

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

South African Powder Keg

SEPTEMBER 3—One year ago today the black townships around South Africa's cities erupted in fury against the brutal apartheid slavery they have endured for decades. As the waves of black revolt surged from one end of the country to the other, virtually every sector of the urbanized oppressed non-white population has been drawn in. Beginning with youth in the industrial centers of the Vaal triangle it spread to workers throughout the Witwatersrand mining region, to "coloured" (mixed-race) squatters near Cape Town, to the cities of the eastern Cape and now Durban. As the flames died down in one area, they would burst forth in another. And the answer of the white supremacist regime of South Africa's *Führer* P.W. Botha was always the same: *sjamboks* (whips) and bullets. In 12 months well over 700 blacks have been murdered by the apartheid security forces, some scores of government collaborators in the townships have been eliminated and a handful of whites killed.

Repression has not stopped revolt. But the white supremacist regime has the military means and the determination to crush that revolt by massacring blacks, not merely by the dozens, but by the thousands. The townships and compounds where blacks are concentrated are built so that they can easily be



Reagan backs "free world" ally Botha and his apartheid police state. Cape Town, August 28: March to Pollsmoor Prison demanding freedom for Nelson Mandela broken up by cops.

sealed off and bombed and napalmed into submission. As *Business Week* (26 August) recently wrote: "The betting is that they [South African whites] can put down any violent frontal assault for the foreseeable future because they still have

the guns." But this organ of American capitalism ran the prediction under the headline: "What Pretoria Fears More Than Rioting in the Streets"—i.e., the muscle of South Africa's six million-strong black proletariat. Except for the

two-day general strike last November in the Transvaal and episodic skirmishes with the apartheid bosses, that proletariat as a class has not been mobilized in the present anti-apartheid revolt. But it

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Hollo/Newsweek, Campbell/Time

Save Moloise! Free Mandela!

U.S. Democratic Party Is No Friend of Black Freedom

Black resistance to apartheid slavery in South Africa has electrified black America as nothing else has since the civil rights movement a generation ago. It has revived mass student protest for the first time since the Vietnam War. In Reagan's America black workers and youth see in apartheid a magnified mirror image of their own oppression. But those whose task it is to keep labor and the oppressed in line for American capitalism—the Democrats and their fake-left brokers—are working overtime to prevent active sympathy with the combative black masses abroad from spreading into a fight against racist oppression and exploitation at home.

In New York City, where racist mayor

Koch incites cop roundups, torture and wanton police killings, the union tops felt compelled to call the first mass anti-apartheid protest initiated by organized labor August 13. Despite official lethargy on the issue, contingents from particularly those unions and community groups embracing blacks and other minorities—hospital, garment, transit and municipal workers—packed solid a block on 42nd Street. It was a spirited and determined turnout of labor/black New York whose mood was in sharp contrast to the Democratic Party politicians who came out to get their names in the paper and denounce racism thousands of miles away in order to

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Free Moloise—Hang Botha! Spartacist League contingent marches in New York, August 20.

Letter from AZAPO

Frank Talk
Dormerton [South Africa]
29 June 1985

Workers Vanguard
New York, NY

Dear sir:

Thank you for your letter dated 8 June 1985. We have entered you on our mailing list on an exchange basis.

I did browse thru some of your articles. Considering your ideological perspective, it is inevitable that we will disagree on the national question in Azania as also on the role of whites.

I must point out, however, that I was extremely disappointed to find that you use the argument that AZAPO holds Mozambique as a model to label the movement as hoping for a "new class" dictatorship. I have not been able to trace any policy or statement which lauds FRELIMO and especially after Nkomati, Machel is hardly considered a revolutionary by the Black Consciousness Movement.

Yours faithfully

I. Moosa

AZAPO Publicity Secretary

WV replies: It does appear that we erred in stating "AZAPO holds up Mozambique as a model." We mistakenly ascribed to AZAPO the views presented by radical black nationalist intellectual Neville Alexander at the 1983 founding conference of the National Forum, a loose grouping of black consciousness



AZAPO Congress in Cape Town in December 1984.

and radical black nationalist formations in which AZAPO plays a prominent role. However, our more general political conclusion was fundamentally correct: "AZAPO and more radical nationalists want to displace the Harry Oppenheims [leading South African capitalist] with a petty-bourgeois elite that aspires to exploit its own proletariat" ("Black Masses Battle Apartheid Repression," *WV* No. 375, 22 March 1985).

This is confirmed by a recent issue of *Frank Talk* (November/December 1984), the official publication of AZAPO, which reprints with only a passing sympathetic comment a sub-

stantial speech by Dr. Herbert Ushewokunze entitled "Zimbabwe: Problems and Prospects of Socialist Development." However, Dr. Ushewokunze happens to be Minister of Home Affairs (i.e., the top cop) in Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) government. A neo-colonial regime brokered by the British, based on the majority Shona tribe, the ZANU government has carried out bloody genocidal terror against the minority Matabele, imposed on Zimbabwean workers slave-labor legislation and acted as the guarantor for imperialist investment and its white capitalist class. In fact the underlying theme of Ushewokunze's speech is contained in his quote from the ZANU manifesto: "Private enterprise will have to continue until circumstances are ripe for socialist change"—i.e., he is really talking about capitalist development.

There is no qualitative difference between ZANU and Mozambique's FRELIMO, although it should be pointed out that Mozambique's struggle for independence culminated originally in a far more radical break with the colonial power, Portugal, than did Zimbabwe's with the white supremacist regime of Ian Smith. We gave *unconditional* (irrespective of their political leaderships) *military* support to both movements in the wars they fought against colonialism and white supremacy. Given their non-proletarian class character we however gave *no political* support to these movements, warning that these petty-bourgeois nationalists (whatever their "socialist" rhetoric) cannot go beyond anti-working-class bonapartist despotisms. FRELIMO and Machel had the same *political* identity before as after the Nkomati accords, where they were forced to become Pretoria's policemen in repressing the African National Congress (ANC) anti-apartheid guerrillas.

We solidarized with AZAPO when it protested the visit of U.S. imperialist politician Edward Kennedy to South Africa earlier this year and threatened to give the Democratic Party's black frontman Jesse Jackson the same treatment. At the same time we must point out that the same issue of *Frank Talk* which carries the Ushewokunze speech also carries an anti-Semitic diatribe by the sinister American black demagogue Louis Farrakhan. In December 1964, two months before Malcolm X was murdered, Farrakhan said Malcolm was "worthy of death." Last year he stumped for Jackson, who was simply a stalking horse for Walter Mondale of the same imperialist Democratic Party that Kennedy belongs to. After Mondale's defeat, Farrakhan proclaimed he was "happy Mr. Reagan won" and cheered Reagan's slashing of social welfare programs for blacks as an opportunity to "prove that black people can make it without a handout" (quoted in *Chicago Tribune*, 12 November 1984).

The only road to socialism in the desperately oppressed and impover-



Der Spiegel

South African führer P.W. Botha and Mozambique's Samora Machel at signing of Nkomati accord, March 1984.

ished region dominated by South African imperialism is the perspective of Trotsky's permanent revolution: the mobilization of South Africa's six-million-strong black proletariat to fight for its own class dictatorship under the leadership of an internationalist, multi-racial vanguard party. For a black-centered workers republic as part of the socialist federation of southern Africa! ■



TROTSKY

Trotsky on Proletarian Political Revolution

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, analyzed the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union under Stalin and the necessity for the workers to restore Soviet democracy to defend the gains of October.

The proletariat of a backward country was fated to accomplish the first socialist revolution. For this historic privilege, it

must, according to all evidences, pay with a second supplementary revolution—against bureaucratic absolutism....

It is not a question of substituting one ruling clique for another, but of changing the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Bureaucratic autocracy must give place to Soviet democracy. A restoration of the right of criticism, and a genuine freedom of elections, are necessary conditions for the further development of the country. This assumes a revival of freedom of Soviet parties, beginning with the party of Bolsheviks, and a resurrection of the trade unions. The bringing of democracy into industry means a radical revision of plans in the interests of the toilers. Free discussion of economic problems will decrease the overhead expense of bureaucratic mistakes and zigzags.... The youth will receive the opportunity to breathe freely, criticize, make mistakes, and grow up. Science and art will be freed of their chains. And, finally, foreign policy will return to the traditions of revolutionary internationalism.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936)



LENIN

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6 September 1985

EMERGENCY DEMONSTRATION!

Stop the Hanging!
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Anti-Apartheid Fighter!

Saturday, September 7, 12 noon

South African Airways, 360 Post (Union Square)

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SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacist Candidates on NYC Ballot

From Soweto to Harlem: Smash Racist Terror!

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg for New York City mayor and Ed Kartsen for Manhattan borough president are on the ballot in the NYC elections, November 5. We went into the petition campaign well aware that the whole system of bourgeois election law is, as one NYC union leader put it, "to keep the ins in and the outs out." So from July 9 to August 20, scores of campaign workers pounded the streets, amassing more than two and a half times the number of signatures required for filing. More than 20,000 Spartacist Party nominating signatures were filed for Stamberg for mayor (7,500 were required), and over 12,000 signatures were submitted for Kartsen's race for borough president (5,000 names required).

Usually, left parties gather signatures on a purely democratic basis—"help put an independent on the ballot." But we determined to run a bright red campaign from day one. So armed with brochures and petitions bearing our distinctive hammer-and-four symbol, we spread out through the black and Hispanic ghettos with the message: "A vote for Spartacist is a vote for the program of workers power—from South Africa to the U.S.!" At subway stops, supermarkets, housing projects and street fairs our teams found that the revolutionary candidates drew more interest than the pale pink reformists. The Spartacist Party got 3,000 more signatures than the Communist Party's Jarvis Tyner, running on the "People Before



Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen at anti-apartheid demonstration at UN, August 13. Tens of thousands of NYC protesters don't want hot air and Koch's crocodile tears, but labor/black action to stop racist terror from New York to South Africa.

been busy stabbing each other in the back in a squalid primary fight. Like the spectacle of Bellamy going after Farrell, the only [Democratic] minority candidate for mayor, while racist pig Ed Koch weeps crocodile tears for his spoiler. We say, down with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of the ruling class—build a fighting workers party!"

Dirty clubhouse politics may be a Tammany Hall tradition, but this year even the *New York Times* (25 August) was bemoaning "the spectacle of city-wide candidates being thrown off the Sept. 10 [Democratic Party] primary ballot in wholesale lots." At one point, 122 separate petition challenges were before the courts, on the most penny-ante bases imaginable. With Yuppie contender Carol Bellamy leading the pack, they tried to knock off the only black in the Democratic mayoral primary, and all the Hispanic candidates for city council president. As the city council race turned into "the battle of the millionaires," the dogfight inside the Democratic Party machine displayed the whole racist capitalist nature of the bourgeois elections.

We centered our petition drive on Harlem, the Lower East Side and downtown Brooklyn. Over and over, people would take a brochure and then double back to sign and to talk when they saw the pictures of Edmund Perry, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs and our vow: "Avenge victims of the racist cops!" We met family and neighbors of the victims, and found that our call to "Kick Out Koch! Dump Trump! Stop Racist Cop Terror!" expressed an overwhelming and urgent popular desire. Spartacist League supporters have also been attending daily the whitewash "trial" of the NY transit cops who killed young black artist Stewart two years ago. This case, and the cynical cover-up orchestrated by city officials, has become the focus of outrage against cop brutality in New York.

Demanding "Gross the Ghoul Has Got to Go!" the SL is calling for a protest October 3 when the state

Department of Health opens hearings on charges of gross incompetence and negligence by Koch's cover-up coroner. The call for the demonstration states: "Gross is far worse than incompetent.... He is a criminal who belongs behind bars no less than the transit cops who heat Michael Stewart to death, the SWAT unit who killed Bronx grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs, the sickos at the Queens 'stun gun' torture precinct."

At a candidates night in Bedford-Stuyvesant, August 14, Marjorie called for labor/black defense and integrated armed workers defense squads against racist terror. She said that the ruling class unleashes the cops as part of the capitalist onslaught against America's "inner cities":

"This present escalation of police brutality really started back in 1976, when the so-called 'epileptic' policeman, Robert Torsney, shot down Randy Evans in Brooklyn. It was no accident that in New York at the same time you had the 'Big MAC' cutbacks of everything: the schools, the fire stations, the libraries; tuition at City College was imposed. Because it's a national policy, it's coming straight down from the top. They have to use the stick now, they don't have any more carrot. There's going to be cutbacks, they're going to finance a war with this, they're going to take it out on our backs with the police terror. That's why we're saying, you need revolutionary solutions here."

The desperate housing squeeze in New York was highlighted during the late August Lottomania, when Brooklyn computer consultant Joe Moore, who won \$13.6 million, commented, "I can afford to live in Manhattan now." On the Lower East Side, we got hundreds of signatures on Avenue D where our call, "Homeless should seize Trump City!" touched a chord as residents are organizing tenants councils, squatters villages and tent cities. Delia Torres has been living in a tent on a razed lot, under the city's threat of imminent bulldozing. Speaking with Stamberg, recently returned from Nicaragua's celebration of the sixth anniversary of the revolution which overthrew dictator Somoza, Torres said

of Reagan's war moves in Central America: "That's right, they're chasing them with tanks down there and chasing me with bulldozers up here."

In Brooklyn, several transit workers signed because they knew Ed Kartsen from their union and respected what he stood for. Kartsen, a former candidate for president of TWU Local 100, fought to mobilize all 33,000 transit workers in integrated defense squads to patrol the Brooklyn neighborhood of Gravesend when their union brother Willie Turks was beaten to death by a racist mob there in 1982. As racist cop terror has reached epidemic levels over the last year, many blacks in New York City have made the link between the war on the ghettos here and the murderous repression by Reagan's ally Botha in South Africa. At the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration at the UN, the Spartacist candidates raised the call: "Soweto to Harlem—Smash Racist Terror! NYC Labor: For a One-Day Protest Strike!" and "Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!"

Taping a show for United Nations radio August 28, to be broadcast direct to South Africa, Ed Kartsen connected the fight against racist oppression at home and abroad:

"Reagan will unite with everything from Adolf Hitler to Botha; he is for establishment of right-wing death squads and terror. He oversaw this massacre that occurred against the MOVE organization here in Philadelphia in May; this is what he's pushing for in Nicaragua with these contra death squads and the attempt to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. And he views South Africa's right-wing mass murderer dictator Botha as a good anti-communist. As Hitler was a good anti-communist. As Reagan is a good anti-communist."

"Reagan is as determined to keep apartheid afloat as he is determined to smash the Nicaraguan Revolution, as he is determined to conduct counterrevolution against the Soviet Union, as he is to smash unions and minorities in this country."

From the beginning, the Stamberg-Kartsen campaign has called for an internationalist struggle for workers power. When the African National Congress called for an emergency demonstration August 20 against the announced execution of imprisoned ANC militant Benjamin Moloise, the Spartacist League mobilized on short notice, in New York and across the country. And in Brooklyn on August 31, the Spartacist mayoral candidate spoke from the platform of a demonstration protesting the vicious NYC police attack on a march of Haitian refugees earlier this month. She noted the racist nature of U.S. immigration policies. While Polish anti-Communists or

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Campaigning on Avenue D on the Lower East Side.

Profits" slate, and over 9,000 more than Andrea Gonzalez, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Nobody but us has been talking about the real issue in this campaign: rampaging cop terror," said Stamberg. "The cover-up in the Michael Stewart case is a system, from the cops' 'blue wall of silence' to D.A. Morgenthau to Koch's Dr. Mengele coroner, Elliot Gross. We say jail the killer cops and mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist attacks. And we found a tremendous response during the petitioning." Kartsen noted, "The Democrats have



Triggerman-Ingarmann cop Sullivan. The cop who blew away black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs last October is still "on the job." That's him (top left), spying on demonstrators, atop the police surveillance truck at the August 13 anti-apartheid demonstration!

