

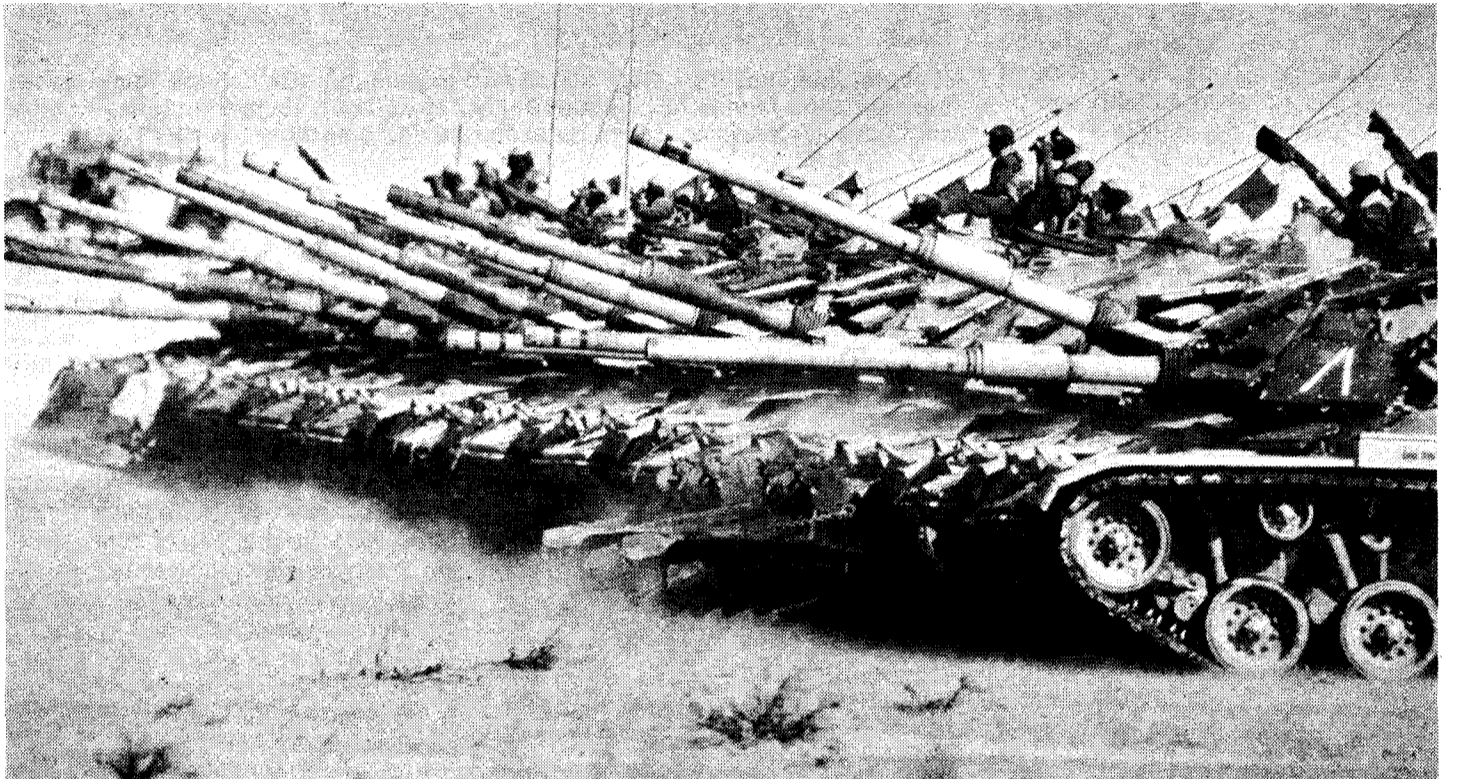
Sink U.S. Imperialism in the Persian Gulf!

Pro-War Front Cracks

James Baker looks to be heading to Baghdad and the "hostages" are to be home in time for Christmas. But upwards of 400,000 U.S. troops will be hostages of the Pentagon in the Saudi sands by New Year's, and hundreds of thousands of Iraqi soldiers and civilians are in the cross hairs of the most destructive war machine assembled in decades. Millions of working people here and in Iraq dread the nightmare of war, but for the war-crazed American rulers, the true "nightmare scenario" is *no war*.

Four months after the U.S. invasion of the Persian Gulf, the White House's "war coalition" is not only fraying at the edges but virtually splitting apart at the seams. As opinion polls show that fully three out of five people now oppose a U.S. military offensive against Iraq, hardline Democratic hawks like Georgia Senator Sam Nunn have started cooing about "giving sanctions a chance." They were joined at Congressional hearings last week by four former defense secretaries, two former heads of the joint chiefs of staff and the current head of the CIA.

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Pentagon has over 400,000 U.S. troops poised for war against Iraq.

Langevin/Sygma

South Africa and Permanent Revolution

Part I of this article (published in our last issue) emphasized that, as the African National Congress negotiates about "power-sharing" with the apartheid regime of Nationalist prime minister F.W. De Klerk, what is being talked about is reforming and sprucing up the racist system. We wrote: "There can be no end to the system of apartheid slavery short of socialist revolution. Superexploitation of black labor is the bedrock on which South African capitalism has been built, and with it the whole edifice of white supremacy. Anything even approaching a minimum of

ing the oppressed populations to the apartheid masters in a 'popular front' alliance with De Klerk and the 'verligte' (enlightened) capitalists. And now virtually every leftist and anti-apartheid organization seems to be falling in line behind this betrayal."

The attempt at a transition from a white-supremacist, police-state regime to a coalition with the ANC has created a highly unstable political condition. The black plebeian masses want political and economic power, not "power-sharing" with their exploiters and oppressors. In their own way, the ANC/SACP leaders understand how explosive is the present situation. Thus last September they mobilized their authority, including a personal intervention by CP leader Joe Slovo, to break a strike at the Mercedes-Benz plant, where for a number of years the workers had achieved something like dual power at the point of production (see "Sit-Down Strikers Raise Red Flag, CP Sells Them Out," WV No. 515, 30 November).

The central strategic task for a communist vanguard in South Africa is to set

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ANC, Communist Party Seek to Repackage Apartheid



CP leader Joe Slovo and Nelson Mandela campaign for "power-sharing" with masters of apartheid.

AFP

PART TWO OF TWO

bourgeois democracy (such as 'one person, one vote') is incompatible with the continued existence of that social system. Fighting for the land which has been stolen from them, for the mines and factories which produce enormous wealth from their toil, South Africa's black masses sense this basic fact. But as the decisive hour approaches, the ANC leaders and the South African Communist Party are the greatest obstacles to black freedom, chain-

Smash Apartheid—Workers to Power!

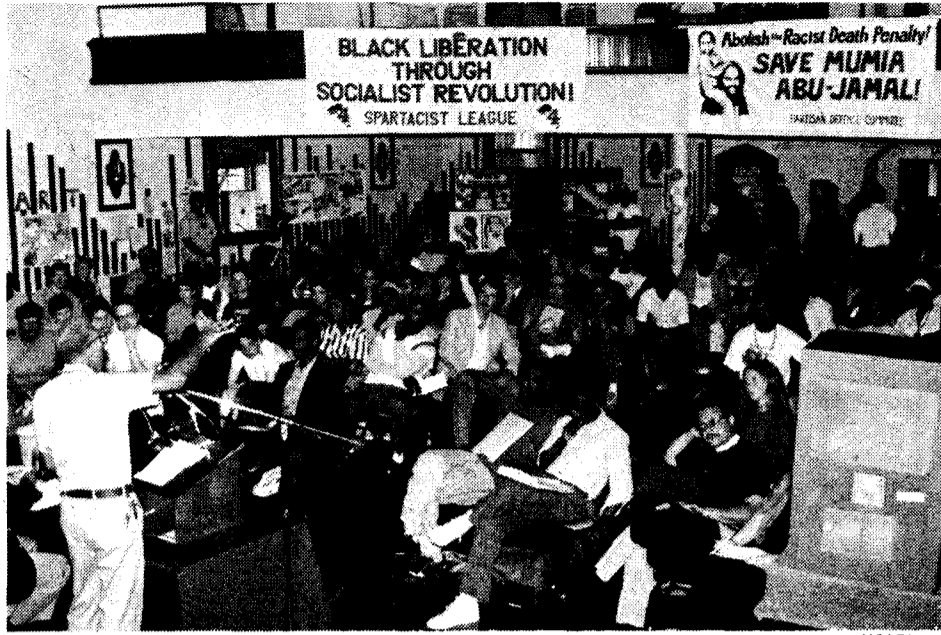
Jamal Supporters Sue Over Cop Smear

Philadelphia

On December 6 speakers from the July 14 Rally to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal filed a lawsuit against WCAU-TV. The lawsuit charges the station with libel for its 14 July broadcast which reported that then-president of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) Richard Costello branded Jamal's supporters a "misfit terrorist group." To drive home the point Costello added a threat, "If you don't like it you can join him. We'll take out the electric chair, we'll make it an electric couch." The suit seeks money damages.

At the press conference at City Hall to announce the suit, State Representative David Richardson, a plaintiff in the suit, stated, "I think the whole question before us is Mumia Abu-Jamal. We are here to continue our thrust to mobilize—mass mobilizations of our people from all across this country." About WCAU-TV's broadcast, Richardson added, "If we were to make racist statements like that we probably would be bombed and killed. It has to be made very clear that we are not scared and we are standing up today."

Ray Martinez Jr., for the Philadelphia Chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668, said: "I



Philadelphia, July 14—Over 200 rallied to demand: Abolish the racist death penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Philly cops staged sinister mobilization the same day, demanding Jamal be executed and smearing his supporters.

represent approximately 2,000 state employees in the Philadelphia area. I was sent there representing my union because we believe that the death penalty is racist. We also believe we must save Mumia Abu-Jamal because he was railroaded." Father Paul Washington, rector emeritus of the Church of the Advocate, pointed out, "The persons who were at the

Church of the Advocate on that afternoon, are people who are against the death penalty. But also we were focusing on a person whom we felt was unjustly prosecuted and sentenced to death. We were therefore tying the two. When a statement like this is made, those who are infected with the virus of racism will simply act on it."

Other plaintiffs in the suit are Charles Valenta, president of Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034, Pamela Tucker of the Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty, spokesmen for the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League, and Jamal's wife Wadiya, who, despite the hardship placed on her family, "remains strong because Mumia remains strong."

Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein explained, "What happened in terms of this particular libel lawsuit is that the gathering of the international campaign, which was represented by 200 trade unionists, civil rights activists, socialists, students, church leaders, who all rallied at the Church of the Advocate on July 14 to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, was viewed with horror and with fear by the FOP. Unbeknownst to those of us who gathered at the Church of the Advocate, they called a sinister counterdemonstration to demand Jamal's immediate execution. And we are not going to stand for that. We are standing firm in our belief that Jamal's life must be saved and he must be freed."

Wolkenstein pointed out: "On November 26, the U.S. Supreme Court, for the second time in two months refused to even consider his conviction and sentence. This is very much in the same vein as what has happened to Mumia Abu-Jamal through the lower courts, and what is happening to his defenders. The police called Jamal a terrorist, someone who has no rights, and the Rehnquist court endorses it by closing the doors

of the Supreme Court. They are trying to put him on a conveyor belt to the electric chair. We undertake this lawsuit as a necessary component of defending Mumia Abu-Jamal from the state's executioner."

Gene Herson of the PDC told how "for 20 years Jamal has been a target of Philadelphia's racist cops. At the age of 14 he was a co-founder of this city's Black Panther Party branch. After that he became a well-known journalist, president of the Philly chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest in 1981. He was also a prominent supporter of the MOVE organization, unique in going to the depths of Philadelphia's jails to get the Africas' story. He was among that 'new breed of journalists' threatened by Frank Rizzo after the massive cop siege of MOVE's Powelton Village home on August 8, 1978. On December 9, 1981 they tried to kill Jamal in the streets but failed. So he was framed up in a racist political witchhunt." Herson added, "To be labeled a 'terrorist' by the cops is a death sentence in and of itself."

