

Smash South Africa Anti-Labor Bill!

3 Million Black Workers Strike Against Apartheid

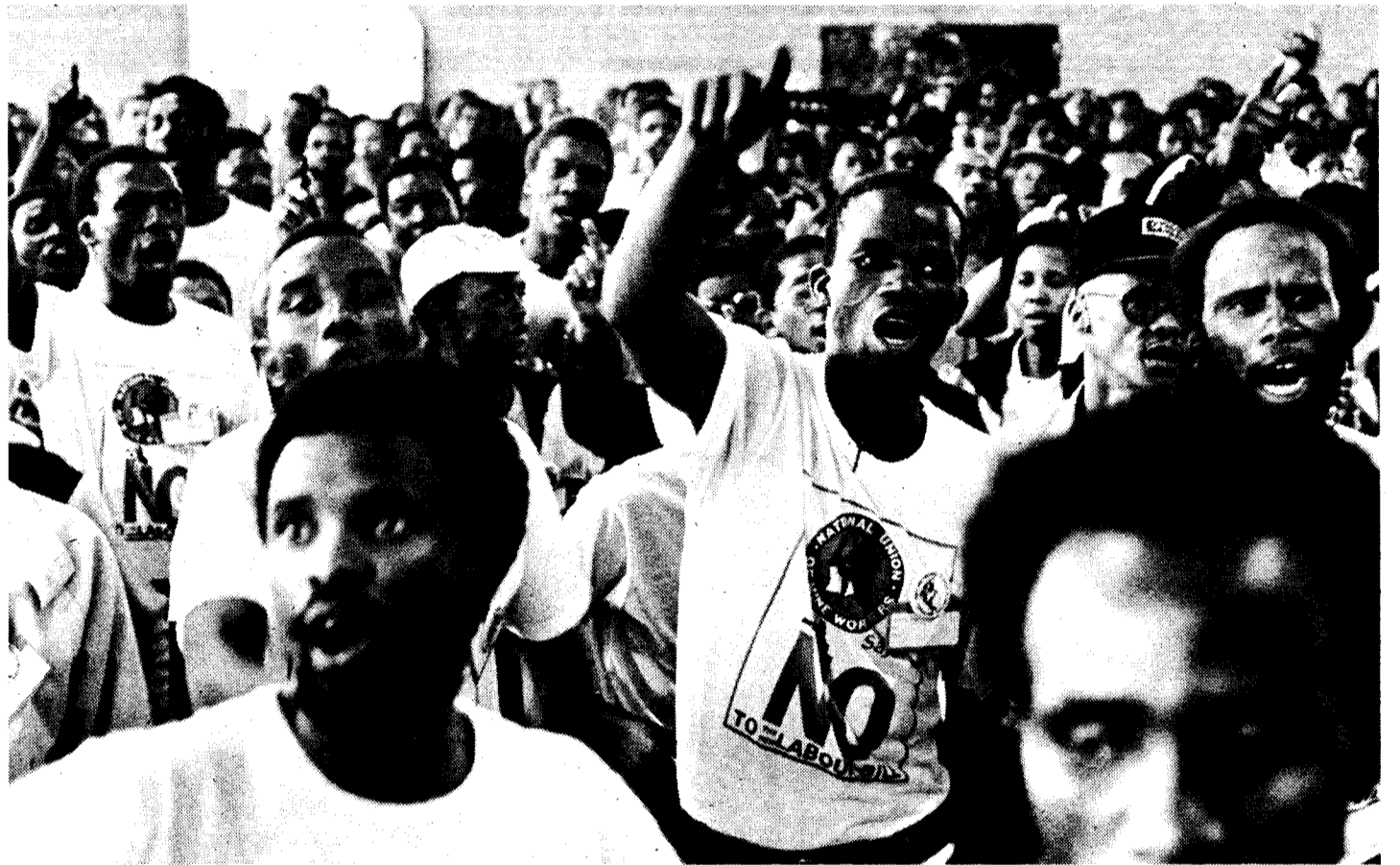
Save the Sharpeville Six!

Three million black workers shut down Johannesburg and Durban, and even the capital Pretoria was hit hard by the walkout from June 6 to 8. The three-day "stayaway" was the biggest and longest general strike in the history of the South Africa apartheid regime. The auto industry ground to a halt, as all seven assembly plants in the country were shut down. Nothing moved in the black township of Soweto; Johannesburg was a ghost town as the buses and trains stopped running. White managers did the labor normally consigned to blacks, sweeping floors and stocking shelves in the deserted supermarket chains.

The stayaway was seen as a crucial test of strength between the apartheid state and the 900,000-strong black union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which has taken center stage in the struggle of the oppressed black masses. The massive show of the muscle of black labor, the social force which has the power to smash apartheid rule, was COSATU's answer to an ominous new labor bill which threatens to wipe out the gains of the past ten years of black labor struggle against white-supremacist South African capitalism.

Held in defiance of the state of emergency, the strike was the largest protest action since the banning in February of 17 leading anti-apartheid organizations and prohibition of any political actions by COSATU as well. Since the state of emergency was imposed in 1986, according to official statistics 20,000 were detained and 3,000 are still in jail. Now a new state of emergency has been declared, just days before the annual June 16 demonstrations over the suppression of the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Banned from making a direct strike call, COSATU and the substantially smaller National Congress of Trade Unions (NACTU) had called for three days of national protest against the pending new labor law, which is a full-scale onslaught against the right to strike and outlaws all sympathy strikes and boycotts. Before the strike, employ-



Mine worker delegates at black trade union COSATU congress in May. Black proletariat has the power to bring down apartheid capitalism.

ers were threatening mass firings and many union leaders had gone underground, anticipating roundups. "Our backs are against the wall," said COSATU secretary general Jay Naidoo. But the three-million-strong stayaway may have made the bosses more cautious about ramming through the bill. Another union official said, "Before the strike the debate was about whether COSATU would survive. Now everybody, the Minister of Manpower and the employers, is talking about moderating the labor relations amendment bill."

Smash New Slave Labor Law!

The labor bill bans everything any combative union ever thought of doing, and the "battle against the bill" has been the focus of black workers' struggle since it was introduced in February. The bill's clauses include:

- Banning sympathy strikes, product boycotts and the "blacking" (hot-cargoing) of struck goods.

- Jailing of union leaders and shop stewards who defy the bill's provisions, and seizure of union property and treasury.

- Outlawing workers strikes on the "same issue" for a period of 15 months.

- Requiring notification of the government's Manpower Department within 21 days of the start of a dispute for a strike to be legal.