S.F. Swastika Cops

SAN FRANCISCO—In a grotesque provocation against an anti-apartheid protest here August 20, SF police brazenly flaunted the Nazi swastika, symbol of racist genocide. The demonstration outside the South African Airways office in Union Square was called by the Spartacist League and Labor Black League for Social Defense to protest the threatened hanging of Benjamin Moloise, a militant of the African National Congress. Parked next to the demo, SFPD cops in police van W591 prominently displayed a Nazi navy poster of a large swastika flag and the slogan "Einsatz" (action). (The "Einsatzgruppen" were the sadistic SS killer squads set up to exterminate Jews and communists in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as part of Hitler's "final solution.") This blatant appeal for fascist terror was snapped by a *WV* photographer, and the photo distributed (along with a declaration by the SL exposing this racist atrocity) to the San Francisco media and mayor's office.

Spartacist League spokesman Al Nelson stated in the SL's August 21 press release: "This is Bitburg west! The cops showed up at the Spartacist anti-apartheid demonstration with a swastika to solidarize with the pro-Nazi Afrikaner nationalists, who now rule South Africa.... [This] ought to send a chill up the spine of every decent person in this city. How many hundreds of cops knew that swastika was there? Not every cop is a Nazi but not one protested.... Toleration of these actions indicates that this is de facto low-level pragmatic department policy. It exposes, condemns and invalidates the entire San Francisco police department.... And what is Mayor Feinstein going to do about her Nazi-loving cops? For starters she can fire every cop involved."

The SL's exposure of this scandal, picked up by the *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Jose Mercury News*, the University of California at Berkeley's *Daily Californian* and KRON-TV, among others, "created a furor at City Hall and in the Jewish community, prompting blistering criticisms of the beleaguered department," as the *Examiner* (22 August) reported. "Swastika in police van: S.F. cops in big trouble," announced one headline. Everyone from B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Community Relations Council to SF supervisor Richard Hongisto—"liberal" former sheriff notorious for smashing down the International Hotel doors to evict elderly Asian tenants—and Mayor Dianne Feinstein professed outrage. The anti-apartheid *Biko Plaza News* at the Berkeley campus, at least, caught the point, headlining the SL press release, "S.F.P.D. Fly Their Colors."

The "furor" in the media and at City Hall, however, has been over how to trivialize the deadly intent clearly expressed by the cops. The *Examiner* first ran the photo (crediting *Workers Vanguard*) carefully cropping out the cop and badge number; then the next day they removed the *WV* credit and any reference to the Spartacist League, and in a later edition cut the photo altogether. The pro-Feinstein *Chronicle*, after first refusing to cover the story, did run a small item the second day, without photo or mention of the SL. Mayor Feinstein, a "law and order" Democrat who likes to pose in police jumpsuits, told the press repeatedly that the incident "once again illustrates bad judgment" and was "plain stupid"—but "very minor." What would she call Auschwitz—extremely bad judgment?

These cops exercised plenty of judgment: they identify with the Nazis'



WV Photo

WV photographer snapped evidence of SF cops' Nazi poster; Examiner downplayed scandal by cropping cop out of picture.

San Francisco Examiner
21 August 1985

Mayor upset by Nazi poster seen in police van at apartheid protest

By Lance Williams
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

San Francisco Police began to investigate today how a swastika-adorned Nazi war poster came to be tucked up inside a police patrol wagon, an incident Mayor Feinstein called "plain stupid."

LA John Carlin said two sergeants from the department's management control division came to Central Station this morning looking for the wagon and the poster, which were seen and photographed yesterday afternoon at an anti-apartheid demonstration held by the Spartacist

League outside the office of South African Airways downtown.

Photos of the van, which were provided to The Examiner by one of the demonstrators, show an officer sitting in the vehicle, with the Nazi poster hanging on the back wall of the passenger compartment.

The poster depicts several World War II vintage warships at sea, with a large banner—decorated with both a swastika and the German Iron Cross—flying the sky.

A legend, in German, reads "The German War Navy in Action." Feinstein, who has been highly critical of several recent incidents

that have embarrassed the police department, today termed the incident "plain stupid" and called on Chief Cornelius Murphy to discipline the officers responsible.

"Clearly, this particular poster has no place on any city property," she said.

Although terming the incident "very minor," she said it "once again illustrates bad judgment" on the part of the police.

Carlin confirmed that the van is assigned to Central Station, but said he has never seen a Nazi poster hanging



Workers Vanguard

NAZI POSTER IN POLICE VAN
SFPD probing who tucked it up

—Please see NAZI, A-12

Einsatzgruppen, and they made a calculated point of bringing the swastika to our demo against apartheid murder. It was a bald threat against everyone protesting racism abroad or at home. Precisely because the incident speaks volumes about the reality of police racism, the bourgeois press tried to play down the intimate connection between the anti-apartheid protest and the cops' swastika display. KRON-TV (owned by the *SF Chronicle*), for example, covered the shocking story of the Nazi poster completely separate from its coverage of the anti-apartheid demonstration, making it appear the two were separate events.

Police officials of course have joined Feinstein's pooh-pooing of the incident: police chief Con Murphy called the swastika display "in very poor taste and unprofessional," but "stopped short...of saying the action warranted dismissal" (*Examiner*, 23 August). The cops' whitewash machine is in full gear. The police crime lab has "confiscated" the poster, as if high-tech criminalistics were required to get to the bottom of things (or maybe they want it for their own wall). Central Station captain Gray doesn't think the officers in the van were responsible, while deputy chief George Eimil backs up this absurd lie, hushing, "As soon as we find out who did this, we'll cut his balls off" (*Examiner*, 22 August).

But the SFPD's humbling efforts to cover up the obvious—explaining the van was used "24 hours a day" (so that's why nobody noticed it?), or that "we have a lot of very young officers who may not realize what that flag represents"—only open up more cans of worms. Cop John Clemensen, photographed sitting next to the poster, was described as a "family-type guy—older and more mature," and "not known to collect Nazi memorabilia" (*Examiner*, 21 August). Just how many cops are known to collect Nazi memorabilia? As ex-sheriff Hongisto noted, "We've got a city with a Jewish mayor and a Police

Department running around putting up Nazi slogans" (*Examiner*, 22 August).

For some years now the SF police have been acting as a law unto themselves, with honapartist contempt for civilian control. This latest scandal comes on top of a string of cop atrocities. Among the most notorious: May 1979, cops riot against gays, busting bars and cracking heads, when ex-cop Dan White gets a slap-on-the-wrist conviction for murdering Mayor George Moscone and gay supervisor Harvey Milk. September 1981, police assault picketers and bystanders at an anti-Duarte protest at the Jack Tar Hotel. July 1984, cops run wild against radical demonstrators pressuring the Democratic convention after Feinstein and Reagan turn the convention site into a virtual armed camp. September 1984, cops hold patrons at gunpoint at posh Lord Jim's, a bar frequented by

attorneys. November 1984, cops beat demonstrators and smash TV cameras at a protest against war chief Weinberger. And in February-March 1985 the cops bust porn movie star Marilyn Chambers, arrest prominent columnist Warren Hinckle at the *Chronicle* building after he mocked the Chambers arrest in his column, and take over a fifth grade class at the black Taylor Elementary School in a SWAT-style "exercise," waving guns and terrorizing children and teachers.

The cops have a particular reason to hate the Spartacist League, too. As SL spokesman Nelson told the press, the cops came to the SL demonstration with their swastika in part "because they hate us for being reds and for tearing down the racist Confederate flag from San Francisco Civic Center last year. When the cops took Richie Bradley in for tearing down the Confederate flag they had a photo of Richmond's KKK-'Cowboy' cops [posing with a Confederate flag] hanging on the wall in Northern Station." The Spartacist League also initiated the successful April 1980 ANCAN labor/black demonstration of 1,200 that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in SF Civic Center.

This is not a case of a few "rogue cops run amok," and the pattern of cop terror is not isolated to San Francisco. They're taking their cues straight from the White House. With the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan laying wreaths at Nazi graves while beating the anti-Soviet war drums, racist terrorists are increasingly raising their heads across America. The firebombing of the MOVE commune in Philadelphia, murdering at least eleven black men, women and children, was Reagan's "Bitburg East." SL spokesman Nelson stated:

"The cops are not just reveling in the regalia of the Third Reich. Their swastika is a warning to every Jew, black, Hispanic and Asian, to every gay, to every red and trade unionist.... The cops are the armed fist of this racist capitalist system, and we have no illusions the police forces can be reformed into liberal humanitarians. It will take a socialist revolution to rid this country of the violence-crazed police force, which is also a prime recruiting ground for fascist terror groups."

The furor in South Africa and abroad over apartheid boss Botha's threat to kill Moloise brought about a last-minute stay of execution, but his fate and that of many others still hangs in the balance. In conjunction with the SL, the Bay Area League for Social Defense has issued an appeal stating: "The Nazi-loving cops have been dealt a blow.... For our part we must now redouble our efforts to save Benjamin Moloise. Join us in organizing a massive labor/black-centered demonstration on September 7." For more information, contact the Labor Black League at (415) 835-1535 or (415) 863-6964. ■

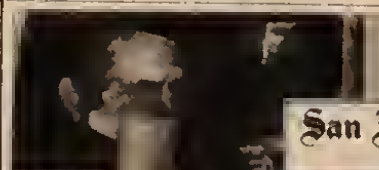
THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN

SERVING THE CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY SINCE 1871

Nazi poster found in S.F. police van

SAN FRANCISCO — Police are investigating how a poster displaying a Nazi swastika was placed in the cab of a Central Station police van.

The 8-by-10-inch photo appears



Mayor Assails Cops For Nazi War Poster Inside Patrol Van

San Francisco Chronicle
22 August 1985

Investigation to find out who hung a Nazi war poster inside a patrol wagon.

The sign, bearing a swastika and an Iron Cross, was first noticed Tuesday by demonstrators at a downtown anti-apartheid rally. They pointed the sign out to a TV camera crew, and Feinstein responded yesterday after complaints followed publicity about the sign.

San Jose Mercury News

22 August 1985

night in the van by anti-apartheid protesters near the South Africa Airways offices. Police officer George Eimil said police had noticed it until then.

The poster was removed.

SFPD embarrassed

Furor erupts over Nazi war poster

San Francisco Examiner
22, 23 August 1985

Swastika in police van: S.F. cops in big trouble

By Leslie Guerrero
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

The discovery of a Nazi war poster inside a San Francisco police van has created a furor in the city and in the Jewish community. And it has prompted the city to investigate the poster's placement.

S.F. leaders blast cops in Nazi-poster scandal

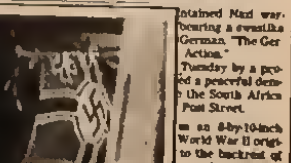
By Leslie Guerrero
OF THE EXAMINER STAFF

Highly stronger critic of the department in the last year and a half because of several other embarrassing events. She said the poster "was

Police chief plans to weigh facts of Nazi poster in van

obtained Nazi war poster bearing a swastika and the German Iron Cross. The poster was found Tuesday by a group of peaceful demonstrators at the South Africa Post Street.

It was an 8-by-10-inch World War II poster to the back of of



Chicago Racist Frame-Up Smashed!

CHICAGO—On August 23, Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley was forced to drop seven counts of reckless homicide and other lesser charges against black Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus driver David Johnson. This is a real victory for labor and blacks in this city. Daley and the racist Chicago cops were attempting to railroad Johnson, a 25-year veteran driver, for murder because of a tragic accident in which seven white youths were killed when their car suddenly swerved in front of Johnson's crowded bus outside of a Bruce Springsteen concert on August 9. But a powerful union/black mobilization stopped this racist frame-up cold. Most importantly, it was a march by over 700 mostly black transit workers on police headquarters on the night of August 14 that served notice to Daley that there would be no "legal" lynching of David Johnson.

Despite overwhelming physical evidence and dozens of eyewitnesses, including passengers standing in the front section of the bus, who confirmed that Johnson was not at fault, the Chicago cops saw only two things: the kids were white and dead; the driver was black and alive. The stuff of ordinary human tragedy quickly became a racist railroad, Chicago-style. Within four hours of the accident, Daley charged Johnson with reckless homicide. Sheriff's deputies marched into the hospital room where Johnson was under observation in the cardiac unit, recovering from extensive neck and back injuries. The cops took his mug shot and fingerprints—and shackled him to his bed!

Almost immediately the media geared up a racist, anti-union campaign retailing outlandish stories about "cowboy bus drivers" barreling down the streets of Chicago. Daley's assistants spoon-fed TV and the press with reports that the



Victimized bus driver David Johnson at Mercy Hospital.

many witnesses supporting Johnson were "emotional" and "biased" (i.e., mainly black). One state's attorney spokesman even claimed that the "quality of witnesses counts, not the quantity"! And then later the family of one of the kids filed a civil suit, seeking \$1 million each from Johnson and the CTA.

The charges against Johnson and the outrageous assault by the sheriff's department touched off a storm of protest. The *Chicago Defender*, the black daily newspaper, hacked Johnson and gave the affair continuous coverage. Black Democratic Party politicians from Jesse Jackson to members of Mayor Harold Washington's administration—with an eye to the 1987 mayoral elections, where Daley is planning on challenging Washington—were quick to denounce the charges. But they were all quite willing to leave Johnson's fate to the mercies of Chicago's notoriously racist and corrupt

Hundreds Rally for ATU Bus Driver



Transit workers defend black union brother, march on police headquarters August 14 demanding "Free David Johnson—Drop the Charges!"

"justice" system, where blacks are routinely excluded from juries and are not—in the eyes of the state's attorney's office—"quality" witnesses.

But this time the frame-up artists were in for a surprise. This wasn't going to be the usual railroad job where the cops beat up some ghetto kid and then turn the victim into a criminal in the courts. David Johnson had some powerful friends: a few thousand angry transit workers. The union leadership wouldn't act so the workers themselves took to the streets. On August 14 over 700 rank and file transit workers and their supporters mobilized with signs saying, "Stop the Railroad" and "New Rope, Old Tree." After gathering at Grant Park they marched to police headquarters on State Street, where they spilled into the street, chanting "Free David Johnson! Drop the Charges!" They nearly brought traffic to a stop. As buses crept along State Street through the crowd, drivers honked and signaled their solidarity with clenched fists.

The few politicians, preachers and union leaders who showed up were quickly pressed into service by the beleaguered cops to control the crowd. But the cops were faced down this time: the notorious racist butchers were kept at bay right in their front yard. In 1968 in this same area Chicago police ran riot against student anti-war protesters outside the Democratic Party convention, bludgeoning and arresting hundreds. But this time they were up against a key city union, the black working class and its supporters. It shows you what you can do when you've got some social power and the guts and willingness to use it.

It was certainly no thanks to the leadership of Johnson's union, Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241. The local's president, Elcosie Gresham, tried to sabotage the transit workers' efforts. Union militants told *Workers Vanguard* that Gresham and his cronies on the exec board refused pointblank to endorse the August 14 rally, which was initiated by a union-community group, the Committee for Protection. Gresham reportedly claimed "that is not my method." Drivers at Johnson's 77th Street garage were especially incensed that Gresham sent out union officials to tell workers not to go to the rally, even lying that it had been canceled.

