

Nelson Mandela in America

Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!

Across the U.S., hundreds of thousands of people will turn out to enthusiastically greet Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, who arrives in New York on June 20, the first stop on his ten-day American tour. The man who during his 27 years' imprisonment was the symbol of the fight against apartheid slavery has also inspired black people in America, who see in the oppression of their South African brothers a mirror of their own. At the same time, some of the most powerful oppressors and exploiters of black people will join in a hypocritical celebration of "freedom" while the South African masses and minorities in the U.S. bear the deadly weight of racial oppression.

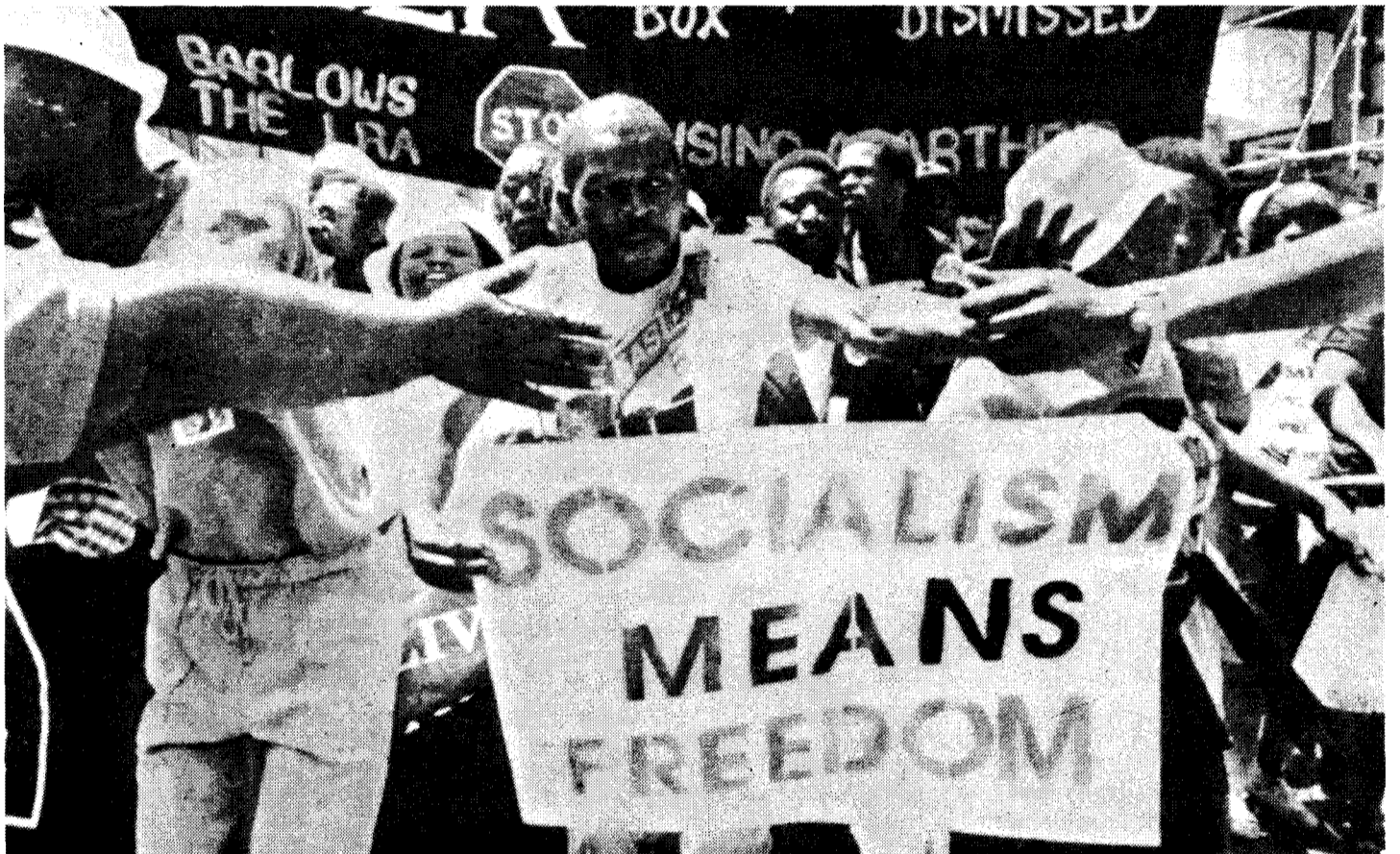
Mandela will get the red carpet treatment at the White House, staunch supporters of the white-supremacist Pretoria regime, and chat with President Bush, former head of the CIA which engineered

Workers Vanguard, like so many informative foreign periodicals of a radical Marxist character, has been banned in South Africa.

his 1962 arrest (see article, page 14). He will address a joint session of Congress—which talks of "sanctions" against South Africa while bankrolling the Salvadoran death squad regime to the tune of a million dollars a day. In NYC there will be a ticker tape parade down lower Broadway, where the ANC leader will doubtless meet with the captains of industry and the lords of high finance. He will pose with Mayor Dinkins, and there will be an enormous outpouring in Harlem organized by the "popular front" (including many labor leaders) which elected the black Democrat and now seeks to bask in Mandela's popularity while imposing anti-worker cutbacks which hit minorities hardest.

Mandela's message will be for a non-existent "negotiated solution" in South Africa, which means *blacks will pay*. His trip grows out of the talks between the ANC and the de Klerk regime in early May, which came on the heels of the cop massacre in Sebokeng township,

No "Power Sharing" with the Randlords!



Steve Hilton-Barber/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

Power of black labor can smash apartheid. Above: Militant black unionists in Johannesburg protest anti-labor laws, October 1989.

where 14 black protesters were mowed down and hundreds injured in March. The apartheid rulers, hard hit by six years of black revolt and economic losses, try to salvage their class rule by removing some of the most glaring segregationist legislation, partially lifting the state of emergency and releasing a few score political prisoners, while countless thousands remain in jail. A peaceful resolution of the conflicting interests of the multinational corporations and capitalist politicians who rule South Africa and the oppressed majority—including blacks, coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians—is impossible.

The imperialists are courting Mandela for they see in him the black leader whose unique authority as an anti-apartheid fighter is necessary to convince South African blacks to submit to a deal with the oppressive racist state. But despite these treacherous schemes, there will be no such "power sharing." The apartheid regime, whose wealth is based on the superexploitation of the black laboring majority, is necessarily at odds with the most minimal level of formal democracy. De Klerk's "reforms" cannot even include the simple demand of "one man, one vote" (keystone of the American civil rights fight against Jim Crow

segregation) in a country with 28 million blacks and 5 million whites, let alone address economic equality, where white income is across the board *twelve times* higher than that of blacks.

The London *Financial Times* (11 June) bluntly laid out the purpose of de Klerk's negotiations: to "interrupt the process of radicalisation among blacks." But despite the conciliation of their leaders, who are now backing away from even the "moderate" demands of the Freedom Charter, South African blacks know their liberation can only be achieved through a far-reaching social revolution which smashes the apartheid state. The fight to forge a racially integrated Bolshevik party that can lead the struggle for a black-centered workers government, drawing as well on the coloured and Indian populations, and growing numbers of whites who do not want to live their lives in a racist garrison state, is the task of the hour.

Massacre in Welkom— South Africa in Microcosm

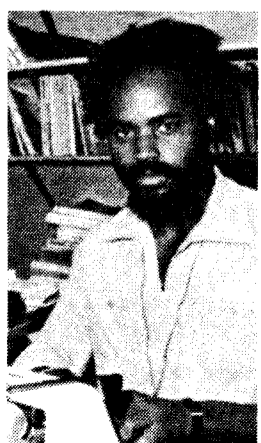
Last February we headlined, "Mandela Released—Black South Africa Jubilant, Defiant" (WV No. 496, 23 February). We predicted an upsurge of struggle among the black masses, who saw Mandela's freedom as heralding their own, as well as an acute crisis of expectations: "The smell of rebellion is in the air," we wrote.

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From Death Row...

**Mumia
Abu-Jamal on
Nelson Mandela**

SEE PAGE 13



South African CP Leader

**Joe Slovo:
From
"Uncle Joe" Stalin
to Gorbys**

SEE PAGE 12

Reply to FSP/Peace & Freedom Party

We print below the Spartacist League's response to a request by the Freedom Socialist Party, an ostensibly Trotskyist organization, to endorse FSPer Merle Woo's campaign for California governor in the Peace and Freedom Party June primary election. The FSP and the New Alliance Party are currently contesting for control of the long-moribund Peace and Freedom Party, which for over two decades has been a "third party" electoral vehicle to pressure the Democratic Party.

June 1, 1990

Freedom Socialist Party
San Francisco

Dear Comrades,

Our Oakland local received your request for endorsement of Merle Woo's campaign for governor of California, and we have carefully read the accompanying materials, including the Freedom Socialist Party/Peace and Freedom Party (FSP/PFP) election program.

The Spartacist League has itself conducted a number of election campaigns in New York, San Francisco and Oakland based on our proletarian, revolutionary, internationalist program. Our purpose in these campaigns is to focus on the ne-

"The Working Class Cannot Reform the Capitalist State"



Cops attack and arrest striking shipbuilders in Newport News, Virginia. FSP pushes illusions in "community control of the police."

cessity for the labor movement to break from the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and reliance on the capitalist state and to call for the forging of

a workers party based on the unions; representing the independent political mobilization of the working class and oppressed minorities.

In elections where we are not running our own candidates, we are prepared to give critical support to other socialist or labor candidates, providing their election program contains significant elements of this class-struggle perspective. From this standpoint we cannot support the FSP/PFP gubernatorial campaign. Taken as a whole, your campaign continues the history of the Peace and Freedom Party as a "radical" third party, purely electoralist vehicle, with a sectoralist program directed mainly to a liberal middle-class constituency.

As opposed to the utopian socialists of the 19th century, Marxists see the working class as the only class in capitalist society with the social power to overturn capitalism. But your program treats the labor movement as just one more sector of those who suffer under capitalism, denying therefore the centrality of the working class as the decisive force in all social struggles. Your program makes no reference to the crucial need for political struggle within the labor movement against the main obstacle to the independent political mobilization of the working class, i.e. the racist, pro-capitalist, Cold War labor bureaucracy whose program of class collaboration ties the workers to the capitalist political parties and state. Lacking this strategic working-class perspective you have no instrumentality for serious social struggle and therefore are left with a perspective of electoral protest politics.

Not willing to recognize the class

struggle and its culmination in workers revolution, you are led in your program to a fundamental revision of the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state (like all states) consists of special bodies of armed men, courts, prisons, etc. and is an instrument for the oppression of one class by another. Furthermore, the working class cannot reform the capitalist state to wield it for its own purposes, but must smash it, and establish its own rule.

Instead you call for the "demilitarization and community control of the police...." But comrades, the police and the standing army are the chief instruments, the very essence, of the capitalist state! When the police break up picket lines and imprison strikers, brutalize peaceful demonstrators and murder black and Hispanic people on the streets and in the prisons, they are carrying out their role as the enforcers of capitalist "law and order." They will not be "demilitarized" until the whole bloody capitalist state is smashed once and for all, ending the rule of the bourgeoisie by workers revolution. To say otherwise is to politically disarm the workers and all the oppressed and create deadly illusions in the "reformability" of the police at a time when across the country these racist killers are increasingly becoming bonapartist death squads.

Worse yet, in your desire to appeal to a middle-class constituency, and despite your stated concern for "the trend toward a police state," your program contains distinct echoes of the "law and order" slogans now being used by the government and right-wing lobbies to mobilize public opinion and strengthen the repressive powers of the capitalist state. Your call for "compensation to individual victims of theft and violence" has been part of the "victim's rights" campaign used to re-institute lengthy mandatory sentences without parole in California. In the real world your class-neutral and color-blind call for "communities to exercise their citizen police powers to fight street crime" has meant everything from neighborhood "crime patrols" working with the police to vigilante mob violence against blacks, Hispanics or Asians for being in the "wrong neighborhood." And you say nothing against gun control and for the historic right to bear arms.

The political upheavals in the Soviet Union, East Europe and China are of historic importance to the international proletariat. As Trotskyists our position is unambiguous: we unconditionally militarily defend the bureaucratically degenerated or deformed workers states against capitalist restoration, whether from imperialism or from restorationist forces within. We seek to build Leninist parties to lead the working classes in political

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TROTSKY

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa

For decades the Stalinists have preached a "two-stage" revolution in South Africa, assigning leadership of the first, "national-democratic" stage to the petty-bourgeois nationalist African National Congress. The Trotskyists have maintained that only a socialist revolution led by the black African proletariat can smash the white-supremacist state and liberate the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian masses. We print below

excerpts from a draft program written in 1945 for the Johannesburg-based Workers International League.

In South Africa, no African bourgeois is allowed to develop, and the only example of big business is the small trader in a location's shabby shop.... The small intelligentsia, teachers, are interested mainly in accommodating themselves to the ruling forces. They are afraid to take the lead in a struggle against them. The peasantry in the reserves, kept illiterate, scattered, are overwhelmed by rural poverty and primitiveness. Africa's most backward sections are unable to grapple with modern imperialism. The only remaining force is the urban industrial and mining worker. Imperialism has concentrated him in huge numbers in all the big cities, has given him a novel and moving atmosphere, has torn him violently from his ancestral environment, and fitted him as a cog in the perpetual motion of the capitalist machine. His working life and thought is involved in capitalist relations and he has the power to shake capitalism and force his demands dramatically on the attention of South Africa. He must supply leadership to Africa. He will lead the political upheaval against imperialism....

South Africa needs above all else a revolutionary party. Only a Marxist analysis can be the pneumatic drill to pierce the complex layers of South Africa's development and disclose its basic-driving forces. Only the methods of proletarian mass struggle can free the people from the pernicious influence of the bourgeoisie and its petty bourgeois imitators....

To become the revolutionary vanguard we must be, in deeds, the champions of every struggle, against oppression. We must give a political lead to the oppressed.... We must be as intransigent in small events as in great issues, and prepare for the socialist goal by waging implacable warfare against every form and vestige of oppression, against all discrimination, against all backwardness and primitiveness, against all reactionary national subjugation.

—The Revolutionary Communist, August 1945



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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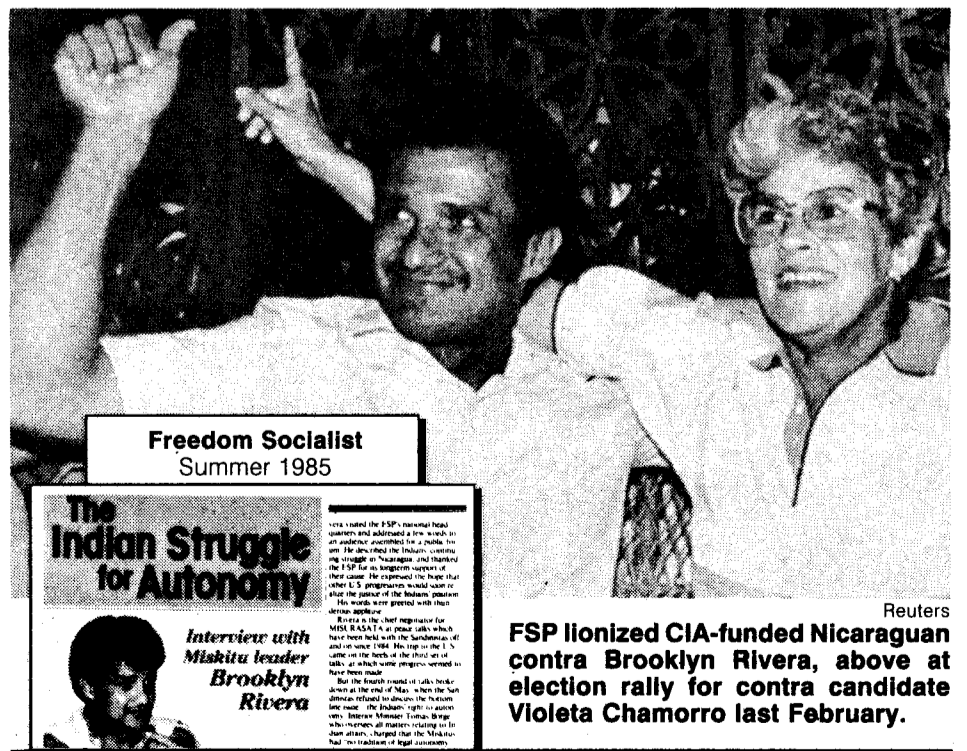
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No. 504

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Reuters

FSP lionized CIA-funded Nicaraguan contra Brooklyn Rivera, above at election rally for contra candidate Violeta Chamorro last February.

German Spartacists: Letter to Polish Workers

We reported in our last issue about the rail workers strike in northern Poland which shook up the country, groaning under the capitalist austerity program imposed by the pro-capitalist government led by Solidarność. Subsequently, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), published in Polish and German a letter to Polish workers (printed below). Several thousand copies of this leaflet have been distributed, in the Baltic port city of Szczecin and to a national meeting of the OPZZ trade unions in Warsaw.

