihoods and the devastation of their society. The forces of counterrevolution have yet to consolidate a stable capitalist regime.

The October Revolution of 1917 shattered the tsarist prison house of peoples and emancipated the workers and peasants from capitalist exploitation. It served as a beacon for workers and oppressed the world over. But as Trotsky warned shortly after the political counterrevolution led by Stalin in 1923-24, Stalinism is "the gravedigger of the Revolution." After nearly 70 years of bureaucratic betrayal, the fate of the first workers state in history hangs in the balance.

If the multinational Soviet proletariat is not to be drowned in a fratricidal bloodbath and ground under the iron heel of imperialist exploitation, it must carry out a revolutionary struggle to oust the capitalist-restorationist regimes and take political power in Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Those who conciliate Great Russian chauvinism and other nationalisms are roadblocks to the struggle against counterrevolution. The International Communist League is fighting to cohere a nucleus of internationalist fighters committed to the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Red October. That is the only road forward. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 781-7500

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Edmonton

PSSÉ P.O. Box 9605
Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips an issue in August.

Our next issue will be dated September 4.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

On Monday and Tuesday, Johannesburg's streets were deserted. Factories were silent, stores shut, schools closed, and urban centers were ghost towns due to the absence of the millions of black workers without whom the South African economy grinds to a halt. At least 80 percent of the black workforce reportedly participated in the strike in the major urban areas. In the townships, blacks demonstrated in the streets. Flaming barricades were erected in Mannenberg and elsewhere around Cape Town. In Soweto and Daveyton large crowds marched on precincts to protest cop killings.

The ANC, which was compelled by its mass base to call the general strike, tried until the final hours to call it off. A deal with the gold barons and Jo'burg stockbrokers to replace the strike with a voluntary national "day of reconciliation" failed when the De Klerk regime ordered employers to make no concessions to the ANC. Emboldened by his victory in last March's whites-only referendum, De Klerk has been ramming repressive laws through parliament, calling up thousands of white reservists and hinting at a return to the state of emergency. The regime finally attempted to discredit the ANC with a deliberate provocation, orchestrating the Soweto Day massacre of 43 in Boipatong township.

The apartheid rulers moved 5,000 additional troops into the black townships on the eve of the strike. Demonstrations took place as tanks and personnel carriers continually rumbled past. The general strike was initially motivated to "bring down" the De Klerk government and install an interim government. Black workers and township youth took this call seriously, and began preparing. South Africa is in the midst of the biggest strike wave in years, with 650,000 days lost in 1992—more than double the number in the same period last year. Conditions are ripe for a crescendo of class struggle, but the ANC/COSATU leadership along with the South African Communist Party have cruelly deceived the workers.

As the masses, outraged by the government-orchestrated campaign of violence that has killed over 6,000 people in the last two years, burn to pick up the struggle to *smash the apartheid state*, the ANC/COSATU/SACP move to cut back the strike to a toothless two-day protest was met with anger and disgust. There is particular anger among public sector unions, who have been preparing their membership for months to take over government facilities, and who watched as militant Transvaal hospital strikers were fired en masse. This comes on the heels of the vindictive firing of 6,000 Toyota strikers in Port Elizabeth.

The liberal *Weekly Mail* (17 July) quoted one unionist who said, "We're confused as to what the usefulness of having a one-day action would be. This mass action is supposed to be unprecedented, but this will not amount to that at all." The ANC and its SACP brain-trusters cynically play with the general strike as a pressure tactic in their waltz with the capitalist rulers. But employing this powerful weapon of class struggle inevitably raises the question of which class shall rule. And in bloody South Africa, all experience has demonstrated that just to achieve basic democratic rights the apartheid ruling class must be overthrown. The black workers have the power to do this: what they need is a leadership prepared to use it. Above all, ANC, SACP and COSATU tops have made it clear that a fight for power is the last thing they want.