Despite the efforts of Gresham & Co. to quiet things down, transit workers didn't stop in their efforts to free Johnson. Inspired by the August 14 demonstration, militants in ATU Locals 241 and 308 began circulating a statement calling for militant action to save Johnson from Chicago's "plantation justice":

"We run this city's mass transit and we're its most powerful integrated union. The cops who want to put David away got a sample of our power when

500 union members and friends marched on police headquarters last Wednesday to demand Brother Johnson's freedom.

"Now we need to do much more to make sure this racist frame-up doesn't go down. On August 29 they plan to drag David Johnson into a hearing at 26th and California. We say NO 'Business as Usual' August 29. EVERY ATU member—all 12,000—should be at that hearing to demand: DROP THE CHARGES!"

In Chicago transit, where drivers have forged a tradition of "parking the buses," whether to honor a slain union member or to protest racist union leaders (as happened in 1968), this call to mobilize the entire union met with enthusiastic support. Drivers at 77th Street suggested surrounding the courthouse with buses. Within two days the

statement was signed by over 170 ATU members, printed up and distributed.

On August 23 Daley held a press conference to announce he was dropping the charges. Transit workers won a big victory in beating back the bigots and labor-haters. And they did it in Segregation City. Two and a half years of Harold Washington's black Democratic Party administration has changed nothing for the masses of blacks and workers here. Black families are fire-bombed out of segregated neighborhoods, the cops shoot down and frame up minorities, ghetto youth have no jobs. CTA workers themselves have worked almost a year without a contract, with Washington in the forefront pushing the union-husting HB 1805 legislation.

The Democrats didn't get justice for David Johnson. What was different this time is that the bus drivers took matters in their own hands and hit the streets, relying on their own strength. Daley and the courts "reconsidered the evidence" because they feared a citywide explosion centered on militant black unionists. The workers gave this city a taste of labor/black power—and won!

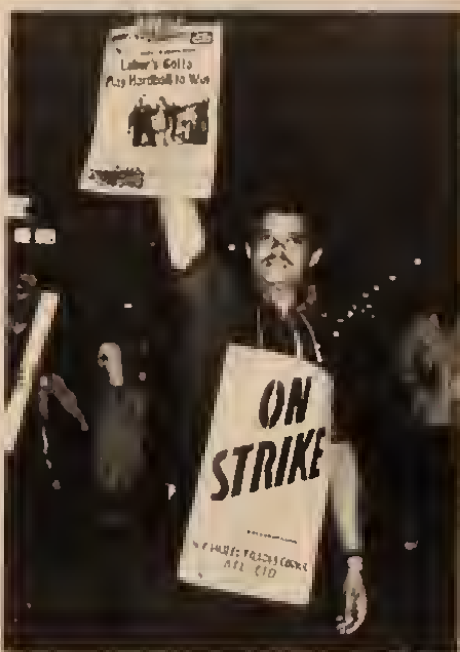
The militant August 14 march points the way forward for all of labor and the oppressed to beat back racist capitalist terror. New York transit workers might take particular note: if the powerful integrated TWU mobilized against the wanton killer cops there, we bet Koch's cossacks wouldn't be so quick to reach for their triggers. The Democratic and Republican bosses and their courts/cop frame-up machine can be beaten through militant, mass labor/black struggle. ■

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New York 8+ Defeat RICO Witchhunt

Spartacist candidates Marjorie Stamberg and Ed Kartsen issued the following statement:

17 August 1985

On August 5 a federal jury found the radical black nationalist New York Eight+ not guilty on eight "terrorist conspiracy" charges. This is a defeat for the government's design to round up as "criminals" and "terrorists" all those who oppose its policies. It is a victory for democratic, civil and labor rights.

Among the conspiracy charges dismissed by the jury was one count based on the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), now a weapon in the state's arsenal of repression against the left. Much of this arsenal was brought to bear against the New York 8+, their families and supporters. They were subjected to 22 months of round-the-clock surveillance, including the taping of more than 500 phone conversations. On October 17, 1984 hundreds of agents of the FBI/NYPD "Joint Terrorist Task Force" armed with shotguns and automatic weapons—including machine guns and bazookas—staged a Gestapo-like raid of six homes in Brooklyn, Queens and Manhattan, arresting the eight. They were then held in South Africa-style "preventive detention" without bail under the provisions of the Bail Reform Act passed by Congress only a week before their arrest. After a judge determined they were not "a threat to the community" the eight were released on bail.



Beating back the government witchhunt strengthens whole working-class movement.

However, three spouses and five friends of the defendants were incarcerated for months for refusing to cooperate with a witchhunting grand jury. A ninth defendant was indicted after refusing to become a government fink. On the eve of the trial, a court-appointed defense counsel who had access to all defense strategy meetings was discovered to have never been admitted to the bar; in fact he is under government investigation. The prosecution's principal witness was a long-time political associate of the New York 8+ with a profile of an agent provocateur.

After all these months of intensive "surveillance" and "dirty tricks" the government nevertheless went to trial with a 66-count indictment that alleged not a single violent crime. The jury saw through the frame-up and threw out the phony "conspiracy" charges.

As a communist organization dedicated to black liberation through workers revolution, we of the Spartacist League have been thrust into the forefront of the fight against state terrorism and witchhunting. We concluded in late 1984 a successful legal challenge to the 1983 Attorney Gener-

al's "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" for the FBI which combine sweeping "conspiracy" measures such as RICO with the legalization of direct-hit military repression. Vicious terrorism against the American people emanates from the government. The bombing of black babies and MOVE members in Philadelphia last May bears the signature of the Reagan years. In Harlem and black communities throughout the country, the police wantonly execute black youth like Michael Stewart and Edmund Perry, black grandmothers like Eleanor Bumpurs. The powers that he wants to ensure that black outrage be given no organized expression and have set out to make "examples" of radical groups and individuals.

Seven of the New York 8+ could still spend dozens of years in jail on the remaining fraud and "illegal" gun possession charges. "Gun control" laws disarm the citizens, leaving a monopoly of organized violence in the hands of the police. We say: Gun control kills blacks! Drop all the charges against the New York 8+!

As Marxist revolutionists, we have a strategy entirely different from that of the New York 8+. But their beating back of this government witchhunt strengthens the working-class movement in the inevitable battles that lie ahead. Armed with a strategic perspective which places no faith in the "justice" of the courts and all confidence in the power of mass, integrated working-class struggle, we are determined that we will win.

Spartacist Campaign...

(continued from page 3)

Saigon generals and drug pushers are welcomed with open arms, black Haitians who make it to these shores are locked up in concentration camps from Krome Avenue in Miami to frozen Lake Placid, New York. "This city was built on the sweat and blood of immigrant labor. We say: No deportations! Full citizenship rights for every foreign-born worker!" She concluded, "From Haiti to New York: workers to power! *A bas Duvalier—Pouvoir ouvrier!*"



Marjorie at squatters' camp on Avenue C. Spartacists say: "Homeless Should Seize Trump City!"

At a candidates night at the "Piggy-back" self-help group in Harlem August 30, Stamberg was asked about drugs, inferior education, the desperate situation of ghetto youth on the streets. She got hearty applause when she responded:

"Our starting point is that we cannot reform, in any kind of piecemeal way,

the system—the whole system is set up to exploit and oppress the working people and minorities. We need a socialist revolution that overturns the whole basis of the oppression in this society... You see, you're going to want an education if you have a job out there. If you don't have it, and you have no possibility of doing anything, except being drafted into the army and being cannon fodder in some damn war against your class brothers in Nicaragua or Vietnam, what life is there for you? That is what we want to change. That is what we're fighting about. That is why I say the whole situation can't be isolated, it's a revolutionary solution."

This is the message of our campaign: that working people and minorities need a fighting workers party to lead the struggle for socialist revolution. Unlike the bourgeois pols who come around every couple of years to collect votes with hollow promises—"Vote for me and I'll set you free"—we're talking about a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky, the party of the October Revolution. The capitalist politicians call for more cops, more cutbacks. The pseudo-socialists like the CP and SWP try to pressure the state—Reagan, Koch & Co.—to put "people before profits." But we look to the early Communist International, which used the capitalist elections and parliaments to mobilize the masses around the slogans of proletarian revolution.

And this history is not as remote as the reformists would pretend. On the Lower East Side, a Puerto Rican student signed our petitions, then wanted to talk about the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. At 96th and Broadway, a black man from the South signed to get Margie and Ed on the ballot, saying how much he hated the NYC Gestapo police. "But you're so small," he said, voicing the question of many who see the need for revolution but despair of getting there. As our comrade began quoting Lenin in January 1917 about how rapidly things can change, the man cut in, "Well, you know, the Bolsheviks were small once..." ■

Thousands of CWA Jobs Threatened:

Fight Ma Bell's Layoffs!

On August 29, some 500 workers from District 1 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) picketed the headquarters of AT&T in Manhattan to protest the corporation's plan to cut 17,000 union jobs for the sake of increased "profitability." The picket included a contingent from CWA Local 1177, whose 600 members have been on strike for a month against Western Union over the contracting out of jobs and other union-busting assaults.

The company announcement sparked local demands for a one-day nationwide strike against the job cuts, but the international union tops treacherously vetoed even this minimal proposal in favor of perfunctory

and impotent lunchtime protests. What's needed is the mass mobilization of the hundreds of thousands of CWAers across the country for strike action now, while they still have jobs, instead of waiting for the contract expiration in the summer of 1986. But the only "action" planned by the Watts/Bahr international leadership at the CWA's July convention was to send their flunkies back home to squash a walkout at Ohio Bell in Cleveland.

It takes a class-struggle leadership to win: Mass picket lines against Western Union to shut it down! Union solidarity—picket lines mean don't cross! For a nationwide strike against AT&T layoffs!



Striking Western Union workers join demonstration outside AT&T headquarters, August 29.

"Nicabucks" Campaign: In the Bolsheviek Tradition

The Spartacus Youth League's fund-raising campaign which raised over \$25,000 for the defense of Nicaragua seems to be raising some eyebrows among professional "Spart-watchers" on the American left. Maybe it might open some eyes as well. It's certainly striking how in the face of the U.S. trade embargo, the craven "solidarity" milieu has done next to nothing in the way of mobilizations or material aid for Nicaragua against Yankee aggression. (In the name of political support to the Sandinistas, this same crowd has done everything they could to "quarantine" the Spartacist League.) At most the pacifists have engaged in a little civil disobedience and the CISPES cesspool is consumed by the perennial reformist debate over single-issue vs. multi-issue, while lamenting that all their Congressional lobbying has produced a big zero.

The reason for this criminal paralysis is not hard to find: appealing to the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, using Daniel Ortega's Moscow visit as a pretext and taking up the liberals' call for a trade embargo, Reagan has overcome tactical differences with the Democrats to achieve a "consensus" among the partner parties of American imperialism for the overthrow of the Nicaraguan Revolution. So now that Congress is voting aid to the CIA's "contras" and okaying a U.S. invasion in advance, the left tail on the Democratic donkey goes limp—just like they called off Central America demos during last year's U.S. elections in order to avoid embarrassing Walter ("Quarantine Nicaragua") Mondale.

We read in a report from Chicago: "At a recent meeting of the Marxist Education group—where all the old New Left burnouts hang out—someone observed, 'The Sparts have changed. They're a lot more reasonable now, not so antagonistic to other leftists. They're even collecting money for the Sandinistas. They used to be against the Sandinistas. I wonder why they changed their line?'" A would-be defender reportedly answered that the SL was defending the Sandinistas because they were under attack, not because of a line change, and that "now that they're the only significant group that supports Trotsky they can take a more vanguard approach." Actually, both the detractors and our defender got it wrong—they mix up political support and

military aid—though it's indicative that the SL is now recognized as the Trotskyist organization in the U.S.

A most jaundiced view, from a pro-Sandinista groupie around the so-called "External Tendency," accuses the SL of trying to get the Sandinista franchise. The "proof": we have collected dollars for Nicaragua. At least the SWP [Socialist Workers Party] waited until Castro consolidated a deformed workers state in Cuba before they signed on, she commented snidely, adding that "if we saw the SL in Nicaragua, we'd kick them out." This is hardly the attitude of the Nicaraguan government, which, well aware of the sharp political differences separating us, has appreciatively received this badly needed material aid. Prominent government figures in Managua are reportedly wondering aloud that the "Trots" are raising money on street corners in the U.S. while the "solidarity" types sit on their ass and mutter against Soviet aid.

Another item from Chicago: a former member of the International Socialists (IS) refused to give money to the SYL's "Nicabucks" campaign, arguing that donating dollars to the Nicaraguan government is like voting war credits in the Cortes (Spanish parliament) to the republican government during the Spanish Civil War. As an alternative he suggests sending money to the ex-Maoist Albanianites. Again there is a confusion of military and political support: who else could one give money to for the military defense of Nicaragua but the Nicaraguan government, whereas money to a small group of far leftists could only be for political propaganda. It's interesting to note who raises this pseudo-left argument. Back in the mid-'60s the Cornell University administration tried to discipline Spartacist supporters for our campaign for "Guns for the Viet Cong." At the time the IS "third camp" social democrats were against military victory to the Viet Cong, just as this ex-ISer opposes military support to Nicaragua today.

But let's examine the Spain comparison. In September 1937, in an article titled "Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation (A Concise Summary)," Leon Trotsky wrote:

"Will we, as a revolutionary party, mobilize new volunteers for [republican prime minister] Negrin? That would be to send them into the hands of the GPU [Stalinist secret police]. Collect money

for the Negrin government? Absurd! We will collect money for our own comrades in Spain."

—Leon Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution* (1931-39)

This quote comes from a polemic against the ultraleft Salemmie group among the American Trotskyists, who claimed that: "The Cannon-Shachtman-Goldman line of 'preferring a loyalist victory' [in Spain] is identical with



Spartacists raise FMLN flag of Salvadoran leftist combatants at NYC march, November 1981. Spartacists call for "Military Victory" to Salvadoran insurgents while reformists oppose battlefield victory, trail Democrats' call for negotiated sellout.

the approach of the Stalinists. This open degeneration into the swamp of 'lesser evil' Popular Front politics explodes the pretense that material aid does not involve political support." The Salemmie group's line was barely disguised neutrality in the Civil War, where decaying bourgeois democracy and fascism faced off on the field of battle.

A week later, Trotsky wrote to James P. Cannon in response to a letter from Max Shachtman raising the question of voting in the Spanish parliament for the republican war budget. Here Trotsky expressed concern that in the American Fourth Internationalists' latest thesis on Spain, "The question of the so-called material aid to the Negrin government was too generally formulated and could thus give a certain basis for the 'left' opposition—Salemmie and others.... A vote in parliament for the financial budget is not a 'material' aid, but an act of political solidarity." But is sending dollars to the Nicaraguan government for defense against U.S. aggression the same as collecting money for the Negrin government, or voting war credits in the Cortes? Not at all.

Look at the actual circumstances in Spain. First of all there was a civil war and dual power on the republican side of the lines. The republican government in Madrid/Valencia (and its counterpart in Barcelona) was a capitalist regime, however faint the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" in the Popular Front, which was determined to preserve the rule of private property. Using those elements of the officer corps and military apparatus (civil and assault guards) that remained loyal to the republic, they recreated a bourgeois army. Egged on by the Stalinists, the Negrin cabinet carried out a brutal crackdown against the revolutionary workers and their leaders. They were determined to strangle the social revolution which had already begun, even if it meant losing the war to the Francoists (which it eventually did). In the Spanish Civil War we sought the victory of the

revolutionary forces on the republican side, to smash Franco through military victory and complete the proletarian revolution.