- Provisions for "interdicting" even legal strikes, forcing workers back to work.

- Selective firing of workers after a strike (i.e., sacking shop stewards and union activists).

- Forming "minority" (e.g., whites only) unions in shops where unions have won majority votes for recognition.

- Declaring unions "responsible" for all strikes and allowing companies to sue unions for all money lost during strikes.

A COSATU pamphlet detailed the frontal attack on the black unions, saying:

"How many times have we won struggles through solidarity strike action or a solidarity boycott of particular products or through blacking the goods of a company where our comrades are on strike?... Solidarity action is the meaning of our slogan, 'An injury to one is an injury to all'."

The union declared "COSATU Says NEVER to the New Bill" and called for mobilizations to fight it. But after the successful stayaway, COSATU leader Naidoo called, not to smash the bill, but for "an independent panel of experts

under the chairmanship of a retired judge" to decide whether the bill is anti-labor (WBA1, 8 June).

The bosses' hard line comes in the face of a mounting black labor insurgency. Last year, for instance, *nine million hours* of production were lost through strikes compared to *one million* in 1986! COSATU unions have waged major class battles in the mines, railroads, post office and retail stores, and they were the only ones to win wage increases actually exceeding the rate of inflation. Almost 40 percent of South Africa's economically active population belongs to trade unions, making the country substantially more unionized than many West European countries and the U.S. (*Work in Progress*, March 1988).

Furthermore, last August COSATU publicly reaffirmed its support to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC) by adopting the reformist Freedom Charter. The unions' growing economic and political assertiveness sparked the regime's crackdown on black labor. The Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (3 June) reported that one experienced labor consultant came away from an industrial relations conference attended by about 700 top businessmen in Natal and said, "Without being melodramatic, one felt that war had been declared" against the trade-union movement. And now a new battle looms over mine contracts between the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which is demanding a 40 percent pay hike, and

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**Gorbachev Rehabilitates
Leader of Right Opposition**

The Bukharin Dossier

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Down with Meese/FBI COINTELPRO Frame-Up!

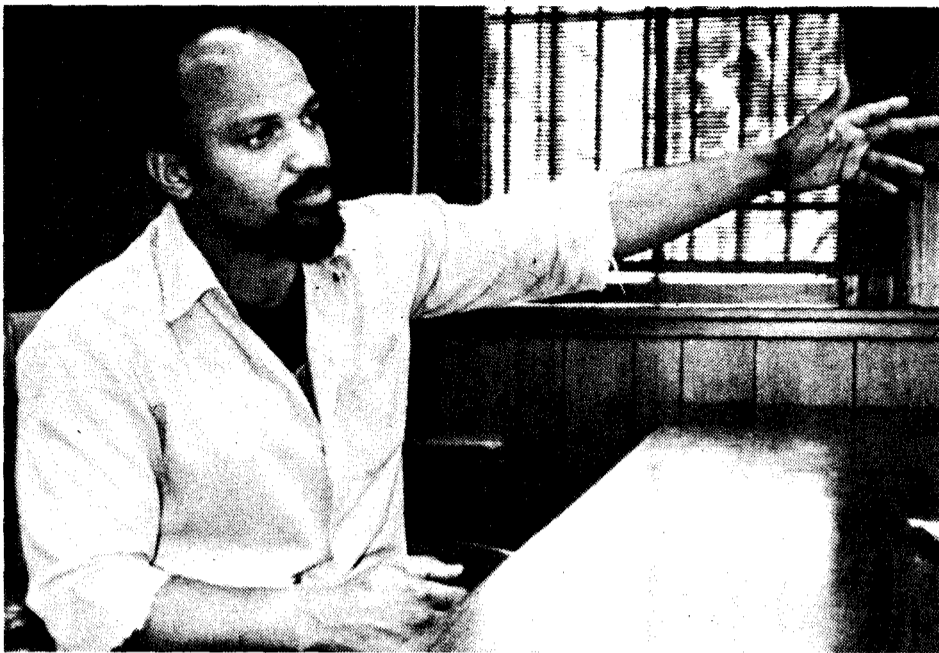
FREEDOM NOW FOR GERONIMO PRATT!

For eighteen years former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt has been locked in prison. His case is still before the federal appeals court. Labor, minorities and all enemies of racist injustice must mobilize now! Free Pratt now!

Speakers include:

Willie Lee Bell, Legislative Chairman, IAM&AW 739*
Frank Grinnon, Jr., Executive Board, Local 1011, IBEW*
H. Lee Halterman, District Counsel to U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums
Warren Hinckle, columnist, *San Francisco Examiner**
Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Councilman
Spartacist League representative

* Listed for identification purposes only.



WV Photo

"I earnestly call on everyone who actively supports my efforts to be free to come together, fight together and rally together to see justice done."

—geronimo
MCC-NY
4/7/88

Geronimo Pratt
in San Quentin, March 1985.

DEMONSTRATE!

San Francisco: Wed., June 29, 5:30 p.m.

S.F. Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue

Sponsored by: **Partisan Defense Committee**, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101
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TROTSKY

Socialism Through World Revolution

From Castro's Cuba to Gorbachev's Russia, the Stalinist bureaucracies repudiate international proletarian revolution in the name of building "socialism in one country." This is the most decisive evidence of their repudiation of the Leninist program of the 1917 October Revolution, which declared itself to the world's workers and oppressed as the first, but only the first, step on the road to the overthrow of

capitalism internationally. In his 1928 "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International," Trotsky explained how the Stalinists' nationalist perspective endangered not only the world proletariat but also the Soviet state.

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state if only there is no intervention. From this there can and must follow (notwithstanding all pompous declarations in the draft program) a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties in the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power....

The lever of economic construction is of tremendous significance. Without a correct leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat would be weakened; and its downfall would deal a blow to the international revolution from which the latter would not recover for a good many years. But the conclusion of the main historical struggle between the socialist world and the world of capitalism depends on the second lever, that is, the world proletarian revolution. The colossal importance of the Soviet Union lies in that it is the disputed base of the world revolution and not at all in the presumption that it is able to build socialism independently of the world revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)



LENIN

Letter

Jackson Action—Same Old Reaction

We print an excerpted letter from Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania state prison. A former president of the Association of Black Journalists, a leading Black Panther member and MOVE supporter, Mumia was framed on charges of murdering a Philadelphia cop in 1981 (see "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" WV No. 445, 29 January).

4/29/88

Loved your (PDC's) piece on "G" [Geronimo Pratt] in WV No. 451.