Amid reported tension between "hard-liners" and "moderates" over the scope and goal of the strike campaign, on July 16 the ANC felt compelled to issue a document entitled "Campaign for Peace and Democracy," emphasizing that the campaign "is not a programme for insur-

rection. Neither is it aimed at a 'peaceful overthrow' of the regime.... Insurrection is not on the agenda. Neither would it be a voluntary choice of the ANC, both now and in the future." Nelson Mandela proclaimed himself "keen" to get the negotiations going again, provided the government would concede any one of fourteen "demands" presented by the ANC.

The *Weekly Mail* (10 July) reports a raging three-way fight in the Communist Party over the August strike campaign. The ANC Youth League, echoing grassroots militants, reputedly wanted to use the mass action campaign to bring the government down. A document by SACP right-winger Jeremy Cronin on different "strategic assumptions in our ranks" identifies the "don't rock the boat" school associated with ANC international department head Thabo Mbeki, the "tap" school (turning mass action on and off) of Nelson Mandela and ANC general



Outraged township residents chased De Klerk out of Boipatong on June 20, three days after government-instigated Inkatha massacre.

secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, and the "Leipzig option" (escalating mass demonstrations such as toppled the Honecker regime in the fall of 1989) linked with SACP leader Chris Hani, also head of the ANC's "military arm" Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Cronin declares any thought of insurrection "unrealistic." But in reality all wings of the SACP are thoroughly committed to seeking a "power sharing" deal with the apartheid rulers. Their only squabble is over the pace and the terms.

Meanwhile, De Klerk's strategy of fomenting intercommunal warfare to terrorize the black masses and then blaming the ANC for "black-on-black violence" backfired when the government's "hidden hand" became all too clear in the Boipatong slaughter. Not only did hundreds of witnesses see the army bring in Inkatha death squads, it later became known that a unit of the notorious (and supposedly disbanded) *Koevoet* ("crowbar") paramilitary force, based at a nearby Goldfields mining compound, took part in the massacre. In protest, the 300,000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) walked out of wage negotiations.

Frantically seeking damage control over the Boipatong massacre, the government appointed a commission of inquiry, including several British criminologists, to "evaluate" the police investigation. Their report was a predictable whitewash, denying police complicity while slapping the government's wrist for "inadequate planning." The next week, another scandal which surprised no one rocked Pretoria, as leading pathologist Dr. Jonathan Gluckman (who did the autopsy on murdered activist Steve Biko) declared, "I can't stand it any longer," and revealed files proving nearly 200 blacks who had died in detention were actually murdered by the police. As De Klerk blustered that an investigation was under way, three more young men met their death that week while under arrest.

The despair and anger felt by South

Africa's black and coloured (mixed-race) population reached the boiling point, and would not be satisfied by the orchestrated marches and sit-ins at government offices which until now have comprised the bulk of the ANC/SACP/COSATU "mass action campaign." After the Boipatong massacre, ANC leaders in the townships were met with crowds demanding "We want arms!" Meanwhile, the government launched what was obscenely termed a "peace offensive"—ordering over 5,000 soldiers and police into the townships surrounding Johannesburg. The ANC/SACP/COSATU leadership, if only to retain a modicum of credibility with its mass base, was forced to call the general strike. But not until it had exhausted every possibility of a big fat sellout.

In the words of a memo from the COSATU head office to its affiliates, the union federation was trying to "bring business on board" and trade off the gen-

U.S.' vicious slaughter in Iraq, the UN is a fig leaf for U.S. imperialism, and that's precisely why Mandela wants it. The man to whom the oppressed black population looked to lead them to equality holds the petty-bourgeois nationalist view that anything is preferable to workers revolution, even alliances with the bloody "New World Order" which has always backed apartheid South Africa to the hilt.

Meanwhile, competing black nationalists of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the NACTU labor federation it leads, as well as the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO), opposed the general strike, arguing that it is an ANC pressure tactic on "negotiations" which they claim to oppose. In fact this puts PAC and AZAPO in a bloc with Buthelezi's Inkatha, which is ordering its worker-troops to scab on the strike in the interests of the apartheid rulers. PAC complained that ANC loyalists were "bullying residents" into obeying the strike call.