Moreover, Trotsky did not oppose material aid to the republican side in the Spanish Civil War. His article opposing raising money for the Negrin government was written in the aftermath of the murderous repression of the workers' insurrection in the 1937 Barcelona "May Days" and the assassination of POUM leader André Nin by the GPU. A couple of months prior to this, speaking before the Dewey Commission in Mexico, Trotsky was asked what he would do in Spain if he were in power in the Soviet Union. He replied:

"Naturally, I would help Caballero [then prime minister of the republican government in Madrid] with all the material means against fascism, but at the same time I would give the advice to the Communist Party not to enter into the government, but to remain in a

critical position against Caballero and to prepare the second chapter of the workers' revolution."

—"Revolutionary Strategy in the Civil War" (14 April 1937)

Likewise, the French Trotskyists denounced the Popular Front government of Léon Blum for its perfidious refusal to supply arms to the anti-Franco side in the Spanish Civil War. Even after the defeat of the Barcelona insurrection, Trotsky did not reject military support to the republican army. On the contrary, he wrote against the Salemmie group:

"Do they propose desertion from the loyalist army, or a military insurrection?... If we ask the soldier not to fight, then we must ask the worker (who by working in the munitions factory gives 'material aid' to the loyalist government) not to work."

—"Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation"

The situation of Nicaragua today is notably different from Spain during the Civil War. As in Cuba at the beginning of the 1960s, there is no dual power but a bonapartist petty-bourgeois nationalist regime which came to power by smashing the pre-existing capitalist state apparatus (the Batista and Somoza dictatorships and their mercenary armies) and is not wedded to the preservation of capitalist property relations. Under the impact of U.S. blackmail and aggression, the Sandinistas could be lured by Reagan down the Cuban road to the expropriation of the capitalists and the consolidation of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

In Nicaragua it is a matter of resisting imperialist aggression, both economic and military. We point out in the "Defend Nicaragua!" leaflet for the SYL fund-raising campaign that the trade embargo is an act of war, which could lead directly to a U.S. invasion. Noting that "Nicaragua needs hard currency for everything from arms to medicine to spare parts," our effort to raise dollars has been a concrete expression of military support to the Nicaraguan Revolution under Yankee attack. It has been notably successful—raising

continued on page 15



Young compañeros of the revolution on guard in Managua.

WV Photo

As U.S. War Machine Targets Russia

Gorbachev and the Soviet Economy

Within Russia and without, the ascension of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has been seen as "galvanizing" the Soviet Union. The new first secretary of the CPSU has sharply criticized the sloth, the corruption, the stultifying complacency of the Brezhnev years, and has called for "profound transformations in the economy and in the entire system of social relations" of the USSR by the year 2000. And indeed a new generation of officials have been elevated to top posts in the Kremlin hierarchy. Visiting factories, holding impromptu street meetings, lecturing conferences on science and technology, Mikhail Gorbachev is preaching the need for dynamism and discipline.

The new style of the Kremlin leadership is captured in a joke making the rounds of Moscow wits. Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev are all on the Trans-Siberian Express, crossing the vast taiga. The train breaks down. Stalin orders, "Shoot the engine driver." The train fails to move. Khrushchev says, "Rehabilitate the engine driver." Still no movement. Brezhnev closes the curtains, settles back in his seat and says, "Let's pretend the train is moving." Gorbachev jumps up and orders everybody off the train. "Everybody push," he says, "and I'll give you a pay raise later." But Gorbachev's message is not simply work harder. At his speech to the Central Committee following the death of Chernenko, he called on Russia to join the high-tech age:

"We are to achieve a decisive turn in transferring the national economy to the tracks of intensive development. We should, we are bound to attain within the briefest period the most advanced scientific and technical positions, the highest world level in the productivity of social labour."

—New York Times, 12 March

Can Gorbachev's program work? Certainly, in an economy governed by

the aphorism, "we pretend to work and they pretend to pay us," cracking down on slothful work habits, absenteeism, drunkenness, etc. can, and to some degree already has improved labor productivity. There is plenty of room for eliminating the worst instances of managerial corruption and inefficiency without basically altering the system. But the roots of the Soviet Union's present economic malaise go deeper. Bourgeois economists point to the parasitism and conservatism of the ruling bureaucracy, and ascribe this to Leninism and a planned economy.

On the contrary, bureaucracy is the enemy of rational economic planning. Already in the late 1920s, Leon Trotsky, co-founder together with Lenin of the Soviet state, pinpointed the source of the problems: there can be no fundamental revitalization of the Soviet economy without the restoration of workers democracy.

Gorbachev has been pursuing his program of galvanizing the bureaucracy like a man in a hurry. Already as hatchet man under Andropov, he fired one-third of all district party secretaries, a quarter of the 90 ministers and nine of the 23 CC department heads (*Der Spiegel*, 18 March). As head of the Communist Party he has ousted the ministers of agro-industry, petroleum and construction. This sense of urgency, especially over the flagging rate of Soviet economic growth, reflects at bottom the increasing pressure of imperialist militarism. The current gang in Washington is gearing up for war: Reagan's salute to the Nazi war dead at Bithorg only underscores the danger of a nuclear Operation Barbarossa. At the same time, the American right wing has long believed it can bankrupt the Soviet economy through an all-out arms race. Now in power, they're hell-bent on destroying the "evil empire."



Soviet leader Gorbachev visits steel mill, June 1985, part of widely publicized campaign for intensified work.

"The U.S.A. must double its spending on armaments. We must get an effective military satellite into orbit and the Russkies had better know we'll use it... we must double our expenditure right away."

"...we spend ten percent of our gross national product at present. We could double that without suffering; but the USSR already spends twenty percent of her gross national product. If she doubles that, boy she will crack. Get me—she'll crack."

—Len Deighton,

The Billion Dollar Brain

Such was the worldly wisdom of "General Midwinter," Texas oil tycoon and führer of a privately owned anti-Communist espionage outfit, Crusade for Freedom. When Deighton wrote this spy novel in the mid-1960s, General Midwinter was presented and regarded as a certifiable nut case. Today he would be considered a middle-of-the-roader in

the Reagan administration.

A typical view of the world according to General Midwinter is Richard Pipes' new book, *Survival Is Not Enough* (1984). This anti-Communist tract has received little attention except from the Reagan gang. The book jacket is filled with endorsements by Kirkpatrick, Weinberger, Nitze & Co. The Pentagon chief asserts, "I strongly agree with Pipes's main point." Pipes' main point is to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union through a combination of nuclear brinkmanship, an unrestrained arms race, total economic warfare and internal subversion.

Richard Pipes, a charter member of the Reagan gang, as director of East European and Soviet Affairs for the National Security Council in 1981-82 caused a small flap when he declared that "there was no alternative to war with the Soviet Union if the Russians did not abandon Communism" (*New York Times*, 27 March 1981). In his latest book he spells out his pipedreams of "peaceful" counterrevolution:

"The other [alternative] is wider scope for private enterprise.... This probably calls for the decentralization of industrial decision making, the dismantling of collective farms, the adoption in industry and agriculture of the contractual principle as the rule rather than the exception, and the turning over of a good part of the consumer and service sectors to private enterprise. The consequence of such reforms would be a mixed economy...."

It is not only the General Midwinters now running amok in Washington who think that the Soviet Union has reached such a sorry impasse that to survive its leaders must move toward capitalism. The associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center, Marshall Goldman, entitled his latest book, *U.S.S.R. in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System* (1983). The liberal *Washington Post* (23 September 1984) wrote: "The existing economic structure does not offer the prospect of turning



Soviet missiles on display at Red Square (above); Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov denounces U.S. deployment of first-strike Pershing missiles, December 1983 (right). Need for massive military defense in face of U.S. war provocations is a drain on Soviet economy.



the backward Soviet Union into a modern industrial power, and it now faces unprecedented internal strains as it struggles merely to maintain forward momentum." "Any serious attempt to rescue the Soviet economy," declares the conservative London *Economist* (16 March), must involve "the freeing of part of the industrial sector, and most of the service industries, from all but the most general instructions of the central planning bureaucrats."

In short, Western bourgeois opinion has convinced itself a) that the Soviet Union has entered a period of deepening economic crisis, which cannot be resolved through traditional methods or piecemeal tinkering; and b) that the only feasible way out is the abandonment of centralized economic planning in favor of market-oriented "reforms"—competition between enterprises, giving managers the power to determine output and prices, the liquidation of collectivized agriculture for peasant smallholding, and allowing private entrepreneurs to take over much of the service sector, such as retail trade.

A Soviet Economic Crisis?

Reading Western discussions of the present state of the Soviet economy, one is reminded of Mark Twain's line: "the reports of my death are greatly exaggerated." The propaganda campaign about a Soviet economic "crisis" began in the early 1980s, at a time when the advanced capitalist world itself was suffering the worst depression since the 1930s. Thirty million workers were unemployed in North America, West Europe and Japan, while the Soviet Union has experienced *over-full* employment, that is, there are more jobs available than workers to fill them. In 1981-82 industrial production in North America *fell* by 6 percent and in West Europe by 4 percent. In these two years industrial production in the USSR *increased* by 6 percent. While every major capitalist government—Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Kohl—has imposed savage austerity measures and slashed social services and welfare, consumption levels in the Soviet Union have *improved* in recent years, albeit at a very slow pace.

What then is the basis for all the talk of an economic "crisis" in the USSR? It is the fact that the rate of growth has slowed markedly over the past decade. To put this slowdown in perspective one has to appreciate the rapid economic development in the previous decades. From 1950 to 1980 per capita consumption in the USSR nearly *tripled*. There were striking advances in practically every area of material life.

Take food, for example. The American public is told that the Soviet Union cannot feed its own people but must rely on massive imports of grain from the West. The reality is very different. Gross agricultural output more than doubled between 1960 and 1980. There has been a dramatic, qualitative improvement in the diet of the average Soviet citizen. Per capita meat consumption more than doubled, from 57 to 125 pounds a year, between 1950 and 1982. Similarly, in this period per capita consumption of fish rose from 15 to 40 pounds, and vegetables from 112 to 222 pounds (David Lane, *Soviet Economy and Society* [1985]). At the same time, consumption of traditional Russian staples, such as potatoes and bread, have fallen as people upgraded their diet. Today the average Soviet citizen eats at least as much beef as a worker in Thatcher's Britain and far more pork and fish. The Soviet Union's large imports of grain, in some years amounting to a quarter of total consumption, are used for *cattle fodder*, not bread.

Insofar as one can speak of an economic crisis in the Soviet Union, it is a *crisis of expectations* both on the part of the working masses and the ruling bureaucratic elite. The Soviet people have gotten a taste, so to speak, of a



No bread lines in Moscow. Increased food consumption gives lie to U.S. Imperialists' fantasy of starving out Soviet people.

Western standard of living and naturally want more. But in recent years there is little more to be had. Meat consumption—a key index of a Western diet—has been frozen for a decade. Apart from certain consumer durables (televisions, refrigerators), there has been no major improvement in Soviet living standards since the mid-1970s. Yesterday's promises have not been fulfilled. Gone are the heady days of the 1950s when the shoe-thumping Nikita Khrushchev boasted that the Soviet Union would overtake the United States and achieve full communism by the year 1980.

In 1980 the head of the central planning agency (Gosplan), Nikolai Baybakov, wrote, "we have been unable to achieve an abrupt change in direction in raising the efficiency of social production...without a radical improvement of affairs in the field of scientific-technical progress, it will not be possible to perform these large tasks which the party and government are setting" (quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Economy in the 1980's: Problems and Prospects* [1983]). In Anthony Olecott's Soviet crime thriller *May Day in Magadan*, the fictional KGB general Polkovnikov voices the same worries in more down-to-earth language:

"What the devil, you don't need figures to know that Gosplan has jumped the rails, that we're in a bad way. Everybody says that things are bad, and could get worse. What if we have to start buying more oil; what if there's another war or the Poles or God knows, there's a million worries..."

USSR Under Reagan's Missiles

At the center of these million worries is the enormous and deforming pressure of Western imperialist militarism. Despite significant economic development over the decades, per capita national income in the Soviet Union is still only 60 percent that of the United States. Thus, keeping up with the Pentagon arsenal is a terrible drain on the Soviet economy. Hence the extreme importance the Stalinist bureaucracy attaches to arms control agreements with the NATO powers. Hence also the perennial right-wing notion, à la General Midwinter, that the U.S. can break the Soviet Union economically through an all-out arms race.

According to the CIA and other professional Kremlin and Gosplan watchers, the Soviet Union has continued to increase real military spending by 4.5 percent annually over the past decade even though overall economic growth has fallen below this rate. As a result the share of the military sector has increased from an estimated 12 percent in the 1970s to 14 percent of gross national product currently (compared to 7 percent in the United States). Moreover, this figure *understates* the actual burden of defense on the Soviet economy. The military sector absorbs a

far greater proportion of the most advanced scientific and technological resources (scientists, engineers, sophisticated machinery, computer time). It takes up the cream of research and development expenditure. As American economist Stanley Cohn explained, "the intensive R and D effort required to support production of strategic weaponry has further deprived civilian production sectors of the most important growth ingredients" (U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Soviet Military Economic Relations* [1983]).

Despite the increasing burden of military defense and the slowdown in economic growth, consumption levels have *not* been cut back and in certain

not one between guns and butter... but between guns and factories." Now that is true. The Soviet Union cannot meet the massive Pentagon arms buildup without cutting into living standards unless it reverses, and sharply, the deceleration of economic growth in recent years.

What the General Midwinters do not and cannot understand is that the Soviet people, who keenly remember the 20 million killed when Nazi Germany invaded their country, are determined that this will never happen to them again. They are willing to make the sacrifices to ensure military preparedness against the madmen in Washington. An American academic specialist in the Soviet economy, Daniel Bond, tried to explain this fact of Russian life to the United States Congress:

"The Soviet people do feel defense is a very positive thing; contrary to the American public, which does not really value defense spending positively or think about it in a positive sense. The Soviet population, in part, because of their experience in World War II, views it positively."

—*Soviet Military Economic Relations*

Bureaucratic Parasitism and the Soviet Economy

In the 20-year period from the mid-1950s to the mid-70s the Soviet economy grew sufficiently rapidly to catch up with the U.S. in the arms race and achieve rough strategic nuclear parity, to more than double its citizens' living standards and even subsidize East Europe on a massive scale. Why is this no longer possible? What is the basic cause of the current Soviet economic malaise?

Soviet industrial development in the past has been based on what economists



Viktor Bulla

Workers' meeting of Putilov factory for re-election of Petrograd Soviet, 1920. Only return to workers democracy can release full potential of nationalized economy.

areas have improved: more guns (or missiles) and no less butter (or meat). How has this been possible? The Kremlin bureaucrats have mortgaged long-term economic growth by slashing to the bone new investment in plant and equipment. In the 1976-80 Five Year Plan investment growth was cut in half, from 7 to 3.5 percent a year. In the current (1981-85) plan it has been almost halved again, to 2 percent a year, by far the lowest rate since the early 1920s! "The Soviet Policy Favoring Arms Over Investment Since 1975" is the title of a presentation to Congress by a "scholar in residence" for the CIA (now, there's a job title for you). Richard Pipes writes with glee, "the choice before the Soviet leadership is

term *extensive* growth, that is, the construction of new factories drawing upon seemingly unlimited labor power from the countryside. Thus, the *structure* of Soviet industrial investment has historically been very different from that of the advanced capitalist world. For some decades about 50 percent of investment in the U.S. has gone to replace obsolete machinery (retooling). By contrast, in the 1970s almost 80 percent of Soviet industrial investment was expended on *new* construction projects. Furthermore, this construction takes forever to complete because the different bureaucracies in charge (often competing for resources) invariably overestimate productivity and un-

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Soviet Economy...

(continued from page 9)

derestimate costs. Thus, Soviet industrial plant is increasingly aged, falling further behind the most advanced Western and Japanese techniques.