Also found your piece on the Jesse Jackson gyp game refreshing—seems it's not "kosher" to criticize the "country preacher." ITT ([In These Times] organ of Demo-Socialists) adores him; Militant (SWP) ignores him; seems only fitting that WV (SL) should be the folks gutsy enough to expose him. If the Africas (MOVE) published a paper, it would blow bombshells based on factual history of Jesse's past dealings with the Africas.

As it is, however, only WV warns folks that "Jackson action" is the same old "reaction." The only element I found lacking was a true historical perspective on the brutal history of the Democrats and African peoples in the U.S. (I've been reading a splendid, historically speaking that is, book from the prison's library, which gives, in chilling detail, the crimes of the Democrats against Africans and White populist poor in the South.) Such a perspective might undo the mental brainlock which grips Africans in the shell game, i.e., Democrats—good; Republicans—bad, of current American politics.

Interestingly, the same cats who now boost the "country preacher's" can-

didacy as a radical difference were organizing in the early 80's, and publicly calling for a new independent Black Political Party. (I know, I covered it for WUHY [now WHY-FM] 91 Report and All Things Considered, National Public Radio.)

The moral of this story—you can't VOTE in a TRUE change; put quite another way by the anarchists, "If voting could truly change things, voting would be outlawed," and finally, the old Panther slogan, "The only solution is revolution."

Ona Move! Long Live John Africa! Mumia

P.S. Just read piece on pogroms in Palestine—good, good shit. Raises contradictions inherent between Israel's founding in idealism and a grim present which echoes the Reich in its anti-Arab terrorism. Damn good piece! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 455

17 June 1988

Spartacist Forum

Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party

Speaker: Ed Kartsen,
SL Central Committee

Friday, June 24, 7:30 p.m.

Room 304, Barnard Hall,
Barnard College

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WORKERS VANGUARD

LTF Candidate Fights for Immigrants' Rights, Workers Power

A Trotskyist Voice in French Elections

PARIS/ROUEN—For the first time in many years, the voice of intransigent Leninism was heard in a French election. The Ligue Trotskyiste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, ran Gilles Cazin in the Seine-Maritime department of Normandy. "Vote Bolshevik! For a Workers Government! Vote for Gilles Cazin!" proclaimed its election poster, displayed throughout the district, which included the LTF program of struggle for a revolutionary fight against layoffs, to smash racist terror, to defend all the oppressed, for proletarian internationalism. This program was carried into action, as the campaign took up the defense of North African immigrants against a fascist skinhead assault.

In the fourth district of the Seine-Maritime department, Cazin faced former "socialist" premier Laurent Fabius. In justifying the capitalist austerity that the Mitterrand regime imposed on the workers, Fabius became notorious for his cynical remark that someone had to do "the dirty job." This is particularly galling in an area where unemployment is 13 percent. At a press conference held by Fabius, Gilles challenged his rival: "How is it that... after all these anti-worker, anti-immigrant, anti-Soviet policies, which have only put wind in the sails of the fascists, how do you dare to come before the working people of this region?"

While the vote for the fascists of Le Pen's National Front fell to 10 percent on June 5, down by a third from their score in the presidential election, the danger of fascist attacks continues to mount. *Workers Vanguard* (No. 454, 3 June) has reported how the Ligue Trotskyiste immediately reacted to a night of racist terror by skinhead fascist punks in the Rouen area by calling a protest at the site of the attack. As demonstrations continued in the next days, including one protest of 800 people on May 30, the LTF's prominent participation was noted in articles and photos in the leading regional paper, *Paris-Normandie*, and other bourgeois media.

A local daily, *Le Journal d'Elbeuf*



LTF candidate Gilles Cazin leads protest against fascist attacks on immigrant café near Rouen, May 28.

(3 June), reported on a rally outside Renault-Cléon where the Trotskyist candidate spoke to his fellow workers, recalling that "we have... waged a long fight against layoffs," and calling for "a real workers government which will expropriate the bourgeoisie." "His interventions were received with interest and attention. In passing the hat to support his candidacy, it was mostly workers of North African and African origin who contributed," *Le Journal* reported. "And he concluded: 'Comrades, be realistic—vote Bolshevik!'"

During the two weeks of the snap election campaign, Cazin spoke at soapbox gatherings outside the gates of some 15 factories in this industrial belt around the city of Rouen. The LTF held four meetings altogether, and intervened as well in election meetings of the Communist Party. In the first round of the election on June 5, Cazin received 288 votes, or 0.67 percent of the total cast. In the area around the Cléon Renault fac-

tory where Gilles has been a trade-union militant for the past 16 years, the percentage was double that. A press release by the candidate stated: "Our result was modest. This is the first time we have had an election campaign in this region, or even in France. But this campaign was a loudspeaker for the revolutionary program of Trotskyism."

In his campaign speech, Gilles Cazin emphasized:

"Capitalist society, whether it is run by the bourgeois parties or by the so-called left parties who promise to reform it, can only lead to ruin, to war, to barbarism. We communists, Trotskyists, say it must be overthrown.

"Capitalism is unemployment.... Capitalism is the sound of boots throughout the world where the imperialists are seeking to roll back 'communism,' in Nicaragua, in Indochina, in Poland, in the Soviet Union itself.

"Capitalism, finally, is racist terror and the fascist menace which is growing in this country on the rot of this society in crisis, which is historically doomed. "There is an alternative—this is the

meaning of my candidacy. There is a revolutionary alternative, the extra-parliamentary mobilization of the workers, in the streets, in the factories, fighting for their own class power: a workers government. That is what the workers of the Paris Commune did in 1871, for a short instant. That's also what the Russian workers did in 1917, this time victoriously, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky."

The Trotskyists spoke to the victims of French colonial oppression. At a meeting in Rouen to defend the indigenous Kanak people of New Caledonia, where the French army has been waging a dirty war of military occupation and assassination, the LTF's alternate candidate Blandine Hollander denounced French imperialism "which is covered with the blood of the Kanaks as it was in the past covered with the blood of the Indochinese and Algerians." Stressing the need for a "struggle by a coalition of conscious working people of all ethnic groups on the island to throw the colonial army and administration into the sea," she appealed to the French working class to "mobilize massively against French imperialism—our common enemy" and called "For the immediate withdrawal of French troops from the entire Pacific, for the independence of New Caledonia."