Revolutionaries would seek to intervene in the present "general strike" and transform it from a protest into a serious class mobilization pointing to the struggle for power. But showing that its stance "against collaboration" is a complete fraud, PAC met with Cyrus Vance in Johannesburg on July 23. PAC leader Benny Alexander declared, "If we could have the international community involved...there is no reason not to be in CODESA" (IPS, 29 July). PAC also met with the De Klerk government in Nigeria in April, at a meeting it proclaimed as "preparatory" to a major summit between the two sides (*Weekly Mail*, 10 April).

When black auto workers at Mercedes-Benz in East London had their strike squashed in 1990 by SACP/COSATU stars Joe Slovo and Moses Mayekiso, the strikers bitterly quipped about the new "tribe" of sellout bureaucrats, the "WaBenzi," wheeling around in their Mercedes. Today, anger is rising as this cynical layer reaps the perks of the capitalist "good life" for themselves. When ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki's BMW was stolen recently, the MK got it back for him. Oliver Tambo's new 3 million rand (\$1.1 million) house was bought and paid for by Lonrho, an international conglomerate which owns the Western Platinum Mines of South Africa. And while millions of blacks eke out an existence in the squatters camps and bantustan hellholes, dodging Inkatha spears and police gunfire, ANC leader Cyril Ramaphosa is moving in next door to Anglo American's retired chairman Harry Oppenheimer in the posh suburb of Brenthurst. As the *Financial Times* (29 June) snidely remarked, "Who knows what disputes may now be settled by a neighbourly chat between two of South Africa's most formidable power brokers."

South Africa is experiencing an upsurge of mass struggle. The bourgeois press is screaming as scabs find themselves pelted with rocks and their cars torched. The *Weekly Mail* quotes labor observer Pat Stone that "in the super-charged political climate," the current strikes are reminiscent of the big labor battles in rail in 1989, adding: "We are now going back to the Eighties, when strikes were viewed by communities as directed against apartheid."

The combative South African black proletariat has been uniquely receptive to the fight for communism, raising the red flag with hammer and sickle in strikes and demonstrations, as it sees before it an implacable enemy in *apartheid capitalism*. Yet its road to power is centrally blocked by...the "Communists" of the SACP. In reality, these reformists tie the workers to the racist rulers through COSATU's perpetual "popular front" with the ANC, in turn linked to the "verligte" capitalists. Break with the ANC/SACP! Forge an authentic communist party! South African black workers—claim the fruits of your labor. Go for the real gold—take the power! ■

eral strike for a "voluntary shutdown of industry" by the bosses. SACCOLA, the South African Coordinating Committee on Labour Affairs, comprised of the ten biggest conglomerates in South Africa, including the giant Anglo American mining corporation, tentatively agreed to a "day of national reconciliation" August 3 in lieu of the general strike. In return, COSATU pledged to stop all strikes until October!

This was an attempt to carry out an end run around De Klerk by lining up with the so-called *verligte* ("enlightened") bourgeoisie around Anglo American in a classic "popular front," like Spain in the 1930s. As Trotsky wrote in July 1936 upon the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War:

"By lulling the workers and peasants with parliamentary illusions, by paralyzing their will to struggle, the People's Front creates favorable conditions for the victory of fascism. The policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie must be paid for by the proletariat with years of new torments and sacrifice, if not by decades of fascist terror."

The *London Independent* (21 July) noted that "Cosatu has to persuade its harder line members—in particular the dedicated Marxists among them—that they have not sold out 'the masses' to 'bourgeois capitalism'." Well, they sure tried, but in the end, it was SACCOLA which backed out, on De Klerk's orders.

The final agreement was for a week of protests monitored under the aegis of the United Nations. After Mandela's appearance at the Security Council, former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance was dispatched as a special envoy to the De Klerk regime (*New York Times*, 17 July). South African foreign minister Pik Botha thought Vance was a good choice—not surprising, since Vance played a major role in covering up evidence of joint Israeli-South African nuclear testing in 1979 (see Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option*). Now a UN-supervised "transition" à la Zimbabwe is the ANC's sellout of choice.

As anyone knows who recalls the

Pittsburgh Workers...