Polish Workers:

You are today confronted from within by the capitalist restoration now taking place and by the danger of renewed imperialist domination from without. Solidarność is driving the working people into starvation in order to get rid of unprofitable enterprises and sell the remainder to the Western banks. Meanwhile German imperialism drives toward the creation of a Fourth Reich, looking hungrily at the Oder-Neisse border and beyond.

You are facing desperate struggles to defend your jobs and livelihoods, to defend your families and your children's future. Major strikes have begun on the railways, while in the mining areas of Slask [Silesia] and elsewhere bitter strikes have already been waged. But in order to triumph over the forces arrayed against you, the Polish workers will have to go beyond purely economic demands. This requires not only a determination to fight but also a political understanding of the events leading to the present situation and a political program based on the true interests of the international working class.

Eight or nine years ago many of you supported Solidarność, seeing in it an alternative to the economic mismanagement and stifling bureaucracy of Stalinist rule. Three times—in 1956, 1970 and 1976—the working people in Poland rose up against the bureaucracy's mismanagement. But 1980-81 was a different matter. The central leadership around Lech Walesa were from the outset hardened anti-Communist nationalists whose policies were determined not by the needs of the workers but by Pope John Paul Wojtyła's Vatican and by Ronald Reagan's White House: the red flags of the working class were replaced by Pilsudski's eagle and cross, the singing of the *Internationale* by the hymns of priests.

At its first congress in September 1981 Solidarność adopted a course aimed at the conquest of power, consolidating around a program that demanded "free trade unions" and "free elections," refused even to mention socialism and called for putting an end to the planned economy. In reality this meant the "free market" of naked, ruthless capitalist exploitation. From afar we warned that Solidarność was a "company union for the CIA and bankers" and we organized an urgent international propaganda campaign around the call: Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!

Now Solidarność has taken over the reins of government. What has this brought you? You are being forced to suffer the kind of economic "shock treatment" usually carried out by Latin American juntas. You are being bled white by the Frankfurt bankers, by Wall Street and by the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund, which oversees the deliberate impoverishment and starvation of millions in the Third World to ensure an unbroken flow of

List do polskich robotników

Robotnicy polscy!

Z jednej strony, stoi dźwi przed wami wewnętrzna groźba powrotu do kapitalizmu, który już w Polsce zaczął operować, a od zewnątrz grozi wam opanowanie przez imperializm. Solidarność, chcąc się pozbyć niepokornych przedsiębiorstw i sprzedać resztę Związku do Czwartej Rzeszy,

Czekają was ciężki przyszłości waszych dzieci zaczęły się teraz ekonomiczne żądania polityczny oparty o

SPARTAKIST

5 June 1990

podzin i zabezpieczenie plicach, a na kolejach się stało i program

interest payments.

Walesa says it's time to give capitalism a chance in Poland. But capitalism already had its chance in Poland, and its restoration is bringing back all the backwardness and chauvinism of the dark, pogrom-plagued past. Openly anti-Semitic agitation is rampant. Women are being exposed to a sharp escalation of reactionary and religious bigotry, their

key to resolving this question is a revolutionary internationalist leadership of the working class.

By promoting anti-Soviet nationalism and the breakup of the Warsaw Pact, Solidarność has assisted in creating the conditions for a Fourth Reich. Six hundred thousand Soviet soldiers died liberating Poland from Nazi slavery; they must not have died in vain! Now the

fight for a United Socialist States of Europe based on the rule of workers councils.

Those who have paved the way for capitalist restoration cannot lead the struggles to beat it back. Stalinism as an ideology is dead, buried and unmourned in Poland. Social Democracy has been a willing tool of capitalist imperialism since August 1914 (when it voted for credits for the imperialist war). And many self-styled Trotskyists have exposed themselves as social democrats by their years-long glorification of Solidarność, even echoing such rabidly anti-Communist and anti-Semitic elements as the KPN in calling for the smashing of the Warsaw Pact. In 1983, pseudo-Trotskyist theoretician Ernest Mandel

Railway workers in Szczecin strike against Solidarność regime's economic "shock treatment." Sign (lower right) reads: "Strike Occupation."



Spartakist Photos

right to abortion endangered. The aged, the weak, the unemployed are being forced to beg for a bit of food at soup kitchens.

Now you are threatened with being turned into vassals by German imperialism in its drive for a Fourth Reich. Your coworkers who have gone to Germany to work have already gotten a sense of what this means. In West Germany, Polish refugees and immigrants are being imprisoned or deported in Night and Fog operations reminiscent of the SS. In the East, Polish workers are being scapegoated as "speculators" for the imperialist campaign of economic destabilization and the sellout of the planned economy by the ex-Stalinist plant managers.

That, too, is an expression of capitalist counterrevolution, one which goes hand in hand with German capital's campaign for *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR. This means horrendous unemployment and devastation of social services for all workers in the DDR, while workers in West Germany face assaults on their living standards in order to finance the expansion of German capital. This can either be a recipe for vicious internecine feuding among different sectors of the working people—a losing battle for all sides—or it can be the impetus for powerful united working-class struggles. The

forces of counterrevolution are seeking to overturn the historic gains of the collectivized economies—albeit gains imposed from above with Stalinist bureaucratic measures—throughout Eastern Europe. Decades of Stalinist bureaucratism, conciliation of nationalism and capitulation to imperialist counterrevolution internationally (in a fruitless search for "peaceful coexistence") prepared the ground for these reactionary movements, whose development has been sharply accelerated by the Gorbachev regime's "market reforms." This is what the lie of building "socialism in one country" has led to. Now the homeland of the October Revolution is itself in mortal danger.

Polish workers: instead of looking to Pilsudski and nationalism, revive the tradition of proletarian internationalism personified by your greatest revolutionary figure, Rosa Luxemburg. A Jewish woman from Lublin educated in Warsaw, Rosa Luxemburg dedicated her life to forging the unity of the Polish, Russian and German working class. She fought every expression of nationalism, chauvinism, reformism and bureaucratic complacency. Today you must unite with the workers of Germany and the Soviet Union to reforge revolutionary unity in class struggle against your common capitalist and imperialist enemies, in the

hailed the Solidarność leadership as the "best socialists in the world." But the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy rests on the defense, not the destruction, of the collectivized property forms in the bureaucratically deformed workers states.

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is the only party to have clearly and unambiguously fought against capitalist *Anschluss* of the DDR through its candidacy in the March 18 Volkskammer elections and over the past few months. We struggle against all manifestations of chauvinism and national oppression, whether against Poles and other immigrant workers in Germany or against Jews and people of German descent in Poland. Only the Trotskyists have a program to combat capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist war, by returning to the authentic communism of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin—the fight to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution through socialist revolutions throughout the capitalist world. Forward to a Trotskyist party in Poland, section of a reborn Fourth International.

26 May 1990

German Trotskyists Speak at 65,000-Strong Demo

Protest Anti-Communist Witchhunt in East Germany

Over 65,000 demonstrators assembled June 2 in the East Berlin Lustgarten to protest the onslaught by the capitalist government of East Germany (DDR) that seeks to wipe out leftist opposition in preparation for *Anschluss* (annexation) by imperialist West Germany. On Thursday, May 31, the Volkskammer (DDR parliament) majority passed a law to investigate the assets of all parties and mass organizations and immediately seize those holdings acquired from 8 May 1945 (the fall of the Hitler Nazi dictatorship) through 7 October 1989, when the Honecker regime began crumbling. This anti-Communist witchhunt clearly targeted the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), successor to the SED which ruled East Germany for 40 years, and the FDJ (Free German Youth).

The draconian expropriation law was introduced by the rightist DSU (German Social Union), a creature of the Bavarian wing of West Germany's Christian Democrats. Another DSU bill was also passed granting a government commission authority to order trials, search houses and carry out other searches and seizures. A third law ordered the removal of the DDR state symbol (the hammer and compass) from public buildings. The Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) immediately sent a protest letter to the president of the Volkskammer, excerpts from which were printed in *Neues Deutschland* (2 June), noting: "Bonn's quislings want to silence all opposition in their drive to a Fourth Reich by imposing drastic police state measures taken from the Third Reich."

Another article in the paper detailed how the Nazis upon taking power seized the property of the Communists (KPD) and Social Democrats (SPD). At the June 2 protest demo one sign recalled Bismarck's 1878 anti-socialist law, Hitler's 1933 "enabling act," the West German 1956 ban of the KPD and the 1975 *Berufsverbot* banning employment of leftists. Another declared: "1. Ban the PDS. 2. Burn books. 3. Auschwitz?" From the podium, Gregor Gysi of the PDS said he was "sad" that the SPD had a hand in this dirty affair. But implicitly responding to a previous Spartakist speaker, he added, "we must be ready to cooperate" with the Social Democrats. (SPD offices are exempt from seizure because they were bought with the millions of D-marks that Bonn poured into the DDR to buy the elections.)

Our comrades of the SpAD took part in the Lustgarten protest with a literature table and signs, including: "Hands Off the PDS!" "Stop the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!" and "For Workers Resis-

tance to *Anschluss*!" Referring to East and West German SPD leaders, one sign proclaimed: "Meckel/Lafontaine: Bloodhounds for the Deutsche Bank." Another declared: "Kohl Must Not Become Reichs Chancellor! Neither Should Willy Brandt's Grandchildren!" Demonstrators bought more than 700 copies of Spartakist publications, and several thousand

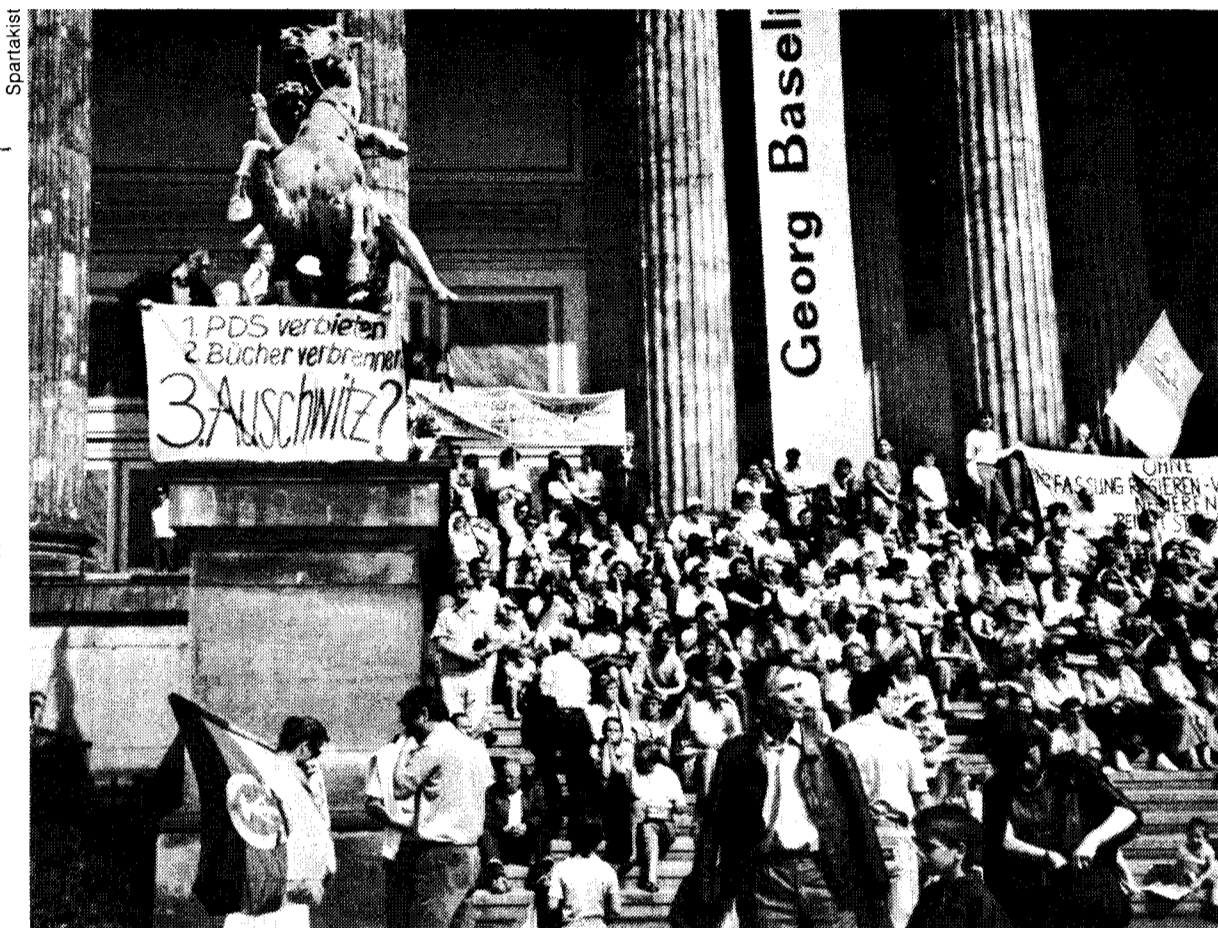
DDR and to despicably exploit DDR workers. The police forced their way into the FDJ's office to demand documents. This was [East German DSU interior minister] Diestel's police, which let skinheads get off free when they beat up on Mozambicans.

This attack is a foretaste of capitalist reunification. Brandt's grandchildren,

Think of where the "Aryanized" money of the Deutsche Bank came from. The German bourgeoisie fed off the bones and the blood of millions of Jews and slave laborers from the East, and now once again it is extending its greedy fingers. *Its* expropriation is what we have to call for.

Capitalist reunification means blood and violence. We of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany have said "No to capitalist reunification" from the very beginning because we know that the interests of the working people can only

June 2 demonstration in East Berlin's Lustgarten against capitalist onslaught. Sign says: "1. Ban the PDS. 2. Burn books. 3. Auschwitz?"



leaflets were distributed for the speaking tour of Don Alexander of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee and the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense. SpAD spokesman Renate Dahlhaus received applause for her remarks, which we print below.

Dear friends and comrades, we demand: Hands off the PDS and FDJ! The anti-Communist expropriation measures must be blocked. The Volkskammer, as a lackey of the Frankfurt bankers, has decided, using methods of the Third Reich, to steal the FDJ's and PDS's property, to destroy these organizations, to steal the accumulated wealth of the

such as [West German SPD chancellor candidate] Lafontaine, have staged this anti-Communist witchhunt as their "improvement" on the State Treaty. The SPD also launched an attack on the FDGB [former East German trade-union federation], but before the FDGB could suffer the same fate as the PDS it threw in the towel without a struggle. So the first blow was against representation of trade-union interests, the second was against the youth, whom they want to prepare for war service, and the third was against the party, as a signal to all leftist political parties that we're headed for capitalism. The SPD were also the ones who began the witchhunt after 250,000 anti-fascists protested in Treptow on January 3 against the desecration of the Soviet war memorial. They have experience in betraying and selling out the working class. Think of the SPD's murderous campaign of incitement before their henchmen murdered Rosa [Luxemburg] and Karl [Liebknecht]. And now they're calling for expropriation! Who did this party get its money from to set up shop again in West Germany after 1945? From the CIA!

But to now appeal to these "democrats" and abide by these laws, as the PDS is doing, is to hand yourself—and all decent people—over to the hangman. After all, so-called democrats created the [West German] blacklisting laws, the ban on radicals and laws against foreigners. Anti-Communism and expropriation such as we see here now—history has taught us this—mean preparation for the next world war, this time World War III.

be protected through the struggle for proletarian internationalism. Millions are looking to the DDR, because they don't want a Fourth Reich. They are our allies. From the DDR to Poland to the peoples of the Soviet Union, the working class must fight together to stop and turn back the imperialist drive toward a Fourth Reich. Now is the time to fight, not when we're lying on the street, out of a job and banned. A new revolutionary party must be forged from German and immigrant workers, to again raise together the banner of the October Revolution. An attack on one is an attack on all! Against this anti-Communist witchhunt, let us act together with the methods of the workers movement, united in action but with freedom of criticism, with workers resistance in East and West. ■



Workmen dismantle seal of former Stalinist ruling party at Dresden party headquarters last January.

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Young Spartacus

Harvard Salutes Helmut Kohl...

The Man Who Would Be Führer

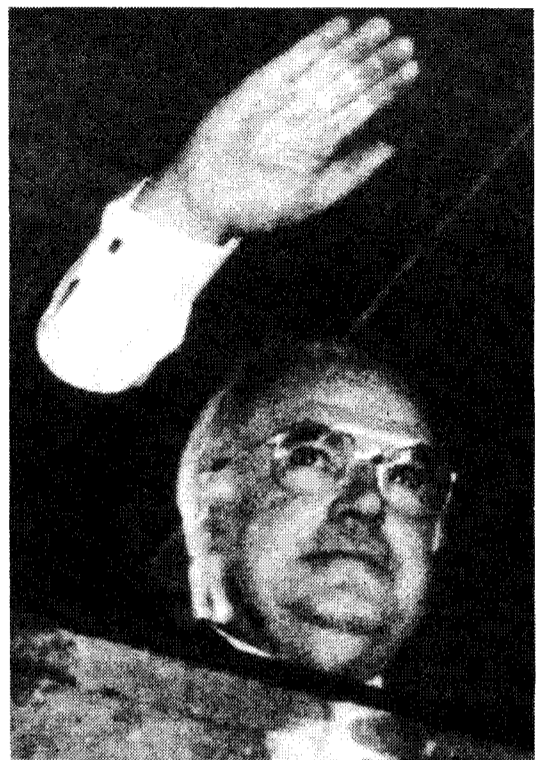
One of the most elite universities on earth, Harvard bears a special relationship to the U.S. ruling class and its plans for world plunder. At this year's graduation exercises, Harvard awarded an honorary degree to German chancellor Helmut Kohl, declaring him "the German Hercules" in a "time of miracles." Harvard's "miracle" is the prospect of capitalist exploitation and immiseration of the working people of East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union. Working-class resistance to the economic "shock treatment" braintrustered by Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs has already broken out in mass strikes in Poland. Harvard's fat bosses are downright amused by the spectre of hunger and food riots that will come with the "free world" diet. At the commencement ceremony, outgoing Harvard president Derek Bok quipped, "Any day now, I expect to wake up to find an angry mob of Polish housewives and shopkeepers descending on Harvard Yard in pursuit of Jeffrey Sachs." We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacus Youth Club in protest against Harvard's filthy fête.