The campaign ended with a celebration in Elbeuf; 55 people attended. Several comrades spoke, among them a Kanak member of the LTF's youth groups, and a representative of the Spartacist League of Britain. The evening continued with a local band, Rising Soul. Several of its musicians are from New Caledonia and are members of the LTF and its Spartacist Group at the University of Rouen. Their song in homage to Nelson Mandela was particularly warmly applauded. The Ligue Trotskyiste thanks all who worked with the campaign and made it possible, including sympathizers who contributed almost 30,000 francs (\$6,000). As comrade Gilles said in his wrap-up statement, "We will continue to defend the program of socialist revolution and build the revolutionary party on this program." ■

"It Was Murder, Not an Industrial Accident"

West German Mine Disaster

HAMBURG—A devastating explosion ripped through the main shaft of a soft coal (lignite) mine in the West German state of Hesse on June 1, burying 57 miners and injuring eight others on the surface. Fifty-one bodies were recovered from the Stolzenbach mine during a ten-day search. However, six of the trapped miners escaped because of their own resourcefulness, even though they were written off as dead by the mine bosses. Roughly half the labor force in the mine consisted of Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, the immigrant workers who do much of the dirty, dangerous work for West German capitalism.

As mine inspection and rescue teams poured into the disaster area in the town of Borken—crawling with police, politicians and journalists—a Turkish miner screamed: "It was murder, not an industrial accident." Mining "experts" had denied the very possibility of such a soft coal dust explosion—which blew open

an enormous crater on the surface and crumpled steel and concrete structures—since lignite is supposedly too damp to explode. So machinery in the Stolzenbach mine was never equipped with safety devices to prevent sparking, there were no dust barriers and no regular dust measurements. Yet miners reported that dust was centimeters thick everywhere. Such soft coal dust is actually used as an industrial explosive; the liberal weekly *Der Spiegel* (6 June) noted that the West German Engineering Association classifies lignite as "explosive class 1."

Preussen Elektra, which owns the Stolzenbach mine, used the lignite mined there to supply its nearby electrical plant. Since this plant was slated to close down, the mine was also scheduled to close down in 1993. So the bosses simply let the whole mine rot. Members of the rescue teams reported that the

continued on page 4



Relatives grieve for Turkish miners killed in Borken explosion.

Reuters

A "One-Night Stand" ... And You're Screwed for Four Years

Boston Gay Democrats Push Dukakis

With the Democrats ready to anoint Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis their presidential candidate, the 30,000 people who turned out for the Boston Gay Pride March on June 11 were treated to a cynical sales pitch for this mainstream bourgeois politician. For months much of the gay movement, one of the most highly organized Democratic Party constituencies, has been divided between those shouting "Run, Jesse, Run" and others pushing Dukakis as the "electable candidate." But being "electable" in bourgeois America means being anti-gay. So the head of the National Gay Rights Advocates, Jean O'Leary, laid down the line last month: "Stop comparing Michael Dukakis with Jesse Jackson and start comparing him with George Bush."

Dukakis is not palatable to many Boston gay activists. A popular booth at the rally invited people to throw eggs at a double poster blowup, which had one photo of Dukakis saying, "I support gay rights" and another reading, "I do not support: foster equality, safe sex pamphlets, clean needle program, executive order banning discrimination, medical confidentiality." At a meeting with gay activists in Los Angeles last month, there was an uproar when Dukakis defended his longstanding position giving priority to heterosexual couples adopting children, declaring "there is no constitutional right to be a foster

parent." He also opposed an executive order banning discrimination in federal jobs. The Democratic-dominated Massachusetts state legislature has bottled up an equal rights bill for 16 years.

ing for Jackson, pleaded to the Democratic Party tops: "give us a reason to vote for you... reach out to us because we're your friends." Even Dukakis boosters had a hard time trying to palm

AIDS, habits are changing, but things that are inappropriate in your private life may now be appropriate politically. You ought to think of elections as one-night stands. Voting for someone doesn't mean you've decided to spend the rest of your life with them." Well, the election of any of these capitalist candidates means being screwed for four more years!

Petty-bourgeois gay activists push the line that gays can find a safe haven in this racist, anti-woman and anti-gay capitalist society by carving out "gay ghettos" and pressuring Democratic Party pols. But even in SF, Boston and New York, vicious "gay-bashing" attacks are on the rise. Jesse Jackson won support by simply mentioning gays at the 1984 Democratic convention and speaking at last October's gay rights rally in Washington. But his purpose was to keep homosexuals, blacks and other oppressed layers within the Democratic Party fold. The Democrats no less than the Republicans are a party of capitalist reaction, of war, racism and bigotry. The horrifying AIDS epidemic shows graphically that deliberate, callous unconcern for the very lives of gays has been government policy, directly obstructing the search for a cure. What's needed is socialist revolution against this system based on private profit and hideous oppression. Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party! ■



Boston, June 11: Booth at Gay Pride Day shows contempt for Dukakis.

And last month, Dukakis publicly defended sending undercover police spies into gay activists' meetings.

At the Boston rally, city councilman David Scondras, who has been stump-

off this "lesser evil" as an advocate of gay rights. Finally, gay Congressman Barney Frank cynically told the crowd to think of voting for Dukakis as "a one-night stand"! Frank said, "Because of

Mine Disaster...

(continued from page 3)

mine looked like a "mining museum" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 6 June). Conditions rivaled those in mines around the turn of the century when miners carried a caged canary with them as a gauge of the oxygen supply. But the Borken miners didn't even have that.

Survivors Were Told: Don't Call Us...

The mine bosses and capitalist state officials were guilty of criminal negligence not only before but also after the explosion. They insisted that there were and could be no survivors and acted accordingly. Erwin Braun, head of the Hesse state mining board, asserted that there was no chance anyone could survive more than a few hours in an atmosphere saturated with carbon monoxide.

Yet just a few hours after the blast radio contact was made with six survivors, who were told to stop further

contact so that other communications wouldn't be disturbed! The people running the rescue operation then continued to act as if there were no survivors. But the six miners managed to stay alive for the next three days largely because Thomas Gepperth, an experienced coal face worker and member of the mine safety team, kept a cool head in this living hell 100 meters down. For 65 hours he led his group further and further into the tunnel and away from the poisonous gases seeping in from the main shaft.

The rescue came only because an engineer happened to hear sounds in the course of the salvage operation as fresh air was to be pumped through a new air shaft. When the miners finally reached the surface and told the true story of their ordeal, the West German public was shocked. An editorial in *Saarbrücker Zeitung* declared it "is a scandal, that already on Wednesday radio contact was made with those who were finally rescued...but that this wasn't taken seriously."

The man principally responsible for

breaking the rescue scandal was a surviving Turkish miner, Ahmet Baktan. Only after Baktan came out of the mine alive did the names of the Turkish victims appear in West German newspapers. The Hesse minister of the interior assured the public that the residency of immigrant family members of the dead miners would not be questioned—i.e., he would not apply the existing racist laws which provide for the deportation of Turkish families when the main wage earner is laid off or dead.