Wolkenstein also told how "From his death row cell, Jamal continues to speak out for the poor, homeless, victims of racist terror and against the death penalty in his column carried in newspapers across the country." In a column written upon hearing of the WCAU-TV broadcast Jamal wrote:

"Who were the people slurred by the FOP, for daring to speak out, and threatened with death? Trade unionists, who do the labor that keeps Philadelphia from sinking into the dust; scholars, who have researched the intrinsic racial inequity in America's death penalty schemes; lawyers, drawn by the denials of due process clear in the case; abolitionists, in opposition to capital punishment; family and friends, united by an undying bond of love—these were the people the state damned and intimidated with the deadly libelous label 'terrorists.' "But who are the terrorists? Who bombed Osage Ave.? Who burned the flesh off of political prisoner Ramona Africa's arms, leaving her scarred for life? Who beat Delbert Africa, another MOVE political prisoner, on national TV, only to get acquitted after a fix before a Phila. judge? Who killed over 300 people in 10 years, and never spent an hour in jail? Who are the real terrorists?"

Wolkenstein summarized, "We are continuing with many other organizations and individuals internationally to campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life—through petitions, protest actions and other organizations, particularly the trade-union movement, coming out and demanding his life be saved. We will continue to have rallies and protest actions, we will further the publicity and spread the word about the need to save his life. The working people are the social force with the power to save this courageous man and stop this deadly killing machine."

To join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. ■

Fight Imperialist Subjugation of the Near East!

The appeal for the 1920 Baku Congress of Toilers of the East, organized by the newly formed Communist International, called for the struggle against Western imperialist domination and exploitation of the Near East to unite the oppressed masses of that region with the revolutionary workers movements in the advanced capitalist countries and with the Soviet workers state. Today, as the U.S. rulers have invaded the Persian Gulf oil fields



TROTSKY



LENIN

and are driving toward a bloody war against Iraq with the support of the treacherous Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy, we communists stand for the defeat of this imperialist adventure on the battlefield and through international class struggle.

Why is the Communist International convening a congress of Persian, Armenian, and Turkish peasants and workers? What can it give them? What does it ask of them? The militant workers and peasants of Europe and America turn to you because, like them, you are suffering under the yoke of world capital. Because, like them, you have to fight the exploiters, and because the amalgamation of the Persian, Turkish, and Armenian peasants and workers with the great army of the European and American proletariat will strengthen this front, hasten the death of capital, and so bring about the liberation of the workers and peasants of the entire world.

Peasants and workers of Persia. The Teheran Government of Hajjars and their followers the provincial Khans, have plundered and exploited you for centuries....

Peasants of Mesopotamia! The English have declared your country independent, but in your country there are 80,000 English soldiers who plunder and rob, who kill you and violate your wives....

Peasants and workers of the Near East, if you organize, if you arm yourselves, if you unite with the Russian workers' and peasants' Red Army, then you will be able to defy the French, English, and American capitalists, then you will be free of your oppressors, then you will have the opportunity in free alliance with the workers' republics of the world to take care of your interests. Then the wealth of your country will be yours. In your own interests and in the interests of the workers of the entire world the products of labour will be equitably exchanged and we shall help each other.

—Executive Committee of the Communist International, "To the Oppressed Popular Masses of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey" (July 1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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14 December 1990

CORRECTIONS

In WV No. 514 (16 November), through a typographical error the sailors' mutiny at Kiel which sparked the German Revolution was misdated; the Kiel mutiny occurred on 4 November 1918.

In WV No. 512 (19 October), a photo was erroneously captioned as the "beheading of a Saudi princess" in Jeddah in 1977. The photo actually showed the beheading of her husband. The princess was shot. Their crime: the fact that this member of the royal family had dared to marry a commoner.

In WV No. 509 (7 September), a

photo caption of the Spartacist presentation at the Leon Trotsky Commemoration in Coyoacán, Mexico, was incorrectly dated. The event took place on 21 August 1990.

In an article on Mandela's visit to the United States (WV No. 504, 15 June), the South African gold-mining town of Welkom was incorrectly located. Welkom is in the Orange Free State, not the Transvaal.

Note: the next *Young Spartacus* pages in WV will carry a letter correcting mistranslations of the leaflet by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France ("Student Protests Rock France," WV No. 515, 30 November).

Clay Dickinson



1946 - 1990

Our comrade Terry Clay Dickinson died on the morning of December 11 at the age of 44. For three and a half years, Clay fought Kaposi's sarcoma and many opportunistic infections associated with the AIDS virus which finally claimed his life.

In a 1987 contribution to a party discussion on the AIDS crisis, Clay wrote:

"The prospect of an early death is not so crushing as you might think.... I'm finding a deeply satisfying clarity in outlook coupled with an almost instinctive disdain for mental clutter. It has also meant rediscovering a more intensely passionate resistance to bigotry, social injustice, and religious obfuscation. I am currently with an integrated theatre company doing Greek classics at housing projects and prisons for mostly very young audiences. The palpable sense of vibrant young lives most of which are about to be wasted, sucked into the maelstrom of urban violence, is wrenching."

Theater was one of Clay's passions and he took immense pleasure in his work as an actor with Sidewalks Theatre in New York City.

In the last years of his own life, Clay battled for the life of another man: Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter who is now a political prisoner on death row. As a member of District 65/UAW, Clay collected petitions and organized others, including the union leadership, to take a stand in the fight to save Jamal.

Clay first joined the Spartacist League in 1977 when the SL fused with the majority of the Red Flag Union, a "gay liberation/communist organization" which broke from gay lifestyle and embraced the Leninist conception of building a proletarian party as a genuine "tribune of the people." Clay left our organization shortly thereafter but remained a loyal sympathizer, becoming in recent years very active in supporting our work despite his illness. We were honored that Clay chose to rejoin our ranks in November of this year. The very evening he was released from a recent hospitalization, he worked all night long on a letter of application for consultative membership in the SL.

In a politically hard-hitting yet intensely personal article published in the People With Aids Coalition *Newsline* (September 1988), Clay wrote of "the urgent necessity for eradicating a system in deep crisis" and concluded:

"I believe it was Trotsky himself who said words to the effect that a revolutionary must be motivated by feelings of great love. As I slog through the morass of personal loss and the struggle to save my own life, this perspective and the world to win that it offers provide perhaps the only real solace, nurtured in the commitment to fight for the socialist future of the human race."

The loss of this remarkable man is a tragedy. We extend our heartfelt condolences to Clay's family and his many friends. We miss him keenly and will honor him in the continuation of the struggle. A fuller appreciation of Clay's life will appear in a future issue of *Workers Vanguard*. A memorial meeting for Clay Dickinson will be held on Friday, December 14 at 11 a.m. at Redden's Funeral Home, 325 W. 14th Street, New York.

Spartacist Group on Polish Elections

For Workers Resistance Against Capitalist Restoration!

On December 9, *Solidarność* leader Lech Walesa was elected president of Poland, although barely half of the electorate went to the polls. In the run-off elections, Walesa defeated Stanislaw Tyminski, an unknown who had surprisingly surpassed Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the first round of voting. The following report was written by our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski.

WROCLAW, Poland, December 10—The presidential elections should have been a great success for Walesa. They were scheduled before new elections of parliament, which is to determine the powers of the presidency. This is consistent with Walesa's "acceleration" program. The order of the elections resulted from the plan of adapting the authority of the presidency according to which individual won the election—Walesa or Mazowiecki, both leaders of "Solidarność."

Mazowiecki, earlier Walesa's adviser who was placed by Walesa in the post of prime minister in August 1989, picked up the gauntlet after hesitating for some time. Their falling-out began when the Balcerowicz plan, the "shock therapy" implemented last January on instructions from the IMF and the World Bank, met popular resistance. Strikes of railroad engineers and small-landholding peasants forced Walesa to meet with the dissatisfied population, where he had to save *Solidarność*' face, promising changes in the government's program. Hence the division of *Solidarność* into two camps, assembled around Walesa and Mazowiecki, fighting each other.

Walesa imposed the elections to save

the remnants of *Solidarność*' authority. The second round of voting was intended to pit the two *Solidarność* leaders against each other. But in an unexpected outcome, Mazowiecki not only lost the elections but did not even come in second. He won just over 19 percent of the vote, with a 60 percent voter turnout, while the candidate of the Stalinists won over 9 percent. The OPZZ Stalinist union leadership appealed for a vote to either of them. Walesa and Tyminski were the two candidates that made it into the second round, with votes of nearly 40 percent and 23 percent. Mazowiecki then announced the resignation of his government, opening up a period of instability.

Tyminski, the "dark horse" in this election, differed decidedly from the other candidates. Although he is in Canada a leader of the small right-wing Libertarian Party, Tyminski ran here as an independent candidate, a person with no party affiliation, and an expert. He emigrated to the West 20 years ago, where he "became rich." In Poland he became prominent as a result of his book, *Sacred Dogs*. He carried out a skillful election campaign, adapting his image to popular sentiments. For example, he showed he was religious by praying for the fatherland under the painting of the Virgin Mary in Czestochowa.

During his election campaign, Tyminski unexpectedly declared himself in favor of putting a stop to the sell-off of nationalized property and accused the Mazowiecki government of "betrayal of the nation" for selling nationalized enterprises overseas at dirt-cheap prices. From then on a ruthless campaign was started

against him in the mass media, from morning to evening. But the effect was the opposite of what had been intended, as mainly young people and workers voted for Tyminski, who received 3.7 million votes in all. He had considerable support among coal miners who had just recently been on strike. During Tyminski's TV slots, people throughout Poland were able to see demonstrations under the slogan "Down with Walesa." As one of Tyminski's supporters said in a television interview, the struggle so far has been between two conceptions of introducing capitalism in Poland.

Solidarność was faced with the danger that this businessman would take over. In the face of that threat, Mazowiecki and organizations supporting him called for a vote to Walesa in the second round and urged massive participation in the elections. Only a Walesa victory with a decisive majority and a large turnout would by all accounts "save the honor of Poland." The Catholic church hierarchy also gave their clear support to Walesa in the second round. In the first round, Walesa was supported by the most right-wing groups, like the Union of Real Politics and fascist skinheads. In the second round, even the most "democratic" *Solidarność* activists were forced to line up with them.

The campaign against Tyminski can be compared with the worst Stalinist methods. Walesa started to speak about "counterrevolution" and accused Tyminski of collaboration with the SB (the former Stalinist secret police) and the *nomenklatura*. Walesa vowed "not to let him go abroad" until the public prosecu-

tor's office ruled on Tyminski's culpability. Walesa promised to strengthen the police forces immediately after the elections and produce order. What this order will mean was augured by the fighting squads of *Solidarność* when they smashed Tyminski's meetings during the second-round campaign.

Pressure from *Solidarność* was expressed in the last public opinion polls, where Tyminski's support dropped from 30 to 16 percent. But as the poll-takers noted, some respondents hid their preferences. Walesa made "communists" the main scapegoats. In the same way, during the first round, the Polish parliament voted to "nationalize" property of the PZPR (the former Stalinist ruling party), 5 percent of which was in the hands of the SdRP (the "Social Democratic" continuation of the PZPR). It was mainly a propaganda effort. But the Stalinists now felt themselves in danger of witchhunts. A cartoon film in Walesa's TV campaign program during the second round showed him as a colossal knight destroying "communist" buildings throughout the country and trampling on little people. To avoid giving Walesa proof of their "support" to Tyminski in the face of expected police terror, both the SdRP and OPZZ gave their followers a free hand in the second round.

The case of Tyminski showed the political vacuum which exists in Poland. A large section of the working people and youth voted for the candidate who seemed to be for retaining the status quo without further reduction in their living standards. While no existing political organization can capitalize on their support, a spontaneous mass movement was born, built on the principle of opposition to *Solidarność*. Part of them will probably become defenders of the deformed workers state.