By the early 1970s it was clear the Soviet Union was fast exhausting the basic resource for extensive growth, namely, surplus labor. Since then the problem has gotten progressively worse. Whereas during the 1976-80 Five Year Plan eleven million new workers entered the labor force, only three million additional workers have become available in the current five year plan. Of these, 2.5 million are Turkic-speaking people from Soviet Central Asia, who are unlikely to migrate to the regions of severe labor shortage in European Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia. Thus, economic growth depends critically upon raising the productivity of the existing labor force working in existing



In '30s Stalin held up coal miner Stakhanov (right) as model. Workers who objected to Stakhanovite speedup were branded "Trotskyist saboteurs" and sent off to labor camps.

factories. This is called *intensive* growth. For more than a decade the need to shift from extensive to intensive growth has been a standard theme, almost a cliché, in official economic pronouncements.

However, this much proclaimed and promised transition has encountered a fundamental obstacle: pervasive bureaucratic parasitism at the base of the economy. Managers and administrators routinely understate actual capacity in order to be given a plan easy to fulfill. They hoard labor and use raw materials wastefully. They achieve the plan target but with poor-quality goods or goods in odd sizes and assortments. For example, if the plan is measured in tons, unusually heavy items are produced. There's a famous cartoon from the 1950s of a nail factory which meets its annual quota by producing a single mammoth nail. Managers and administrators resist innovation and risk-taking for fear they will not meet the plan target on schedule.

As long as growth was mainly a matter of building new factories and other facilities, the Soviet Union could and did achieve high rates despite the heavy drag of bureaucratic parasitism and microeconomic inefficiency. But these factors are now dragging down the Soviet economy. Discussing the mounting economic problems, Gorbachev stated:

"The main emphasis should be laid on the technical re-equipment of plants, saving of resources and ensuring of a marked improvement in the quality of products."

"It is crucial to give up, without hesitation, the determining economic management stereotype of the past, under which new construction was considered the main way of expanding production, and many operating plants were not technically modernized for many years...."

"Hence the main task of this work today is to bring about, by all means possible, a change in the minds and moods of personnel from top to bottom, by concentrating their attention on the most important thing—scientific and technical progress."

"...optimism does not free anybody of the need to work. We will have to work a lot."

—Pravda, 12 June [translation adapted from Moscow News, June 1985]

In one sense there is really nothing new in what Gorbachev is saying. For decades the top Kremlin leaders—Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev—have exhorted the managers and administrators below them to be more dynamic, more innovative and, at the same time, more cost-conscious. Yet decades of exhortation—in Stalin's day backed by the gulag and executioner's bullet—have not, in Gorbachev's phrase, changed the psychology of economic activity. Bureaucratic commandism on top cannot purge bureaucratic parasitism at the base. And as the Soviet economy becomes more developed, bureaucratic mismanagement becomes an ever greater obstacle to further progress.

Bourgeois spokesmen and propagandists in the West, of course, blame the current Soviet economic malaise on the very existence of collectivized property and centralized planning. A common argument runs: central planning may have worked more or less when the Soviet economy was relatively primitive, but it cannot meet the needs of a more complex and technologically advanced society. In his *U.S.S.R. in Crisis: The Failure of an Economic System*, Marshall Goldman asserts:

"It turns out that Marxism is ill-suited for the kinds of needs the Soviet Union presently has...."

"Ironically, the industrialized countries of the noncommunist world seem to handle ongoing and evolutionary change better than the so-called revolutionary communist world."

Anti-communist ideologues like Goldman identify Marxism with Stalinism, a point of view they share with the Stalinists.

In reality it is not Marxism but Stalinist bureaucratic mismanagement which lies at the root of the Soviet economic slowdown. Half a century ago the great Russian Marxist Leon Trotsky, leader of the Left Opposition against Stalin, predicted the present economic impasse of the Soviet Union and its fundamental cause. In his classic account of the Stalinist political counter-revolution, *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky wrote:

"The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic command—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of the bureaucracy like a shadow. The

Cartoon from Soviet humor magazine *Krokodil*, 1981, ridicules management of forestry collective. Caption reads: "They didn't supply the freight cars again...?"



Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, *quality* demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery."

The terrible destruction of World War II postponed the day when the Soviet economy would have to make the transition from raw quantity to quality, from extensive to intensive growth. But that day has now arrived with a vengeance.

Not Market-Oriented "Reforms" But Political Revolution!

Mikhail Gorbachev reportedly told the central committee of the ruling Communist Party that he intends to seek "revolutionary" changes in the economy (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 March). To date there have been no significant, much less radical, changes. The anti-corruption and labor discipline campaigns inaugurated a few years ago by the late Yuri Andropov can, at best, have a limited impact and then only for a limited period. Doubtless Andropov himself and his protégé Gorbachev regarded these campaigns as no more than partial, stopgap measures to eliminate the worst abuses. If the Kremlin leadership seems uncertain how to overcome the current Soviet economic malaise, no such uncertainty exists in the imperialist West. There is a consensus, ranging from anti-Communist fanatics like Richard Pipes to self-described liberal socialists like Alec Nove, that what the USSR desperately needs is, in Reagan's words, the "magic of the market." There is also widespread expectation or, at any rate, speculation that Gorbachev will act the role of magician. Shortly before he took over the reins of government, the *Washington Post* (23 September 1984) wrote: "According to some reports, Gorbachev has overseen drafting a new

variant of NEP that he would like to implement now, making room for much more private enterprise in the service sector and in agriculture."

Whether or not Gorbachev lives up to his advance billing as a market-oriented reformer, Western bourgeois opinion that the Soviet Union will move in this direction is not simply ideological prejudice or wishful thinking. Within the framework of Stalinism there is an inherent tendency toward economic decentralization as an *alternative to workers democracy*. Since managers and workers are not subject to the discipline of soviet democracy—and a return to the totalitarian terror of Stalin's day is not now feasible—a section of the bureaucracy sees subjecting the economic actors to the discipline of the market as the only answer to the Soviet Union's serious economic problems. However, this cure is worse than the disease.

The pioneer country of "market socialism" is Yugoslavia. Shortly after its break with Stalin's Russia in 1948, the Tito regime introduced autonomous and competing enterprises based on workers' self-management. During the 1950s liberal Stalinists and many left social democrats lauded "the Yugoslav road to socialism" as a healthy alternative to Soviet-style centralization. Today, after almost three decades of "self-management," Yugoslavia has managed to achieve both the highest unemployment and inflation rate in Europe. East or West! Unemployment would be far greater still save for the fact that the country exports labor on a massive scale to the capitalist Common Market of West Europe. Today no one now holds up the "Yugoslav road to socialism," especially not in Yugoslavia.

So the advocates of market-oriented "reform" now point to Hungary as their preferred model. For example, Marshall Goldman projects "a far-sighted Soviet leader might therefore begin to experiment with reform on the Hungarian model." Hungary under János Kádár's New Economic Mechanism has not to date turned into the total economic disaster area that is Yugoslavia, primarily because the system is far less decentralized. All workers are guaranteed a basic wage, to be paid, if necessary, out of the central government budget. Bankruptcies and resulting mass layoffs are prevented by state subsidies.

Nonetheless, "market socialism" in Hungary has generated gross inequality in all sectors of society. This is nicely captured by a joke retailed in the country's factories. Party leader Kádár visits a factory and asks the manager: "Have you had a bonus under the economic reform, and what have you



Improved farm equipment is key to increasing grain production. Here, threshers are tested.

done with it?" Reply: "I bought a country cottage, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." He asks the chief engineer the same question. Reply: "I bought a car, and the rest of the money I put in the savings bank." Finally Kádár asks a worker. He replies: "I bought a pair of shoes." Kádár: "And the rest of the money?" Worker: "The rest of the money I had to borrow from my mother-in-law."

However, the most anti-socialist and truly dangerous feature of Hungarian-style "market socialism" is the emergence of a large number of private entrepreneurs, each employing and exploiting half a dozen or so workers, in retail trade and other services, housing construction and the like. Many of these people are, by Hungarian standards, millionaires. The liberal British historian A.J.P. Taylor, whose wife is Hungarian, observed after an extended visit there, "conditions are much like those in England. There are plenty of well-to-do people, though maybe living a little more modestly" (*An Old Man's Diary* [1984]). Hungary's much-vaunted (in the West) economic "reform" has produced a new class of petty capitalists—numbering in the tens of thousands—who form a concentrated social base for counterrevolution.

If in Hungary we can see a developing social base for capitalist restoration, it is in Poland where the counterrevolutionary danger has been and remains most acute. Poland was the one country in Stalinist East Europe which did *not* collectivize agriculture. The mass of peasant smallholders not only blocked

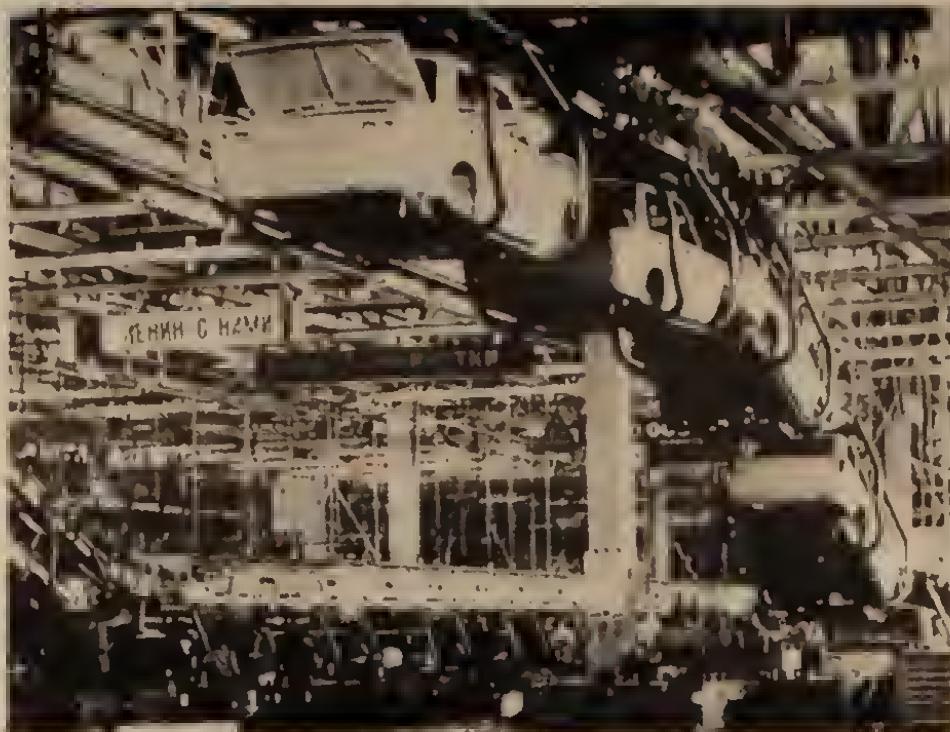


Der Spiegel

Computerized control room in an atomic power plant near Leningrad.

agricultural modernization but also provided a potent social base for the reactionary Catholic church. In the wake of the 1970 workers uprising, sparked by food price increases, the new "reform" regime of Edward Gierk promised an "economic miracle" to be achieved through massive loans from Western banks. When export markets didn't materialize and the loans to the Frankfurt bankers fell due, the result was a catastrophic economic collapse in the late 1970s, giving rise to the clerical-nationalist Solidarność of Lech Walesa. In the fall of 1981 the country stood on the verge of civil war, as Walesa & Co. launched their counterrevolutionary bid for power using Richard Pipes' watchword of "decentralization" (i.e., abolition of the planned economy). The Polish bureaucracy spiked Solidarność' power grab at the last minute. However, decades of Stalinist conciliation of reactionary forces—socially, economically and politically—have driven Poland into bankruptcy and much of its population to look for salvation from Reagan's America, the Common Market and Pope Wojtyła's Vatican.

While Soviet workers are probably not that familiar with the Yugoslav,



Der Spiegel

Soviet auto works at Togliatti. Retooling and expansion of industrial plant is critical for Soviet economy.

Hungarian and Polish experiences, they are instinctively suspicious, if not downright resistant, to all this talk about economic "reform." The right-wing London *Economist* (25 May) is hardheaded enough to recognize: "The idea of economic reform is not as popular with the average Soviet electrician or machine-minder as is sometimes assumed in the west. At the very least, reform will mean a widening of pay differentials." Soviet workers, with their strong sense of egalitarianism, do not want to earn 10 or 20 percent less for doing the same job as in a neighboring, but more profitable, factory. They do not want to be laid off because they are unfortunately working in an enterprise that is losing money through no fault of theirs (for example, because it has old and obsolete equipment). Any move toward market-oriented "reform" will cause the Kremlin bureaucracy considerable trouble with the Soviet proletariat.

This is not to say that Soviet workers are or should be satisfied with the economic status quo. Bureaucratic centralism generates enormous waste, especially in the consumer goods sector. Unwanted items pile up in warehouses or can be sold at only a fraction of the cost of production, while other commodities are chronically in short supply. Soviet shoppers spend hours waiting on line or looking for goods they want and need. Even that personification of bureaucratic complacency, the late Konstantin Chernenko, complained of poor quality and shortages of consumer goods, pointing out, for example, that children's shoes are hard to find.

However, the answer to these problems is *not* atomized competition between enterprises while turning much of retail trade and the rest of the consumer sector over to private entrepreneurs. As far back as the 1920s the Trotskyist Left Opposition denounced bureaucratic arbitrariness in economic administration and indifference to consumer well-being. The 1927 Platform of the Joint Opposition called for "the lowering of prices [which] primarily applies to consumer goods needed by the mass of the workers and peasants." It further specifies a "price-lowering policy, more adapted to the conditions of the market, and more individualized—that is, taking into consideration the market position of each kind of goods."

In the 1930s the Polish socialist economist Oskar Lange developed a theoretical model for combining a centralized market for consumer goods and services with long-term planning for basic economic construction. Clearly it makes no sense to apply long-term targets to the number of shoes delivered to specific department stores or wrenches supplied to various garages.

The central economic administration should continually adjust the output of different goods to satisfy market demand. The objects of the long-term plan are the construction of new factories, mines, railroads, airports, etc., major retooling operations, urban renewal and the like. And to harmonize final consumption with planned production of primary and intermediate goods, planners can use the "input/output" model developed by Russian émigré economist Wassily Leontief, growing out of his study of Soviet planning problems in the 1920s.

Combining Lange and Leontief, so to speak, and with the modern computer technology capable of millions of computations a second, a planned Soviet economy can adjust supply and demand and promote economic development far more efficiently than the chaos of the most theoretically "perfect" market. But as with any information system, the key is the accuracy and relevance of the inputs. With the systematic distortion of data engendered by bureaucratic rule (hoarding, wasteful use of resources, etc.), no wonder the result is endless bottlenecks and shoddy products. In the lingo of computer programmers: garbage in, garbage out (GIGO). To solve this problem, you need not only modern technology but soviet democracy.

The main economic problem facing the USSR today is not the elimination of waste in the consumer sector, important and desirable as that is. It is the renewal of an increasingly aged industrial plant, applying and going beyond the most advanced techniques of Western and Japanese capitalism. In short, the Soviet economy must, in

Trotsky's words, make the transition from quantity to quality. It is precisely here that bureaucratic parasitism and commandism stands in the way of further progress. What Trotsky wrote during Stalin's first Five Year Plan possesses, if anything, even greater force today:

"The participation of workers themselves in the leadership of the nation, of its politics and economy, and actual control over the bureaucracy, and the growth in the feeling of responsibility of those in charge to those under them—all these would doubtless react favorably on production itself: the friction within would be reduced, the costly economic zigzags would likewise be reduced to a minimum, a healthier distribution of forces and equipment would be assured, and ultimately the coefficients of growth would be raised. Soviet democracy is first of all the vital need of national economy itself."