(continued from page 12)

Bureau Inc., letting them know what they had coming. Shouts of "Homestead 1892, Pittsburgh 1992" rang out, recalling the pitched battle against Andrew Carnegie's Pinkertons who invaded Homestead, Pennsylvania during that strike.

Strikers jammed up against the *Press* building on the Boulevard exploded in rage when they heard the presses start up around 5 a.m. By 6:00, with the crowd down to about 2,000, cops, reinforced by sheriffs and the narcotics SWAT team (!), brought out their riot gear, including four-foot clubs. Sell described what happened as trucks inside the walled parking lot began to move and the cops tried to clear the pickets:

"When they made their first surge, they backed us off about two feet and then we made our resurges. We went right back into the lot, and they couldn't push us out. One of our guys said, 'quick, sit down, they can't move us all.' I'd say a good 500 or so people mushroomed out of the gates on both sides. The truck backed off."

After the pickets sat down in the driveway, the cops filled two wagons with pickets. Their places were quickly filled and the cops soon gave up. Not one truck got out—and more than a few lost their windows. Among the 39 arrested that morning for "obstructing traffic" were not only striking drivers but also carpenters, heavy equipment operators, steel workers. They were bailed out by the unions' Unity Council.

Pittsburgh workers showed all labor a crucial lesson: mass picket lines backed down the cops and rent-a-thugs and stopped the scabs cold. Coming on the heels of the UAW bureaucracy's betrayal and capitulation at Caterpillar three months ago, Pittsburgh workers showed that a little hardball goes a long way. After years of the union tops playing by the bosses' rules and sinking strike after strike in the service of their Democratic Party masters, here a highly visible skirmish in the class war was won. Driver Sid Gillis told *WV*: "No more in this country. The air traffic controllers, those days are gone. Greyhound, those days are gone. I'll be across the state wherever I'm needed. Because it's over."

Last year there was a new low in the number of major strikes: 40. This was because of the labor traitors who let PATCO hang, who knifed Greyhound drivers *twice*, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy which began as anti-Communist Cold Warriors at home and abroad. They knifed labor militancy and then presided over the wholesale destruction of union gains. Last year U.S. imperialism was celebrating a "New World Order." But with the economy dead in the water, the rulers of this country have run up against explosions of anger in the ghettos and barrios—from L.A. to NYC—and now they're getting a whiff of real class struggle.