This is a good prognosis for the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, which seeks to build a Trotskyist party in Poland. At the same time, the Stalinists do not defend the deformed workers state and they do not have any significant support. A spontaneous resistance movement is shaping up, which must shed illusions in capitalism. For mass workers resistance against capitalist restoration! ■

Amid Growing Workers' Anger

Kohl Takes Reichstag Elections

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 81 (11 December), published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

The Christian Democrats led by their Reichs chancellor for Greater Germany rode the crest of the wave of capitalist reunification. Having rammed through *Anschluss* of the former DDR (East Germany), they reaped the fruits of victory in the December 2 elections. The Social Democrats under Lafontaine, judged insufficiently German nationalist, found that their program of tax increases and witchhunts didn't draw at the polls. The Greens in the West, having grown comfortable in their Bundestag (parliament) seats, were kicked

out into the wilderness.

Now that the bourgeoisie's election charade is over, they will demand that the working people pay the bill. Now come drastic rent increases and mass layoffs, foreigners expelled, women fired from their jobs and sent back to kitchen drudgery, fascists rampaging on the streets. Unemployment in the former East Germany has shot up from near zero a year ago to over 3 million, over 30 percent of all workers. Yet government financing for "short workweeks" will be canceled as of next July 1, and Mercedes-Benz is demanding billions in compensation to make up for lost contracts in its military industry due to planned reductions in the army.

But while those on top are celebrating and proclaiming the "death of Commu-

nism," at the grassroots the mood is sour. *Der Spiegel* (26 November) warned of "Rumblings in the Plants." The next week they added, "Pressure Is Building in the Pot," declaring that "social peace" was in danger and asking anxiously if a strike wave threatened. In the last week alone there have been "warning strikes" by Volkswagen workers, metal workers in the Ruhr and civilian employees of NATO, and a postal strike is threatened. The *Berliner Zeitung* is talking of a "hot winter" of labor struggle.

And in fact, workers' anger is rising in the plants. That was shown by the solid Reichsbahn (East German railway) strike, and also in the membership vote on the pact in which they voted against the sellout by the Social Democratic (SPD) bureaucrats—in vain (under undemocratic German labor law, more than 75 percent must vote against a contract to reject it). Comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) also saw this when workers from the giant Leuna and Buna chemical plants near Halle at a protest demonstration against layoffs eagerly snapped up copies of the SpAD class-struggle election program "For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich." The population of the ex-DDR are beginning to feel like they've been raped.

The bourgeoisie wants absolutely nothing to remain of the former bureaucratically deformed workers state, not even right turn on red (which Woody Allen once called California's only contribution to world civilization). But the working people, both West and East, want to and must defend their social achievements, jobs and housing. For that they need above all a class-struggle leadership. And that is precisely what the

Trotskyists of the SpAD offer, who have fought against Stalinism not in order to hand the DDR over to the Western bosses, but in order to achieve a red Germany of workers councils in a socialist Europe.

The Christian Democrats outflanked the fascist Republikaner by spearheading the counterrevolutionary drive to the East. But Nazi/skinhead attacks are escalating—the fascists must be stopped in the streets by mobilization of the working class. The SPD worked overtime to stifle workers' resistance to the devastating consequences of restoring capitalist rule east of the Elbe, while running a racist witchhunt against Roma (gypsies) and other asylum-seekers in the West. And true to their heritage, the Social Democrats acted as bloodhounds for the witchhunt against the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR). In Berlin, the SPD city government "campaigns" by mobilizing a police blitzkrieg against homeless squatters, leading the Alternative List (West Berlin Greens) to resign from the governing coalition because the cop terror was "excessive" and they weren't consulted.

There's no room for a second SPD in the Fourth Reich, although the PDS desperately tries, first by turning over the DDR and then its party treasury and its treasurers to "the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz." When the SpAD said this in its election spot, Berliner Rundfunk went wild and refused to broadcast it. The PDS answer to the Reichsbahn strike was "rationalization yes," but in a "half-way bearable" manner like in West Germany—where the railways slashed 100,000 jobs. Despite fascist attacks on its meetings, the PDS called for "discussions"

continued on page 6



Der Spiegel

Victims of capitalist reunification: jobless workers in Schwerin (in former East Germany) are among over three million unemployed.

Fourth Reich Bloody Hands Off Honecker!

The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 81 (11 December).

They want to drag 78-year-old Erich Honecker out of his sickbed in a Soviet army hospital and put him back in Moabit prison where the Nazis put him 55 years ago. It was no accident that the arrest order came on the eve of the Greater German election. The German bourgeoisie wants revenge for the Red Army victory over Nazi Germany, beginning with the SPD-led (Social Democratic) witchhunt against the SED/PDS (the former Stalinist ruling party of East Germany and its successor, the Party of Democratic Socialism), which the present PDS leadership has abetted.

On the very day of the arrest order against Honecker, the self-proclaimed successor state to the Third Reich acquitted Nazi war criminal Count von Korff, who as SS police commander in Nazi-occupied France was personally responsible for rounding up and deporting Jews to the gas chambers of Auschwitz.

The pretext for the arrest order is that Honecker signed orders to shoot border violators after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Of course, there was no arrest order against (SPD Berlin police chief) Pätzold when he sent the Federal Border Police into Mainzer-Strasse (to clear out squatters) in a *Blitzkrieg* action with live ammunition.

Stop the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!



Der Spiegel

Margot and Erich Honecker. Former head of the DDR and unrepentant Stalinist is being witchhunted by triumphant bourgeoisie's SPD lackeys.

They want to make a show trial of Erich Honecker because he was head of the DDR (East Germany), and because he is an unrepentant Stalinist, a hard case who ran a hard regime (but far from the worst in East Europe).

This is only their latest pretext. Earlier, the liquidators of the DDR wanted to try Honecker for "misusing socialist property." Compared to Mrs. Marcos of the Philippines with her 3,000 pairs of

shoes, it was popularly said of Margot Honecker that she had seven shoes, two of which matched.

The Wall was in the first instance an economic measure, albeit bureaucratic, to defend the DDR, against a West German destabilization campaign seeking to produce the collapse of the economically weaker East German deformed workers state by sucking out its skilled labor. But the Stalinist bunker mentality

of Ulbricht and Honecker led them to think that they could protect their "socialism" by building a wall around it and shooting at some of those who sought to cross it. We Trotskyists fought for a *revolutionary reunification* of Germany through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution to sweep away the Stalinists in the East. Only a revolutionary workers government would have the authority to try Honecker, (former DDR security minister) Mielke and (former DDR trade-union chief) Tisch for their crimes against the working class.

As for the "justice" of the Federal Republic, with its draconian "anti-terrorist" police-state laws, what ever happened to the RAF (Red Army Faction) members who died "under mysterious circumstances" in the isolation-torture cells of Stammheim, the prison built by Social Democrat Schmidt? The RAF's blows, while futile from a Marxist standpoint, were aimed against German imperialism and were no crimes against the working class. To the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, we say: Keep your bloody hands off Honecker! Hands off (former DDR head of intelligence) Markus Wolf! Free Pohl, Langnitschke and Kaufmann (PDS officials arrested for trying to save party funds from seizure)! Free the RAF and all left-wing political prisoners!

Enough Hot Air!

NYC Labor Must Shut Down the Daily News

DECEMBER 10—After seven weeks on the lines, the 2,200 unionists in the Allied Printing Trades Council striking against the *Daily News* are solid. The big capitalist advertisers have fled the *Scab News* because a lot of courageous drivers, pressmen and other strikers are playing hardball. Last weekend, a Bronx company running scab newsprint for the *News* discovered 14 of their trucks in flames. And the *Wall Street Journal*, mouthpiece of the bankers and financiers who are bleeding New York City dry, in a bitter editorial ("City to News: Drop Dead") complained that "collectively" New York is backing the strikers. Damn right!

The *News* owners, the Chicago-based Tribune Company, are pulling out all the stops to try and crush this widely popular strike. They have filed a \$150 million "racketeering" suit against the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union (NMDU), and civil suits for huge sums against individual strikers, including the head of the black caucus in the NMDU. An army of mostly black, homeless "hawkers" are being cynically exploited to sell the *Scab News* on the streets and subways. Some are provocative armed thugs equipped with cellular phones, who have even beaten up a TV news cameraman.

The *New York Times* (10 December) quotes a Tribune Company exec that the company "decided long ago to wage a war of attrition with the unions," where they were "willing to accept a \$100 million loss without batting an eye." And

these union-busters arrogantly brag they "can outlast people who have to buy Christmas presents for their kids."

Against the *News* bosses' cynical attempt to pit the black, Hispanic and Asian population of New York against the unions, thousands of working people have poured out into the streets to show their support for the strike. The *Wall Street Journal* editorial (30 November) recognized that the New York City employee unions "have the most to gain from flexing union muscle." From students, teachers and other city workers fighting the layoffs and budget cuts being imposed by the Democratic Party administration of Mayor David Dinkins, to the 2,000 private garbage haulers who struck on December 9, NYC labor has been invigorated by the *Daily News* strike.

But this power is being squandered in an endless series of (increasingly smaller) rallies at the *News* building on 42nd Street. Today, Democratic governor Mario Cuomo and Jesse Jackson sought to divert strikers' militancy into Japan-bashing protectionism and beg-on-your-knees appeals for Congress to "outlaw scabbing." It's time to cut the crap. Scab hawkers are getting more aggressive, arrests of strikers are going up, and the presses are running every day. *New York City labor must mobilize thousands in mass picketing to shut down and occupy the News printing plants.*

Daily News boss Hoge is still publishing only because the union misleaders

are deathly afraid of class struggle. Sonny Hall of the Transit Workers mouths off about *News* hawkers in the subways but knuckles under to the anti-strike Taylor Law. Now he calls for "strict enforcement"...of a judge's order allowing the *Scab News* into the subways! We reprint below a leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition in Transport Workers Union Local 100, which has been fighting to mobilize transit workers in support of the *Daily News* strike.

No Scab News in the Subways!

The striking unions at the *Daily News* are playing hardball, and the Tribune Company union-busters from Chicago are finding it tough to get their scab rag out on the streets. So now Kiley has given his buddy, *Daily News* Boss Hoge, "permits" to hawk the *Scab News* in the subways and railroads. When the union tops squeaked a protest, the *News* hauled out some judge to hand down an order posting these scab hawkers all over the subway platforms and train stations.

No way! This is an attack on all of us. The *News* is trying to start a race war, pitting the black and Hispanic homeless and poor against the striking unions. We are the most powerful, integrated union in NYC. Along with our sister unions in LIRR and Metro North, we can and must

put an end to their dirty racist game by shutting down the entire MTA system! Like Mike Quill said, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes!" Let Wall Street complain to Boss Hoge when they have to walk to work! We can turn their no-strike Taylor Law into a worthless scrap of paper and give the *News* strike the big boost it needs to win!

The *News* bosses are convicted racists, nailed in a suit by black reporters. The *News* uses the homeless as strikebreakers, while the Supreme Court rules the poor are not allowed to beg in the subways! The press unions must combat the *News*' cynical, racist exploitation of the poor and homeless by demanding union-run recruitment and training programs for minority workers, paid for by the company. We must fight for a union hiring hall, with a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to fight for jobs for all!

From TWU to city unions to construction workers, all NYC labor knows this fight is *our* fight, and have turned out in the thousands to support the strike. Workers at the 240th Street maintenance shop, especially women CTAs [car cleaners], took care of business last week when hawkers showed up with the *Scab News*. From PATCO to Eastern Airlines to the S&L scam to the war for Big Oil in the Persian Gulf, the bosses have been sticking it to working people and minorities for years. Nobody knows this better than we do: huge layoffs looming, hundreds of "provisionals" fired, seniority and pick rights shredded, while racist supervisors run amok and our brothers die on the tracks!