So these "democratic" bosses kill their workers and then they show "compassion" by saying they won't deport their families! The *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands*, German section of the international Spartacist tendency, demands: Stop all the deportations! Hands off all immigrant workers and their families! The capitalists may throw a pittance to the Turkish miners' families now left destitute, although this is by no means assured. Simple justice demands that Preussen Elektra pay millions of deutschmarks to the families of all their victims, especially to aid the 80 children left fatherless in the mining town.

The strong West German trade-union federation, the *Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund* (DGB), has the power to protect all West German workers from such hideous and murderous conditions as those which led to the Borken catastrophe. Yet the DGB tops maintained a remarkable silence over the events in Borken. And no wonder—the only goal of the arch-conservative IG Bergbau und Energie (mining and energy union) leadership is to follow the bosses' logic of maintaining "profitability." They accepted the conditions in the Borken mine, which are reminiscent of mining conditions in South Africa.

These labor lieutenants of capital have, in mining as well as the metal-working industry, helped the bosses close one mine and plant after another. Only last month in the industrial heartland of the Ruhr, in the town of Rheinhausen, the steel bosses together with the DGB tops and the Social Democratic state government closed one of the most modern steel mills in Europe,

eliminating 6,000 jobs. Steel workers across West Germany wanted to fight for Rheinhausen, and a class-struggle leadership would have mobilized the power of the two-million-strong metal workers union, IG Metall, to which they belong.

For years West Germany has witnessed massive mobilizations against nuclear power plants, but the petty-bourgeois radical Greens and assorted reformists have in the main ignored the deaths of coal miners through industrial accidents and black lung disease. Now the Moscow-line West German Communist Party worries that the "closure of Borken would increase Hesse's dependency on nuclear power." These Stalinists, who tail the DGB bureaucracy, don't want to draw "hasty conclusions" about the causes of the Borken explosion.

But the Borken miners have drawn their own conclusions. In the entrance to the mine they have hung a banner demanding punishment for those responsible for the deaths of their fellow workers. From the Union Carbide plant explosion in Bhopal, India to Borken, the capitalists walk over mountains of corpses for profits. When the productive resources have been ripped from the capitalists' hands by workers revolution, proletarian justice will indeed be meted out to the criminals who kill to fill their coffers. ■



Damaged entrance to Borken mine after coal dust explosion killed 51 miners.

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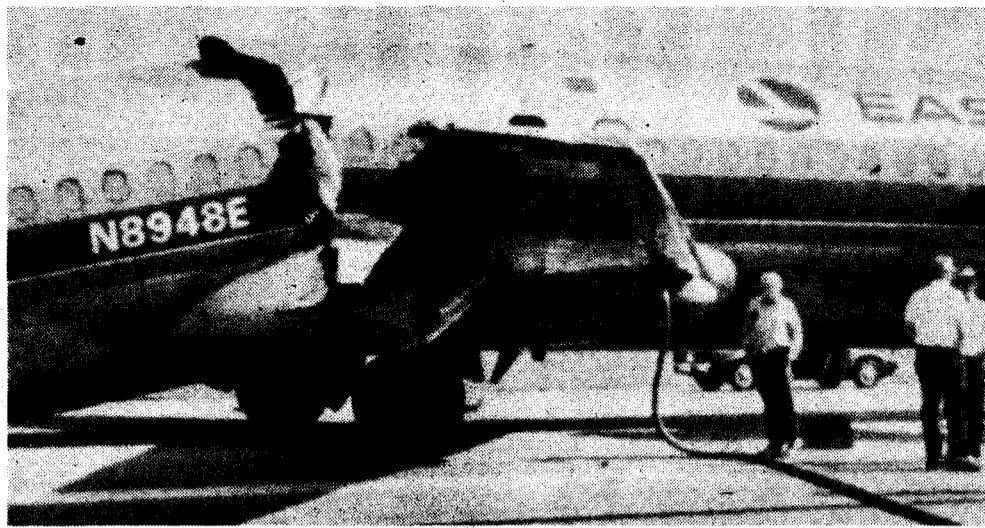
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Mr. Air Disaster Sues Unions

On May 6, Frank Lorenzo's plans to gut Eastern Airlines and destroy its unions escalated with the first-ever use by a company against a union of the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). Lorenzo's Texas Air empire, which has amassed 20 percent of the airline industry—including Continental and Eastern—charged the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) with "racketeering," "extortion" and "wire and mail fraud." Their "crime"? Fighting to save their jobs, and passengers' lives, in Lorenzo's deadly skies.

Lorenzo's RICO suit seeks \$1.5 billion in damages, accusing the unions of "slandorous" attacks on his airline's safety record in a "continual plot" to drive away customers. *Safety at Eastern?* Even Reagan's Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has levied over \$10 million in fines against the airline for safety violations, and in April ordered an unprecedented 30-day inspection of every plane Continental and Eastern fly. Texas Air is a labyrinth of subsidiaries wallowing in debt to the tune of \$5.4 billion, while bloated fees and rake-offs continue to flow into Lorenzo's personal Jet Capital Corp. This "Darth Vader" of the airline industry has systematically stripped Eastern of its assets, its planes, its skilled workers and pilots. One Wall Street analyst said that "If one were creating junk, this would be at the bottom of the barrel" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 April).

Meanwhile, unionists who have gone public with chilling revelations over



Fusco/Magnum

Union-buster Frank Lorenzo and his deadly skies. Eastern DC-9 breaks in half while landing at Pensacola, Florida.

safety are fired. Only weeks after 28 passengers on a snow-laden Continental DC-9 crashed on takeoff last November, Lorenzo suspended four heroic flight attendants, members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), who prevented another Lorenzo flight from taking off with ice on the wings. In October, mechanics working on an Eastern A300 Airbus "red-tagged" a damaged engine, but a supervisor ordered it installed anyway. Weeks later, the engine burst into flames on takeoff, and but for the skill of the pilot, 258 passengers and crew would have gone down in flames.

It must be bad, if PATCO-buster Reagan's FAA was forced to perform even 30-minute safety inspections. Even though these perfunctory checks grounded 30 percent of Eastern's fleet, the FAA declared the airline to be "a safe carrier." The Machinists union

denounced it as a whitewash, "the best report money could buy" (*Newsweek*, 13 June). Lorenzo is so brazen that even capitalist politicians (some of whom commute daily on Eastern's New York shuttle) are worried that his profiteering may bring a bloody end to their careers. And the *Wall Street Journal* (9 June) carried a front-page story on Eastern foremen running roughshod over machinists in order to "move the meat" and put improperly repaired planes in the air. There are millions more airline passengers who don't want to die in order to fill the coffers of the money-mad airline bosses.