—*What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat* (1932)

There can be no fundamental and sustained revival of Soviet economic growth without the restoration of workers (soviet) democracy. And there can be no restoration of soviet democracy without a proletarian political revolution which ousts the Stalinist usurpers of the Bolshevik Revolution. A democratically elected soviet government will revise the economic plan from top to bottom in the interests of the producers and consumers. Thus, workers and peasants will have a direct stake in maximizing labor productivity for they will no longer see the product of their labor often wasted on ill-conceived projects or spent to build *dachas* (villas) for the Kremlin oligarchs and their hangers-on. Factory committees will elect the managers and oversee the plan's most efficient implementation. This is the only answer to bureaucratic parasitism at the base. Consumer cooperatives will oversee the price and quality of products.

To be sure, proletarian political revolution is not a cure-all for the problems of the Soviet economy. The Soviet Union would still confront the terrible pressure of a hostile and economically more advanced capitalist world. It is precisely this pressure which was the prime cause of the Stalinist degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution. Workers revolution in the advanced capitalist countries would in short order sweep away the Kremlin bureaucracy. At the same time, there is no historical law that the Soviet workers and peasants, who in 1917 shook the world, must now await revolutionary impetus from the West. A revolutionary workers government at the head of the Soviet state would, like the early Soviet government of Lenin and Trotsky, possess the most powerful weapon of all against imperialist militarism: the program, perspective and moral authority to lead the world socialist revolution. ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

is there that is concentrated the power to smash the chains of apartheid slavery, opening the road to workers revolution.

As the black unrest in the townships continued to spread this winter, the regime called for unmitigated state terror. This was codified in Botha's July 21 "State of Emergency" declaration and his August 15 speech to the Natal provincial conference of the ruling Afrikaner National Party. "I believe that we are today crossing the Rubicon in South Africa," the state president told his party. "There is no turning back." Botha recalled the Afrikaner *Voortrekkers* circling their wagons to hold off the siege. To demands for "power sharing" with the non-white majority, he replied: "We have never given in to outside demands and we are not going to do so now." "One man, one vote," he said, would mean "abdication and suicide" for white South Africa.

Following Botha's "Rubicon" speech the reaction from American liberals and conservatives, from pro-imperialist black "moderates" in South Africa and even leading Johannesburg businessmen was one of despair. "I believe that we are on the brink of a catastrophe," Nobel Prize-winning Bishop Tutu declared. Reagan's national security adviser McFarlane declared that South African leaders "are looking into an abyss of massive violence." And the leading South African financial journal, *Business Day*, called for Botha's resignation: "With the eyes of the world on him, he behaved like a hick politician." But the "hick" Botha understands that apartheid cannot be reformed out of existence any more than slavery could be in the American South. The bedrock of South African capitalism is the super-exploitation of black labor, whatever name you give it.

All the contradictions of apartheid capitalism are dramatically escalating. A state of terror has been decreed, but the mood among black youth has gone beyond the point where terror can stifle protest. Moreover, by arresting every "nonviolent" black leader they can find, Pretoria is further radicalizing the masses. U.S. politicians think that if Botha would only make a token gesture of reform it could serve as a pressure valve, to blow off steam. But Botha fears that even the illusion of reform today could accelerate the momentum toward an explosion as the black masses sense weakness in their oppressors. The less "enlightened" Afrikaner nationalists call for a Zionist solution of retreating to a tight, white *laager*. But many white South Africans don't want to live in a garrison state, under constant threat of war, and are not anxious to clean their own swimming pools.

The South African bourgeoisie is stymied. The American bourgeoisie feels impotent. What about the opponents of apartheid? Those who have been calling for "divestment" of imperialist holdings in South Africa have gotten their wish (as much as they ever will): several billion dollars have recently fled the country as imperialist bankers, multinational corporations

and nervous South African investors try to hedge their options. The African National Congress (ANC) has called since last February to make the townships ungovernable, and that has certainly been achieved. The situation is building toward civil war, all right, but with what result? The apartheid butchers may feel their hold being shaken, but their power is not broken. And in the absence of a clear working-class axis of struggle, the field is left open for black demagogues like Zulu chief Buthelezi, whose thugs staged murderous raids on the Indian community of Durban early in August. If the danger of indefensible and ultimately suicidal communalist and tribalist bloodletting is to be

century ago the "defiance campaign" of civil disobedience, peaceful marches and pass burnings was met by the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, where 69 unarmed demonstrators were murdered by the police. In the subsequent "emergency" 11,000 anti-apartheid militants were arrested and protests silenced for more than a decade. But now a new generation of blacks, more urbanized, better educated and organized, are determined not to take the oppressive conditions of apartheid slavery any longer.

Botha's "emergency" hasn't worked any more than the previous eleven months of massive repression did. Dispatching "hippo" armored troop carriers into Soweto, the sprawling



Black miners at strike vote meeting, August 4.

averted, a revolutionary workers party must be forged to lead all the oppressed in a struggle for a black-centered workers government.

South Africa State of Siege

The Botha regime's state of siege added little to the draconian police state measures already on the books. Blacks, coloureds and Indians have been subjected to a "state of emergency" ever since the British parliament sanctioned white supremacy in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1909. "Preventive detention" was provided for in the frequently used Internal Security Act of 1950. The new "emergency regulations" which allow police and soldiers to jail, torture and kill with impunity are a declaration of intent to stage a massive bloodbath. "Botha has said we can kill you like flies," cops told one 20-year-old black youth. And then they shot him in cold blood. Since the "emergency" went into effect, more than 150 blacks have been killed and over 2,000 thrown into South Africa's notorious torture chambers. But this is nothing compared to the bloody slaughter they are preparing.

The Botha regime has decimated the leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid formation, comprising 600 organizations and supported by the outlawed ANC. The UDF grew out of the successful boycott of Botha's referendum last year on a constitutional scheme to divide South Africa's oppressed coloured and Indians from the blacks. The UDF advocates nonviolence in the face of the massive violence of the apartheid police state. A quarter

township near Johannesburg, to arrest hundreds of school-age youth did not break a classroom boycott of the dreadfully inferior "Bantu education." In order to head off a march on Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, called to demand freedom for ANC leader Nelson Mandela, police arrested Rev. Allan Boesak, the leader of the protest, and Botha's Gestapo attacked thousands of marchers with a wild frenzy of whipping, tear gas and bullets. Yet two days later, some 70,000 blacks attended a funeral for 18 victims of apartheid terror at Duncan Village in the Eastern Cape. There they heard banned UDF leader Stephen Tshwete declare: "The deaths of these comrades must be avenged. Apartheid is a violent system and that is how it must be destroyed. It is not going to be very long before fires start burning in white areas" (London *Financial Times*, 2 September).

Smash the Shackles of Apartheid Capitalism!

On September 1, South Africa's biggest and most strategic black union, the National Union of Mineworkers, struck five gold mines and two coal mines. The courageous black miners who downed tools were striking at the very heart of blood-drenched South African capitalism, where mining accounts for one fifth of the total gross national product and gold alone provides over 50 percent of South Africa's export income. NUM leader Cyril Ramaphosa accused the mine owners of preparing "total warfare" against strikers, using armored trucks and helicopters to seal off the mines. As we go to press, news reports say the walkout has

been called off in the face of massive repression. But the apartheid bosses vividly remember the mass strike by hundreds of thousands of black workers last November who brought the mines and industry of the Witwatersrand to a grinding halt, and could do so again.

The labor unrest takes place in the midst of South Africa's most severe economic crisis in 50 years. Suddenly the arrogant white cabinet ministers, bankers and mine owners are compelled to go hat-in-hand to Wall Street like the Third World countries they love to scorn and bully. After shutting down the Johannesburg stock and currency exchanges for four days, Pretoria suspended debt payments and established a "two-tier" currency exchange rate in order to prevent a massive withdrawal of foreign capital. The crisis was precipitated when foreign banks, led off by Chase Manhattan, announced that due to political "instability," they would not "roll over" (renew) billions of dollars of short-term loans to South Africa falling due in the next few months. This sent the rand plummeting to 33 U.S. cents, half its value a year ago. According to one analyst, capital flight from South Africa "is the highest it has been since the beginning of apartheid" (*New York Times*, 28 August). In all, 18 U.S. companies have pulled out or curtailed their South African operations so far this year.

So now even South African businessmen are crying for some kind of "reform." "Time has run out," said Afrikaner industrialist Anton Rupert. "This is the Government's final opportunity to... introduce the sort of reforms the country is strongly signalling it needs so urgently" (*New York Times*, 31 August). Last month, Gavin Reilly, who succeeded Harry Oppenheimer as chairman of the giant Anglo American mining conglomerate, called for freeing Nelson Mandela, the start of talks with representatives of all races in South Africa and the removal of "influx controls" (pass laws) which control the movement of blacks inside the country. But at most these "enlightened" capitalist spokesmen call for a "federalist" solution, a modified version of apartheid. None dare call for full democratic rights for the oppressed black majority. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 July) quoted Afrikaner businessman Stephanus Guyser:

"Everyone knows in his heart of hearts that apartheid as we originally understood it is dead. We can't wish the blacks away. But I am ready to take a gun and fight for white rule."

From Soweto to Detroit

The crisis of the apartheid state has become a crisis in American politics as well. In addition to reviving mass student radical protests, it has caused a division within the American ruling class, not only along the usual liberal Democrat-vs.-Republican/Dixiecrat lines, but within the right-wing camp itself. The administration has become schizophrenic: one day Reagan incredibly declares that South Africa has "eliminated the segregation that we once had in our own country," the next day Washington calls on Botha to negotiate with the ANC. Moral Majority bigot Jerry Falwell has launched a "Christian crusade" for white racist rule in South Africa and John Lofton, a columnist for the Moonies' *Washington Times*, called on ABC-TV's "Nightline" for the execution of ANC leader Mandela for "high treason." Meanwhile, conservative Republican senators are denouncing Reagan's "constructive engagement" as an abject failure and threatening to override a presidential veto of economic sanctions against South Africa.

Reagan's liberal Democratic opponents such as Teddy Kennedy are proclaiming the moral superiority of America's rulers over the Afrikaner nationalists. What obscene hypocrisy! The United States is a nation built on the genocide of the native Indian



Apartheid's sinister Zulu chief Buthelezi incites his Inkatha thugs to anti-Asian pogroms.



Mark Peters

Longshore Militant Stan Gow: Unions Must Act Against Apartheid!

Open Letter to Members of ILWU Local 10

Dear members of Local 10,

I am writing to you in this manner because of the urgent situation in South Africa. I will not be able to present these views in person at Thursday's membership meeting because unfortunately I will be in the hospital for another serious operation on my back.

The situation in South Africa is escalating rapidly toward civil war. With its bogus "state of emergency" the white racist capitalist government of South Africa is using savage measures in an attempt to drown black resistance in blood. The last time such "emergency" measures were used was 25 years ago after the Sharpeville massacre, when 69 unarmed blacks were killed protesting the hated pass-book laws. Then, over 11,000 black activists were jailed, all major anti-apartheid organizations were driven underground, and many of the leaders killed, imprisoned (as was Nelson Mandela) or driven into exile. As a result, black resistance to apartheid was broken for a decade.

Today, the revolt is wider and more militant than it was 25 years ago. A new generation of black youth have rejected the "nonviolent" civil disobedience of the protests of the '50's. But most important in the current revolt is the growth and combativity of the black unions representing the most organized sector of the 6 million strong black working class. Typically the union leaders are young men, like 32 year old Cyril Ramaphosa, leader of the black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). They are not like the completely housebroken and craven pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats most of us despise in this country. The NUM is challenging Botha's "state of emergency." They have threatened to shut down

all the mines—gold, diamond and coal—if Botha carries out his threat to deport "foreign" miners.

But while the current revolt has taken on new historic proportions, apartheid is not going to be "reformed," nor is it going to fall automatically. Super-exploited black labor is the source of South Africa's wealth. The white population is armed to the teeth and determined to defend what they've got. This isn't Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). So long as the struggle develops simply along white-vs.-black national lines, there is a great danger that a military confrontation will lead to a huge bloodbath of the unarmed black masses. Therefore it is imperative that the principle of *class vs. class* prevail in the struggle for a black-centered workers government in South Africa.

The imperialist and racist governments of the United States and the other NATO powers fear that the social upheaval in South Africa could lead to such a working class victory there. They fear not just for their investments, but for the impact such a powerful social revolution would have on their "own" working class at home, especially the black workers in the U.S. All the talk by both Republicans and Democrats here about "sanctions" is an attempt to prevent *labor action* here in solidarity with the black workers and youth of South Africa. Here of course, they depend on their "labor lieutenants" like Lane Kirkland, William Winpisinger (IAM) or Jimmy Herman, to keep things "cool." These people in turn have their own "second lieutenants."

So it was no surprise that local president Larry Wing twice ruled out of order motions by me for labor action against Botha's bloody "state of emer-

Stan Gow (In dark glasses) leading picket on the waterfront last December.



gency" at the last two execs. After all, some judge signed a piece of paper six months ago, right? Nor was it a surprise that Wing was supported by Leo Robinson and Howard Keylor (among others). After all, these were the guys who swore on a stack of bibles last November that the boycott of the Kimberley had absolutely nothing to do with the union. We don't ever do anything illegal or against the bosses' rules, right? What was disgusting was when Keylor and Robinson proposed instead to send a letter to Jimmy Herman, asking *him* to call a coastwide work stoppage! Last November Herman publicly denounced the anti-apartheid boycott action by Local 10 as "an illegal work stoppage."

Compared to what the courageous black people of South Africa are facing right now, this is all just cowardly, legalistic bullshit. Furthermore, *given* the international outcry against the "state of emergency" right now, however hypocritical and self-serving, the employers and courts would be very reluctant to take any legal action against longshoremen, many of them black, stopping ships to protest apartheid.

The main point is that at this crucial hour, when the white racist rulers of South Africa think they can do anything they want and get away with it, the international labor movement must act! And international labor solidarity action can have a powerful *political*

impact in shaping the struggle in South Africa along *class* lines instead of national lines.

I urge you most strongly to pass this motion, and come what may, take *action* now!

Yours in struggle,
Stan Gow, 4498

P.S.: For more information and analysis on where South Africa is headed, I urge you to read recent issues of *Workers Vanguard*, published by the Spartacist League.

WHEREAS:

The wave of black resistance against apartheid slavery that started last August in South Africa continues to spread, and

WHEREAS:

The white supremacist Pretoria regime is determined to drown that resistance in blood and is gearing up to massacre thousands with its brutal "state of emergency" repression, and

WHEREAS:

In the face of this bloody threat it is urgent that there be strong labor centered protest against Botha's state of siege

THEREFORE:

Local 10 will refuse to handle any ships carrying South African cargo from now until the September membership meeting.

August 14, 1985

population and the chattel slavery of millions of black Africans. In the 20th century, the U.S. has committed atrocities on the scale of Nazi Germany: the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki under Democrat Truman, and the ravaging of Vietnam begun under another liberal Democrat, John F. Kennedy. Perhaps a thousand blacks have been killed in South Africa over the last year: the U.S. killed that many Vietnamese *every day for seven years!* Many of the black Democratic politicians who condemn the murder of defenseless blacks by Botha's police and army said not a word about the bombing of black babies by one of their own, Philadelphia mayor Wilson Goode.