A month ago Sonny Hall got up at one of the rallies on 42nd Street and bragged: "If we see anybody selling the *Daily News* in the subways, their ass belongs to us." Well Sonny, the members of Local 100 are watching *your* ass now. The *Daily News* has been putting hawkers in the stations for weeks, and is using the Woodlawn #4 like a freight train, delivering bundles of papers to stations on the line. Local 100 secretary treasurer Domaso Seda is saying he "wouldn't oppose a slowdown in subway service to protest." Yeah, like the "safety

continued on page 6

Victory to L.A. Teaching Assistants!

LOS ANGELES—Over 200 angry teaching assistants swarmed into a school board meeting November 29, taking over the meeting room as board members fled behind locked doors and security guards. The TAs, who number over 10,000, were in the second day of the first of a series of partial "rolling strikes" against the huge Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). They had spent eight months in fruitless negotiations.

The teaching assistants—who are 70 percent Latino, 10 percent black and 10 percent Asian—provide critical services in the L.A. schools, especially bilingual instruction to the over 200,000 students learning English. As soon as the TAs voted for union representation by Service Employees (SEIU) Local 99 in January, the board retaliated by cutting back their work hours from six to three hours a day—making them ineligible for medical benefits! TAs can be fired at the whim of school principals. A union leaflet notes: "Teacher assistants have no sick days, no job security, no medical benefits, no vacation and no holidays."

The TAs have held spirited picket lines and rallies, but the Local 99 leadership has limited the strikes to one-fifth of the members at a time, as 100 or so schools are struck for a few days in each "roll." In a real stab in the back, United Teachers—Los Angeles (UTLA) president Helen Bernstein sided with the board: "I certainly hope Local 99 knows what it's doing, they are not going to bring the system to a halt" (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 November). And the Local 99 tops *criminally refuse to call on other*



Striking TAs, heavily Latino and women, take over a meeting of Los Angeles school board, November 29.

Local 99 workers like the school bus drivers, cafeteria workers and janitors to do their duty and honor the picket lines!

Workers Vanguard warned last year, when Local 99 leaders ordered their members to stay on the job during the hugely popular UTLA strike in May 1989, that it would come back to haunt the SEIU. Enough of this backstabbing and scabbing—picket lines mean don't cross! Teachers assistants: Don't roll over for the board! Demand UTLA honor the lines! The TA strike must be extended system-wide to pull out all TAs, teachers and all school employees: All out now! For a single union of all

workers in the LAUSD!

When Local 99 members invaded the board's headquarters, they drove board president Roberta Weintraub crazy. She whined to the *Los Angeles Times* (30 November): "They took my seat." It's about time. San Fernando Valley housewife Weintraub got her seat on the board through a racist campaign in the 1970s against a minimal busing for integration program. Although 62 percent of the LAUSD's 600,000 students are of Latino origin, only one member of the school board is Hispanic. They recently hired a Hispanic, Bill Antón, to be superintendent of L.A. schools, celebrating the

event with mariachis. But now Antón is hardlining it against the TAs.

Key to UTLA's strike in 1989 was the union's fight against racist opponents of bilingual education programs, in a school district where students speak over 80 languages. UTLA's position helped galvanize massive integrated community support for the strike. The teaching assistants are indispensable for the one-third of the student body which does not speak English; the district has only one certified bilingual instructor for every 400 non-English-speaking students. The TAs' strike has received the support of numerous Latino community organizations, including MALDEF, MECHA and East L.A. Mothers (*La Opinión*, 28 November).

The working class of Los Angeles, bolstered in the last few years by a wave of Central American immigrants with experience of militant labor struggle, has repeatedly shown its combativity in strikes and organizing drives in the schools, hotels and gleaming corporate offices of this low-wage city. More than once, the unions have had to go up against the brutal, racist thugs of the LAPD, as the SEIU Janitors for Justice did last June. When the janitors won union recognition, it energized labor throughout the area.

With Bush & Co. already waist-deep in the Saudi sands, now is a good time for an all-out labor offensive. To win we need to build a multiracial workers party fighting for a workers government that will provide jobs and high-quality education for all. ■

The Story Which Wasn't Told: The 50,000th Immigrant

This article first appeared in the Israeli newspaper Hadashot (14 September). It was reprinted in The Other Front, published by the Alternative Information Center in Israel, and subsequently appeared in the Bulletin in Defense of Marxism.

by Gabi Nitzan

To our great delight, fate had it that the 50,000th immigrant was handsome and impressive: quite tall, about 40 years old, black-haired and green-eyed, with high cheekbones and a solid, well-cared-for mustache.

He blinks in some confusion before the scene which reveals itself in the light of the sun of the holy land. The orchestra has just reached the chorus ("the land in which we were born, the land in which we shall live, whatever will be"), and the entourage below breaks out in applause. The immigrant stops in his tracks, furrows his brow in an attempt to understand, and begins to descend hesitantly.

Yitzhak Peretz (the Minister of Absorption), on his side, strides to the honorary platform together with his Russian translator, in order to accompany the immigrant on his first steps on the ground of the Land of Israel. And there they meet. Yitzhak Peretz smiles, offers his hand, and turns to the immigrant (with the help of the translator): "Blessed is he who comes to the Land of Israel."

Peretz: "I am happy to announce that you are the 50,000th immigrant of the year in the Land of Israel." Immigrant: "Who? Me?"

Peretz (while walking together to the honorary platform): "Yes, yes." (The orchestra passes to "O my land, my homeland," and Peretz brings the immi-

grant to the honorary platform, where there are also waiting for him the secretary general of the Ministry of Immigration, Dov Shilansky, and Haim Herzog, and everyone shakes his hand warmly.)

Peretz: "What is your name?" Immigrant: "Yosef Dori."

Peretz: "Are you excited, Yosef?" Immigrant: "This is very exciting, I am very pleasantly surprised."

Peretz: "What city are you from, Yosef?" Immigrant: "From Leningrad."

Peretz: "For how long have you been dreaming of the journey here?" Immigrant: "Twenty-three years."

Peretz: "And how do you feel now?" Immigrant: "This is like a dream. Again I tread on the ground of my homeland. I have returned home."

Peretz: "This is your home, Yosef. We will try to ease your acclimatization to your home. Did you have a profession in Leningrad?" Immigrant: "Certainly. In fact, I went to Leningrad in order to study medicine at the university there. I specialized in the treatment of cancer of the foreskin."

Peretz (rolling his eyes in annoyance): "Here you'll do some retraining. Tell me, Yosef, do you have any family here in the Land of Israel?" Immigrant: "All of my family is here. I have family in Haifa and on the Golan Heights."

Peretz: "How long has it been since you have seen them?" Immigrant:

"Twenty-three years."

Peretz: "And do they know you are coming?" Immigrant: "They knew that I was trying to come, but I don't think that they thought I would succeed."

Peretz: "Why?" Immigrant: "You know, for all these years it was very hard to come home."

Peretz: "True, but all that belongs to history already. As you can see, today the gates are wide open." Immigrant: "I see, and I am very surprised. I didn't think I would be able to get here. I thought I would have to die in exile."

Peretz: "God forbid! God preserve us! Thank god, god is returning all his sons to their borders!" Immigrant: "God is blessed."

Peretz: "Tell me, Yosef, do you understand a little Hebrew?" Immigrant: "A very little, that I learned in my youth, in the village."

Peretz (handing him a little flag): "Do you know what is written here?" Immigrant (wrinkling his brow before the embroidered golden letters, he reads slowly, with a heavy accent): "From immigrant...to immigrant...our strength...increases."

Peretz: "Because of you and your brothers we will be able to turn Israel into the most glorious among the lands of the earth." Immigrant: "I don't understand."

Peretz (with the patience of a kind grandfather): "What I mean is that you will become a part of the life of the community and society in Israel until you are blended into it." Immigrant (with a certain suspicion): "Just a minute. Will I have rights like everyone else? I can take part in elections?"

Peretz (laughs in delight): "What a question! What a question! This isn't Russia, this is a democracy!" Immigrant: "And also all my family and my whole village?"

Peretz: "What village? In Russia?" Immigrant: "No, on the Golan."

Peretz: "A village on the Golan?" Immigrant: "Yes, the village where I was born."

Peretz: "Weren't you born in Russia?" Immigrant: "No, I told you. I went to Leningrad 23 years ago to study medicine."

Peretz: "From Israel?" Immigrant: "From Palestine. Before the war I traveled to Russia. Now I have decided to try to return, even though my family wrote me that the government of Israel still does not accept the right of return. But I was optimistic, and I see that I was right. I was very moved to hear all the things you said, that the gates are now wide open, and that god is returning all his children to their borders. It is good to know that there are also Jews like you."

Peretz (pale, with dry lips): "You are not a Jew?" Immigrant: "No, I am a Christian Palestinian, Yosef Dori. I read in *Pravda* about the direct flights here through Warsaw, and I decided that this is the time to return home."

Peretz: "Get back on the plane, terrorist." Immigrant: "But you said that together we could build a wonderful state here! You said that I would have rights!"

Peretz (to the audience): "Call the police. Get him back on the plane. Stop the music. Stop the photographing. Where is my driver?"

Reichstag Elections...

(continued from page 4)

with these racist killers! But despite such repeated sellouts by PDS leader Gregor Gysi, the anti-PDS witchhunt goes on relentlessly. The SpAD called from the beginning for united action against the party expropriation law and then called for freeing PDS officials Pohl, Langnitschke and Kaufmann and "hands off Markus Wolf," former head of East Germany's renowned intelligence agency.

The SpAD's class-struggle election campaign included organizing a united-front protest in Berlin against the ban on Jewish immigration, and fighting for a united-front demonstration against fascist attacks in Halle. Our goal is to be, in Lenin's words, a "tribune of the people," fighting against all forms of oppression. With some 6 million immigrant workers and their families disenfranchised, we alone raised the demand for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, including full voting and election rights. Our election program was distributed in Turkish, Portuguese and Polish, our candidates were invited to speak in meeting halls of Turkish and Kurdish leftists, and we sold hundreds of copies of the Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* to Soviet soldiers.

We fought for united workers struggles in East and West, distributing our leaflet for a joint Bundesbahn/Reichsbahn strike. In Hamburg, where the bosses put profits before the urgent shipment of potatoes to the Soviet Union, SpAD candidate Herbert Peveling issued a call to his fellow dock workers to "Load Potatoes to Leningrad, Then Strike!"

As for the left-of-the-PDS groups, the "United" Left split, with some jumping on Gysi's bandwagon while others went



Spartakist Workers Party of Germany in November 18 demonstration protesting police terror ordered by Social Democrats against Berlin squatters. Sign says SPD leaders "Momper, Pätzold: Bloodhounds of the Deutsche Bank."

with the anti-communist Greens. The KPD (Communist Party, a small split-off from the SED/PDS) in Saxony campaigned with the slogan, "Who doesn't fight, cannot lose," which is fitting for this outfit which joined the anti-communist witchhunt and "fights" for a slice of the PDS holdings. The fake-Trotskyist Arbeitermacht (Workers Power) has decided that the PDS is now safely social-democratic, and so gave it electoral support while entering the party in order to (in Gysi-language) "renew" it; where the PDS didn't run, they supported the SPD. The dubious BSA also called for votes to the Social Democratic witchhunters, while directing provocations against the SpAD.

The SpAD ran candidates in Berlin, Mecklenburg, Saxony, Sachsen-Anhalt and the Altona district of Hamburg, receiving 1,717 votes for the hard com-

munist pole of irreconcilable class opposition to the Fourth Reich. Response to our election spot on national TV and radio brought many inquiries and messages of support. A number of supporters joined our party through the work of our campaign, and we made important new contacts among immigrants, workers and young leftists.

The consolidation of this support will represent an important step toward building and extending the Spartakist Workers Party as the German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), preparing the Leninist-Trotskyist leadership for the hard class battles ahead. With the collapse of Stalinism, and along with it the lie of building socialism in one country, the struggle for genuine, internationalist communism continues. Despite everything, as Liebnecht said. ■

Scab News...