Free Enterprise Kills

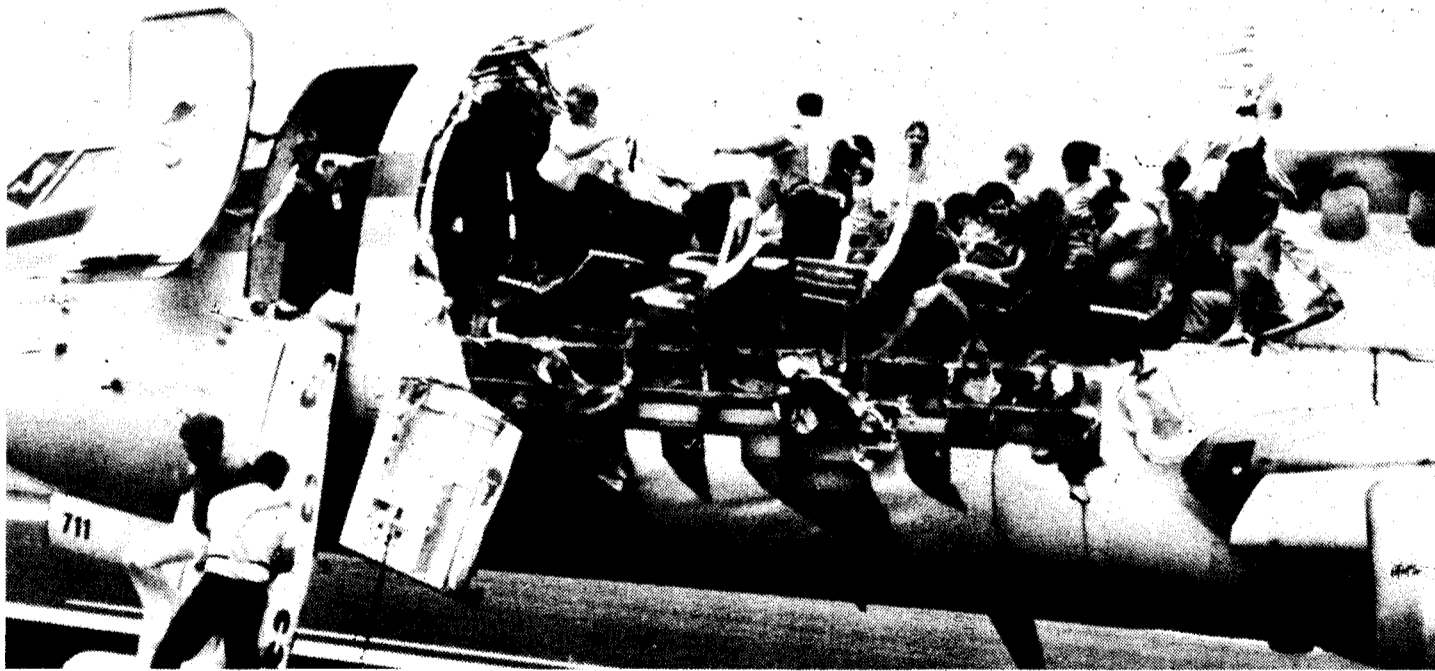
At Eastern, 3,500 IAM members—mostly skilled mechanics—were thrown out of work last fall, and now Lorenzo is

demanding up to a 60 percent pay cut for the lowest-paid IAM members, and the elimination of seniority rights. Provocative firings of long-term employees are widespread. In one instance a black flight attendant who was raped was disciplined for missing her flight. In the cockpit, 600 pilots a year, ten times the industry attrition rate, are bailing out and taking jobs at half-pay elsewhere. One veteran Eastern pilot said, "I am flying today aircraft that I wouldn't have even sat in while they towed it to the hangar in 1979" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 10 April). Less than 15 percent of the newly hired pilots have military flying time, standard in the industry, and only half have jet experience.

The RICO suit is an ominous tool borrowed from the Meese police arsenal

continued on page 11

737 Rips Apart in Midair



Nichols/Black Star

But for the cool-headed performance of pilot Robert Schornstheimer and copilot Mimi Tompkins, Aloha Airlines Flight 243 would have been the last flight the 94 people who got out at Maui ever took. Halfway on its leg from Hilo to Honolulu, at an altitude of 24,000 feet, an 18-foot section of the fuselage ripped away. By all accounts, the Boeing 737 should have torn to pieces in midair, or crumpled as it came down for its emergency landing. In the 15 minutes that the plane carefully descended to its emergency landing, pieces of fuselage and other parts kept flying off at speeds up to 350 mph, some of them striking the passengers. Remarkably, only one person died, senior flight attendant Clarabelle Lansing, who was sucked out of the cabin when the top tore off.

This was the ninth flight that day for the plane. Aloha's 737 averaged more than 13 flights a day for 19 years, a total of nearly 90,000 flights. Only one other 737 in the world, also owned by Aloha, had a higher number of flights. With each cycle, the airplane structure twice experiences the significantly greater stress incurred during takeoff and landing, while the fuselage skin is subjected to expansion and contraction every time the cabin is pressurized and depressurized. On top of that, Aloha's island-hopping operation makes its planes more susceptible to saltwater corrosion, increasing the possibility of tiny corrosion-induced fractures which under extreme stress and wear and tear can grow, and grow, and finally rip open.

This sort of intensive operation re-

quires particularly stringent and exacting maintenance. Yet a routine Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) inspection of Aloha Airlines last winter found that it did not have "an effective internal audit program" to make certain it was complying with FAA regulations and lacked adequate operations personnel "to carry out its responsibilities as the holder of an air carrier certificate." Still, the "watchdogs" of the FAA admitted that this was "no better or worse" than for other airlines that size. The smaller carriers, with more limited maintenance facilities, also tend to have older stock. As one structural engineer put it, "You put the airplanes that need the most inspection in the hands of the airlines that can do the least" (*Wall Street Journal*, 6 May).

It is not only the small Hawaiian airline that is culpable in this deadly game. An ongoing 17-month-old study by Boeing has been finding a "general incidence of corrosion damage" among the many older planes in the Boeing fleet. An American Airlines 727 in 1984 managed to make an emergency landing after a crack in the fuselage turned into a gaping one-foot hole. But another 737 flying over Taiwan in 1981 with corrosion damage wasn't as lucky as Aloha Flight 243; it disintegrated in the sky. The accident rate for U.S. airlines in 1987 was the highest in the last 13 years. Pilots are forced to fly planes they consider unsafe, pressured to work longer hours under greater stress than safety warrants. Maintenance supervisors are strong-armed into approving maintenance checks which are incomplete. While the FAA and other government regulatory agencies turn a blind eye, the profit-hungry airlines are literally killing their passengers and crews.