Every June, Harvard unveils a war criminal, despot, bigot, or anti-working-class blowhard for the commencement address, and this year they've scored big. On June 7th, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the man who would be Führer of a reunified capitalist Germany, will be accorded honors in Harvard Yard. Kohl casts the shadow of a Fourth Reich before him; a mortal threat to East German workers, women, youth and working people across Europe. Kohl is the creature of the extreme right, rabidly revanchist wing of the German bourgeoisie; the loyal servant for the industrial magnates who made their fortunes on the Holocaust, running the IG Farben slave labor economy based on the death camps.

The man who Harvard salutes today was in Bitburg in 1985 with Ronald Reagan saluting the Nazis' Waffen SS. Kohl cannot boast of the crimes of his American counterparts—who murdered over two million Indochinese in their bloody war against Vietnam—but the ambitions of the first man who would call himself "Reichs chancellor" since



West German chancellor Helmut Kohl, with Reagan, salutes Nazi SS war dead at Bitburg cemetery, 1985.



Mark Darchinger

Adolf Hitler are clear. Under the banner "Germany, One Fatherland" Kohl leads the charge to rip back for capitalist exploitation the markets the German bankers lost when the Red Army shattered Hitler's Third Reich in 1945 and created a deformed workers state in the DDR (East Germany). Since the mass upheavals which brought down the Stalinist Honecker regime last fall, the bourgeoisie has tried to thwart a workers political revolution by stampeding the East German population into reunification on terms dictated by the Frankfurt bankers. Kohl intends to exploit the DDR population as a new low-wage labor pool for Western capital and to seize the DDR as a launching pad for the *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East). To the embarrassment of his NATO backers and his social-democratic handmaidens, Kohl stridently insisted throughout the East German election campaign that the Polish border was still up for grabs! Small wonder from a man whose Christian Democrat campaign headquarters in Bonn is bedecked with maps of Ger-

many expanded to its 1937 borders! Today Kohl has the chutzpah to demand from the Polish government restitution for losses the German capitalists suffered there in World War II.

As one of America's pre-eminent bourgeois think tanks, Harvard is up to its eyeballs in plotting the immiseration of the working people of Eastern Europe. (Harvardians did a pretty good business with the Third Reich too. One Harvard grad rewrote a Harvard football song into a Nazi goose-step chant—"rah, rah, rah" became "Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil!"—played by brownshirts on the day Hitler took power.) Today Harvard contributes mightily to Hitler's failed dream of wiping out the "Bolshevik menace" through bloody restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Harvard's wunderkind Jeffrey Sachs is the key architect of the Solidarność government's brutal austerity program in Poland which has lowered real wages by 40 percent, and produced mass unemployment and hunger for the first time in four decades. What the infamous Milton

Friedman and his "Chicago Boys" did to braintrust Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet's murderous policies in Chile, the "Harvard Boys" led by Jeffrey Sachs are now doing throughout Eastern Europe. Sachs earned his spurs advising the right-wing regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia who brutally suppressed a general strike in 1985 to meet the International Monetary Fund's diktat of a budget "balanced" through mass unemployment and starvation. These "academic advisers" for economic "shock therapy" literally have blood on their hands. From inside Harvard's ivy-covered walls, Sachs cooks up the "big bang theory" of capitalist restoration which spells misery for millions.

The drive toward capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe will provoke explosions of working-class resistance. Last week rail workers shut down the whole of northwestern Poland in opposition to capitalist austerity policies. In East Germany there have already been warning strikes by workers fighting Kohl's *Anschluss* which threatens the gains of the East German workers state where a planned economy and collectivized property provided subsidized housing, day care, education, and full employment. Kohl has made no secret of his appetite to drive East German women back to "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church). A plank in the Christian Democrats' platform for the DDR elections was "protection of the unborn," threatening to export West Germany's vicious witchhunt against abortion rights to women of the DDR. Kohl's appearances in the DDR have been accompanied by Republikaner and Nazi skinhead attacks against leftists and minorities, which have continued with ferocious violence in the West and East. Just as George Bush harbored East European fascists in his Republican National Committee, Helmut Kohl is now regrouping fascists around the parties of a Fourth Reich.

From Boston to Berlin, capitalism
continued on page 6



Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs masterminded Poland's economic "shock treatment" producing mass unemployment and soup kitchens.

Spike Lee's Shoes

Fact: Black youth are being killed in senseless murders in American inner-city ghettos. **Racist media myth:** Spike Lee's catchy television commercials with Chicago Bulls basketball star Michael Jordan promoting Nike sneakers are responsible for inner-city gang shootings and violence by encouraging black teens to covet the shoes.

Three months ago, *New York Post* sportswriter Phil Mushnick launched what has become an all-sided media crusade to blame Lee and Jordan for fights and

article cites several alleged examples of apparel-related murders and asks the \$125 question of who's to blame—Is it the shoes? Is it Spike Lee and Michael Jordan?

It's Capitalism

As the gap between rich and poor and black and white widened enormously during the last decade of the Reagan/Bush administrations—the “yuppie” years—Americans have been told to spend and spend as fast as they can. Vance Packard's “hidden persuaders” combine with ballooning credit card debt. Of course, black and poor kids watch the same television commercials and have the Madison Avenue inspired desires for the latest in fashion and its associated “respect.” Mushnick charges that black film director Spike Lee and other black stars hawking shoes are “ghetto warfare profiteers.”

In April Lee penned a response published in a sports daily, the *National*, denouncing Mushnick's attack as “a thinly veiled racism.” Where's the outcry against white sports stars who plug away on TV for everything from beer to sneakers? The nonsense of the idea that well-known black athletes and coaches who endorse sporting goods are responsible for murder and theft is answered by Lee: “America tells everyone BUY, BUY, BUY, it's Capitalism at its BEST/WORST, and folks who don't have, want to ‘get’ by hook or crook.”

The sociology behind the faddist mass appeal of expensive, gimmicky sneakers is bound up with the warping effects of racism on American society. Two decades ago basketball great Kareem Abdul-Jabbar told *Sports Illustrated* writer Jack Olsen, “Yes, I was just like the rest of those black athletes you've read about, the ones that put all their waking energies into learning the moves. That might be a sad commentary on America in general, but that's the way it's going to be until black people can flow without prejudice into any occu-

pation they can master. For now it's still pretty much music and sports for us.” Same story 20 years later.

Few blacks besides entertainers and athletes like Michael Jordan can become household names and sought-after promoters of advertisers' products. And the sneaker business is a big business—nine billion dollars in sales last year. Michael Jordan's contract with Nike is worth an estimated \$20 million. The buying and wearing of the high-tech shoes and the team jackets and caps of professional sports teams is a way for minority youth to put themselves into their heroes' shoes, literally, and imagine themselves gaining some upward mobility by becoming professional athletes. The successful black athlete becomes one of the very few so-called “positive role models” allowed for minority youth to admire.

The liberal monitors of culture at the *Village Voice* made their entry into the sneaker print wars with an article “Who Stole the Sole?” by Allen Barra chastising Lee for refusing to accept any responsibility for the footwear violence. Barra also claims he is exposing Spike Lee's “shaky credentials as a revolutionary.” But Lee is right to query his sanctimonious media critics about their lack of interest in how poverty and discrimination in “education, housing, jobs, drugs, racism” can produce violence and death over a pair of sneakers.

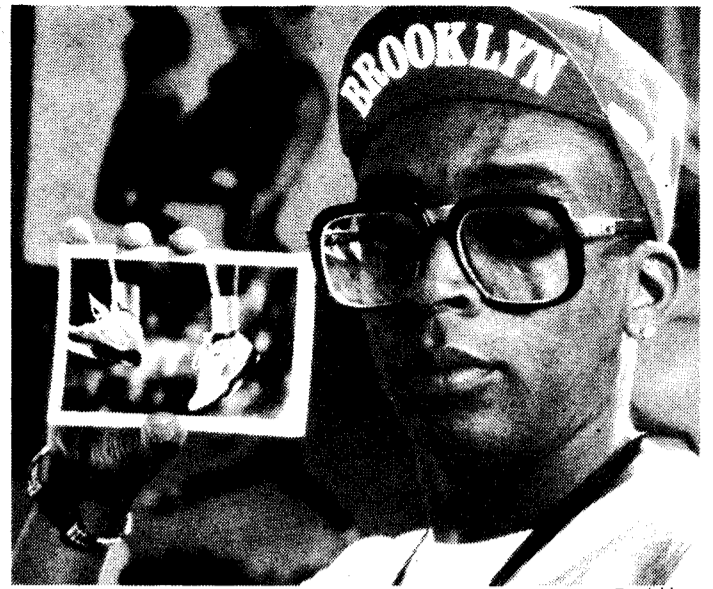
Actually, black nationalist filmmaker Spike Lee doesn't claim to be a revolutionary—he believes that blacks need their own base of black business. But

the myth of black capitalism is a cruel hoax—there's not one black CEO in the top 1,000 corporations and even Spike Lee doesn't have the capital to finance his own movies.

One letter writer to the *Village Voice* demolished Barra by stating that “to suppose that sneakers can inflame a man to murder makes about as much sense as to believe that a short skirt can drive a man to rape. It's tabloid logic.” The *Voice* liberals, the tabloid gutter columnists like Mushnick, and Spike Lee can't answer the real money question of how to stop the killings endemic to rotting American inner cities, because they all accept the premise of a capitalist system.

With equality ostentatiously “out” in Reagan/Bush America, with ghetto kids unable to afford a set of wheels (or murdered by a lynch mob if they try to buy a used car in the “wrong” neighborhood, like Bensonhurst), for many black and Hispanic youth the “American dream” is reduced to getting hold of some fancy sneaks. And when it turns out that a generation consigned to permanent joblessness can't even come up with the cash for that, the response of the bourgeois media is that they should *want less!*

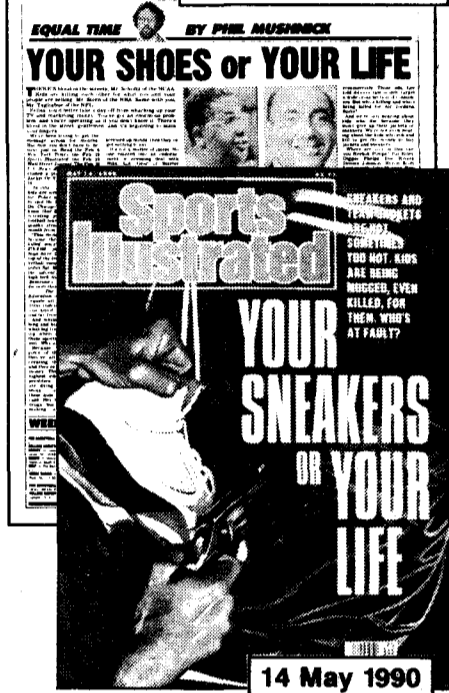
Emancipation of black people oppressed by this violent, racist capitalist society will begin with a socialist revolution. The abolition of capitalism will mean jobs and housing for all, and enable blacks and other minorities to realize their talents and aspirations outside of the sports and entertainment fields in a society with real racial equality. ■



David Lee

Spike Lee with picture of Michael Jordan's shoes.

NEW YORK POST
2 March 1990



Bourgeois media's racist propaganda

fatalities over the Air Jordans and other \$100+ per pair sneakers that are the objects of status and trendiness among American youth. *Sports Illustrated's* feature story for May 14 entitled “Your Sneakers or Your Life” is packaged with a racist cover depicting black hands with a gun snatching a pair of sneaks. The

Harvard...

(continued from page 5)

breeds unemployment, racist terror and war. The American imperialists are busy on many fronts, from the murderous invasion of Panama (where hundreds of corpses are now being discovered in mass graves) to the racist police stranglehold on black, Latino and poor neighborhoods in the U.S. This is the face of the “free world.” As the deformed workers states appear ripe for plundering, the competition among the major imperialist powers for the spoils vastly increases the danger of new wars. What we are witnessing is not the “death of Communism” championed by Bush and Kohl, but the death agony and unraveling of the Stalinist bureaucracies throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It is urgently necessary for leftist students and workers everywhere to support the East European workers in their struggles against the capitalist “shock treatment.”

The only way forward is a class-struggle fight for the genuine socialism of Lenin and Trotsky. The Spartacus Youth Club stands alongside our German comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party in fighting for proletarian internationalism, for workers mobilizations to crush the fascists, for an internationally planned economy and an egalitarian socialist future.

Harvard Spartacus Youth Club
6 June 1990

Sex, Drugs & Rock 'n Roll— Gonzo Victory

On May 30 prosecutors in Aspen, Colorado announced they were seeking dismissal of their felony drug and explosives charges against journalist Hunter S. Thompson. The District Attorney's office was forced to drop its outrageous witchhunt against Thompson, prosecutors admitted, because of “discrepancies” in testimony and their inability to line up witnesses.

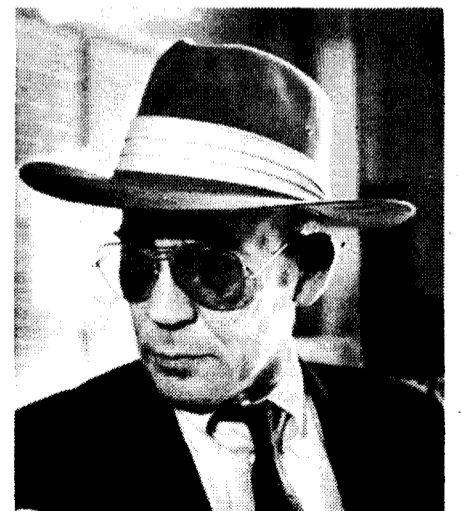
“I was going to be put on trial for sex, drugs and rock and roll,” said Thompson, inventor of “gonzo journalism” and author of biting “fear and loathing” exposés of the dark side of the American dream. “I've been doing that for a long time,” he added, announcing a celebratory orgy in his hot tub—for “consenting adults” only (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 May).

The lifestyle police went after this ferociously independent, longtime Aspen resident on the word of an out-of-town sometime porn star and producer who got herself invited to Hunter's

house. She then ran to the cops, who used her complaint of sexual harassment as their excuse for a six-man, eleven-hour invasion of Thompson's house in search of “evidence” to hang him with—in fact, all they came up with was literally a bunch of crumbs (see “Lifestyle Police Frame Gonzo Journalist,” *WV* No. 501, 4 May).

“I have more public support now than I did when I ran for sheriff,” Thompson said—and it's nice to see the good guys win one for once. But this vicious witchhunt and police invasion have deadly serious implications in this era of the “retroactive warrant” and erosion of the Fourth Amendment (which supposedly protects against unreasonable search and seizure). As Thompson has noted, “They search your house without cause, and if they find anything to charge you with, the courts will uphold it as a proper search.”

We're glad to hear Thompson is hard



Frank G. Martin

Hunter S. Thompson

at work on a new book, *Songs of the Doomed*, which will take up this issue. He is, after all, a professional at skewering the enemies of those fundamental freedoms we cherish.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Daily News Unions: Fight or Die!

New York's "hometown paper" (owned by the Chicago-based Tribune Company) is escalating its war on the unions. In sweeping layoffs at the beginning of June, the *Daily News* bosses threw out one-third of the Machinists and photoengravers. The electricians are slated to go next. And later this month everyone is bracing for massive layoffs of the pressmen—cutting the crew size on a press from twelve to six. The ten *Daily News* unions' contracts expired in March, but the workers have been held on the job by the Allied Printing Trades Council tops, who insist "we're going to wince, squirm and blink a little." This is a ticket to disaster. The *News* workers had better play hardball, and now, or they will be carved up and wiped out.

The layoffs have cut deep—in one case a Machinist and his son were thrown on the street at the same time. In the last two years, over half the Machinists who labor to keep the *Daily News*' antiquated presses running have been cut. The drivers union head, Michael Alvino, is offering to sell off union jobs, which will seriously weaken the union. Meanwhile, the high-living *Daily News* president James Hoge and his professional strikebreakers from King and Ballou are openly training scores of scab drivers and pressmen at the Pacific Street (Brooklyn) printing plant. The *Daily News* is trying to whip up race war in the tinderbox of New York, recruiting black and Hispanic scabs to pit against the heavily white craft unions.