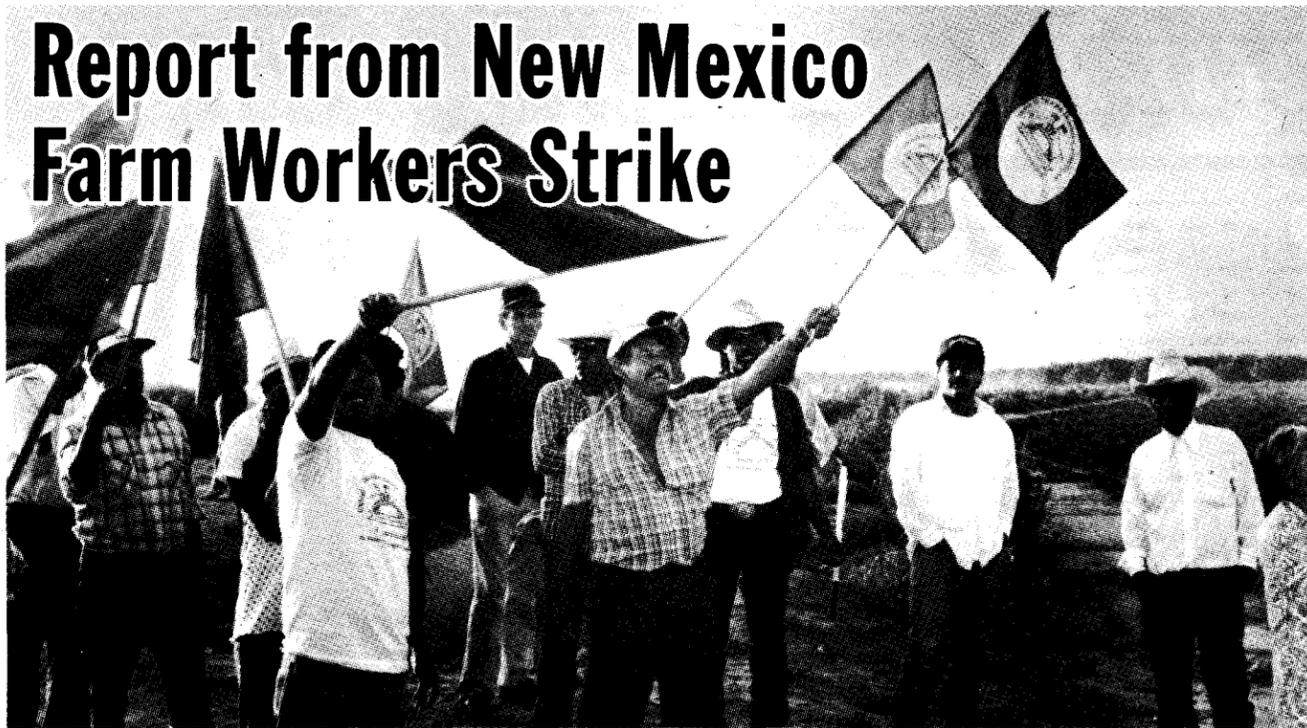
The current strikebreaking didn't begin with Reagan: the *Democrats* Carter and Mondale hit the miners with Taft-Hartley and drew up the plan to smash PATCO. Whether presided over by George Herbert Walker Bush or "Right to Work" Clinton, this government is the executive committee of the capitalist class. From the Homestead strike of 1892 to the *Press* strike of 1992, the cops, courts and troops will always be the instruments of their class rule. Union militants must oust the pro-Democratic Party labor fakers in order to forge a *workers party* to fight for a workers government, to rip the power out of the hands of the capitalists who have run industry into the ground as they rip the unions to shreds. In Pittsburgh that is clear like nowhere else.

Iron City—A Union Town

Monday morning, strikers outside what they dubbed "Fort Scripps-

7 AUGUST 1992

Report from New Mexico Farm Workers Strike



WV Photo

EL PASO, August 3—We left the hall of the Border Agricultural Workers Union (UTAF) early this morning in four vans, headed for Doña Ana County, New Mexico. The striking chile pepper pickers organized by UTAF decided to target Loyad Anderson, who farms 3,000 acres, because his harvest is one of the earliest, and a victory here will set the scale for the whole valley. Anderson provoked the strike by paying only 85 cents for a ten-gallon bucket of jalapeños, far less than minimum wage and 40 cents less than last year. The grower is paying scabs as young as eleven years old as little as \$13 a day.

At the farm, the 70 pickets were able to convince at least 50 workers not to scab, but almost that many crossed. As

the picket line grew, workers blocked the entrance. Many of the strikers have 15 to 20 years working in the fields of southern New Mexico. They chanted "*¡Huelga!*" and "Borders united will never be defeated." But UTAF organizers, citing union lawyers, who always tell you what you *can't* do, opened up an aisle to let the scabs through. Angry strikers said, "This is no picket line. This isn't how they strike in Mexico—they shut it down!"

At a picket last Thursday, 500 strikers were surrounded by state police and *migra* agents, and sprayed with pepper gas by county sheriffs. A number of workers were sent to the hospital vomiting. But the strikers are defiant. Mario Sosa said the strike was "our only hope.

I've got children to feed but I refuse to bow down to exploiters and cheats."

Last week UTAF, which is fighting to organize the 10,000 workers in this \$60 million a year industry, appealed to other unionists in the area, including Steelworkers at the big ASARCO smelter and Phelps Dodge workers, to come to their aid. With the looming "Free Trade Agreement" emboldening the capitalists to drive down wages and working conditions in the border area, UTAF is fighting for everyone. As we go to press a settlement is reported which would establish certain union rights. Bring out the power of labor on both sides of the border—including "hot cargoing" scab produce—to organize the whole industry!