The American rulers, both liberal and conservative, are the greatest racist terrorists and mass murderers on the planet. Why, then, are they moving toward economic sanctions, however mild, against their apartheid ally? Because they want to pacify the rebellious black masses and save white-ruled South Africa from itself and for the "free world." South Africa is a strategic ally of Western imperialism. It controls a key part of the sea lanes linking the Persian Gulf oil fields with West Europe and North America. In addition to the military value of South Africa for NATO, Western imperialism has an enormous economic stake in the apartheid state. South Africa is not only the leading producer of gold in the capitalist world, it is also the dominant exporter

of such strategically important minerals as chromium, manganese, vanadium and platinum. Direct foreign investment in South Africa totals some \$15 billion, and the 350 U.S. multinationals operating there account for almost 20 percent of this stake.

Reagan & Co. sold "constructive engagement" with the argument that gradual reforms and economic growth would strengthen the forces of moderation among South African blacks. However, Botha's cosmetic "reforms" (such as the impotent parliamentary hodies for coloureds and Indians) backfired, underscoring the depth of racist oppression and inciting blacks to greater militancy in struggle. The state of emergency declared in late July was the final blow to "constructive engagement," even in the eyes of many staunch right-wingers like columnist William Safire, who now calls for (minimal) economic sanctions in order to "disengage ourselves from Mr. Botha's crack-down" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

Yet "washing the hands" of American capitalists will hardly benefit the South African workers. The only kind of "divestment" which will benefit the exploited and oppressed toilers is the expropriation of capitalism by a victorious workers revolution. Some black South African trade unionists seem to understand this, at least partially. Alec Erwin of FOSATU, probably the strongest black union federation, recently stated that his organization opposed the withdrawal of assets from

South Africa:

"...because we view them not as the simple property of foreign companies, but as assets which have been built up through the sweat and labour of South African workers, and which now absolutely belong to this society.... We see absolutely no sense in handing over part of the social wealth of this country in order to place pressure on the regime."

—*Work in Progress* No. 37,
June 1985

Reagan/Botha's Anti-Soviet Alliance

The Botha regime's defiant posture toward "world opinion" is based not only on its internal military and economic resources, but also on the understanding that apartheid South Africa is an *indispensable ally* of Western imperialism against the Soviet Union. The alliance with this totalitarian, racist police state completely explodes the "democratic" pretensions of the "free world." Pretoria regularly brands *any* opposition to white racist rule as inspired by Soviet expansionism. In Botha's recent "fuck you, world" speech, he depicted black leaders as "barbaric Communist agitators on the payroll of masters far from this lovely country of ours." Likewise, Reagan accuses the Soviet Union of "stirring up the pot" in South Africa, and far-right lobbyist Richard Viguerie argues that the "alternative to the current government is a communist regime."

This is one region of the world where

very large sectors of the population in the imperialist centers are sympathetic to the side backed by the Soviet Union. American blacks and many others solidarize with the Cuban troops defending Angola against the South African army. They positively welcome Moscow's military aid to the ANC guerrillas.

The near-universal hatred of apartheid racism thus poses a certain problem for Western imperialism. This problem is especially acute in the United States, where the descendants of black African slaves identify deeply and passionately with their brothers and sisters living under the apartheid whip. In publicly supporting the white-supremacist Pretoria regime, the American ruling class risks fueling black militancy at home, and thus weakening domestic support for Cold War anti-Communism. Rev. Leon Sullivan, the black Philadelphia clergyman and General Motors board member who devised a code of conduct for American companies in South Africa, recently warned Congress that if South Africa explodes, "Riots would occur in Harlem and other cities all over this country" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

The American ruling class hopes, though it increasingly despairs, that some measures can be taken to convince South Africa's black masses that there is a reform solution. From Ronald Reagan to Jesse Jackson, American bour-

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South Africa...

(continued from page 13)

geois politicians see a parallel between South African apartheid and segregation in the Jim Crow South. They hold up the civil rights movement as a model of peaceful reform to be applied in South Africa. Many Southern cities which a generation ago witnessed violent clashes between black protesters and white racist police today have black mayors who order the same police to break black workers' strikes. Thus American liberals and many conservatives cannot understand why Botha & Co. refuse to try to coopt black moderates like Bishop Desmond Tutu into the governing elite. What South Africa needs, according to its American friends and protectors, is black faces in high places.

Civil War Must Be Class War

But the race question in South Africa is fundamentally different than in the United States. In the U.S., including the South, blacks are an oppressed *minority*. They can thus be granted voting and other formal democratic rights (however much they are gutted in practice) without fundamentally affecting white capitalist domination and exploitation. In South Africa, a racial caste of 4-5 million whites share in the superexploitation of the 26-plus million blacks, coloureds and Indians. What's posed is not token democratic rights but political and economic *power*—who will rule. As we wrote in "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (WV No. 376, 5 April):

"South Africa appears to be rumbling down the tracks to a bloody confrontation. The system of apartheid—a bogus partition in which the whites give up nothing—is coming apart. Blacks have made it clear that they are not taking this oppressive situation anymore. And the white population is armed to the teeth, determined to defend what they've got. The coasts are secure, there is a belt of cowed black African states to the north, and the struggle is along white-vs.-black national lines. So long as the national principle predominates, in a military confrontation, now and for the next period the whites will win hands down."

The events of the last few weeks dramatically confirm this analysis.

Contrary to the ANC and its leftist cheerleaders around the world, a civil war at this time, fought along national (racial) lines, will result in a *pointless* bloodbath for the black masses. But we are not liberal pacifists. We have stated repeatedly: *Blood will flow in South Africa. The question is whose blood, when, where, why and how.* There is no solution to apartheid slavery short of a civil war, but it must be fought along *class*, not national, lines, giving rise to a black-centered workers government under which whites, too, will have a place. When the Bothas and Falwells and Reagans talk of the spectre of communism in South Africa, what they have in mind is a black nationalist regime on the order of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. But South Africa does not need to go the way of Mugabe's tribally based bonapartism.

While hypocritically denouncing tribalism in black Africa, the white supremacist rulers do everything possible to exploit and even fabricate tribalism in South Africa. Like so many other tactics of imperialism, apartheid gives "divide and rule" a concentrated and institutionalized expression with the creation of bantustans and the division of the black majority into ten "tribes." Botha has called upon his puppet chieftains in the bantustans, especially Zulu chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha thugs to attack UDF funerals and commit monstrous pogroms against the Indian communities concentrated around Durban. But while both the UDF and ANC champion "multi-racialism," the petty-bourgeois nationalists *cannot* transcend tribalism, for this requires the *class* organization of the exploited and oppressed *on a proletarian program*.



San Francisco: Labor Black League for Social Defense and SL fight to save Benjamin Mololse.

It is in the factories and especially the mines that proletarian class struggle can draw together South Africa's ethnically diverse toilers and assault the very purpose of apartheid: the hated "migratory" labor system. As Trotsky wrote: "The permanent revolution is not a 'leap' by the proletariat, but the reconstruction of the nation under the leadership of the proletariat" (*The Permanent Revolution*). As we wrote in "Razor's Edge":

"In South Africa there is a black proletariat with a growing sense of its power... By its very bulk, this five-million-strong working class has forced the petty-bourgeois black leadership to take it into account, but not programmatically. The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism. A Bolshevik party must be built to lead a victorious struggle for 'amandla,' power, for the oppressed, through workers revolution."

Western imperialist support to apartheid has fostered among the South African black masses a broad undercurrent of sympathy for communism, such as it is understood. In the eastern Cape region, a recent funeral for four anti-apartheid activists in the city of Cradock was marked by the unfurling of a large red banner with a hammer and sickle, the flag of the Soviet Union, and a second bearing the name of the South African Communist Party, which has been banned for the last 35 years. Yet this Stalinist party has for decades subordinated itself politically to the liberal nationalism of the ANC, and looks for a deal with "reform"-minded capitalists like gold and diamond magnate Harry Oppenheimer. To translate the potential for proletarian revolution in South Africa into reality requires a genuine communist vanguard party, rooted in the workers' movement and black townships.

The South African revolution will have worldwide repercussions, not least in the United States. No event outside the borders of the U.S. would more inspire and electrify America's 24 million blacks. The self-liberation of South Africa's black toilers, led by a multiracial communist vanguard, would be the most powerful possible inspiration for millions of black workers in the U.S. Revolutionary struggle against the apartheid dictatorship can shake world imperialism to its core. ■

Free Mandela...

(continued from page 1)

defuse anger at racism right here in the U.S. of A.

Not a word was breathed from the podium about the mounting list of black victims of summary cop "justice" at the hands of the racist NYPD. Eleanor Bumpurs, the black Bronx grandmother blown away by a SWAT team; Michael Stewart, the young black artist beaten to death by transit cops; Edmund Perry, the prep school-educated youth killed for being on the "wrong" side of the Columbia/Harlem line—these are but

the most recent. Transit workers will not forget the heating death of their brother, Willie Turks, at the hands of a racist mob in Gravesend—nor that Turks' killers got nothing but a slap on the wrist. That same brand of racist "justice" is now being provided for the transit cops in the Stewart case; indeed, it's hard to tell the prosecution and defense apart without a map of the courtroom.

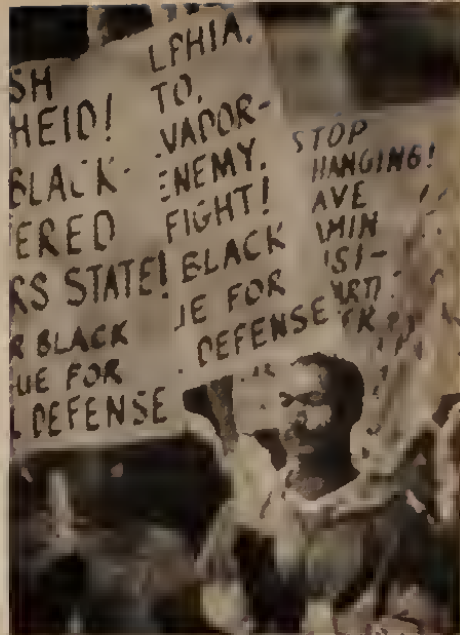
Not coincidentally, the cops were out in provocative force on August 13. The Eleanor Bumpurs Justice Committee discovered that among those assigned to spy on and photograph demonstrators at the anti-apartheid protest was the same cop Sullivan who killed Mrs. Bumpurs with a shotgun. Especially in New York, the link between apartheid in South Africa and racist oppression at home could not be clearer. So when an AFSCME hureaucrat tried to kick things off from the podium by singing the national anthem, he was roundly booed and heckled. While the *Amsterdam News* (17 August) caught the official tone of the demo in its headline "Protesters urge Ron to act on side of justice," the black workers who turned out were far more serious about fighting back. *Workers Vanguard* (No. 385, 9 August) said what must be done:

"It is the international working class which is the real ally of the enslaved black masses in South Africa. There is a crying need for New York City labor and minorities to mobilize against racist police terror, not just in the South African black townships but also right here in the mean streets of America's ghettos.... They didn't need a 'state of emergency' to firebomb black babies and burn down a black neighborhood in Philly. The New York unions sponsoring the August 13 rally could shut this city down with a one-day political protest strike."

Over 850 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the August 13 protesters.

Conspicuous by his absence was NYC's mayor Edward I. Koch. There was no way this racist swine would dare show his face at an anti-apartheid rally in New York, but a day earlier Koch was mouthing off at a press conference called by the organizers of a similar demonstration in Washington, D.C. That Koch would be welcome to share the platform with black Democrats like Jesse Jackson and D.C. mayor Marion Barry is all you need to know about the character of the liberal-led "anti-apartheid" movement. What's next—Wilson Goode speaking on the techniques of bombing black babies for "democracy" while, like Koch, divesting tainted South African stock?

A week after the August 13 demo, emergency demonstrations were held in several cities to protest the threatened execution of African National Congress (ANC) supporter Benjamin Mololse. Framed up for the execution of a police stool pigeon whose testimony sent three ANC militants to the gallows in June 1983, Mololse was given a last-minute stay of execution. Pretoria evidently feared provoking further black revolt at home as well as international outrage. At the New York Mololse protest, called by the ANC, the Democratic Party



Bengiveno/SF Examiner

cheerleaders in Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) and their front group the "All-Peoples Congress" proved their loyalty to the party of war and racism once again.

Small-time pimps for the Democrats, WWP/YAWF by virtue of their smaller social weight often act even more rabidly anti-communist than the labor bureaucrats. The Spartacist contingent at the ANC-called protest comprised about 40 percent of the picket line; our signs and chants made the connection—"From Harlem to Soweto, Same Enemy, Same Fight!" Unable to tolerate communist politics, WWP provoked a physical confrontation with the SL contingent in full view of "New York's finest." After WWP goons unsuccessfully tried to silence our bullhorn and chants of "Smash Apartheid—Workers to Power!" we separated the two contingents in order to avoid giving the cops a pretext for a bust.

The WWP-provoked split of the demonstration was in distinct contradiction to the ANC's expressed desire for a united-front protest. In fact, the distressed ANC leader proposed that a single line be re-formed and the SL and WWP alternate chants. We were amenable to alternating our class-struggle slogans with the limp sub-reformist pabulum of WWP, but the latter responded to the ANC's suggestion by running to the cops to complain that the SL had no permit for our bullhorn! WWP's splitting of the demonstration effectively discouraged several ANC members and other black radicals from marching at all.

The SL mobilized around the country for emergency protests against Mololse's execution. That same day in Los Angeles, a Spartacist-initiated protest was joined by an ANC contingent of roughly equal size. Despite the important political differences between ourselves and the ANC nationalists, the two organizations carried out a principled united-front action. In San Francisco, the SL and Labor Black League for Social Defense brought out 70 people to picket the South African Airways chanting "Free Mololse—Hang Botha!" The demonstration was prominently covered in the local press, as was the photograph taken by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter showing a Nazi poster displayed in an SFPD van at the demo site (see article, page 4).

The American reformist left has made a career of prettifying and slavishly tailing the Democrats as the "opposition" to Reagan reaction. From Wilson Goode in Philadelphia to Dianne Feinstein in San Francisco and Koch in New York, this lie is transparent. The Democrats and their labor tops are a deadly trap for the workers and oppressed at home. Now that the struggle against apartheid has awakened a desire to fight, especially among the black workers and youth here, it is desperately necessary to forge an integrated workers party dedicated to mobilizing independently of both hosses' parties, to fighting for workers power in America as well as South Africa. ■

UC Berkeley Cops Wage War on Student Protest

Defend Guillermo Bermúdez!

The University of California at Berkeley and its campus cops have declared war on free speech, attempting to suppress opposition to U.S. imperialism at home and abroad. Clubbing, beating, choke-holding and cooking up outrageous frame-up charges against student protesters, the UCPD has victimized hundreds during the last school year. On September 16, Guillermo Bermúdez goes to trial—a Hispanic Berkeley student and member of the Spartacus Youth League. Guillermo is a prominent victim of the massive campus police crackdown.

Last January, UC cops seized Guillermo in a potentially lethal chokehold: while dragging the 5'5" student away, three of these burly uniformed thugs wrenched his arm behind his back in a hold which broke

Guillermo's arm. Comrade Guillermo was assaulted by the police because of his leading role in a demonstration which successfully drove Marine recruiters off campus. In a standard cop frame-up, he has been charged with "assaulting a police officer" and faces *two years and nine months* in prison.

Support for Guillermo's defense has come from student organizations, faculty, trade unionists and the Juventud Sandinista 19 Julio, the Sandinista youth organization. In their statement, the Nicaraguan youth extended "special recognition to comrade Guillermo Bermúdez and solidarity with his exemplary action in the tasks of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua." Howard Moore, the prominent black civil rights attorney who just successfully concluded the "Perry County Three" voting rights

case in Alabama, has taken on Guillermo's case.