Last month, a member of the Newspaper Guild in the classified department was suspended for calling one of the strikebreakers in training "scab!" Other workers at the *News* building on 42nd Street got hold of a management "survival kit" introducing out-of-town scabs to life in New York, with advice such as "don't make eye contact with passers-by" and if you are mugged, "don't speak unless your assailant demands it" (*West Side Spirit*, 8 May). They didn't, however, tell their "replacement workers" what's liable to happen to them when they try to cross a picket line.

News workers are backed up against the wall, and many know they must strike to save their jobs and their unions. Hundreds of workers at Pacific Street booed the hacks from the AFL-CIO Strategic Approaches Committee, who came into town to threaten the unionists that "if you take to the streets, you're history" (*Newsday*, 4 June). These bureaucratic "organizers of defeat," including Steelworkers chief Lynn Williams and the butcher of Hormel, UFCW's William Wynn, have sabotaged every strike they have touched. They are selling the *News* workers the "outside/inside game"—a no-strike no-win recipe of bumper stickers, consumer boycotts of the newspaper and the Chicago Cubs (owned by the Tribune Company), and pleading with capitalists to pull their ads from the *News*. This is the same "strategy" which sank strikes from the *Chicago Tribune* to Eastern Airlines. The union tops try to keep workers on the job with illusions that the bureaucrats' "friends of labor" like Dinkins in City Hall and Cuomo in Albany will rescue the unions—even as the Democrats send out the cops to break the picket lines.

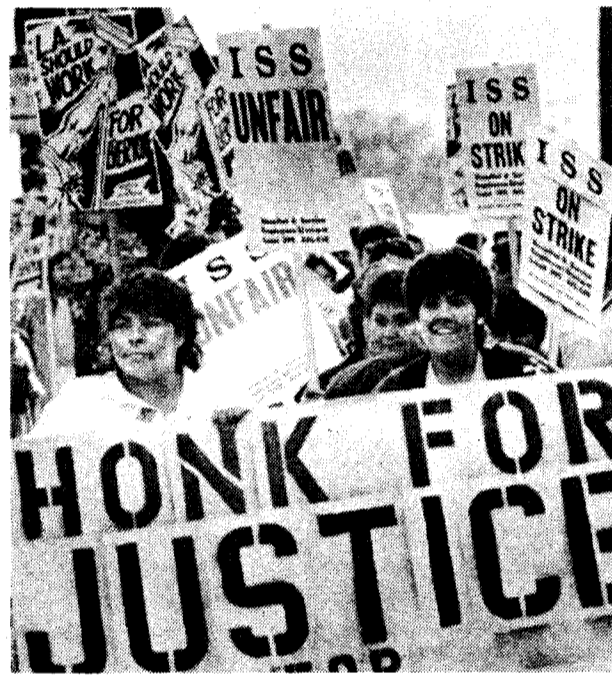
Daily News workers—it's fight or die! Against the army of strikebreakers assembled by Hoge, labor must draw on its own arsenal. Stop their plans for a scab paper with a sit-down strike, occupying the *Daily News* building and the Pacific Street plant and appealing to NY labor for support. And any high-priced columnists or reporters who plan on scabbing like Jimmy Breslin did in 1978 must get the message now that picket lines will be militant and solid. The battle at the *News* must

be extended to an industrywide strike by the newspaper unions at the *New York Times*, *Post* and *Newsday*. Break *Daily News* management's racist plans by instituting union-run minority recruitment and training programs at full union scale and at the capitalists' expense. A class-struggle victory here could turn around strikes such as that of Greyhound workers and organizing drives like that of the garment workers at Domsey, pointing the way forward for workers everywhere.

"Justice for Janitors" Takes Century City

LOS ANGELES—Century City, a glittering oasis of skyscrapers and high finance, got a taste of union power on June 1. Sweeping aside security guards, 400 striking janitors and their supporters poured into the ritzy office complex. Union chants mixed with conga drums as the members of Service Employees International Union Local 399 in red shirts stopped the Ferraris and Rolls Royces on Constellation Boulevard and carried their strike into Century City.

They blocked revolving doors with bags of garbage as union marshals backed down arrogant security guards. And in a moment that gave satisfaction to the



Barnard/Los Angeles Times
Janitors rally in downtown Los Angeles.

many minority and working people who detest the brutal LAPD, strikers swept past a squad of riot cops who impotently ordered them to leave. (L.A.-area cops are notorious—the county sheriff's deputies alone paid out \$3 million each of the last two years to settle brutality cases.) This time, for once, the bosses' hired thugs got a small taste of labor's strength, as the union demonstration continued inside Century City for two hours. SEIU organizer Stephen Lerner told the *Los Angeles Times* (2 June) that despite the "isolated, very elite community," "you can't wall off poor people and people of color. We'll come here until we get justice."

The strike began on May 31, after the 180 workers had tried for eight months to get a contract from International Service Systems, a giant building maintenance outfit with 14,000 workers across the country. The workers, mostly Latino immigrants, get a lousy \$4.50 per hour, with no sick pay or medical benefits. One woman striker, who fled El Salvador nine years ago,

told the press: "We need to win this battle, I can't feed my family on what they are paying." And you certainly can't buy anything in Century City with what the janitors who work there are paid. The bourgeoisie built the complex, which borders Rodeo Drive only a half-mile from Beverly Hills, as a walled city for finance and business, safely distant from downtown L.A. and maintained by low-wage, immigrant labor.

At a second rally on June 7, over 200 cops massed against the strikers. With another union demonstration scheduled for June 15, the Los Angeles unions must be brought out in force, from teachers to hotel to longshore. The battle of the SEIU workers at Century City is crucial for all labor in L.A. It can help break the back of the open shop, and spark the massive organizing drive that is needed to bring Latino workers in Southern California into the labor movement. And not least, militant, integrated battle by these workers can help sweep aside the racist, protectionist poison that the pro-imperialist AFL-CIO bureaucracy aims at foreign, especially Japanese and Mexican, workers. Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Victory to the Century City janitors!

"Enough! No Safety, No Work!"

The New York Transit Authority has announced budget cuts which could reach 10 percent, and for the first time provisional workers are going to be laid off. The funerals of two more NYC transit workers are barely over, but you can bet the first thing to be cut will be workers' safety. We print below excerpts of a 20 May leaflet by the Committee for a Fighting TWU, class-struggle militants in Transport Workers Union Local 100.

How much of our blood must be spilled before this union takes action against the death trap conditions we are forced to work in? On May 8, Daniel Walsh and Robert Nicholson were added to the T.A.'s death toll, crushed by a southbound F train leaving the Kings Highway station in Brooklyn. That's six of our union brothers killed on the tracks in just over one year.

We are sick and we are tired and we are angry at attending funerals for our brothers who are killed by deliberate T.A. policy. As far as management is concerned, workers' lives are cheaper than adequate manning scales. They spend a fortune on unionbusting drug testing, "beakies" and punishment. They substitute our blood for capital investment needed to repair this dilapidated death trap we work in.

What is the response of our union "leaders"? Sonny Hall ran point for the T.A. and *blamed the victims* claiming they were let "fall into bad safety habits" (*The Chief*, 18 May). Local 100 "safety sellout" director George McDonald added, "Not only do we need the rules, we need to make sure the men follow those rules." What bull! The bosses' rule is "do it or be written up"! The union sell-outs' "rule" is "do it first, then grieve it" which increasingly means "die first, then grieve it"—and dead men can't talk. A *real* union leadership would have brought the whole Local 100 membership out to the funerals for Walsh and Nicholson and *shut down the entire system* in protest of the T.A.'s callous disregard for workers' lives.

The transit system will never be safe for workers or riders unless workers control safety. The conditions we face on the job only reflect the decaying capitalist system we live under. But without us, this city and Wall Street do not move. You can bet if the workers ran transit, we'd make it run safe. We call on all Local 100 members to fight for elected union safety committees in every division of the TWU. *No safety, no work!*...

The unity and social power of the integrated labor movement must be brought to bear in New York City today to stop the race haters! This would also undercut the FBI informer Al Sharpton and Sonny Carson with his disgusting anti-Asian pogroms. Meanwhile the Democrat Dinkins tries to quell the outrage over the Bensonhurst killers, who are literally getting away with murder, by spewing empty liberal rhetoric and appeals for "law and order," while the NYPD has blown away a dozen black men since the first of the year. Even a one-day strike by Local 100 would send a very clear message, taking the wind out of Sharpton and Carson and putting fear into the race terrorists.

The union represents a social force that should be reckoned with, a fighting force for workers on the job and throughout this city. Let's get this union off its knees! For a fighting TWU! ■



WV Photo
Angry workers protest outside luxury condo of *Daily News* boss James Hoge last month.

Noah Wolkenstein Remembered

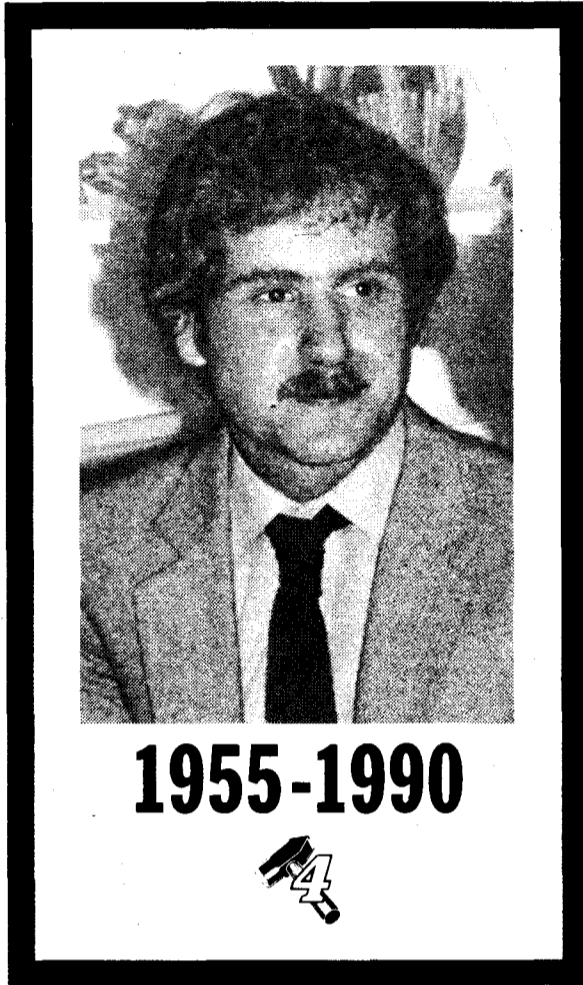
Our comrade Noah Wolkenstein died April 23 by his own hand. Noah was 34 years old, a member of the Bay Area Spartacist League and a full member of the SL Central Committee at the time of his death. For twelve years, from September 1976 to October 1988, he was a member of the composition crew of *Workers Vanguard*, serving as production manager of *WV* for many of those years.

This tragedy touches every comrade and section of the International Communist League. Noah's hard-driving and meticulous work and his political leadership expressed mainly through our press made him a shaping force in our tendency. Our comrades in Mexico City wrote to Noah's parents after the tragedy: "None of us knew Noah really well, and others of us not at all, but we all knew him by reputation and his was good. We want to talk more here with our new young comrades about his life and work, so those who never met him will understand our loss. We believe that we should remember of Noah that he chose as his life's work the struggle for international socialist revolution and all those who worked with him believe he did his work exceptionally well."

A Witchhunted Family

Noah was a red-diaper baby. His father Ed Wolkenstein edited *New Foundations*, the magazine of the Communist Party student group, the Labor Youth League, from 1948 to 1952. He moved the family to Buffalo, New York in November 1952 at the suggestion of the CP. Ed worked in the Bethlehem Steel plant in Lackawanna until he was fired after the HUAC hearings in Buffalo in 1957. Noah's mother Gloria worked in an auto factory and later as a teacher.

The family was witchhunted again after Ed Wolkenstein was subpoenaed before HUAC in April 1964. At that time, he was a member of Progressive



1955-1990



WV Photo

Labor, a Stalinist organization formed by a left split out of the CP and based mainly in its trade-union department and youth in New York City. Ed Wolkenstein was part of the nucleus of organizing mass protest against HUAC in Buffalo in 1964. Gloria was also a leader for many years in the struggle to implement the desegregation of the Buffalo public schools. Noah was always very proud of his parents for fighting for their beliefs. On the wall of his office in comp, he had posted the *New York Times* clipping showing the picket line outside the courthouse from 1964. The *Times* story recounts how Gloria caused a commotion in the hearings by shouting encouragement to her husband during his testimony. It doesn't tell how the U.S. marshals tried to drag her from the courtroom as Ed and the children struggled to stop the men who were molesting her. Noah, the youngest child, was eight years old at the time.

So Noah's home was imbued from the earliest with pro-socialist values and an activist conscience. His parents also set great store on giving their kids a sense of Jewish identity. Noah, after graduating from high school, went to Israel for over a year in 1973-74, attending Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He evidently went to Israel as someone sympathetic to the left-Zionist kibbutz currents, and his experience there was a bitter disappointment which left him repulsed by anti-Arab racism and Israeli militarism. As one comrade wrote at the time of Noah's death, "He was an internationalist who hated and despised the Zionist oppressors who would engulf the world in flames for their 'right' to lord it over the Palestinian people. He was an internationalist who gave no quarter to the Arab nationalists."

Returning to the U.S., Noah continued college, where he came into renewed contact with the Spartacist League; he had some familiarity with us because his sister Rachel was involved with the Buffalo Marxist Caucus which fused with the SL's youth group in 1972. Although by the time Noah joined the party both Rachel and their brother Seth were members, Noah recruited himself to the SL's revolutionary Trotskyist politics on his own timetable—at the time that he came around us with a view to

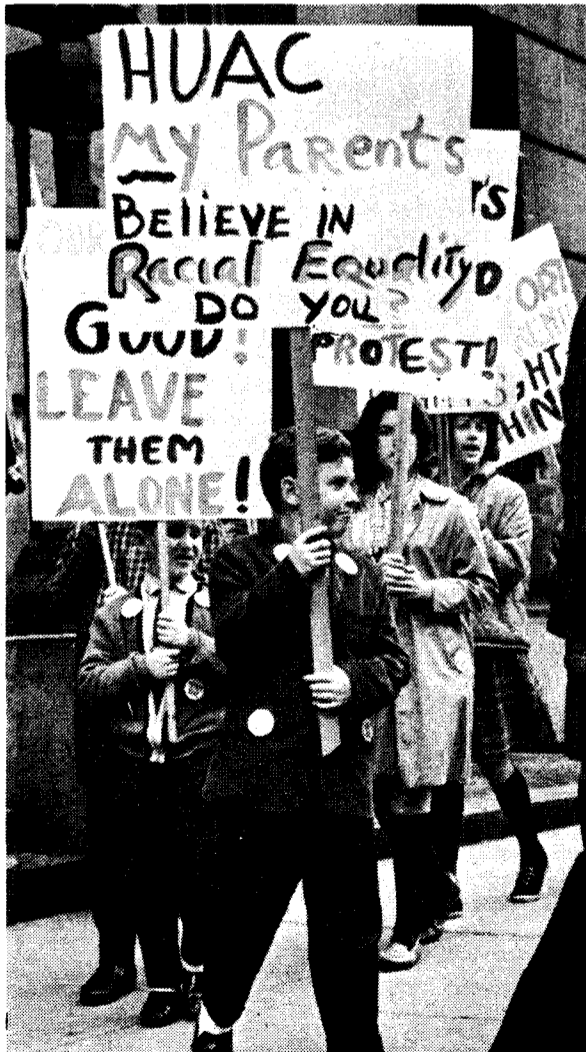
joining, he had been reading our paper very carefully for a couple of years.

Noah never lost his interest in the Jewish question and his involvement was central to many of the articles on the Near East which appeared in *WV* over the years. A comrade of the editorial staff who worked closely with Noah recalled collaborating on an article on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising: "We had found some material produced by Jewish Trotskyists inside the Ghetto. They had on the masthead of their newspaper, 'Workers of the World, Unite!' Noah devoted a lot of time, added on to his already enormous job as the production manager of *Workers Vanguard*, to researching and translating this material which we had only in Hebrew. The statement hailed the Red Army's struggle against Hitlerism, and as communists from a Jewish background we both valued it highly."