As with American industry in general, which has gone to hell as Wall Street speculators go wild, the money that should be going into maintenance and new stock is going into financing junk bonds that keep takeover barons like Texas/Continental/Eastern boss Frank Lorenzo flying high. As long as the plane is "profitable," safety can go to hell—they've got insurance to pay for the dead! Airlines have been holding on to their old planes rather than investing in new ones; so the average age of airline fleets has climbed—in the case of TWA—to over 15 years. According to one aircraft consultant, "U.S. carriers haven't replaced more than a dozen airplanes in the past three years."

That a grisly catastrophe was prevented by the valor and skill of the Aloha crew is little comfort to the millions of air passengers who increasingly feel like they're playing Russian roulette when they buy an airline ticket. The technology to make flying safe is there, but you have to use it. American "free enterprise" means deadly skies. ■

The Bukharin Dossier

Today Nikolai Bukharin is the most popular historical figure in the Soviet Union since V.I. Lenin, according to a recent Moscow survey. He is praised and eulogized in article after article in the Soviet press. Now a major piece by the deputy editor of the Communist Party's theoretical journal declares Bukharin to be Lenin's true heir.

Fifty years ago, in March 1938, Nikolai Bukharin stood amid the ornate surroundings of what had once been the Nobles' Club, vilified by Stalin's prosecutor Vyshinsky as a "mad dog" and a "crossbreed between a fox and a pig," charged with being a lifetime counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet saboteur. Beside him stood Alexei Rykov, Christian Rakovsky and 18 others, defendants in the third and last of the frame-up Moscow Trials against the "Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

They had been leaders of Lenin's party, organizers of October. Bukharin edited the leading party organ, *Pravda*, for 12 years and was president of the Communist International for three. Rykov succeeded Lenin as president of the Council of People's Commissars, head of the Soviet government. Rakovsky was a founding member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

During the stormy years following the death of Lenin in 1924, they became bitter political opponents. Bukharin and Rykov were leading exponents of the Right Opposition and, for many years, Stalin's allies. Rakovsky, until his capitulation to Stalin in 1934, had been a central leader of the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In the end, they all died victims of Stalin's terror. Bukharin and Rykov were shot immediately; Rakovsky, aged 65, was imprisoned, then shot on Stalin's orders three years later. Of this monstrous frame-up, Trotsky wrote:

"Bukharin has thirty years of revolutionary work to his credit, Rykov almost forty, Rakovsky nearly fifty. These three men are now accused of having suddenly become 'spies' and 'agents' of foreign powers, aiming to destroy and dismember the USSR and establish capitalism...."

"Whoever tries to judge the events unfolding in Russia finds himself faced with the following alternatives: (1) either all the old revolutionists—who led the struggle against czarism, built the Bolshevik Party, achieved the



Nikolai Bukharin (center) served as Stalin's ideological hatchet man against Trotskyist Left Opposition during the 1920s. (At right is Stalin's lieutenant Sergo Ordzhonikidze.)

October Revolution, led the three years of civil war, established the Soviet state and created the Communist International—either all these figures, almost to a man, were at the very moment of these achievements, or in the years immediately following, agents of capitalist states; or (2) the present Soviet government, headed by Stalin, has perpetrated the most heinous crimes in world history."

—"Behind the Moscow Trials" (March 1938)

The Moscow Trials of 1936-38, and the blood purges which accompanied them, resulted in the slaughter of virtually the entire leadership of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, the decapitation of the Red Army and the murder of millions of Soviet Communists. Half a century later, on 4 February 1988, the Supreme Court of the USSR concluded that "unlawful means" and "falsified" evidence had been used in the 1938 Moscow Trial. All but one of the convictions have now been overturned. The one left standing is that of Genrikh Yagoda who, until his own arrest, had been Stalin's chief hatchet man and torturer. On June 13, the Soviet Supreme Court rehabilitated Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Pyatakov and 29 other leading Bolsheviks framed up in the 1936-37 Moscow Trials and then killed. *Izvestia* declared, "Now it is clear

...that they are not guilty before the law, the state or the people."

After Bukharin's execution, his young wife, Anna Larina, the daughter of another Old Bolshevik, spent the next 20 years in prison camps and in exile. Courageously she continued to fight to fulfill her husband's last request, that he be exonerated before future generations. "For me," the 73-year-old Larina recently said, "time doesn't exist. Truth exists." After she was granted a private audience with Khrushchev in 1962, a leading Soviet spokesman admitted: "Neither Bukharin nor Rykov, of course, was a spy or a terrorist." Yet it took 50 years for Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin to officially acknowledge even this tiny sliver of truth.

So Bukharin, Rykov, Rakovsky and other Old Bolsheviks have finally been juridically "rehabilitated." Today the Soviet press is rife with references to the "tragic year of 1937," when they were arrested, as the bureaucracy seeks to disencumber itself of lies no one believes, of crimes whose immediate benefactors have long since perished. *Ogonyok* and *Moscow News*, flagship organs of *glasnost*, feature interviews with Bukharin's widow and his Princeton hagiographer, Stephen Cohen. Now Cohen's biography of Bukharin is being published in the Soviet Union under contract. *Sputnik*, the *Soviet Reader's Digest*, highlights a biographical paean under the headline "*Glasnost*, Democracy, Personality." Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the "poet of the possible" of the Soviet bureaucracy, has dedicated a poem to him. The Soviet Academy of Sciences has reinstated Bukharin and pronounced him "in tune with our thoughts today." Why?

Nikolai Bukharin is seen as the best choice to fill that emptiest and most glaring of "blank spaces" in the Gorbachev regime's restructuring of Soviet history: who opposed Stalin? With "market socialism" increasingly seen as the way to reinvigorate the flagging Soviet economy, Bukharin is identified with the New Economic Policy (NEP) of the 1920s and hailed as the "forefather of *perestroika*." There is a desperate need to find some historical alternative to the discredited Stalin on the same political ground of "socialism in one country." In his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Gorbachev praised Bukharin for playing "an important part in defeating Trotskyism ideologically," as opposed to

Kamenev and Zinoviev, who made common cause with Trotsky.