(continued from page 5)

slowdowns" that Jefferson in Transportation talked about, that did nothing except set up individual motormen while the injuries and deaths continued.

Hall and his gang will bow down before the first judge's injunction, scurrying off to Albany or Washington to plead with their "friends" in the Democratic Party. The bosses' politicians in the Democratic Party are the ones wielding the ax against the unions in New York. What we need is a fighting workers party, one that brings out *all* the working people in this city to win battles like the *Daily News* strike.

The union bureaucrats in the MTA [Metropolitan Transit Authority] unions are all *talking* strike solidarity. Teamsters honcho Barry Feinstein says no scab papers will "survive" in the subways. Then why doesn't he get off Kiley's MTA board! The *Daily News* strikers have kept the paper off the streets, not because of the consumer boycott by the Central Labor Council, but because they have been playing some good, old fashioned hardball. It is our job to help them finish the union-busters off—if they can't print the *Scab News*, they can't sell it. We need *union action* to shut down the MTA!

- Hold meetings in every shop, in every gang, in every terminal to organize a system-wide strike! For joint strike meetings with the Teamsters, UTU [United Transportation Union], Engineers at Metro North and LIRR—Strike together, nothing moves! Smash the Taylor Law!
- For solidarity *in action* with the strike: Build mass picket lines at the printing plants to shut them down tight!

Committee for a Fighting TWU
3 December 1990

Government, Doctors Suppress Life-Saving AIDS Treatment

"Murderers!"

Over 100,000 people have died of AIDS in this country since the disease was first declared an epidemic close to a decade ago. The leading killer of people with AIDS is pneumocystis carinii pneumonia (PCP). The government estimates that up to 12,000 people will die as a result of the AIDS pneumonia this year. Those afflicted die horribly, slowly suffocating to death.

Last May, a meeting of 16 AIDS specialists convened by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) concluded that treatment with steroid hormones could save the lives of half of those afflicted with PCP. One study from the University of Miami showed that 9 out of 12 patients who were given steroids survived, whereas 9 out of 11 patients who did not get steroids died. The expert panel was struck by the dramatic results of this and other studies. *Yet it took them five god-damned months before they bothered telling doctors who treat AIDS patients!*

Why? Some of the researchers would not allow their findings to be publicly announced because "prior publication" might jeopardize the chances of their papers being published in "prestigious" medical journals! AIDS patients were dying from PCP but the medical "experts" had their "careers" to think of. As Phil Zwicker, editor of the People With AIDS Coalition *Newsline*, cried in outrage: "murderers, murders in large letters with capitals with an exclamation point."

The panel didn't even come up with a statement for publication until August 31. Even after getting the approval of the *New England Journal of Medicine* for prepublication on September 11, Dr. Anthony Fauci, head of the NIAID, decided that copies should only be sent to 2,500 doctors who were on the mailing list of Fujisawa Pharmaceutical Company which produces an anti-pneumonia drug. The NIAID said that they had decided not to hold a press conference "to avert criticism that we are distributing too little information." So instead they said *nothing!*

Simultaneously, the NIAID tried to cover up by claiming it had released the findings publicly, pointing to an article that was published in *The Annals of Internal Medicine* last July. The article in reference was based on the *one* study which argued that steroids had *no* effect in treating PCP! When asked why the specialists involved didn't immediately hammer out a consensus statement on their findings, Dr. Henry Masur, who chaired the AIDS panel, argued that the people involved "are all in crucial managerial roles and they cannot be sequestered in meetings!"

Profit, Prestige and Death

This is certainly not the first time that the criminal negligence of the government and the glory mongering and money grubbing of the medical establishment have allowed for the agonizingly painful deaths of thousands of people afflicted with AIDS:

- In June 1981 AIDS was officially declared to be an epidemic. The Reagan White House told medical officials to keep their mouths shut about needing funds for AIDS research—which they did. In April 1988 the NIAID's Fauci, when confronted in a Congressional subcommittee over the lack of research, admitted that *no* clinical trials were being done on AIDS treatment drugs because he didn't have the staff.

- In late 1981, Dr. Arye Rubinstein,

a pediatric immunologist at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York, wrote a paper for the *New England Journal of Medicine* documenting cases of AIDS in black children from the Bronx. It was rejected by the journal which declared that it was impossible for children to have a "homosexual disease." In 1988, one out of every 61 babies born in New York City was HIV infected.

- In 1983 French scientists at the Pasteur Institute in Paris had isolated the AIDS virus and developed a blood test to detect it. This test was suppressed for *over a year* because Dr. Robert Gallo of the National Cancer Institute in the U.S., who was desperately seeking a Nobel Prize for himself as the discoverer of the AIDS virus, refused to acknowledge the French discoveries. Today 70 to 90 percent of hemophiliacs who need continual transfusions from the blood of thousands of donors are infected with HIV.

In his book, *Good Intentions—How Big Business and the Medical Establishment Are Corrupting the Fight Against AIDS* (New York, 1990), Bruce Nussbaum

were put in positions to vote on other drugs that might compete with AZT in the marketplace, not just the scientific marketplace but the commercial marketplace."

Other drugs, if not simply ignored by the government health agencies, were not given approval and are still only available on the black market. In 1987, AIDS activists met with Fauci, Masur and other NIAID honchos and pleaded with them to issue guidelines for doctors to consider using aerosol pentamidine which community-based doctors had found effective in preventing the onset of PCP. Fauci refused saying he had no "data" and that he would have to conduct his own trials.

Two years later—two years in which close to 17,000 people had died of PCP—Fauci had not been able to enroll one person in his "trials." The data proving the effectiveness of the treatment was generated by community-based doctors and medical researchers, many of whom have repeatedly risked their careers to test and administer new treatments.

Nussbaum says that his book could



Spartacists at San Francisco demonstration last June against U.S. government immigration exclusion of AIDS victims.

paints a stark picture of medical research in capitalist America. He chronicles the stories of government medical experts who saw AIDS as the "career making" disease of the 1980s. They weren't interested in trying to treat the diseases like PCP which were killing people out on the streets: "These infections didn't have the glamour of viral research. They were mundane. No Nobels were to be won running tests on these infections, even if they were the most important tests to be run from the point of views of PWAs [people with AIDS] and their doctors."

Careers, prestige and big bucks were staked in pushing AZT, an antiviral drug. After AZT was approved by the Federal Drug Administration, Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that produced the drug, raked in millions from desperately sick people who they charged \$10,000 a year for AZT. Meanwhile, the principal medical investigators of AZT became the prime players on all of the major government committees to develop and test drugs for AIDS treatment. As Nussbaum puts it:

"In effect, scientists who had bet their professional careers on one drug, AZT,

have been written about the treatment of cancer, heart disease, Alzheimers or any other major disease in terms of exposing the career, prestige and profit ambitions behind medical research in the U.S. But the outrageous criminality in dealing with the AIDS epidemic involves more than medicine for glory and profit. AIDS has brought out the most reactionary social prejudices in American society, from anti-gay bigotry to racist reaction. The victims themselves are targeted as sexual "deviants" or drug-addicted "parasites" who presumably deserve to die.

AIDS Ravages the Ghettos

AIDS has been devastating for homosexuals even though the gay community had the jobs, education and health insurance that enabled them to get access to what minimal treatment programs exist and to organize their own support networks for AIDS victims. Now whole generations of people in the inner-city ghettos are dying from AIDS, which is spreading disproportionately among users of intravenous drugs and their sex partners who are overwhelmingly black and Hispanic. Already surrounded on all

sides by desperate poverty, homelessness and illiteracy, the majority of those afflicted with AIDS don't even become a "statistic" in the mounting death toll—because they never make it to a hospital.

Even if they do, the cause of death is often listed as heart attack. According to a former health care worker at Harlem Hospital, only "suspicious" deaths get autopsies, otherwise many of the bodies are simply dumped in "potter's field." Even for those who are diagnosed as having AIDS, it's too late. While the average survival rate for AIDS patients is 19 months after diagnosis, a recent study showed that for Hispanic women it is *45 days!*

The rulers of this country could care less about the survival of the people they have dumped in the ghetto hellholes—their lives are no longer of use to American capitalism. In New York and New Jersey AIDS is the leading cause of death for black women between the ages of 15 and 44, and these women give birth to 90 percent of the babies who are infected with AIDS in New York City. At the same time, a recent study by the city's Human Rights Commission found that many hospitals and clinics refuse to perform abortions on women who have tested HIV positive! One woman was already on the operating table when she was ordered out after admitting to having used intravenous drugs—and she had not even been tested for AIDS!

According to a *New York Times* (16 July) op-ed piece by ACT UP leader Larry Kramer: "In America, 212 new cases of full-blown AIDS are diagnosed every day; there is one AIDS death every twelve minutes, and a new case of infection every 54 seconds." Yet the government refuses to institute even the most elementary measures to stop the spread of AIDS—like massive public education, providing free condoms and distributing sterile needles to IV drug users.

In the face of an epidemic which cries out for more research, more treatment, more hospitals and more medical staff, the greedy misrulers—Democrats and Republicans alike—take the budget ax to health care. In New York City, the financial capital of the U.S., people are lined up on stretchers in the corridors of overcrowded hospitals where many die of *curable* diseases and neglect.

The AIDS epidemic throws into sharp relief the criminality, the decay and the cruel injustice of the whole capitalist system. As we wrote in "AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos" (WV No. 482, 7 October 1988):

"Quality health care for all is objectively within the reach of material possibility, but not within the framework of this capitalist system, which cannot provide the necessities of life to its citizens even though the productive capacities and technology exist to feed the hungry across the whole planet. And while 'throwing money' at AIDS won't guarantee a cure or vaccine early on, it would at minimum ease suffering for the dying and, as treatments improve, prolong life expectancy. But it will take socialist revolution to rip the profit motive out of the health system." ■

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard
skips a week in
December.
Our next issue will be
dated January 4.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

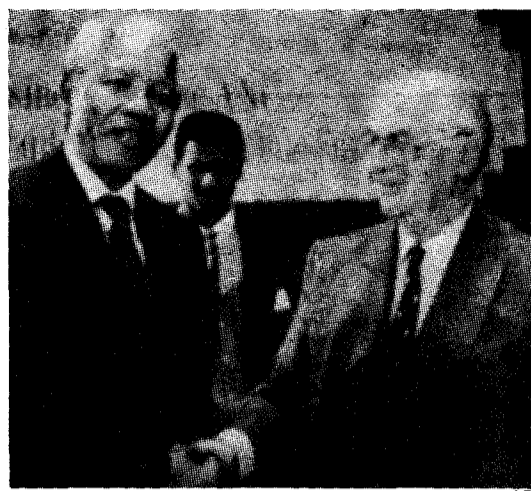
the proletarian and plebeian base of the ANC against the petty-bourgeois nationalist and class-collaborationist tops in the struggle to create organs of *dual power*, the basis for a black-centered workers government. In the factories and mines, it is necessary to establish workers committees to challenge the capitalists' control of production. In the black townships, it is necessary to form union-based workers militias to suppress both right-wing terrorists and inciters of intertribal violence. On the veldt, agricultural labor must be organized around the program of expropriation of the big white landowners and nationalization of land. On the bantustans, the masses must be mobilized to oust apartheid's puppet despots. That is the communist answer to negotiations for "power-sharing" with the Randlords. What is critically needed in South Africa is a genuinely communist party modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Communist Party Against Communism

As part of the bargaining for the release of Nelson Mandela, last February the government legalized the South African Communist Party, which had been banned since 1950. In April, SACP general secretary Joe Slovo came home from Zambia after 27 years in exile. Over the last several months, the CP has been rapidly recruiting after years of clandestinity. This is significant internationally. While mass Stalinist parties are disintegrating from East Europe and the Soviet Union to the "Eurocommunists" of West Europe, in South Africa township youth and striking workers proudly wave the red flag and call themselves Communists. In the United States, the moribund CPUSA tries to give an impression of vitality by covering itself with the SACP mantle.