The Forging of a Communist Department

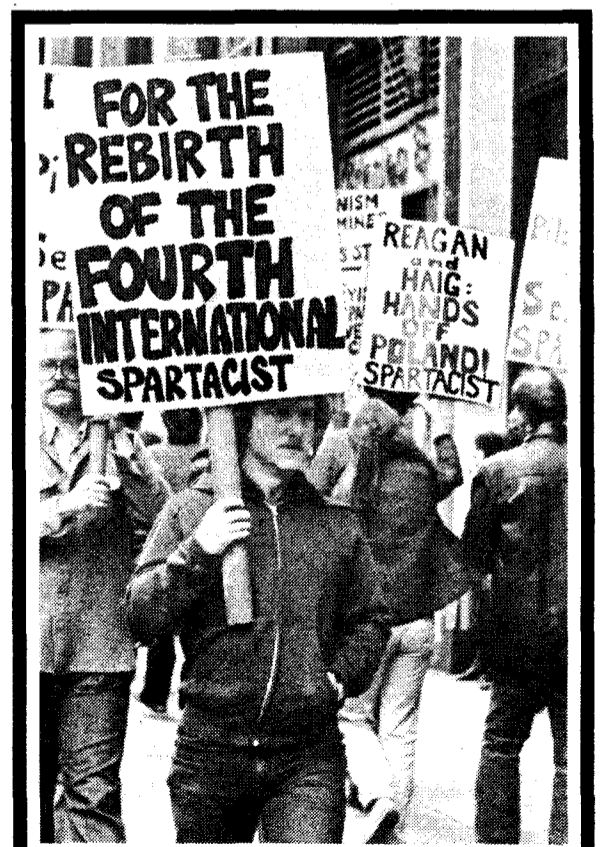
Noah joined the Spartacus Youth League in 1975, moved to New York and volunteered for the comp crew of *Young Spartacus*, which was at that time a publication separate from *WV*. The youth group, an organizationally independent, politically subordinate organization, had its own monthly press with a young editorial staff and comp crew which was trained not only by putting out its own paper under party supervision but through participation in *Workers Vanguard*, the more frequent paper. In many respects *YSp* was far from optimum training for a young communist, as there was a central problem with arrogant young men of the editorial staff who tended to treat earnest young women and members of the comp crew rather badly. At the same time, the fights waged over "the party question" were in their own way an important aspect of shaping a communist collective in the youth. Noah showed great aptitude and responsibility in the youth comp crew from 1976 onward and was named *Young Spartacus* comp chief in the fall of 1977.

In April 1979, Noah's central role in *WV* was recognized when he became assistant production manager of the party paper, thus moving into a position of great responsibility as the junior member of



Picketing the HUAC hearings in Buffalo, 1964: Noah carries sign "Our Parents Are Good! Leave Them Alone!"; at front is his brother Seth; behind Noah is his sister Naomi.

UPI/Bettmann



At SL protest against opening of anti-Communist Solidarność office in New York, September 1981.

WV Photo



At left, some of Noah's work: 1985 WV article on the revolutionary German Spartacists Liébknecht and Luxemburg used display of paintings by artist Fritz Brosius (top); front cover, *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet No. 1, 1983 (left); front page of *Spartacist* No. 41-42, Winter 1987-88. Right: Noah in the comp room with other members of the WV editorial board in 1981.

a two-comrade team heading the department which perhaps more than any other gives the party's deliberations and decisions voice and impact on the world. The partnership between Noah and comrade Darlene Kamiura helped give Noah the confidence to take over as WV production manager in his own right in March 1983, when Darlene took over the running of other party work.

In his years in comp, Noah and the party established norms and values that are crucial in understanding how the central office of a communist organization should function. The newspaper is a vital and central task of any communist propaganda group. WV as our tendency's most frequent paper is necessarily a hotbed of debate and often controversy, frequently involving not only comrades of the SL/U.S. but others of the ICL involved in preparing (not to mention reprinting) some of the articles. To be a member of the comp crew means a lot of very demanding and meticulous work at high speed, an involvement in the formal and informal discussions of the line and tone and layout of articles, and the satisfaction of seeing one's work immediately impact the world outside. But because of the intense pace, the demands on the crew, the political debates going on all around and the importance of the work, the production department requires a strong political leadership.

Although in our party the comp chief of a publication has always been a full member of the Editorial Board entitled to a substantial say in the paper's deliberations, it was not until Noah took over the task that the comp chief became a central political leader of our press. Noah had a political overview of the way the department should be run and in particular the relationship between editorial and comp; he implemented that overview and in so doing redefined the job of comp chief. He came to be a strong force of cohesion between the paper and all the other departments and functions of the national center.

Noah collaborated closely with the editors in shaping the paper and fought hard with them when he thought it necessary. In internal party struggles, Noah was incisive, logical and devastatingly articulate. To redress the imbalance and tension between the editorial and composition sides of press production, for a period of time Noah was placed in overall charge of WV.

What made Noah superb in leading our press production was that he combined technical, administrative and political capacity at the highest level. He trained comrades not only in the concrete skills of paper production, where he set the highest standards of careful professionalism, and not only in understanding how to use layout, headlines, photos to achieve political clarity and impact. He worked above all to imbue in the comrades of comp an understanding of the politics expressed through the paper and of the importance of their work in bringing the party's program forcefully to the consideration of readers and potential supporters. At many levels he combated our society's denigration of skilled labor,

whereby the work of executing an idea is seen as unrelated to, and inferior to, "political" work like writing articles or making speeches.

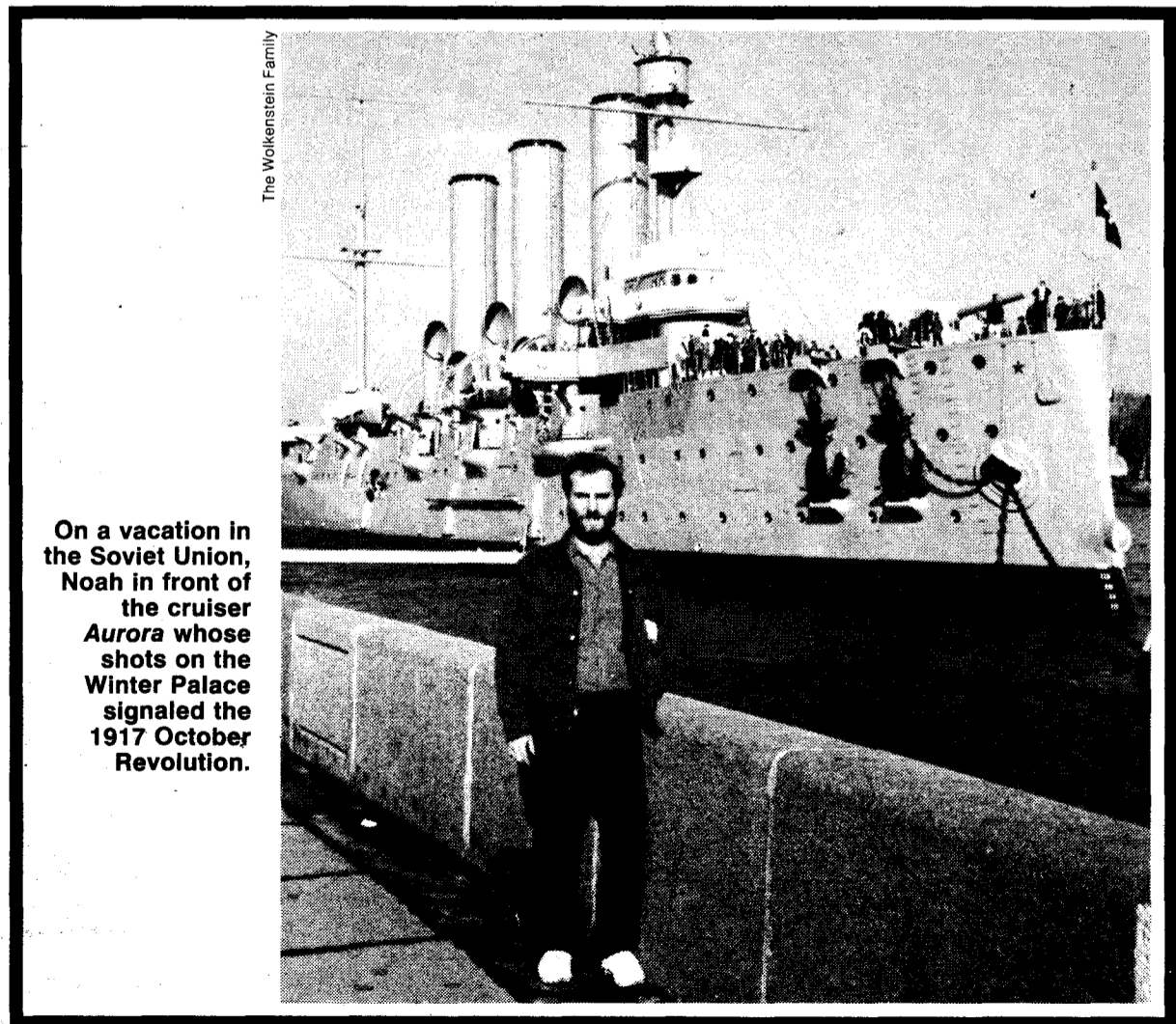
Noah made himself indispensable in centralizing the whole publishing program of the American organization, driving forward and balancing the sometimes conflicting priorities of every kind of publication, not only WV but everything else from pamphlets to posters and leaflets to internal bulletins. He took especial pride in his work as production manager of *Spartacist*, our journal published in four languages under the supervision of the International Executive Committee of our tendency. In addition to all this work carried out in our center, Noah took heavy responsibility for the press of overseas sections, sometimes making trips in between WV productions to Toronto or Paris to directly train comrades in production skills and party norms.

Noah spent several years being desperately concerned with the problem of production equipment. At the beginning, his work involved keeping our old machines going past their time, as we lacked both the money and the expertise necessary to replace them. The Spartacist League had undertaken publication of

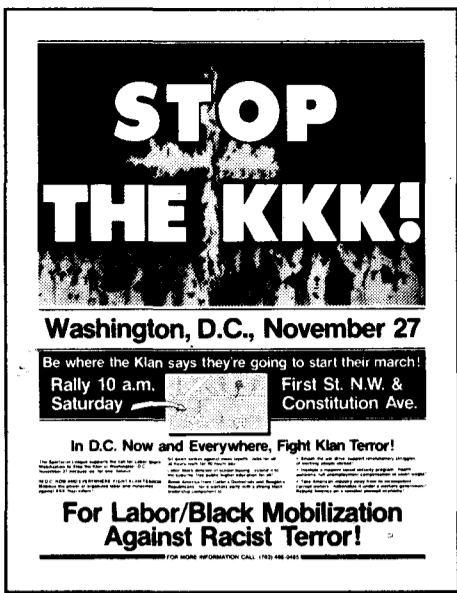
WV in 1971 and shortly thereafter we had purchased a not too expensive typesetting system which we then ran until it was certainly the only still operating equipment of that sort in the world. Noah devised a system which enabled us to keep producing the newspaper using parts of the old equipment (acquiring a substantial stock of pieces over the years as companies replaced their machines with new systems) while replacing our old paper-tape keyboards with personal computers. He and the comp crew kept this antiquated system operating in the face of constant breakdowns until 1989.

As we struggled to find the money for the inevitable major equipment purchase, Noah fought to penetrate the new technology of computer typesetting. Having begun his tenure as comp chief with no particular knowledge of computer technology, he suffered through the voluminous literature and all the trade shows and in consultation with other comrades authored an equipment proposal which was adopted. In the early fall of 1988 Noah asked to be relieved of the job of comp chief, but he took responsibility for seeing the equipment question through. It was

continued on page 10



On a vacation in the Soviet Union, Noah in front of the cruiser Aurora whose shots on the Winter Palace signaled the 1917 October Revolution.



WV Photo

Visually striking poster helped galvanize mass mobilization of 5,000 militants, mainly black unionists and youth, which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, 27 November 1982.

Noah Remembered...

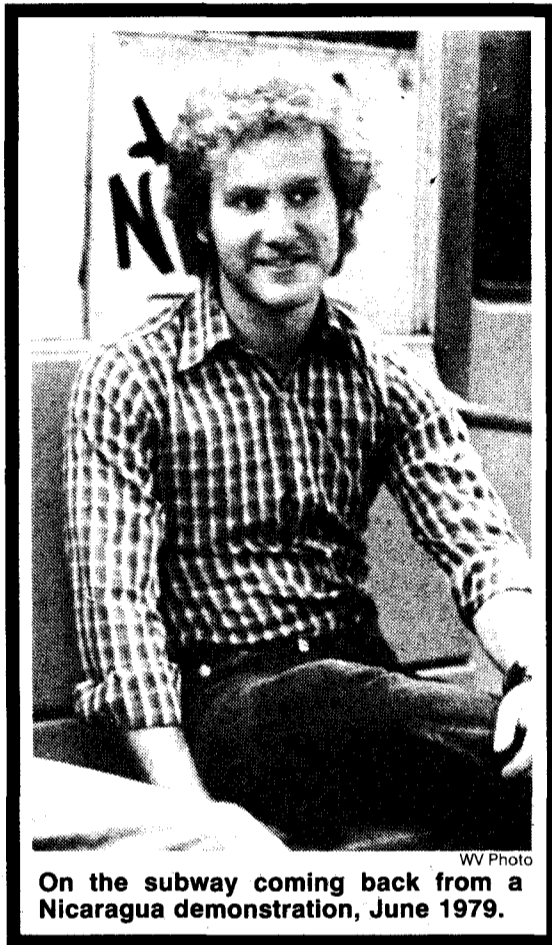
(continued from page 9)

not a surprise to him when this grew into staying in New York an additional year, working with the new comp chief and getting the equipment in and running. Even after he transferred to California Noah was in frequent fax communication with the center to help with decisions and problems involved with the new equipment.

The advent of the new technology also prompted a new round of collaboration with the comp chiefs of other ICL sections. Most recently prior to his death, Noah spent many weeks in Berlin helping to set up the new systems needed to cope with the vast increase in the publishing work of the German section. A leader of the section there has noted: "Noah's impact here went far beyond developing a technical infrastructure and setting up the production of our newspaper. He saw too clearly the problems of our section. It is no surprise to anyone who knew him that in his work here he acted in every way as a Bolshevik. He took up the fight for the leadership to take collective responsibility, for example on financial questions. He also took special interest in the comrades from the DDR and argued for the training and education they require to become party cadres. In both cases these fights were prescient of the tasks we now confront."

We Honor Noah by Carrying Forward His Work

Our ideological enemies, the bourgeoisie, would like to paint communists as malcontented individuals who seek a target for their anger in the existing social system. But we know that the connection goes the other way. Whatever personal griefs our comrade had that led him to such incomprehensible personal desperation, he was also deeply sensitive to the needless pain inflicted on the most vulnerable sectors of capitalist society.



WV Photo

On the subway coming back from a Nicaragua demonstration, June 1979.

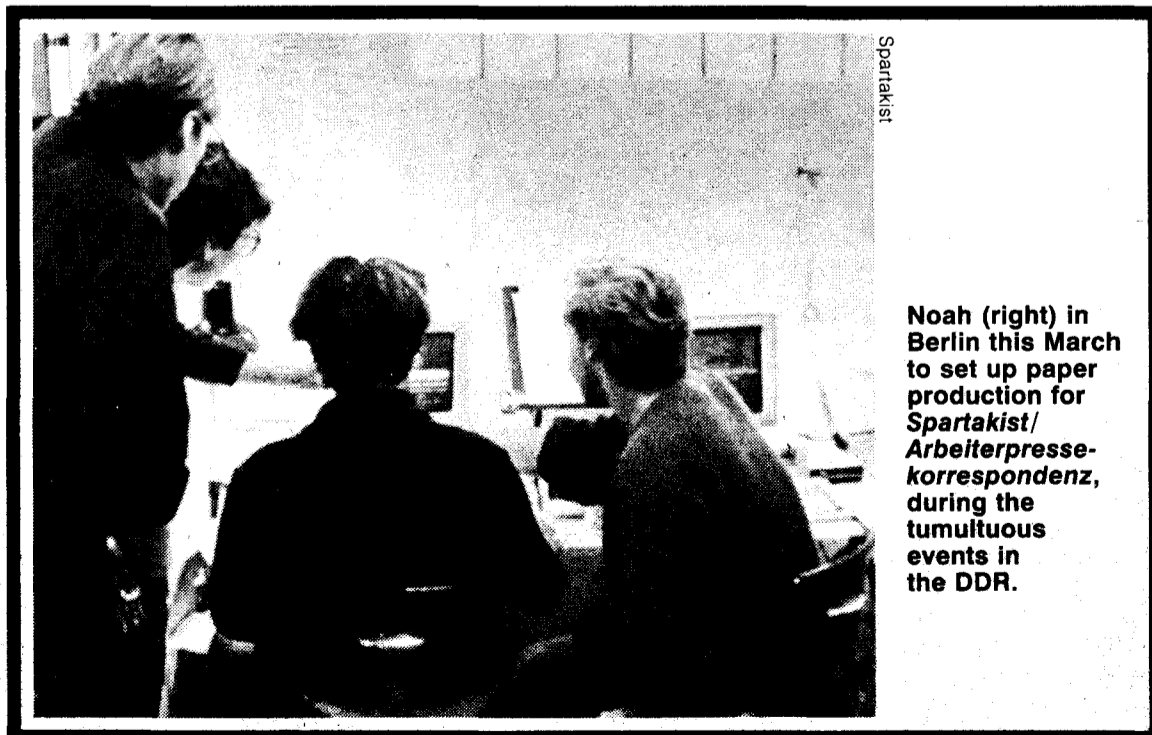
Those who care less about people than Noah did, and those who buy the rulers' racist and anti-working-class lies, accepting the idea that some people are not really worthy of all the good things that everyone wants, need not feel much for the victims of the capitalist social pathology of today, but communists do. The visible immiseration of the working people, the overt intensification of the brutal racism of American society, the dramatic collapse of Stalinism through the exacerbation of its internal contradictions which now threaten to reverse the remaining social gains in the deformed

workers states, the prospect of a reunified capitalist Fourth Reich in Germany and the danger of world nuclear conflagration—these things Noah felt deeply. It is impossible for anyone to say what were the political components to the pain which led our comrade Noah to take his own life. In his farewell letters to his parents and his sister and comrade Rachel, he wrote "Except for some short-lived periods my personal life has been overwhelmed by despair and a tremendous pessimism" and noted that "The organization has been what has given me purpose, peace and satisfaction—but it isn't enough."