Also facing jail time are—to name a few—Berkeley students Michael Donnelly and José Carrasco, arrested during anti-apartheid protests; 22 students hustled in a sweep of Biko (Sproul) Plaza; and Kyle Reniche, arrested while defending the literature table of Students Against Intervention in Central America (SAICA) from wanton cop attack. A militant united-front defense effort for all anti-imperialist student protesters is an urgent necessity—Drop the Charges!

Workers Vanguard readers are urged to make a much-needed contribution to Guillermo's defense. Make checks payable to the Guillermo Bermúdez Defense Fund. Mail to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101.



Young Spartacus

Detiant Guillermo Bermúdez at Berkeley rally, January 30.

"Nicabucks" Campaign...

(continued from page 7)

\$25,800 in about six weeks—precisely because there is a broad awareness that such material aid is urgently called for. This campaign gives concrete expression to our slogan "Defend Nicaragua—Complete, Extend the Revolution!" putting our political criticisms of the vacillating Sandinista regime clearly in

country on which the backward nation is financially, or as a colony, dependent."

Interestingly, the only voice to be raised at the Second Congress in opposition to the "Theses" in their entirety was that of the Italian centrist Serrati, who told the Comintern delegates: "the true liberation of the oppressed peoples can be achieved only through a proletarian revolution and a Soviet order, not through a temporary and accidental union of communist parties with so-called revolutionary bourgeois parties." This appeal

tween political and military support, *because they seek to use the threat and reality of imperialist military intervention in order to impose political subordination to pro-capitalist politics.* The reported objection to the SYL's fundraising campaign to defend Nicaragua is hardly ultraleftist, but rightist and abstentionist. It parallels criticisms of the SL's Anti-Imperialist Contingents for marching with FMLN flags in El Salvador protests. The "External Tendency" tried to adopt a pose of pseudo-orthodoxy, quoting Trotsky on the impossibility of presenting two flags to the workers, a reformist program for everyday and talk of revolution for Sunday speechifying. The Shachtmanite ex-ISers of Sy Landy's League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP) were more forthright: they opposed carrying FMLN flags because they *oppose our call for military victory to the leftist guerrillas battling U.S. imperialism and its puppet government and army.*

In both cases, the ET and LRP objections stem from their desire to act as a *left tail on the pro-Democratic popular front.* The pop-front Central American "solidarity" milieu resorted to thug violence and calling on the capitalist cops to keep out our red flags, both the hammer and sickle and the FMLN flag, because to the Democratic liberals these represent "the enemy." Likewise, the pop-frontists' failure today to mobilize or provide material support to Nicaragua is due to their fear of losing "credibility" with Democratic "doves," themselves worried about being called "soft on Communism" if they give "aid and comfort to the enemy."

The self-proclaimed "External Tendency of the international Spartacist tendency" will have a difficult time demonstrating the "degeneration" of the SL because we carry FMLN flags and raise money to defend Nicaragua against U.S. imperialism. Two decades ago we marched in the Fifth Avenue "peace" parade next to a Vietnamese National Liberation Front flag, and demonstrated with signs such as "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution" and "Military Support to Viet-Nam Liberation Front" (see the front-page photo of *Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965). And as we have shown, providing material aid to liberation movements struggling against imperialism is not only an integral part of the Bolshevik tradition, it is a dividing line between Leninism and "left" social democracy.

In contrast, the same pro-ET "friend of Nicaragua" mentioned above appeared before the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10 executive board on July 25

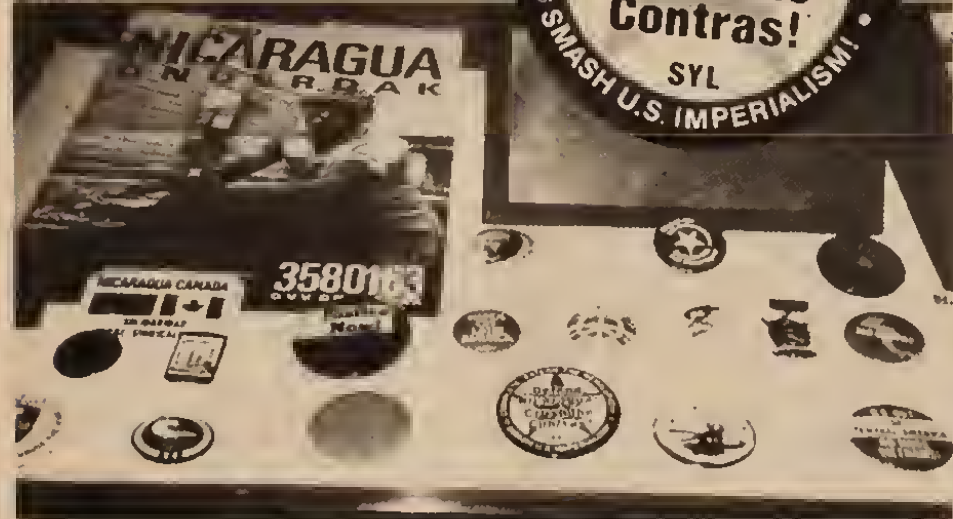
asking for money to help publish the Nicaraguan government's Atlantic Coast newspaper *Sunrise*—a clear example of *political support* to the Sandinista National Liberation Front. ILWU militant Stan Gow proposed at this same meeting that the local donate \$250 a month to the Nicaraguan government for defense against the U.S. This motion was quickly ruled out of order by union tops, ever so careful not to run afoul of "their" government whether the issue is Nicaragua, South Africa or jobs on the docks at home.

Behind the military question, of course, is the Russian question, and here you see clearly how the reformists play Reagan's game. Reagan declares it would be a "provocation" for the Sandinistas to obtain MIG fighter planes, so sure enough, when we chant "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs—Nicaragua needs MIGs!" the rad-libs scream "provocation." And when Ortega goes to Moscow, and Managua government spokesmen talk of obtaining MIGs and other advanced Soviet weapons to defend Nicaragua, suddenly the "solidarity" milieu becomes quiescent. Fundamentally, they are beholden to their "own" bourgeoisie.

We Trotskyists seek the defeat of Yankee imperialism; the popular frontists want a more "democratic" (i.e., more "effective") U.S. foreign policy. At bottom they are against military defense of the revolution—that's what all their "Contadora" talk of a "negotiated political solution" comes down to. Even the ultra-Marxite RCL-(1) grouplet in New Haven opposes our call for MIGs to Nicaragua so long as it is not a workers state. Move over Serrati! As Trotsky said of the Salem group's slogan, "neither victory nor defeat" over the Spanish Civil War: "This is a slogan for a club of Pontius Pilates, not for a revolutionary party." ■

Our red star is front and center in display case at Sandino Museum, Nicaragua. To get your "Defend Nicaragua" button, send \$2 to the SYL, Box 3118, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10008.

WV Photo



the context of a revolutionary defense against imperialism.

The distinction between military defense and political support goes back even further than Spain, to the line of the Bolsheviks in August 1917, when they militarily supported the Kerensky regime against the general Kornilov, without giving an ounce of political solidarity to the Provisional Government which opened the doors to the White Guardists. Our campaign for material aid to Nicaragua is an expression of proletarian internationalism as codified by the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" originally drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920). Regarding backward nations and states dominated by imperialism, the "Theses" state:

"All communist parties must support by action the revolutionary liberation movements in these countries.... This obligation refers in the first place to the active support of the workers in that

to formal orthodoxy only served to mask his own social-chauvinism and retreat back to the stinking corpse of social democracy—which while mouthing empty phrases about self-determination refused support to liberation movements fighting colonialism and imperialism.

Revolutionary Russia under Lenin and Trotsky provided aid to a number of such movements, including Kemalist Turkey when it was invaded by the British-backed Greek army in 1921. This was also a necessary measure of self-defense, as British imperialism remained a continuing military threat to the Soviet republic. At the same time, the Comintern was assisting the building of a Communist Party in Turkey. After routing the Greeks with Soviet aid, Kemal Atatürk then turned these guns on the nascent Turkish CP. But this in no way invalidated the original aid.

The reformists don't distinguish be-

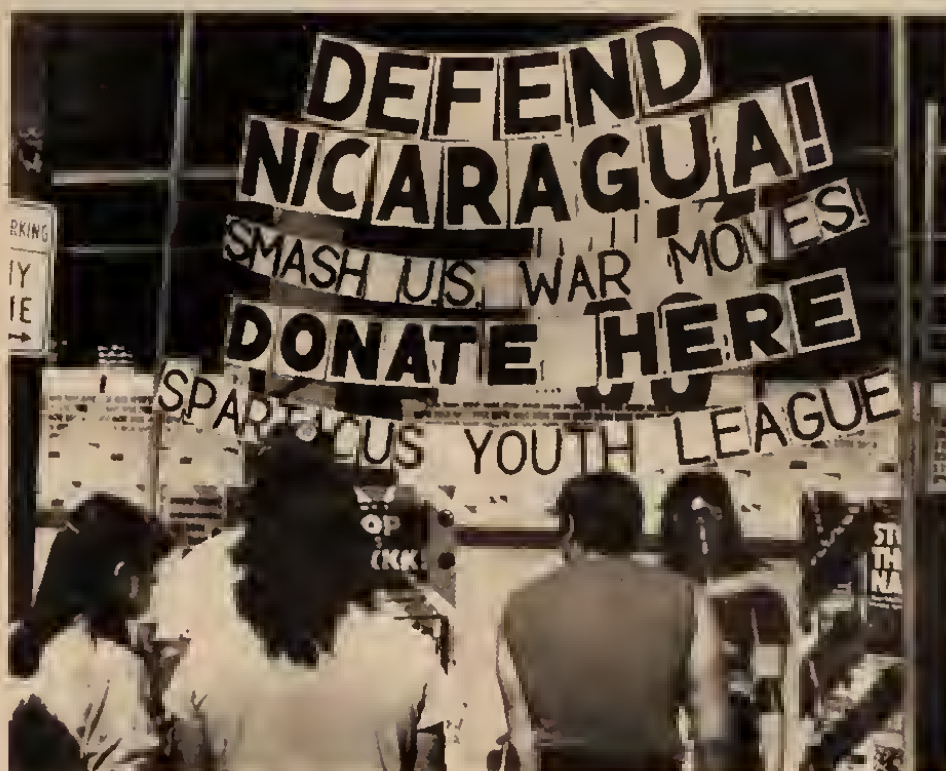
WORKERS VANGUARD

Spartacus Youth League Announces:

\$25,000 Raised To Defend Nicaragua!

In the wake of the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, decreed by Ronald Reagan last May, the Spartacus Youth League undertook an urgent fundraising campaign for material aid to defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Calling the embargo an *act of war*, and warning that a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua could be the next step, the SYL hit the streets, campuses and factory gates with an appeal to "Donate Dollars! Crush the Contras! DEFEND NICARAGUA!" In six short weeks, while Washington was making daily war threats against the Sandinistas, by July 19, the anniversary of the overthrow of the hated American-backed Somoza dictatorship, we raised \$25,800. This money has been transmitted to the Nicaraguan government. The "anti-contra" buttons made by students, workers and minorities across North America are already helping—in a small way—to provide Nicaragua with some of the hard currency desperately needed for everything from arms to medicine and spare parts.

This was no charity drive. While Reagan dreams of divisions of "Ram-bos" fighting a holy war against Communism, the students, young workers and ghetto youth who are slated to be the cannon fodder for this war drive are not itching to die in the jungles of Central America. They know the stakes and people gave generously, tossing dollars and change into the buckets. A mother of an American GI said that she didn't want her son sent to Nicaragua, and "it would be good if the Nicaraguans were strong and made Reagan afraid of them." A Salvadoran refugee, who lost a brother and a cousin to the death squads, dug into her purse, explaining that her daughter had joined the leftist guerrillas and "I'm proud of



Young Spartacus Photos

From Cleveland street fair (left) to Boston Common, SYLers collect urgently needed dollars for defense of Nicaraguan Revolution.

what she's doing." A laid-off shipyard worker noted that we're fighting on the same side—against the bosses at home.

The SYL's "Nicabucks" campaign was a token of what could happen on the home front in the event of a U.S. invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua. *Thousands* of Americans are ready and eager to give material aid to the courageous fighters the Pentagon calls "the enemy." One woman said she wanted to help "even the score, since Reagan gave the contras millions." This sentiment has not been lost on the American bourgeois establishment. The *New York Times* (30 August) editorialized against "private" fundraising for the CIA's contra mercenaries by the Nazi-infested World Anti-Communist League, worrying that "Sandinista supporters are matching General Singlaub's campaign with their own...." They remember how Washington's dirty war on Vietnam tore this country apart, inflicting a humiliating defeat from which U.S. rulers are still trying to recover.

For the past six years, the strategy of the Central American "solidarity movement" has been to lobby the U.S. Congress, pressuring the Democrats to "moderate" Reagan. But after Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega's trip to Moscow, Democratic "doves" started screeching like hawks, voting for aid to the bloody contra mercenaries and embracing the "Reagan Doctrine" of sponsoring anti-Soviet counterrevolutionary terrorists around the world. Incapable of opposing the *bipartisan* anti-Soviet war drive whose front line is drawn in Central America, the phony

"friends of Nicaragua" have barely raised a finger to defend Nicaragua from the Yankee war moves. The very impact of the \$25,000 we raised—which is but a drop in the bucket—is itself an indictment of the pusillanimous "solidarity" movement. The Spartacus Youth League, in contrast, forthrightly proclaims, "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in Central America!" We take a clear side against imperialism in Central America.

For our part, this campaign was an elemental act of class solidarity. As revolutionaries "in the belly of the beast," we have a special responsibility to organize against the capitalist criminals who salute Hitler's SS killer elite at Bitburg, who firebomb black babies in Philadelphia and threaten to plunge the world into an anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Despite the major political differences that separate us Trotskyists from the nationalist Sandinistas, defense of Nicaragua against Yankee aggression is our internationalist duty. And Nicaraguan officials expressed warm appreciation for our active solidarity with the Nicaraguan Revolution, especially now when the going gets tough.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega, foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto and interior minister Tomás Borge were presented with the SYL's fundraising button by Spartacist militants who recently visited Nicaragua. Borge, the sole surviving founder of the Sandinista Front, immediately pinned the button to his fatigues. Father D'Escoto, then fasting as a protest against Reagan's terrorists, warmly embraced our com-

rade. Young soldiers in the war zones of Matagalpa and Jinotega gave broad grins and eager handshakes when our slogan, "Defend Nicaragua! Crush the Contras!" was translated. In a field hospital, soldiers wounded by the contras listened eagerly to stories of the enthusiastic response the fund drive had met from youth, workers and minorities across North America. In the Augusto Sandino museum at Niquinohomo, the birthplace of the "General of Free Men" who fought the Marines in the 1920s, the SYL button was given a place of honor, front and center among the many insignias of solidarity.

The Spartacus Youth League takes this opportunity to thank everyone who contributed to this campaign and made it a striking success. In addition to the efforts of the SYL and Spartacist League, the Trotskyist League of Canada went all-out in this drive. Those who gave substantial donations and the many hundreds who generously contributed their lunch money and bus fare joined hands in a powerful act of solidarity. Every penny you contributed is going to the urgent defense of embattled Nicaragua against Yankee aggression—all administrative expenses are being paid by the SYL.

Let this outpouring of support be a warning to the warmongers in Washington. In Managua on July 19, half a million voices answered Reagan's threats with chants of "We won't sell out, we won't give up! They shall not pass!" From our posts here in the imperialist heartland, we say: *Smash U.S. war moves! Defend, complete, extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!* ■



Spartacist Canada

Soldier outside hospital on Jinotega front wears "Nicabutton." Spartacus Youth League's internationalist campaign was warmly embraced in embattled Nicaragua.