The Communist Party held its first open mass rally in a stadium near Johannesburg on July 29, drawing 50,000 supporters for the "welcome home" celebration. The event reportedly began with the singing of the *Internationale* in Zulu, and the stadium resounded to the stamp and rhythm of the toyi-toyi dance of defiance. Nelson Mandela was the featured speaker, saying that the ANC regarded the SACP as a "dependable friend." The highlight was the announcement of the identities of 22 of the SACP's "internal leadership group," including many internationally known anti-apartheid figures. Nine are members of the ANC executive committee, an indication of the degree to which the

Gold miners are at the heart of South Africa's powerful black proletariat. Below: Mandela seeks to assure Anglo American magnate Gavin Rely he will not lose his mines.



AP



Campbell/Sygma

ANC and SACP leaderships overlap.

Most significant was the number of prominent unionists among the Communist Party leaders. Many were surprised to learn that virtually the entire leadership of the "workerist" wing of the unions had been recruited to the SACP, including such figures as Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA), South Africa's second-biggest union, and top COSATU leaders Chris Dlamini, John Gomomo and Sidney Mafumadi. The absorption of what was seen as the independent socialist left of the black union movement into and under the discipline of the SACP is of enormous consequence. For decades, the CP was the favorite target of apartheid propaganda, gaining a reputation for militancy despite its reformist program, as the only substantial party which fought for racial integration and was itself integrated. Drawing on these credentials today, the CP is the vehicle through which South African rulers seek to tame the combative black unions and draw them into active participation in the construction of the "post-apartheid" capitalist state.

Here we see most vividly what American socialist leader Daniel De Leon and V.I. Lenin were talking of when they referred to the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." After four decades underground and in exile, the SACP old guard wants a share in administering state power in their lifetime. In a country with a working class that is one of the most combative and conscious in the world, where in 1984-86 the huge black townships rose up in revolt for months

and since then have carried out the ANC policy of making them "ungovernable," that means policing the black unions and the ever-explosive black youth in the interests of their "enlightened" but hardly democratic bourgeois masters.

Earlier this year, SACP leader Joe Slovo got international attention with his pamphlet *Has Socialism Failed?* For the benefit of pro-Gorbachev CPers in the West who don't want to just throw in the towel, he makes a nod in the direction of "working-class internationalism" and "Marxist theory," while purging the latter of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, of workers revolution! Meanwhile, he assures the Jo'burg Board of Trade that this "Communist" is not talking about "the premature abandonment of any role for market forces" (see "South African CP Leader Joe Slovo: From 'Uncle Joe' Stalin to Gorb," WV No. 504, 15 June). Now he has gone out of his way to spell out the real program and appetites of the SACP to reassure the Randlords and their imperialist overlords.

On a mid-October visit to the United States, Slovo spoke at a Monthly Review conference in New York on "The Future of Socialism." Aside from some remarks for his leftist audience about being an "unrehabilitated utopian," his message was that "we as a Communist Party do not place immediately on the agenda the socialist project," and further that "in a situation in which the socialist project is not realistically immediately obtainable...an emphasis on it actually discredits the prospect of eventually building socialism."

The SACP/ANC leader was up-front in speaking to Wall Street and the White House through an interview with columnist Anthony Lewis in the *New York Times* (15 October):

"I believe the rights to property should be retained," Joe Slovo said. "It would be absurd for us to move into a post-apartheid society trying to eliminate the private sector, foreign investment and so on. We know that they aren't charities and they need security, they need the feeling that what they've got they're going to keep...."

"Mr. Slovo said he believed in the market system and in economic incentives."

Slovo also said that while "some" land would have to be redistributed to the black majority, "some efficient large farms would remain undivided" in the interests of "maintaining agricultural production."

These are no isolated comments. Just as the ANC has lately backed off from the question of nationalizations, so too the Communist Party. In its 1989 program, *The Path to Power*, the SACP declares that the "national democratic state" must ensure that workers and "the people in general play an important role in the running of enterprises," but that "the state will protect the interests of private business where these are not incompatible with the public interest." Where the ANC's "Freedom Charter" had

called for ownership of mineral wealth by "the people as a whole," the SACP now says that the "public interest" will be served by leaving Anglo American and other capitalist giants in control of the wealth and profits produced by the toil of black labor!

This is laid out at length in the pages of the SACP's theoretical journal, the *African Communist*, which ought more appropriately to be called the "African Capitalist." In the Fourth Quarter 1990 issue, an article on "Nationalisation or Free Enterprise?" by Phineas Malinga states:

"A crucial fact about the South African gold mining industry is that it produces a commodity which has to be sold on world markets at a price which the mines can perhaps influence by their marketing tactics but certainly do not control. The welfare of the industry—not only its owners but also its workers—and its contribution to the national balance of payments depend on its ability to keep production costs per ounce of gold below the market price. Does the ANC possess an alternative cadre of senior management who could be guaranteed to improve upon the performance of the present management in this respect? The answer is no. What then would be achieved by changing the structure of the industry from near monopoly to complete monopoly and putting civil servants in charge? The answer is doubtful. Therefore the application of the classical form of nationalisation to the gold mines is a project of doubtful worth."

The "classical form of nationalization" rejected by the SACP is clearly the social-democratic program of nationalization under a *capitalist* regime. But the real question posed is not whether or not the mines should be administered by "civil servants" but the expropriation of the wealth and power of the capitalist owners by a revolutionary workers government. For the SACP reformists, such a perspective is simply inconceivable.

These "Communists" are not just interested in an alliance with South African capital, but with the multinational corporations as well:

"The necessary expansion of the South African economy will undoubtedly require the investment of large amounts of capital.... Dogmatic opposition to foreign investment therefore seems an unpromising line to pursue.... A democratic South Africa will have considerable attractions to multinationals as a base from which to penetrate the African market as a whole."

For years our Spartacist tendency took quite a bit of flak for criticizing the liberal/reformist program of calling on the imperialists to impose economic "sanctions" on the apartheid regime and on the multinational corporations to "divest" in South Africa. Washington and Wall Street are no friends of South African blacks, we warned. So here you have the logical result of the "sanctions/divestment" strategy—the SACP and ANC envision themselves joining with Anglo American in administering South Africa on behalf of the World Bank, the IMF and Citibank as a "base" for imperialist capital to "penetrate the African market!"

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Stop Persecution of Gypsies! ... 2

Communism this isn't. And while Anglo American's Gavin Relly may look to Slovo to discipline "his" workforce, some of the younger generation of ANC leaders educated in the "broad front" politics of the UDF and MDM don't see the need for a Communist Party at all. Recently, in elections for the ANC's Western Cape regional executive, United Democratic Front leader Christian Pinto forced out two leading Communist Party members, declaring that "dual leadership" was wrong. "We believe in the [ANC-Communist Party] alliance. But this means separate parties," Pinto said (*Washington Post*, 2 October). Pinto, who is black, also made an ominous racialist appeal against SACPer's Reg September and Sheryl Carolus, both of whom are coloured (mixed-race). And in the ANC top levels, international director Thabo Mbeki is reportedly uncomfortable with the SACP's influence.

While a new generation of black yuppies in the ANC might like to dump the Communist Party in order to get on with the business of "power-sharing" with the apartheid bosses, the young black "comrades" in the townships grow uneasy about the direction the ANC is going. The *Wall Street Journal* (24 September) notes how black auto workers in Port Elizabeth, many of whom lost their jobs as a result of anti-apartheid sanctions, now look to the ANC to better their lives.

"Every resident in the area is expecting an ANC government to quickly improve the situation," says Michael Xego, the ANC's publicity officer in the Port Elizabeth area. "But no one can expect the shacks, the unemployment, to just

However, their émigré mentors of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania prevailed on them to drop this opposition, alleging a danger of becoming "marginalized." So now AZAPO is raising "conditions" for negotiations, demanding that a constituent assembly be convoked and negotiations be held "as far outside the country as possible." How about Washington or New York? In fact, these "militants" are calling on the United Nations to supervise voting for an assembly and to assume security and policing in South Africa (*Weekly Mail*, 14 September). Is that supposed to be before or after the UN fig leaf for U.S. imperialism invades Iraq? AZAPO wants to get in the diplomatic swim of things; communists must swim against the stream when it is heading to disaster.

In April, Neville Alexander's Cape Action League formed the Workers Organisation of South Africa (WOSA), declaring it an "independent political organization of the working class" which "shall strive to have a clear socialist perspective." Alexander is widely misidentified in South Africa as a Trotskyist, although his politics are more or less classic Menshevism with a black nationalist twist. In the past, his Cape Action League was associated with AZAPO in the National Forum.

In a "Proposed Resolution on Negotiations" (reprinted in *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, July-August 1990), WOSA puts forth a defeatist perspective, asserting that "the balance of forces between the government and the liberation movement is still starkly in favor of the government" and that "our agitation cannot be



ANC/SACP leaders talk of "post-apartheid" state. But even before the "apartheid" regime came to power in 1948 South African capitalism was based on white-supremacy, superexploitation of black labor. Demonstration in 1930s for equal rights and release of imprisoned comrades.

years ago, militants in the black unions counterposed a "Workers Charter" to the "Freedom Charter," in a syndicalist attempt to defend working-class interests in the event of the black petty-bourgeois leaders of the ANC/UDF coming to office—as in Zimbabwe, where Mugabe had just crushed a bitter strike. But this "workerist" tendency has since been co-opted by the Communist Party, which has a very different agenda. Today, COSATU's Workers Charter campaign is for including certain "rights" (union organization, minimum wage) in the constitution of a "post-apartheid" capitalist state. Thus COSATU's campaign bulletin questions even including the right to work, which is labeled a "long-term goal" rather than an "immediate right." The ANC/SACP/COSATU talk of a "workers charter" in order to cover up the fact that they seek a better contract under wage slavery rather than a fight for workers power.

Another pressure group on the ANC/SACP is the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC, supporters of Ted Grant's "Militant" tendency in Britain. Where the Militant group acts as an organic wing of the British Labour Party, rather than seeking to build a revolutionary vanguard party, the MWT acts as a component of the petty-bourgeois African National Congress, even after the ANC expelled it. In their paper, *Congress Militant* (October 1990), the MWT makes many correct observations about the appetites and program of ANC. But they see the ANC's "rejecting a strategy of workers' revolution" as a (correctable) "blunder," and write: "We believe the first task of every militant in Congress is now to arm the ANC with Marxist policies, and transform it into a mass workers' party to guarantee victory."

In the 1930s Leon Trotsky urged his followers to "unmask before the native masses the inability of the [African National] Congress to achieve the realization of even its own demands, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy" ("On the South African Theses," *Writings* [1934-35]). While Trotsky exposed the

ANC's incapacity to carry out even a bourgeois-democratic program, Ted Grant's supporters call on these petty-bourgeois nationalists to lead a proletarian socialist revolution! In this way they strengthen the authority of the ANC among the black toilers, an authority which is now used to suppress working-class struggle.