Noah was a shy man who held himself aloof from close personal ties. He had very exacting standards for everyone, but most strongly for himself. He was intolerant of sloppiness and ignorance in all their forms. He was a high achiever in virtually everything he did in his life although this was not adequately reflected in the way he saw himself. He possessed a biting, ironical wit and didn't mind being described as "the world's youngest curmudgeon," but whenever things got tough and the pressure was really on, he brought good humor to the fore. He was drawn to attractive, sometimes difficult, women, which placed some limits on the aloofness he imposed upon himself. Although many of his comrades liked him enormously, he did not allow people to get close to him. Nonetheless he spent many hours listening to the problems of members of his department, because he considered this part of his job and because he really cared about the comrades. After being supportive to some comp comrade raging or weeping about their lover or their parents or their financial problems, he would emerge from his little office looking wrung out and complaining that "I can't stand personal stuff," but many of the people he cared most about in the world were indeed those comrades who had shared their troubles with him.

Noah's final personal letters indicate that he made his terrible decision after serious consideration over a lengthy period. He seems to have undertaken an orderly process of extricating himself from the central responsibilities through which he had made himself indispensable over the years. Noah's suicide has been very difficult for his party comrades to deal with. Beyond the terrible tragedy of the death of a young and very gifted person, we must come to grips with the loss of someone who was very much part of our central core of cadre, and who we looked upon with great pride and great expectations for the future leadership of our movement. We must not allow the shock of his death to diminish the recognition of his achievements. Rather, we must redouble our dedication to the struggle for the communist goals Noah deeply believed in, for it is only through the triumph of the socialist program on this planet that his work and contributions to our tendency will go beyond being admirable in their own right, and will become important in helping to shape the future history of mankind.

In remembrance of our comrade Noah, the Wolkenstein family has asked that a memorial fund be established to honor him and his contributions to our party and to assist in our continuing work. Presently under discussion in the party are some ideas for undertaking some innovation in our headquarters for the press department. Sympathetic friends wishing to contribute are urged to contact us directly.



Spartakist

Noah (right) in Berlin this March to set up paper production for Spartakist/Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz, during the tumultuous events in the DDR.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!...

(continued from page 16)

arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but also the inherent racism of its application. He's on death row specifically because as a Black Panther and prominent journalist he spoke out against racist state repression." Jamal's wife Wadiya will be speaking in New York and Philadelphia to "ask people to continue to support Mumia, because his struggles are truly our own. If people think it can't happen to them, they are living life blindly."

Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. On February 1 the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's petition to re-argue his appeal. As Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson said, "Mumia's trial was a farce.... It was clear, to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs.... An innocent man has been sentenced to die." Last month Jamal's attorney Marilyn Gelb filed for review by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Jamal was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists, and a prominent supporter of the MOVE organization. He was known as "the voice of the voiceless" for his radio interviews which presented the points of view of blacks, Puerto Ricans, the elderly, poor and other minority groups. From the depths of death row Jamal continues to speak out for them in columns appearing in newspapers around the country, including the *Nation*, *Philadelphia Tribune*, *Atlanta Inquirer*, *Chicago Defender*, *Workers Vanguard*, *New York's New American*, *San Francisco's Sun Reporter*, and *Greene County Democrat* (Alabama).

The rallies will bring together politically diverse forces with a shared hatred for the racism and cruelty of the death penalty. Speakers will include officials from Transport Workers Union Local 100, Social Service Employees Union Local 371, the Amalgamated Transit Union, International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and Local 10, and in Toronto officials from the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 75, United Transportation Union Local 43, and Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1. "That organized labor is coming forward is most important," said PDC Labor Coordinator Gene Herson. "Labor has the clout to stop the assembly line of death.

PDC Protests Exclusion of Gays

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent the following letter protesting the U.S. government's announced intention to bar homosexuals from entering the country to take part in the international AIDS conference scheduled to begin in San Francisco on June 20.

11 June 1990

Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Director:

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly protests the INS' exclusion of people who test positive for HIV virus and its reactionary threat to exclude homosexuals attending the 6th International Conference on AIDS.

The terrible medical problem of AIDS cannot be solved by national

exclusion or border patrols. There is no rational medical basis for exclusion from society of people who either test HIV positive or who have AIDS. Like the racist U.S. policy banning Haitians from donating blood as possible "AIDS carriers," its only purpose is to further stigmatize the victims of bigoted and racist government neglect. The government's ferocious across-the-board assault on the civil rights and living standards of working people has fueled the rise of murderous attacks on homosexuals and minorities. The paltry sums allotted to AIDS research amounts to genocide for hundreds of thousands of AIDS victims, most of whom will be poor and black or Hispanic.

Government has no business regulating consensual sexual activity. Yet it increasingly punishes those whose

private conduct is not to the liking of the religious right. It is barbaric that the government today invokes the McCarran-Walter Act's police-state exclusion of "sexual deviants" to impede those who seek an end to the devastation of AIDS. And hypocritical besides: nobody questions the degrees of consanguinity between spouses in European royal families who come to be feted at the White House.

We demand an end to the racist and anti-homosexual McCarran-Walter Act and disease exclusion of immigrants and visitors as cruel and unnecessary. Quality health care for all is both objectively possible and desperately necessary, but not within the framework of a system which breeds sexual and racial hatred to justify the exploitation and brutal oppression of the vast majority.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
Partisan Defense Committee

Their participation recognizes the link between the death penalty, a central part of the war on black America, and attacks on the labor movement for the past decade."

Across the country elected officials are beginning to come forward. New York State Assemblyman Roger Green and Chicago Alderman Danny Davis and Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, from Jamal's hometown Philadelphia, will speak at rallies to protest the racist sentence of death. Officers from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Operation PUSH, the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, American

Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, and the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty will also speak out to save Jamal's life.

Protests will begin in Paris on June 29. In Germany, rallies will be held at the U.S. consulate in Hamburg and the embassy in Berlin, DDR (East Germany) on July 3. The next day Jamal supporters in Toronto will demonstrate outside the American consulate on July 4. The London rally on July 6 will take place in the black community of Brixton, scene of a vicious cop riot five years ago.

Over 16,000 people around the world—from Australia to France, from Poland

to Canada—have signed petitions and sent letters to Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey, demanding Jamal not be executed. Among them are California Congressman Ron Dellums; actor Edward Asner; Operation PUSH, Chicago; South African poet Dennis Brutus; former Attorney General Ramsey Clark; and Rev. Joseph Lowery, SCLC. Former DDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has endorsed the rallies in Germany. Unions representing tens of thousands more are on record for Jamal, including ILWU Local 6, San Francisco Bay Area; ATU Local 308, Chicago; ILA Local 1414, Savannah, Georgia; and CWA Local 4309, Cleveland.

The protests mark the anniversary of Jamal's sentencing on 3 July 1982 and the restoration of capital punishment. "The Supreme Court's contribution to the 1976 bicentennial celebrations was the reinstatement of the death penalty in the case of *Gregg v. Georgia* on July 2, 1976," said Wolkenstein. "We call on all death penalty abolitionists to come out and join the fight to save Jamal. With his pen and voice he's fought for so many. It's our time to fight for him." For more information contact the Partisan Defense Committee.

We want to make it very clear that the views expressed in the above article submitted by the Partisan Defense Committee, and elsewhere in *Workers Vanguard*, do not necessarily represent the views of other endorsers and speakers working together to save Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.



At protest in Bremen, West Germany last November, banners say: "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty in the USA" and "Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Reply to FSP...

(continued from page 2)

revolutions against the crumbling Stalinist bureaucracies to establish workers rule through workers and soldiers councils, as in October 1917. This is the program being actively fought for in East Germany by our German section, the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany.

Particularly in the United States, where anti-communism and racism in the working class are the principal ideological obstacles to class consciousness, it is important to be very clear on "the Russian question." But beyond being against Stalinism and for socialist democracy, the statements of your candidate seem intentionally vague. Besides one characterization that the East European countries "...were a degraded form of worker's governments" (*Golden Gate*, April 19, 1990), you give no indication of the class nature of these states and where you stand on defense of their collectivized property forms. However in your

program you call for a "universal end to the arms race..." and to "Dissolve NATO and all other military pacts." (emphasis added). You thereby equate the Warsaw Pact with the imperialist NATO, and the military steps taken by the USSR, nuclear and conventional, to defend itself, with counterrevolutionary imperialist aggression, which dates back to the October Revolution itself. The vague "anti-Stalinism" turns out to be "third camp" social democratic anti-Sovietism.

You call to "Abolish the CIA" and to "End all support to repressive...mercenary forces like the Contras." But this is contradicted by the FSP's previous support to Brooklyn Rivera, the leader of Miskito Indian contras, who according to Rivera himself were armed and paid by the CIA to be an "Eastern front" against the Sandinistas.

Mainly, you seem to think that capitalism can be "transformed" by reforming the tax structure and "redistributing" corporate profits. In this sense your campaign is reminiscent of the electoralist "municipal socialism" of the right wing of American social democracy prior to

World War I and the Russian Revolution.

Therefore it is our opinion that your election program does not offer a way forward for young workers and students who have come to hate the capitalist system, its racism and its threat of nu-

clear annihilation, and who are looking for a program of revolutionary struggle against it.

Fraternally,
Al Nelson
Bay Area Spartacist League

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South African CP Leader Joe Slovo: From "Uncle Joe" Stalin to Gorby

Joe Slovo, general chairman of the South African Communist Party, returned home in April from decades of exile. During those years his wife and comrade, Ruth First, was murdered in 1982 in Mozambique by a letter bomb sent by a South African assassination squad. A week after his return, Slovo accompanied African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, himself just released after 27 years in apartheid prisons, at the first-ever ANC negotiations with the white-supremacist Pretoria government in May. Now Slovo's pamphlet, *Has Socialism Failed?*, has become a hot item, a topic of discussion in meetings of disintegrating Communist parties from Chicago to Toronto and London.

Amid the terminal crisis of Stalinism, CPers are clinging to Slovo's pamphlet as a drowning man grasps at straws. As leaders of collapsing East European regimes seek refuge in the Second International, here is a party leader who still calls himself a Communist. And unlike Brezhnev-era dinosaurs like the CPUSA's Gus Hall, Slovo is a Gorbachev man all the way. Moreover, while Communist parties from Europe to North America are in the throes of demoralization and outright liquidation, the SACP is at the height of its popularity.

That the SACP's stock has gone up has nothing to do with any change in its program, which remains as wretchedly reformist as ever, at most calling for bourgeois democracy. In an interview with the London *Independent* (4 November 1988), cited by the South African Marxist intellectual Baruch Hirson, Slovo declares: "We are engaged in a struggle in which socialism is not on the immediate agenda or should be a criteria of participation in the struggle. For some while after apartheid falls there will be a mixed economy.... There is no pole-vault into socialism."

In the context of the apartheid police state, even white liberals found in the Communist Party the only organized vehicle to struggle against racism and for basic democratic rights. It was the only sizable racially integrated party in South Africa, including not only blacks and whites but also Indians and coloureds (mixed-race). At his 1964 trial under the Suppression of Communism Act, Nelson Mandela pointed out:

"For many decades communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals.... Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism."

—quoted in Mary Benson, *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement* (1986)

The black African masses also equate communism with a thoroughgoing social revolution, with ripping South Africa's wealth out of the hands of the Randlords who have so cruelly superexploited them for over a century.

But they will not find the road to liberation in Joe Slovo's pamphlet, or in the party which for decades has sought "power sharing" with the "enlightened" slavemasters like Anglo American in a "post-apartheid" (capitalist) South Africa.

In *Has Socialism Failed?* Slovo glibly remarks, "Socialism certainly produced a Stalin and a Ceausescu, but it also produced a Lenin and a Gorbachev." Oh well, the reader is to conclude, two out of four—not all bad. And his tract admits, rightly enough, "The Fault Lies with us, not with Socialism." Slovo embraces "the processes of perestroika and glasnost" as socialism's only hope of

"showing its essentially [!] human face." But unlike Gorbachev he still holds "the class struggle is the motor of human history," and criticizes the CPs' "unilateral ideological disarmament" in the face of the capitalist ideologues' offensive.

Joe Slovo (left), returning after decades of exile, with Nelson Mandela at political rally in South Africa.



The appeal is to those CPers who don't just want to throw in the towel. But to justify all the years when he followed "Uncle Joe" Stalin's every twist and turn, Slovo pens some patently self-serving "self-criticism," like it is "now becoming clear that the virtual destruction of the command personnel of the Red Army, the lack of effective preparation against Hitler's onslaught and Stalin's dictatorial and damaging interventions in the conduct of the war could have cost the Soviet Union its victory." *Now becoming clear?! In a similar vein, Slovo writes that "we kept silent for too long after the 1956 Khrushchev revelations."*

Baruch Hirson bitterly commented last year on the SACP leader's belated discovery of Stalinism. "Slovo had heard these accounts of Stalin's crimes over many decades: was he deaf, or did he lack a sense of morality? He heard them from Trotskyists in Johannesburg in 1943, he knew them when he read about the condemnation and rehabilitation of the Jewish doctors in the USSR..." ("Thieves in the Thieves' Kitchen," *Searchlight South Africa*, July 1989).

More than avoiding a painful re-examination of history, Slovo seeks to avoid renouncing Stalinism's reformist perversion of Leninism or analyzing its social roots. Thus Stalinism is defined as a "bureaucratic-authoritarian style of leadership," and "socialism without democracy." If Stalinism is simply overbearing centralism, therefore one does not have to analyze the material bases for the rise of a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy in the USSR, and the program it generated: "socialism in one country" for Russia and "two-stage revolution"—i.e., no socialism—elsewhere.

Slovo mouths platitudes about "working class internationalism" being "one of the most liberating concepts in Marxism" which "needs to find effective expression in the new world conditions." This rings pretty hollow in the face of Moscow's world-historic betrayal of East Germany to a Fourth Reich, as well as its abandonment of Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola, to say nothing of Kremlin arm-twisting to get the ANC to come out

foursquare for a "political settlement" with the apartheid state. Where was "working class internationalism" when Soviet deputy foreign minister Anatoly Adamishin flew over the Witwatersrand in a helicopter with South African for-

eign minister "Pik" Botha, with whom he worked out in secret negotiations the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola?

And while Slovo comes to the defense of "Marxist theory," he hastens to add that "this is not to say that every word of Marx, Engels and Lenin must be taken as gospel...." Which words exactly does he have in mind? Well now, it seems that "The concept of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' was dealt with rather thinly by Marx as 'a transition to a classless society,'" dixit Joe Slovo. The Paris Commune, which Marx and Engels saw as exemplifying this rule of the working class, is dismissed as "an exceptional social experience." And Lenin's elaboration of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917 is explained as due to other special circumstances:

"Understandably, the dominant preoccupation at the time was with the seizure of power, its protection in the face of the expected counter-revolutionary assault, the creation of 'democracy for the majority' and the 'suppression of the minority of exploiters'."

For Joe Slovo, that was then, and this is now.



For South Africa's oppressed black masses, the red flag of communism is a symbol of the fight for freedom and social equality.

Certainly it would be unfair to accuse him of such "preoccupations" as he hobbles with the top exploiters of South Africa. We can't see Slovo chatting with Prime Minister de Klerk and "Law and Order" Minister Coetzee about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, Slovo writes: "On reflection, the choice of the word 'dictatorship' to describe this type of society certainly opens the way to ambiguities and distortions." Like bourgeois ideologues, he equates the Marxist term for the rule of the working class with the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. And his purpose is to reject the program of socialist revolution, replacing it with "democracy" and a "mixed economy"—i.e., capitalism. But this is not Gorbachevite "new thinking." The SACP renounced the struggle for socialism decades ago...under Stalin.

Today Slovo & Co. imagine themselves negotiating a "post-apartheid state" with de Klerk, Coetzee and the rest of the capitalist ruling class. So while Anglo American publishes ads showing black miners as "shareholders," the SACP chairman talks of "reorganising social life" so that "the producers...have a real say not only in the production of social wealth but also in its disposal," and assures Jo'burg corporate executives he does not foresee "the premature abandonment of any role for market forces," etc. But while Slovo talks of "real democracy in the post-apartheid state," the young comrades in the townships and the workers in the mines and factories are flying the red banner of communism and looking for revolution now!