Howard" were waiting for the *Press* Company's next move. Some papers had been brought into town during the night. Roving pickets were dispatched to suburban distribution sites, where scabs and rent-a-thugs were working and sleeping in abandoned supermarkets. Only a few thousand papers reached the streets, and hundreds of those were piled up against the front door of the *Press* building during the day by angry Pittsburgh workers as the pickets cheered. This is a union town.

The company was screaming like a stuck pig. Mayor Sophie Masloff, facing a solid front of area unions, had declared the city wouldn't advertise in a newspaper produced by non-union out-of-towners. Allegheny County judge Lee Mazur put off a hearing on an injunction until the next day, July 28. And as union strike supporters left the picket lines to go to work, others left work at construction sites and offices to replace them.

During the afternoon a few hundred workers continued to man the lines. A contingent of miners came from UMW Local 9636, on strike for *three years* against Aloe Coal Company outside of Pittsburgh. UMW chief Trumka's "selective strike" strategy has left strike after strike to twist in the wind. State workers in AFSCME, Machinists, UFCW workers who had struck Giant Eagle foods for six weeks last summer were there. Building tradesmen coming off work said they were ready for a citywide strike.

A few steel workers were on the lines, only a shadow of the tens of thousands who once worked in the furnaces and mills along the Monongahela Valley until big steel shut down here. The sky used to be orange with the dust and dirt from the mills in the Mon Valley. The *Press* strikers have seen the capitalists destroy tens of thousands of union jobs in steel. On a July 28 ABC *Nightline* program on the strike, former USWA Local 1397 grievance chairman Mike Stout described the destruction of the Homestead plant by U.S. Steel:

"I went through a plant shutdown; I saw 6,000 people I work with lose their jobs.

I saw five people within a year commit suicide, 73 people I knew personally die of strokes, heart attacks and cancer. The [*Press* strikers] and their families know what's in store for them."

What happened at Homestead was repeated up and down the Mon Valley. Between 1979 and 1987 the Pittsburgh area lost 127,500 manufacturing jobs, half of those in basic steel (John P. Hoerr, *And the Wolf Finally Came—The Decline of the American Steel Industry*, Pittsburgh, 1988). In the three decades between 1958 and 1987 the Pittsburgh area lost 70 percent of its manufacturing jobs. While the Mellons brag of attracting *corporate headquarters* to the Golden Triangle, almost half the *people* have gone, mostly to low-wage non-union jobs in the South and West.

"This Crew Was Something Else"

Despite moving some trucks around the lot, the company never even tried to run papers out of the downtown plant on Tuesday. Most of the action was out by the distribution centers, where papers printed in Stevensville, Canada were brought in by tractor-trailer. But again the roving pickets kept them mostly shut down. Suburban mayors, eager to avoid a confrontation, even closed some centers for building and fire code violations.

The mass picket on Monday morning had shaken the *Press* Company's battle plans. One of the scabherders from SBI complained in court during an attempt to get an injunction against the pickets: "I worked a lot of strikes in my life. This crew was something else." With the judge pressuring the company to cease publishing and the union tops to withdraw the mass pickets, on Tuesday afternoon a company vice president announced they were giving up publication of the scab rag. (The Newspaper Guild, which represents writers at the *Post-Gazette*, criminally decided to go to work, only "withholding bylines as a show of solidarity.")

That night over 6,000 unionists gath-

ered across from the entrance to the *Press* in solidarity with the strike. Although called by the union bureaucrats as a "prayer vigil" (including inviting *Press* management!) there were ringing chants of "Scabs Out" and "Union, Union" as workers again surrounded the plant. A black electrician from IBEW Local 5 told of how his entire job site was poised to walk out that day if the *Press* continued to publish. Over 100 warehousemen from Teamster Local 636 gathered in front of the gate with a huge "Stop Scabs" sign.

Teachers marched alongside transit workers, who were ordered back to work last spring when the ATU bureaucrats caved in to a back-to-work order. Women motel workers, members of Hotel and Restaurant Local 57, were furious their local bureaucrats refused to do anything about the over 140 scabs staying at the Best Western on Greentree Road.