A frequent and sharp critic of the ANC/SACP is the journal *Searchlight South Africa*, published in London by the Baruch Hirson group. Hirson certainly knows the SACP and its programmatic appetites well, having battled the Stalinists since the 1930s, enabling him to see through Joe Slovo the born-again social democrat. But *Searchlight South Africa's* alternative to the ANC/SACP line is simply to "democratize" the "power-sharing" negotiations:

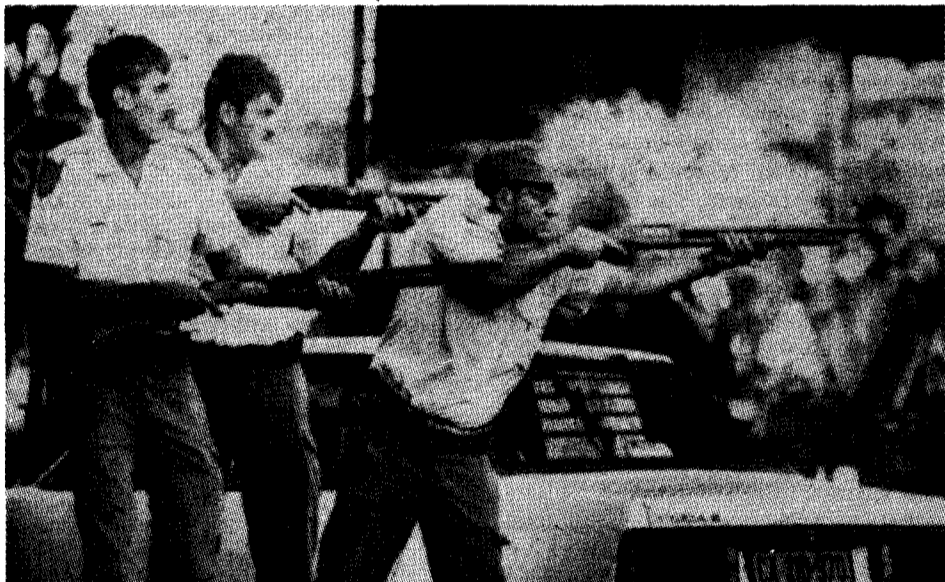
"Delegates to such talks must be drawn from all parties, all organizations and all trade unions. The ANC has no mandate to speak for the disenfranchised, and no one has nominated them to act on behalf of all..."

"At the conclusion of all talks, their results must be submitted to the public for approval."

Interestingly, after calling for a negotiated transition to a supposedly classless democracy, *Searchlight South Africa* quotes extensively from Marx's address to the Communist League in 1850, when he believed a new outbreak of revolution against Prussian absolutism and the petty German princes was imminent. But significantly they omit a key passage where Marx calls for armed organs of proletarian dual power independent of and counterposed to the petty-bourgeois democrats:

"...in order to be able energetically and threateningly to oppose this [bourgeois-democratic] party, whose treachery to the workers will begin from the first hours of victory, the workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, muskets, cannon and ammunition must be carried out at once... the workers must try to organise themselves independently as a proletarian guard with commanders elected by themselves and with a general staff of their

continued on page 10



Cape Town police shoot at anti-apartheid demonstrators who came to greet Mandela on the day of his release.

go away, poof, overnight."

"Where once the ANC sought to exploit the impoverished township conditions to create social instability—'ungovernability' was the revolutionary word—it is now desperate to maintain stability. 'We are going to inherit most of the problems here,' says Michael Ndube of the ANC's youth branch."

A crisis of expectations may soon explode.

The "Independent Left" in the Tow of the ANC/SACP

As the steam mounts in the South African pressure cooker, the pressure of the popular front is pushing the whole array of leftist and militant nationalist groupings into the wake of the ANC/SACP. Black nationalists and "black consciousness" groups could have been expected to come forward now as young militants grow disillusioned with ANC. Indeed, the Pan Africanist Congress initially refused to join the negotiations with De Klerk, and as a result were reportedly recruiting after years of stagnation. But PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng died in October, and the group is reportedly split between "hardliners" and "conciliators." Now Mothopeng's successor Clarence Makwetu has declared that he can "work together" with Mandela for "democracy in South Africa"—i.e., to get in on the talks.

AZAPO also initially refused to participate in the government-ANC talks.

directed on the need for socialist revolution." If the level of mass struggle is now in a lull, it is not because the repressive apparatus of the white-supremacist state has become stronger; it is because the ANC/SACP is now policing both the townships and the factories on behalf of De Klerk and Relly.

And Alexander is tailing Mandela and Slovo. Thus WOSA won't come out hard against negotiations, as that would break the "spirit of unity and democracy." So instead they call for "advancing mass struggles," claiming that this will "destabilize" negotiations as the ANC/SACP are "at pains to demobilize the masses." So what do they say now that Mandela is calling for a campaign of mass mobilization, in order to consolidate control of the masses in order to sell them out? Instead of negotiations, Alexander et al. call for "a non-negotiable fight" for demands such as "one person, one vote," "dismantling of the repressive forces and fascist groups," "dismantling of the bantustans," agrarian reform, nationalization of banks and mines, etc. By whom or what, one must ask, if not the workers revolution which they, like Joe Slovo, claim is not on the agenda.

In a "self-interview" in the first issue of *Workers Voice* (August 1990), its theoretical review, the WOSA leadership talks of "strengthening the strategic position of the working class" through "the Workers Charter campaign." A few

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South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

own choosing, and to put themselves under the command not of the state authority but of the revolutionary municipal councils set up by the workers."

—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume 10

The arming of the black proletariat in South Africa today is, to be sure, far more difficult than in Germany in the period of the Revolution of 1848. However, the key task remains the same: breaking the plebeian masses from the petty-bourgeois democracy and the formation of organizations of proletarian dual power under communist leadership.

For South African Trotskyism!

As the fate of the country and of the struggle for black freedom is being decided, South Africa is—not accidentally—in the midst of a "Trotsky boom." Two years ago the SACP's *African Communist* (Fourth Quarter 1988) published an article, "What Is Trotskyism?" by "Dialego." In accord with the prevailing winds of glasnost, it presented a view similar to Gorbachev's speech on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, admitting that Trotsky "did play an important role (as Stalin himself acknowledged) in the October Revolution," but labeling Trotskyism a "form of ultra-leftism which promotes pseudo-revolutionary principles at the expense of practical politics." What the SACP is pushing is Stalin's schema of "two-stage revolution."

In classical Stalinist fashion, "Dialego" tried to beat militants in the black unions over the head with the club of "Trotskyism," saying: "Like Trotsky before them, the 'workerists' in South Africa get the relationship between socialism and democracy precisely wrong." As opposed to "Fairy Tale Revolutionaries," who want to "pole-vault themselves into socialism" (Slovo's patented phrase), demands must be confined to "democratic struggle" and the fight for socialist revolution postponed to the never-never land of the Greek calends. What this means in practice is that in exchange for some cosmetic reforms, strikes are now broken not just by the policeman's *sjambok* (whip) but also, as at Mercedes-Benz, by the ANC/SACP/COSATU "revolutionary alliance" holding up the "stop" sign saying "don't proceed beyond democratic stage."

By the Third Quarter issue of 1989, the *African Communist* was obliged to say that it had received an avalanche of letters in response. However, they had "decided not to publish the contributions"

since "undertaking a general reappraisal of Trotsky and Trotskyism is not the task of our journal." This piece of glasnost censorship only produced a new spate of controversy, and the debate soon spilled over to virtually every anti-apartheid publication. In a widely reproduced article, ANC leader Pallo Jordan criticized Joe Slovo's pamphlet *Has Socialism Failed?* for failing to go to the root of Stalinism and notes that "employing the method of historical materialism," Trotsky "provided one of the most original critiques of the Soviet system." The *Weekly Mail* has kept up a stream of articles and letters, including a pained reply from Brian Bunting under the heading "The SACP has not ignored discussion on Trotskyism and Stalinism."



South African trade unionists march under the hammer and sickle of Communism. Oppressed black masses want red revolution, not "power-sharing" with apartheid capitalists.

With all the ink devoted to Trotskyism in South Africa, there is precious little being published which accurately portrays what Trotsky stood for, and no group which can really be called Trotskyist without gagging. Thus Trotsky declared (in his writings on Spain in the 1930s) that "the Popular Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch" and "the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism." Summing up the experience of the Spanish Civil War, he wrote: "There can be no greater crime than coalition with the bourgeoisie in a period of socialist revolution."

What does the popular front mean concretely in South Africa today? The SACP's "Dialego" claims that Trotsky gets the relation between democracy and socialism wrong. Let us see. In South Africa, the *land question* is a major issue: the 1936 Land Act limits black occupation to 13.6 percent of the total territory

(effectively that of the present bantustans). Moreover, the Pondoland peasants' revolt in the Transkei in the late 1950s was directed against the Xhosa tribal chiefs (as analyzed by CPer Govan Mbeki in *South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt* [1964]). Yet today the ANC, not only the "moderate" Mbeki Jr. but also the "militant" Chris Hani, is wooing the tribal chiefs of the bantustans.

Simply abolishing the discriminatory land reservation law, as some in the ANC propose, will not aid the impoverished peasantry scratching out an existence in the dirt-poor bantustans. Much less does it offer a solution to millions of township dwellers living a precarious existence as squatters until the next time cops and bulldozers drive them out of

heavily armed guards with vicious dogs. Why? Because their profits depend on it. If Anglo American was willing to drop the color bar for skilled miners, it was in order to lower the wages from the \$90 a day they were paying white blast-ers toward the \$15 which migrant black laborers earn. As they discuss "power-sharing," Gavin Relly will persuasively explain to Nelson Mandela that raising all wages to the white levels would put the mine conglomerates out of business—they will not be competitive internationally and their profits will disappear. Yes, and that is why to pay black workers a real living wage and to place the wealth that they produce in the service of the impoverished majority, it is necessary to expropriate the mines, and the banks, industry, etc. and sweep away the whole profit system. No bourgeois regime will do that, only a black-centered workers government brought to power by the revolutionary struggle of millions of toilers led by a Trotskyist party of the proletariat.

The key question is *working-class power*, for as Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution holds, in the imperialist epoch the bourgeoisie is incapable of achieving democratic tasks. In 1915, Trotsky wrote an article on "The Struggle for Power," which he later appended to his essay "Results and Prospects" (written around the time of the Russian 1905 Revolution) when it was reissued in 1919, to explain his concept of permanent revolution which found its expression in the Bolshevik October Revolution. In his article, Trotsky calls for "a revolutionary workers' government, the conquest of power by the Russian proletariat":

"The demands for a national constituent assembly, a republic, an eight-hour day, the confiscation of the land of the landlords, together with the demands for the immediate cessation of the war, the right of nations to self-determination, and a United States of Europe will play a tremendous part in the agitational role of the Social Democrats. But revolution is first and foremost a question of power—not of the state form (constituent assembly, republic, united states) but of the social content of the government. The demands for a constituent assembly and the confiscation of land under present conditions lose all direct revolutionary significance without the readiness of the proletariat to fight for the conquest of power...."

Many observers have noted in the uneven and combined development of South Africa today striking similarities to Russia in the early years of this century: an autocratic regime which rules by the *sjambok* or the knout, which presides over vast areas of backwardness while the urban economy is built on the most modern technology. Its Achilles' heel is the young and vibrant proletariat, grouped in huge factories and mines, growing increasingly conscious of its social power. In ten years, the black unions have grown explosively, now encompassing millions who inscribe socialism on their banners and see their fight as the spearhead of social emancipation and freedom. The Pretoria regime can no longer hold them down; for this it requires the services of the ANC and the SACP, to play the role of the Mensheviks and Kerensky in 1917. What's critically needed is the forging of the South African Bolshevik party. ■

their tin shacks. For the impoverished blacks lack *capital*, and "freeing" the market forces will simply mean that land will be bought up by real estate speculators and big farmers. The obvious demand is for *nationalization of the land*, which was raised by the Bolsheviks. As Marx and Lenin explained, this is a *democratic* rather than a socialist demand, directed against monopoly landholdings, but one that the bourgeoisie will vigorously oppose.

Or take the question of *political democracy*, which is at the heart of the "Freedom Charter." Today, the ANC is preparing to accept some constitutional subterfuge (a second house of parliament with veto power, in which whites will be disproportionately represented, or a "bill of rights" protecting "minorities") that will leave entrenched essential elements of white privilege. Against the negotiations, various leftist groups (AZAPO, WOSA, *Searchlight South Africa*) raise as their crowning demand the call for a *constituent assembly*. This is just spelling out "one person, one vote," calling to carry out the ANC's original program.