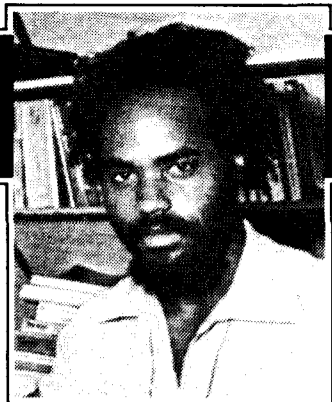
In South Africa, with its combative millions-strong proletariat, the brutally oppressed black, coloured and Indian population battling against overwhelming force, where numerous white students embrace revolutionary struggle and even some groups of white workers make common cause with the black unions, the SACP's commitment to the maintenance of capitalism is a betrayal of monumental proportions. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution explains that in the age of imperialism *bourgeois democratic* tasks cannot be fulfilled without socialist revolution. In South Africa, even "one man, one vote" can be achieved only by smashing the white-supremacist state through an uprising of the oppressed black, centrally proletarian masses.

Black miners laboring in barbed-wire compounds will be won to this program of workers revolution, not to Joe Slovo's nostrums of "power sharing" with their "enlightened" exploiters. ■

Gubb/JB Pictures

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

From Darkness Into Light



Mandela: Amandla! (Power!)
 Crowd of Supporters: Ngawethu! (It is ours!)
 Mandela: Amandla!
 Crowd: Ngawethu!
 Mandela: i-Afrika! (Africa!)
 Crowd: Mayibuye! (Let it come back!)
 Mandela: Mayibuye!
 Crowd: i-Afrika!

—Prelude to Mandela's speech in S. Africa,
 Feb. 11, 1990

The extraordinary spectacle of South Africa's most renowned political prisoner, Nelson R. Mandela, emerging from the dark confines of prison into the warm South African sunlight marked a magic moment for Africans around the globe.

The frenzied toi-toi was danced by South Africans, both at home, and in exile, a dance of sheer joy at the falling of the last shackles of dubious legality, in a spiritual-sunburst of loving welcome at the long-gone father, brother, comrade who has finally come home.

Many Black men and women wept with heartfelt joy at his coming.

Could South Africa, the hellish spawn of every Black nightmare, that earthly inferno of overt oppression on all Black life unlucky enough to be

birthed there, really be changing?

The answer did not take long in coming.

Days before the African National Congress leader was freed, Mandela's daughter's mate, Clayton Sizwe Sithole, was found hung in the notorious John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg.

Sithole, the father of Mandela's grandson, was a member of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, the ANC military wing of which Mandela, decades ago, was a founder and commander.

Like the police killing of rising Black activist, Steve Biko, in custody, this too was pegged "an accident," or "a suicide."

But for the Mandelas and the Sitholes, gladness was leavened with painful tragedy. Sithole was 22.

Days after Mandela's walk to freedom, Afrikaner police opened fire on an African protest in Seboking, leaving Black death in the double digits.

The South Africa, then, of the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa (Uitenhage) remains a daily cruel reality.

Why then did this racist apartheid state take the extraordinary step to free an internationally acclaimed critic and political prisoner? The answer lies deeper—not in the South African heart, but in its wallet!

International anti-apartheid campaigns have cost the Pretoria regime badly needed trade dollars, billions of rands (S. African dollars) lost by spreading economic sanctions.

In this light, the actions of de Klerk, the regime's president, take on an intelligible aura.

To free one "kaffir," the government reasons, is a cheap price to pay to restore South Africa's grossly exploitative economy. Already, de Klerk's P.R. campaign has borne fruit with a new air of acceptance hovering over the world's image of Pretoria, although life for the average African there is still more nightmare than promise.

Ghanian sage Kwame Nkrumah once opined that "capitalism is but the gentlemen's form of slavery."

Is apartheid capitalism, which exploits Black labor power to undergird the racist regime, the ruffian's form of slavery?

Yes, Mandela is free, and that is a glorious thing—the revolution must continue for all Africans to share the sweet taste of freedom! Amandla! On the MOVE!

12 May 1990

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

Since then, revolt has spread through the rural bantustans, urban townships have exploded with protest and a strike wave continues (the government calculates that the number of workdays lost to strikes in the first quarter of 1990 is four times that of the same period last year).

Nowhere is this spirit more evident than in Welkom, Transvaal, a gold mining town 150 miles southwest of Johannesburg. The Welkom mine produces 27 percent of South Africa's gold, and both the mine and the town are owned by the so-called "progressive" capitalists of Anglo American Corporation. About 58,000 well-off whites live in comfortable neighborhoods with manicured lawns. Thousands of desperately poor black miners are jammed 21 to a room in the Saint Helena Mine hostel, and on the other side of town 138,000 blacks live in shanties along dirt roads in Thabong township. Last month, tensions in Welkom reached the flash point.

It began with the ANC leader's release last February. "As soon as they showed Mandela on the TV, then this started," one white shaft steward complained. The black miners began to wear ANC T-shirts, militant slogans were found scrawled on tunnel walls. They particularly objected to the segregated changing rooms and the preference given to whites in the process of "hoisting." This meant whites were the last to go down and first to come up, spending two to three hours less underground. As black workers began to organize, the far right in Welkom formed vigilante groups organized by the Blanke Veiligheidswag (White Security Guard). This fascist outfit began "night patrols" on the streets of Welkom that meant carrying out attacks on black pedestrians.

On May 16, 31 black miners were dismissed by Anglo American for "disobeying rules," such as by wearing ANC garb. That afternoon, the fired black miners and a few of their union brothers approached company officials outside Shaft Number One. White security cops opened fire with rubber bullets and a 9mm pistol, wounding 18. In the clash which followed, two white mine manag-



Nelson Mandela (left) seeks to negotiate "power-sharing" deal with South Africa's biggest mining and industrial magnate, Gavin Relly.

ers were stabbed to death. Scores of blacks were arrested. On Sunday, May 20, there was a protest meeting in the black township of Thabong. About 1,000 miners and 500 youth formed a procession after the meeting and attempted to march into Welkom. Police opened fire on the procession, killing 11 blacks and injuring 90.

South Africa's two most prominent leaders of black unions, National Union of Miners (NUM) president Cyril Ramaphosa and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) secretary gen-

eral Jay Naidoo, arrived in Welkom and issued a conciliatory statement over the "regrettable" stabbing. But at funerals for the white managers there was a column of vehicles adorned with the swastika-like flag of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Such paramilitary and fascist groups have been growing, in reaction to de Klerk's talk of "power sharing" with the ANC. On May 26, Conservative Party leader Treurnicht gathered more than 50,000 right-wingers and neo-Nazis from the AWB for a racist rally at the Voor-

trekker Monument in Pretoria.

Welkom is one of the premier mines of the Anglo American Corporation, which owns 70 percent of the country's mining capital and has been known for its "far-sighted" approach to South African capitalism. The company recently ran a full-page ad in the London *Financial Times* to ask "Do We Sometimes Wish We Hadn't Fought To Have Black Trade Unions Recognised?" "Life has not always been easy since then," they sigh with paternalism worthy of a latter-day Cecil Rhodes, particularly when "our gold and coal mines" are struck. But they sought to bring in unions "for very sound commercial, as well as moral, reasons." Anglo American's commercial interests were clear: to set up a collaborationist labor bureaucracy to prevent an outbreak of revolutionary worker agitation.

Part of this strategy has been Anglo's attempts to co-opt the NUM, not least with its "employees shareholding" in a joint fund. This draws the union into direct collaboration with finance capital. The ad explains that these "verligte" (enlightened) tycoons understand there will be no class peace until blacks have political rights. Anglo chairman Gavin Relly (since retired) was the leading capitalist to venture to Lusaka for "secret" talks with the ANC, which led to two years of "negotiations" and the freeing of Mandela. Now once again, Anglo and Relly are trying to mold the shape of a "post-apartheid South Africa," orchestrating a late May meeting at Johannesburg's

continued on page 14



White fascist paramilitary forces arming against any democratic concessions to the black majority.

South Africa...

(continued from page 13)

Carlton Hotel of 350 leading bankers and industrialists with a high-level delegation from the African National Congress.

At his first press conference after being released, Mandela caused consternation in corporate boardrooms by reaffirming the ANC's call (in its 1955 Freedom Charter) for nationalization of South Africa's mines and redistribution of the wealth. But in a joint news conference with Gavin Relly at the Carlton, Mandela backed off from this pledge:

"I would like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form."

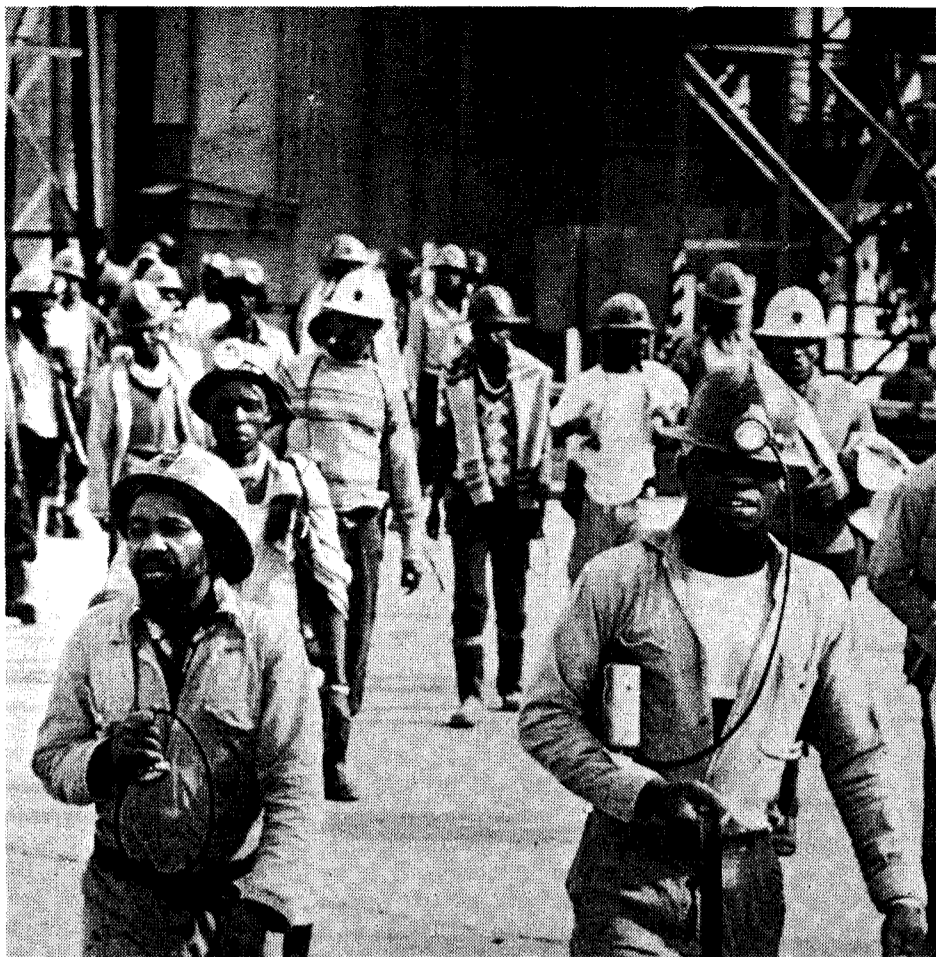
—London Independent, 24 May

While Mandela was appealing for "co-operation of the corporate sector," Relly said they agreed on a "mixed economy," and that "one shouldn't jump about and get frightened just because people see the word 'nationalisation'." For his part, Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party has been quoted as saying that redistribution of wealth does *not* mean "sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised."

Imperialist Sanctions: Who Do They Serve?

Mandela is using his tours of West Europe and the U.S. to appeal to the imperialist chiefs to maintain "sanctions" against South Africa. "Sanctions must continue to be applied until the whole structure of apartheid is brought down," he said (*New York Times*, 27 May).

We have pointed out how grotesque it is to call on American rulers, who dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and turned Vietnam into a moonscape, who block effective school integration in the U.S. and whose program for ghetto poverty amounts to genocide, to pressure their South African junior partners to...fight racism. We noted that calls for "disinvestment" were at best an empty moralistic gesture, that when multinational corporations began



Campbell/Syigma

Superexploited black gold miners are key to producing the wealth of the apartheid state. Black workers must fight for their own class power.

withdrawing productive assets it was to protect their profits and, except when a revolutionary overthrow is directly posed, this would serve to *weaken* the black unions, the organizational embodiment of the proletarian power that can bring down apartheid capitalism. "So divestment has become good business. But it is *not* good for South Africa's black workers," we summed up (*WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987).

The Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) was unique in telling the truth about the liberal divestment movement when it was highly unpopular to do so. But forces in COSATU have begun questioning the policy of divestment and sanctions. COSATU's 1987 congress criticized selective sanctions, which "cause serious regional unemployment."

The following year the Chemical Workers Industrial Union demanded that 41 foreign-controlled companies negotiate so that divestment not be at the workers' expense. And last year, the CWIU struck nine Mobil Oil installations against plans to "divest" by selling out to the South African mining conglomerate Gencor, while the Metalworkers union struck Goodyear over the company's sellout to South Africa's Consol.

A recent article on "Financial Sanctions and the Future of South Africa," by Paul Trehwela in *Searchlight South Africa* (February 1990), published in London, incisively analyzes the cause and effect of imperialist sanctions. Trehwela writes that while in the 1960s and 1970s the ANC called mainly for international consumer, sports and cultural boycotts, today "the decisive practical role in the

sanctions campaign now lies with world financial capital." He notes that at the height of the 1985 township revolt, U.S. financial capital—following the lead of Chase Manhattan Bank—imposed financial sanctions on South Africa, blocking new credits and demanding repayment of back loans. Since 1985 some \$15 billion in foreign debt was repaid by South Africa, while another \$10 billion left the country in capital flight. He observes:

"The action of the banks in July-August 1985, setting in motion the sole effective process of economic sanctions so far, was a measure by capital in its own defence against a future threatened loss.... What the banks require are political changes in South Africa that can assure them of future safety for their investments, and a safe field for future investment."

Trehwela notes that the present sanctions policy was designed by state technocrats of imperialist countries (notably Canada and Australia, the number three and four gold producers in the world after South Africa and the USSR). They were approved by meetings last year of the Commonwealth foreign ministers in Canberra and Commonwealth heads of government at Kuala Lumpur, and endorsed by the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and a delegation of COSATU headed by Metalworkers union leader Moses Mayekiso, "formerly a leader of the left wing of the unions." By looking to the banks as liberators, the ANC and its various allies and satellites are playing straight into the hands of the International Monetary Fund and the drive to "mass pauperization" of the Third World:

"The convergence of real practical bank sanctions and the agitation of the ANC for financial sanctions marks its co-optation into the political operations of world capital. Outside the environs of Mrs Thatcher, it is hard to discover who does not either support or threaten to support their extension. Congresses of bishops and the Trade Union Congress, the UN and the Communist Parties, radical leftists and the far-seeing right: all look to the agency of money-dealing capital to undo what money-dealing capital set in place at the founding of modern South Africa, in the period of Rhodes and Rothschild.

"Ultimately it is the future of the workers in South Africa that is under examination.... The ANC has passed from the patronage of the USSR into the US sphere of interest. Its guiding policy in international affairs has in the last resort become that of the IMF and the US banks, the real authors of 'financial sanctions'. In aligning themselves with this politics, the leaders of Cosatu, and in particular Mayekiso, have become the means of transmission of the politics of the banks within the proletariat."

Through collaboration with the banks in the question of sanctions, and such schemes as the Anglo American employee shareholder plan and retirement fund, whose first chairman is NUM secretary Cyril Ramaphosa (who called off the 1988 mine workers strike), these are all measures that bring the black unions increasingly under the control of finance capital and of the capitalist state. The aim, as Trehwela indicates, is "to build up a trade union bureaucracy and a labour aristocracy among black workers, through which it hopes to control the class." Whether this is possible in South Africa today is another matter.

Black Workers Must Take the Power!

Trehwela holds that following the 1985 township revolt and subsequent growth of black trade unions, the existence of the apartheid regime has become "anomalous" to the banks. He assumes that a post-apartheid capitalist state is in gestation which will include an ANC presence in the government. This assumption is shared as well by a whole political spectrum, from de Klerk on the right through Gavin Relly to Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and leftists like Trehwela. At most this would mean that South Africa would become another Zimbabwe (where last week Mugabe's cops and army beat and tear-gassed striking schoolteachers and government workers). But this perspective is a conservative/liberal/reformist utopia. In fact, South Africa is barreling down the road to civil war.

CIA Set Up Mandela

During Nelson Mandela's visit to the U.S., he will meet with George Bush, the CIA's man in the White House. Yet it was the CIA which set up Mandela for arrest in 1962, leading to his decades-long imprisonment in apartheid's hellhole jails.

On June 10, the *Atlanta Constitution* published an article by Joseph Albright and Marcia Kunstel quoting a retired U.S. intelligence official who verified what has long been whispered: that the CIA, using an agent inside the African National Congress, provided South African police with precise information about Mandela's activities that led to his arrest on 5 August 1962.

The official recounted how, within hours after Mandela's arrest, Paul Eckel, then a senior CIA operative, walked into his office and told him approximately: "We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be. They have picked him up. It is one of our greatest coups."