The next day, when the company moved out some trucks, pickets demanded they be able to inspect anything leaving. A pressman told *WV* that one truck was full of bulletproof vests the thugs had stockpiled. But Thursday, the union tops removed the small picket lines that remained after the *Press* stopped publishing. With their faith in federal mediation and reliance on a boycott of capitalist advertisers, the union chiefs are perfectly capable of snatching defeat out of the jaws of victory. Teamster Local 211 tops have already declared that "We were never opposed to giving up jobs," only "the way they went about it."

Pittsburgh labor didn't pour out in solidarity for more givebacks. We said in our last issue and we repeat: "Before the *Press* bosses try to start production, the strikers should *occupy the plant and seize the presses*. This would electrify the Pittsburgh labor movement and the militant miners for miles around. Teamsters, do your stuff!" *Pittsburgh labor: win this strike, win it now and win it big! Send the message around the country: the strikebreaking stops here!* ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

5,000-Strong Picket Stops Scab Paper

Pittsburgh Workers Play Hardball



Terry Clark

PITTSBURGH—"We whipped them. They took on the Teamsters and can't handle it," a *Pittsburgh Press* newspaper driver proudly declared. The *Press* had tried to run a scab paper for two days. But they were met by thousands of workers who massed in front of the plant. As word traveled down the line that the *Press* was suspending publication, picketers cheered.

Another driver said the stakes were high: "This was where a stand had to be taken." To hell with begging the capitalist Congress for bills against "replacement workers." *You stop scabs by mobilizing the power of labor!* After a decade and more of vicious union-busting coast to coast—after PATCO, Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern and Caterpillar—the mass pickets outside the scab *Press* said: *It stops here!*

As we go to press, the company claims

the scabs are leaving town. But Press Co. is still demanding the elimination of hundreds of jobs. They're trying to get back from the federal mediator at the bargaining table what they lost in the streets. *Press* workers: Don't be suckered! You've won a big round, now keep the bosses and their scabs on the run! Occupy the plant and ring it with pickets—Stop the *Press*!

For over two months, Teamster drivers of Local 211 stood solid against the *Press*. (The morning *Post-Gazette*, which is published by the Press Company as part of a joint operating agreement, was also shut down.) The Scripps-Howard owners of the *Press*, who are out to wipe out the drivers' jobs and over 4,500 youth carriers, announced in mid-July they would resume publication after the 24th. So the stage was set for a showdown. Teamster negotiator and spokes-

man Joe Pass declared, "If they want to play hardball, we'll play hardball."

On Sunday evening, July 26, shortly after 5:00 p.m., the Teamsters threw up picket lines at the Press Company building. Until then, the Teamster tops had refused to set up lines and call on the other newspaper unions to strike. The *Press* has continued to publish a twice-a-week scab rag called the *Allegheny Bulletin*, which is brought into the city by *Teamster UPS drivers* and mailed by *union postal workers*.

But now unionists from all over the city poured onto the Boulevard of the Allies. Strike headquarters is in the Steelworkers building next door to the *Press*. A steamfitter told *WV* that workers know "this is a crucial last stand for labor in Western Pennsylvania." There were electricians, carpenters and hundreds of other building tradesmen. Teamsters

from sister locals in freight, delivery and warehouse came wearing "Stop Scabs" T-shirts. Machinists, AFSCME and Service Employees came out.

Mass Pickets Stop the *Press*

By Sunday midnight over 5,000 workers were prepared for battle. David Sell, a Teamster driver later arrested stopping the scab trucks, told *WV*: "The street was full from that red light to this red light all the way across; it was the greatest thing you've ever seen." Chants of "Union, Union!" and "Scabs Go Home!" rang through downtown. When negotiations recessed in the Hilton across the street, thousands of pickets ringed the block including the *Press* building.

Picketers knew the strikebreakers had pick handles inside. Strikers yelled at the hated brownshirt thugs from Security

continued on page 11

Terry Clark



Unionists face down cops, block scab delivery trucks in successfully stopping delivery of the *Press*. Scab paper goes down in flames.

AP