But there will be no "democratic" "post-apartheid" capitalist state. How can you have "majority rule" and expect that the oppressed majority will tolerate a situation in which average white income (R13,242 per person) is ten times that of blacks (R1,393); in which more than seven million non-whites live in shacks while the backyard swimming pool is standard in white suburbs; in which infant mortality for whites (9 per 1,000 live births) is less than one-tenth that of blacks (94-124 per 1,000)? South African capitalism *requires* cheap labor—and therefore mass poverty and disenfranchisement—of blacks.

The superprofits of the Randlords are based on superexploitation—paying black workers less than what it costs to maintain them and their families even at the most minimum level—which is incompatible with democratic rights. Take the situation in the mines. Here you have Anglo American, the beacon of "enlightened" capitalism, which took the lead in talking with the ANC. Yet it runs its mines through stark terror: concentration camps with black workers' compounds ringed with concertina wire, patrolled by

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War Front...

(continued from page 1)

While reformists and liberals try to cozy up to imperialist “doves,” we strive to build a revolutionary opposition to Washington’s war plans—sanctions and all—taking advantage of divisions and doubts within the ruling class to mobilize the working class, blacks and other oppressed minorities in class struggle against imperialist militarism. As Bush revs up the U.S. war machine to terminate his former ally, the butcher Saddam, and seize control of world oil supplies, the Spartacist League says: Defend Iraq—Defeat imperialism!

Having pushed through a Security Council resolution authorizing war against Iraq after January 15, Bush tried to assuage fears among his recalcitrant allies and more so among the American population by sending his secretary of state to meet Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. “The extra mile for peace” turned out to be less than an inch as Bush sneered, “I’m not in a negotiating mood.” But the Iraqi strongman, who has proven himself more adept at the PR game than Bush’s Madison Avenue packagers, outflanked Bush by announcing that all Western hostages would be released. Now, after all the screaming about thousands of tortured American hostages, the *New York Times* (11 December) slips into an article on the “hostage drama” that “half or more of the 750 [!] Americans...have chosen to stay” in Iraq!

Hussein’s deft move pulled an emotion-charged rug out from under Bush & Co., who were already floundering. Bourgeois opposition to Bush’s war plans swelled with last month’s call-up of up to 200,000 more troops and the growing realization that this was not going to be a quick, cheap high-tech war with few American casualties. Already the U.S. has sent off 45,000 body bags to Saudi Arabia, only now they’re called “remains pouches” in Pentagonese!

Bush recently had to swear that he would not allow “another Vietnam.” As evidence that the U.S. is not about to get bogged down in “a protracted, drawn-out war,” he claimed that “the motivation of our all-volunteer force is superb.” This was, observed *Newsweek* (10 December),



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at October 20 antiwar protest in New York City demands: Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

actress Brooke Shields (too “pornographic”). Actually, the troops would probably like to see Madonna in her new erotic video, but instead they’re going to get...Bob Hope! (The Road to Baghdad?)

If there is one thing that the troops stationed in Saudi Arabia agree on, even the gung ho types, it is that they want to get out of there, and fast. And it’s not just rank-and-file GIs. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (5 December) headlined “Uneasiness in Military Over Buildup,” quoting one disgruntled army colonel: “There is great discomfiture among the senior leadership in the Army, and I’m talking about the two- and three-stars who are actually planning and running this operation.”

Israel Plans “Pre-emptive” War

The more domestic and international opposition builds against Bush’s war plans, the more hysterical the Israelis get in demanding all-out war. Israel went apeshit over the decision to send Baker to Baghdad. Weeks earlier, after Washington rejected Israel’s request for coordinated operational planning and for real-time intelligence, a “senior Israeli

barely limped along with massive American transfusions and has now been turned into a basket case by three years of the Palestinian *intifada*. Last week the corporatist Histadrut trade-union federation staged a two-day general strike to protest government demands to cut wages and increase taxes to pay for the settlement of Soviet Jews.

Notwithstanding all the hype about the tough “sabra” mentality, the Israeli garrison-state is a fragile entity. A leading military official admitted recently, “If even a few missiles were to hit Tel Aviv, Israel would not be the same country in terms of psychology and morale” (*Washington Post*, 15 June). To prevent this, the Zionist rulers are prepared to unleash a nuclear Armageddon; they have already talked about using nuclear weapons against Iraq.

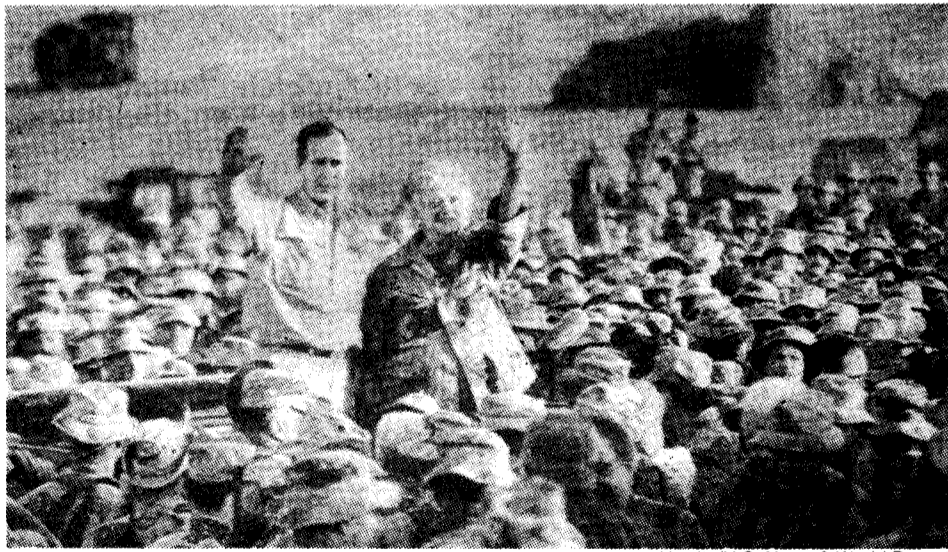
The Zionist state must be destroyed from within, through revolutionary class struggle uniting the oppressed Palestinians with the Israeli Hebrew workers. The courage and commitment demonstrated by the Palestinian masses during the three years of *intifada*, were it channeled through an internationalist leadership, could be the catalyst to break the Hebrew workers from the Zionist stranglehold. Israel out of the Occupied Territories! Defend the Palestinian people!

War Powers Act Sham

Sensing which way the tide of domestic public opinion is running, and realizing that an attack on Iraq could land them in an intractable mess in the Near East, influential sectors of the ruling class are not happy about Bush’s single-minded drive to war. The *New York Times* runs man-in-the-street surveys and expert op-ed pieces with a strong tilt against war now. NBC devoted its entire half-hour evening news program on the day the Security Council passed its resolution to bashing Bush’s war policies from different angles.

The Congressional Democrats conveniently scheduled hearings with former Pentagon officials the same day, in order to deny the White House its coveted sound bites for war. And the Democratic caucus overwhelmingly approved a resolution warning Bush not to start the shooting without their say-so. Last week, 54 Democratic Congressmen filed suit demanding an injunction against the government going to war without Congressional approval. Sure, the Constitution explicitly grants Congress sole authority to declare war. But as the Democrats’ attorney made clear, “This suit is not about whether we should go to war” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 December).

And as the Congressional Democrats begin to make dovish noises, the populist left is pleading with ever greater insistence for implementation of the War Powers Act. The Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, led by



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

The Bushes visit the troops. Soldiers want to go home. U.S. News & World Report ran this photo next to headline, “All for war say ‘Aye.’”

“an oblique reference to the frightened draftees who were thrust into an unwinnable war in Vietnam.” While slanderously claiming that leftist antiwar activists stabbed Viet vets in the back, it is the imperialist warmongers who spit on the GIs they sent to fight and die in a losing, imperialist war in Indochina. George Bush’s sons weren’t among the “frightened draftees” in Vietnam because they were all safe at home. Ditto for VP Quayle.

As for the “superb” morale of the “all-volunteer force,” military recruitment was running 32 percent lower than projected in November; there aren’t enough troops to allow any rotation scheme. And because of the Saudi monarchy’s strict Islamic theocracy, the troops can’t even look forward to a Christmas show with

military official” warned that Israel might launch a “pre-emptive” strike on Baghdad: “It is better to pre-empt than to wait for a missile to fall” (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 18 November).

The Zionist rulers are desperate for a war in the Near East to allow them to clear the Palestinian people out of the occupied West Bank and provide *Lebensraum* for the massive influx of Soviet Jews (see box, page 6). Currently, only a tiny proportion of Soviet emigrants—who are overwhelmingly not Zionist in outlook—are crazy enough to venture into the West Bank, despite heavy pressure from the Zionist regime and the lure of cheap housing.

So the long-awaited “in-gathering” is fueling the social pressure cooker in Israeli Hebrew society, whose economy

the Workers World Party, demands “Legislation to prohibit the president from usurping war powers delegated to Congress.” The Socialist Workers Party and the sinister provocateurs of the Workers League want to take this pressure-the-Democrats campaign one step further, as expressed in the front-page headline of the WL’s *Bulletin* (30 November): “Demand a Referendum on Gulf War.” In reality, this isn’t any more “antiwar” than the Democrats’ Congressional ploy.

At best, the idea that imperialist war is or can be determined by a popular vote is utopian nonsense. The SWP and WL may attempt to justify their “let the people vote on war” demand by referring to Trotsky’s support to the 1938 Ludlow Amendment. This was a constitutional amendment proposed by a Democratic Congressman to have a popular referendum before the U.S. government could declare war. Trotsky argued that this was “an illusion,” yet he wanted to utilize the “progressive tendencies” of the “referendum illusion of the American little man” for revolutionary education of the workers. But in the present case, these pseudo-Trotskyist modern-day Ludlowites are themselves *propagating* liberal-pacifist “democratic” illusions rather than responding to a popular demand.

In fact, *the Democrats have no intention of stopping an imperialist war*. The 1973 War Powers Act, passed by a Democratic Congress supposedly to prevent a repetition of the undeclared war in Vietnam, has been a paper tiger since Day One. As *Newsweek* (10 December) remarked, if they had wanted to stop the Vietnam War, “the lawmakers needed only to pull the plug by refusing to authorize funds.” Today, when it looked like Bush might call the special session of Congress to debate a war resolution that the Democrats were screaming for, they immediately backed off. The *New Yorker* (3 December) observed that “the Democratic leaders wished to avoid such a debate because at that point they neither wanted to give the President permission, however explicitly, to go to war with Iraq, nor did they want to appear to be getting in the way of his espoused policy.”

All wings of the ruling class agree that the U.S. must substitute military muscle for its deteriorating economic clout, to reassert American military hegemony, tighten the noose around the Soviet Union and dictate terms to its economically more viable imperialist competitors, Japan and Germany. As James Ridgeway notes in the *Village Voice* (4 December), U.S. military control over the Persian Gulf oil reserves “will allay American fears of being left behind Germany and Japan after 1992. They may make our cars, but we will have the oil they need to grease them with—not to mention their winter fuel reserves.”

What divides the ruling class is whether a war with Iraq is winnable without triggering a social explosion at home and stirring up a hornet’s nest in the Near East. Sections of the bourgeoisie and the top brass remember well how American society and the military got chewed up in the losing war in Vietnam, so badly that it allowed the Soviet Union to achieve strategic nuclear parity with the U.S. The world’s working people owe a debt to the Vietnamese people, who lost two million dead in their struggle to throw off the imperialist yoke. The memory of that humiliating defeat paralyzes the American ruling class as it prepares to plunge us into war.

For workers and oppressed in the U.S. and around the world, the obligation is clear: to stand with the Iraqi people against U.S. imperialism. While the fake-lefts seek to find a “peace-loving” wing of this rapacious ruling class to lead them in impotent peace crawls, the Spartacist League fights to mobilize the social power of workers and minorities in class struggle against *our* enemy, the American capitalist class. For labor political strikes against Bush’s war! Break the blockade of Iraq—Sink U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf! ■