In the Cold War summer of 1962, the Kennedy administration was still smarting over its humiliating defeat at the Bay of Pigs the year before and gearing up to challenge Moscow to a nuclear showdown over Soviet missiles in Cuba. In Johannesburg, the South African apartheid regime had lost the "sup-



Barry von Below

Nelson Mandela in 1961, shortly before he was forced underground.

port" of the British spy agencies MI-5 and MI-6 as a result of withdrawing from the Commonwealth. The CIA was happy to pick up the slack by supplying tidbits to the "friendlies" in the racist regime.

Five years earlier, the American embassy in Pretoria had cabled Washington that South Africa's black intelligentsia was "psychologically susceptible to the extremes of Black Nationalism or Communism" and that black radicals "could become a cardinal threat to American security." Around this time also, the CIA

was involved in the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) via the Agency's infiltration/control of the U.S. National Student Association.

The account of the U.S. official was backed up by retired South African intelligence operative Gerard Ludi, who disclosed that the CIA was running a highly successful "deep cover" agent in the ANC branch in Durban. The agent provided detailed accounts of the ANC's activities, including information on the whereabouts of Nelson Mandela, then being sought for his anti-apartheid activities. The morning after a secret dinner party with ANC members in Durban, Mr. Mandela, dressed as a chauffeur, ran into a roadblock. He was immediately recognized and arrested.

Today as at the height of the Cold War, the deadly U.S. "intelligence" network still has the same aim—to root out and destroy fighters against imperialism and capitalism. While the CIA was targeting anti-apartheid activists in South Africa, in the American South FBI informers were participating in bombings, shootings and beatings of civil rights marchers. The Fed's COINTELPRO operation sought to disrupt black organizations and set up militants for imprisonment and murder.

The CIA set-up of Nelson Mandela makes all the more grotesque the appeals by the South African ANC and American liberals to Washington to impose "sanctions" on The Company's junior partners in Pretoria. The fight for black freedom means revolutionary struggle against the racist capitalist rulers from Harlem to Soweto!

CPUSA in Turbulent Waters

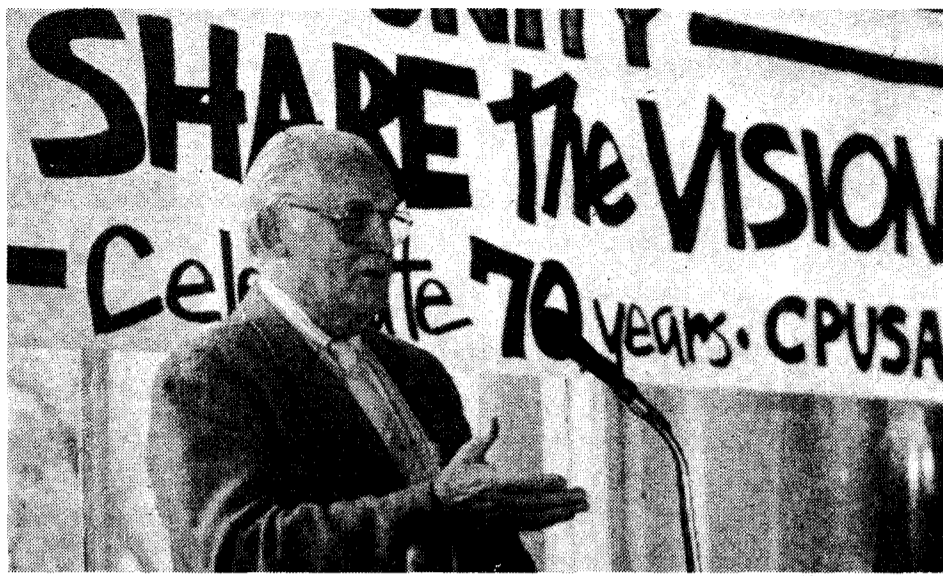
After his summit meeting with George Bush, Soviet president Gorbachev spent the rest of his cross-country visit to the U.S. socializing with the ruling class. In San Francisco it was hobnobbing with Reagans on Nob Hill and a power lunch with the corporate power elite. *New York Times* reporter Bill Keller described Gorbachev's visit to the Bay Area as "a day of rampant, unabashed, big-money, high-tech, brand-name California capitalism," and contrasted this with Nikita Khrushchev, who included leaders of the long-shore and auto unions in his itinerary during a 1959 visit to the West Coast:

"President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, who prizes investment over solidarity, left little doubt here that he feels more comfortable on the other side of the barricades."

For Mikhail Gorbachev the very existence of an entity called the Communist Party of the USA is an embarrassment in his efforts to woo Wall Street and Washington. And as the Stalinist bureaucracies collapse throughout East Europe, their American cheerleaders have lost the very reason to exist. Already, the *People's Daily World* has announced that it is cutting back to a weekly for financial reasons. And internally, the CPUSA has become embroiled in backbiting and mutual recrimination.

In his speech to a January 27-28 National Committee meeting, recently published as a pamphlet, the party's perennial leader Gus Hall hit back at his numerous critics pretty hard while implicitly blaming Gorbachev's glasnost for all his troubles:

"Could it be that because in the socialist world there is a temporary ideological climate of 'anything goes' that all questions are open for discussion and debate, and, therefore that in our Party some comrades feel it is now opportune to raise again the old class questions?"



Old-line Stalinist Gus Hall blames his troubles on glasnost.

"Even a few, almost in the same breath, call for the removal or resignation of the national leadership and a change on these basic questions. I believe some of these comrades are using the call for removal of the leadership to open the door to removing the working class, class struggle policies of our Party."

Class struggle policies?! The CPUSA has prostituted itself to the "liberal" wing of American imperialism ever since the 1930s, from applauding the A-bombing of Hiroshima to supporting racist trade protectionism advocated by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

What, then, were the political issues in dispute? A "substantial and representative selection" of the NC discussion indicates one black Committee member after another sharply criticized Hall. Several focused on the party's internal regime: Kendra Alexander took the question of democratic centralism back to Stalin's seizure of power in 1923 and Lenin's call for fighting bureaucracy and

removing Stalin as general secretary. Angela Davis talks of "our failure to facilitate the democratic functioning of our party." Charlene Mitchell refers to "the command-and-control nature of our leadership."

Former youth leader James Steele came close to calling the existing leadership and its political line racist:

"There is an unprecedented upsurge, democratic upsurge in our country. It's in process, it's escalating and it is reflecting itself in the Party. One of the spearheads of this upsurge is among the African-American people. That too is reflecting itself, I think, in the disgruntlement of many African-American comrades. If you listen to the discussion, there is a divergence of perception, and it has a certain racial dimension to it, in terms of composition of who is saying what."

The old guard around Hall seems resigned to turn the party into a kind of Stalinist rest home. But the younger,

especially black, cadre are evidently frustrated that they are missing the boat, namely, the black wing of big-time Democratic Party politics. Some black CPers are speaking about Democratic black elected officials (BEOs) in the exalted language once reserved for the Christian heaven and Stalin's Russia. Listen to James Jackson on Virginia governor Douglas ("Death Penalty") Wilder:

"I just had the happy experience of being in Virginia and I got this souvenir of a new face, not of communism, but a new face of a new democracy in Virginia.... And this is the 66th governor of Virginia...."

"The only game in town, thus far in the new decade, with bold and persistent initiative, with a confident step, and with very broad vistas, is that of the ally of the working class, the strategic ally of the working class, the forward thrust of the equality and freedom movement of the African-American people."

While Jackson exalts "the forward thrust" of the African-American people, every index—from infant mortality to homelessness to inmates on death row—shows that American blacks face greater misery and oppression than at any time in recent decades. The decay of American capitalism, signalled in the labor movement by giveback contracts and union-busting, has hit blacks the hardest. And it is the very BEOs the Communist Party is tailing after who have been put in place to preside over the misery and prevent struggle against it.

With the Kremlin bureaucracy disintegrating and the East European Stalinist regimes gone, and seeing the Canadian CP falling apart, some cadres in the American CP see an opportunity in mainstream bourgeois politics and they want to go for it. The future of black ex-Communists in American bourgeois politics is not likely to be bright. But, then again, neither is the future of Stalinism. ■

While "verligte" capitalists and imperialists would like to strike a deal with the ANC, in apartheid South Africa there is very little middle ground. De Klerk's National Party is losing votes as white reactionaries dig in, arming themselves to defend their swimming pools, ranch houses and farms built on the toil of black labor. Moreover, it is far from clear that the maximum concessions by the Nationalist government can meet the

The idea that apartheid, that is to say capitalist rule based on white supremacy, will pass peacefully into history is absurd.

In the period since the Mandela-de Klerk Cape Town talks, COSATU has pushed to get in on the negotiations. "We're meeting ministers almost every day," glowed one NUM official, and Ramaphosa referred to blood-drenched top cop Adriaan Vlok as "our minister" when they met in Welkom. The Pan-Africanists oppose negotiations, but their slogan of "one settler, one bullet" is simply a call to drive whites out of a black nationalist-ruled capitalist South Africa. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) also criticizes the ANC negotiations with the de Klerk regime and talks of building a "mass-based people's organization with a socialist orientation" (*Socialist Action*, June 1990). But its advocacy of "Black Consciousness philosophy" denies the central role of the black African proletariat capable of leading also the oppressed, coloured and Indian masses as well as those whites who accept a racially integrated, egalitarian South Africa.

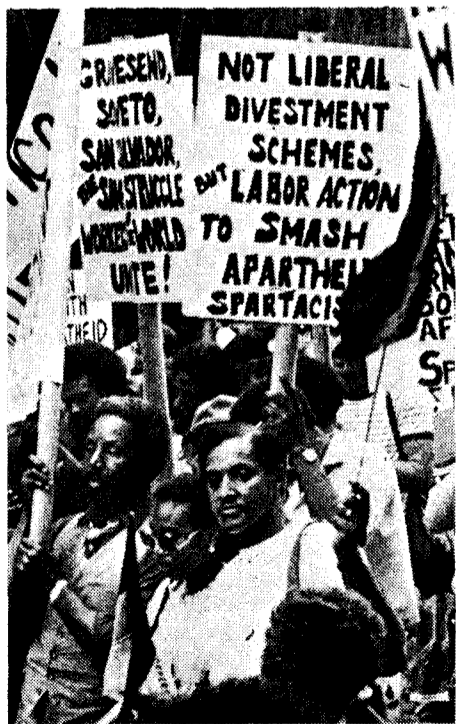
Allied with AZAPO is the Cape Action League, whose youth group recently published a document calling for a constituent assembly rather than a negotiated settlement. CAL is led by Neville Alexander, whose latter-day Menshevism is often misidentified as Trotskyism in South Africa. The revolutionary-democratic slogan of a constituent assembly is appropriate as the ANC prepares to abandon "one man, one vote" in practice, alleging the need to assuage white fears. But by itself this slogan does not go beyond the limits of bourgeois society. To overthrow the domination of the capitalists who have sucked fabulous wealth from superexploitation of the

labor of South African blacks, to ensure equality and freedom for the oppressed masses and raise them out of poverty, it will take nothing less than proletarian revolution, with black workers in the vanguard.

Today the contradictions in South Africa are excruciating: the mood of demoralization following the exhaustion of the 1984-86 township revolts is past, the working class is insurgent as never before, yet never before has it been so politically dominated by the politics of class collaboration. A socialist revolution must be prepared and led by a genuinely communist party, forged in struggle

against the reformism of the SACP and the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC. It must be a racially integrated party, which includes not only blacks but also coloureds and Indians as well as whites as comrades. It will be a Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, which says to black workers: the nationalists want you to pull the cart of capitalism as the apartheid rulers have forced you to with their *sjamboks* and bullets, but you have the power, you produced the wealth—take it, it's yours.

Smash apartheid—For workers revolution in South Africa! ■



Spartacist contingent in June 1983 NYC anti-apartheid protest.

minimum demands of the ANC if either side is to retain any support on its respective side of the yawning chasm that separates the oppressed black majority from the layer of white oppressors, far smaller but big enough to wage a bloody fight to the death. And they will.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main Post Office
Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X2
(604) 255-0636

WORKERS VANGUARD

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

In cities around the world opponents of the racist death penalty will be rallying to save the life of black journalist and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, a death row political prisoner in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Beginning June 28 in New York and ending on July 14 with rallies in Chicago, Oakland and Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia, events will include pickets and protests outside U.S. embassies and consulates throughout

Europe and stretching down under to Australia. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is the rallying cry for all opponents of the racist death penalty. The two weeks of protest are part of a campaign to save Jamal's life, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. Rachel Wolkenstein, counsel for the PDC, stated, "Jamal's case is what the death penalty is all about. It exposes not only the *continued on page 11*

International Campaign of Protest

Paris

June 29, 7:00 p.m.
LSC, 69ter rue de la Chapelle

London

July 6, 7:00 p.m.
Lambeth Town Hall
Brixton Hill

Berlin, DDR

July 3, 4:00 p.m.
USA-Botschaft
Neustädtische Kirchstr. 4-5

Hamburg

July 3, 4:00 p.m.
USA-Generalkonsulat
Alsterufer 27-28

Sydney

July 12, 7:30 p.m.
Tom Mann Theatre
136-140 Chalmers St., Surry Hills

New York Rally

June 28, 7:00 p.m.

Associated Musicians of Greater New York,
Local 802, 330 West 42nd Street

Speakers:

Frank Boone, Vice Chairman, UMD, TWU Local 100*
Charles Brover, Co-chairman, PDC
F.J. DeFilippi, Eastern striker, Exec. Board member, IAMAW District 100*
Roger L. Green, NY State Assemblyman
Lennox S. Hinds, Attorney, Prof. Criminal Justice, Rutgers University*
Wadiya Jamal, Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, MOVE supporter
Harold Jamison, Journalist and former Philadelphia colleague of Mumia Abu-Jamal
I-Abdul Jon, Committee in Support of MOVE
Michael Lighty, Business Manager, NABET Local 15*
Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer, District 65 UAW*
Henry Schwarzschild, Director, ACLU Capital Punishment Project*
Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer, IBT Local 808*
Karima Wicks, Research Director, Capital Punishment Project, NAACP Legal Defense Fund*
Ira L. Williams, Vice President, Political Action, SSEU Local 371*

Philadelphia Rally

July 14

For more information: (215) 222-7880

Partial List of Speakers:

Charles Brover, Co-chairman, PDC
Muriel Feelings, Director, Pan-African Studies Community Education Program
Wadiya Jamal, Wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal, MOVE supporter
I-Abdul Jon, Committee in Support of MOVE
Raymond Martinez, Jr., Statewide Executive Board, Pennsylvania Social Services Union, Local 668 SEIU*
David Richardson, Pennsylvania State Representative
Pamela S. Tucker, President and Co-Founder, Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty*

Chicago Rally

July 14, 2:00 p.m.

The Blackstone Hotel, 636 S. Michigan Avenue
For more information: (312) 663-0719

Speakers:

Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union*
Danny K. Davis, Alderman, 29th Ward*
Michael E. Deutsch, Lawyer, Peoples Law Office*
Mark Kelly, Midwest Representative, PDC
Elizabeth King-Whitaker, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers
Reverend George E. Riddick, Vice President, Operation PUSH*
Patricia Vader, Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty*
Josephine Wyatt, Chairperson, Chicago Chapter, NAARPR*

Oakland Rally

July 14, 7:30 p.m.

ILWU Local 6 Hall, 99 Hegenberger Road
For more information: (415) 839-0852

Speakers:

Don Alexander, Partisan Defense Committee
Ronald E. Bell, Founder, Aaron Mitchell Foundation to Abolish the Death Penalty
Robert R. Bryan, Chairperson, National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty
Bobby Castillo, Political Prisoner Project Coordinator, International Indian Treaty Council*
William F. Freeman, President, Oakland NAACP*, Senior Representative, SEIU*
Charles R. Garry, San Francisco attorney
H. Lee Halterman, District Counsel for Representative Ronald V. Dellums*
Hilary Naylor, Regional Abolition Coordinator, Amnesty International*
A representative of the former Black Panther Party*
Leo L. Robinson, Longshoreman, ILWU Local 10*
James W. Ryder, President, ILWU Local 6*
Ben Visnick, 1st Vice President, Oakland Education Association*
Burton H. Wolfe

Toronto Demonstration

July 4, 5:30 p.m.

U.S. Consulate
360 University Avenue
For more information: (416) 593-4138

Partial List of Endorsers:

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African and Caribbean Student Association
Afrocanadian Club, Oakwood Collegiate*
Anarchist Black Cross
Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local
Coalition for the Truth About Africa
Claire Culhane, Prisoners Rights Group*
John Donaldson, Past Vice President, Ontario Federation of Labour*
Lennox Farrell, Chairperson, Rally Against Apartheid*
André Kolompar, President, CUPW Toronto Local*
Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and York Region, Executive Board
C.J. Marshall, Executive Vice President and Treasurer, Hotel Employees Restaurant Employees Local 75*
Darl Meade, Spokesperson, Black Action Defense Committee*
Partisan Defense Committee
Charles Roach, President, Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration Committee*
Clayton C. Ruby
Bill Storrington, Local Chairman, United Transportation Union Local 483
Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 Executive Council
Trotskyist League of Canada
United Transportation Union Local 483
Lance Wilson, Research Consultant, Multicultural Access Program*
Wimmin Prisoners' Survival Network

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only.

Sponsored by:

Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., NY, NY 10013
(212) 406-4252