Gorbachev, however, criticized the Right Opposition for having "underrated the practical significance of the time factor in building socialism in the 30's," and he explicitly defended Stalin's collectivization of agriculture. A subsequent article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (9 December 1987) was more explicit:

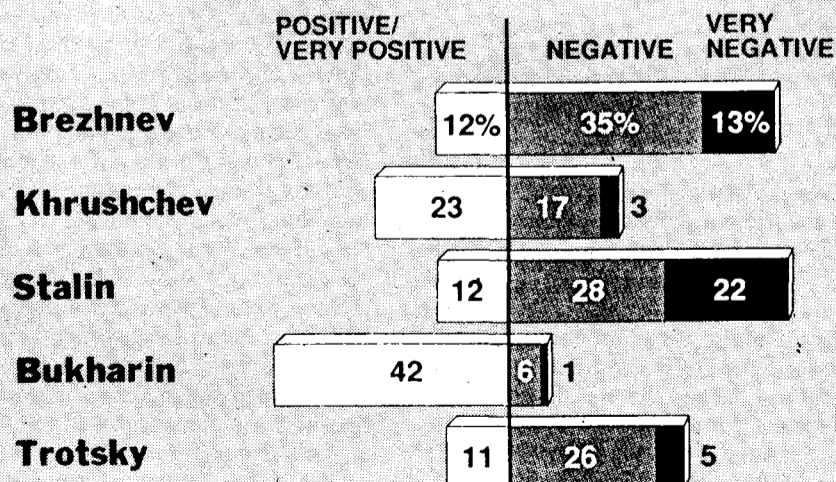
"Today, one can assert that if Trotsky had taken the helm of the Party it could have expected even greater ordeals, ordeals fraught with the loss of socialist gains—especially because Trotsky did not have a clear and scientific program of building socialism in the USSR. Bukharin did have such a program; he had his own vision of goals for the Party as a whole. However, despite all his personal attractiveness, his great intellect, his gentleness and humaneness, Bukharin for a long time did not understand the historical need for the country to make a sharp spurt forward in building up its economic might."

Leon Trotsky, who was the principal "defendant" in absentia in the Moscow Trials and was felled by one of Stalin's assassins in Mexico City in 1940, remains un-"rehabilitated." (The June 13 Soviet Supreme Court decision cleared "everyone involved" in the Moscow Trials. Yet Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov had been convicted, in absentia, of "terrorism" in the same trials as Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek and Pyatakov.) *Glasnost* notwithstanding, Trotsky cannot and will not be restored



Moscow Trials prosecutor, former Menshevik Andrei Vyshinsky (right), signed warrant for Lenin's arrest in 1917.

Soviet Leaders: View in Moscow



Based on 939 Moscow residents interviewed by telephone May 7, 8, 14, and 15 by The Institute of Sociological Research of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for The New York Times and CBS News. Those who gave neutral answers are not shown.

New York Times/27 May 1988

Recent Moscow public opinion poll shows Bukharin is now most highly regarded past Soviet leader since Lenin.

to his rightful place by Stalin's heirs, the bureaucracy whose intransigent foe he remained until his death: Trotsky fought for Lenin's program of world socialist revolution which was and remains anathema to the Stalinists. Bukharin, on the other hand, was part and parcel of the bureaucracy, a fervent proponent of Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Now they want to make of Bukharin the embodiment of "Stalinism with a human face," who fought Stalin's excesses but also opposed the "Trotskyite heresy."

The current wide-ranging debate in the Soviet Union over the "Stalin question" is missing the central ingredient of the foundation of the Soviet state: *internationalism*. For their grandparents cared, passionately, about world socialist revolution—they lived day-to-day on the hope of extension of the revolution, the key to the significance and survival of the newborn Soviet workers republic they had fought and sacrificed for. Today this is presented as an esoteric "Trotskyite heresy" of "export of revolution." So even the pride of Soviet Afghanistan war veterans in having fulfilled their "internationalist duty"—as best they understood it under the stodgy conservative Brezhnev—is now subject to deprecation as a "mistake" of the "old thinking."

Recently, an important article by Otto Latsis, deputy editor of the Soviet party journal *Kommunist*, argues that Bukharin was the real heir to Lenin and that the year 1929, when the Right Opposition was smashed by Stalin, represented a "counterrevolution" (*New York Times*, 11 June). But there are clearly a lot of problems with elevating Bukharin to some kind of "Anti-Stalin." Not only did Bukharin *not* fight Stalin, this "gentle" and "humane" man was for many years Stalin's chief ideologue and henchman. And when the "Great Leader" turned against him, he capitulated with scarcely a whimper. As for Bukharin's "program of building socialism," it would have left the Soviet Union a backward, peasant-dominated country, easy prey for counterrevolutionary

Гласность. Демократия. Личность.

Спутник
May 1988



ФОТО ЛЬВА ШЕРСТЕННИКОВА И НА АРХИВА А.М.ЛАРИНОЙ

О Николае БУХАРИНЕ — «любимце партии», члене Политбюро ЦК, репрессированном при Сталине, корреспондент журнала «Огонек» беседует с его вдовой Анной ЛАРИНОЙ

время — самым человеком, называющим себя в году двадцать пятом, я на

Sputnik, the Reader's Digest of the Soviet Union, runs glowing article on Bukharin under the heading "Glasnost, Democracy, Personality."

forces within and hostile imperialist enemies without.

Like "Soft Wax"

In his 2 November 1987 speech, Gorbachev quoted Lenin's *Testament*, written on the eve of his final illness, characterizing the key party leaders:

"Bukharin is not only a most valuable and major theorist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favourite of the whole Party, but his theoretical views can be classified as fully Marxist only with great reserve, for there is something scholastic about him (he has never made a study of dialectics, and, I think, never fully understood it)."

The reference to Bukharin as the party's favorite is quoted with nauseating regularity in the Soviet press these days, as though it can somehow retrospectively bestow Lenin's mantle on him. It is no accident that Bukharin was not perceived by any of his colleagues as a possible successor to Lenin. Lenin observed earlier: "We know how soft Comrade Bukharin is; it is one of the qualities which endears him to people, who cannot help liking him. We know that he

has been ribbed for being as 'soft as wax.' It turns out that any 'unprincipled' person, any 'demagogue,' can leave any mark he likes on this 'soft wax'."

It was this impressionistic, scholastic quality that shifted Bukharin from the extreme left to the extreme right of the party spectrum in a matter of several years. Bukharin was scarcely 30 years old when the revolution occurred. His theoretical works to that time had been characterized by a rigid ultraleftism: a Luxemburgist opposition to Lenin on the right of national self-determination, an anarchist impulse to dismiss the need for a state following the proletarian revolution, a tendency to collapse the program of world revolution into an immediate perspective of military-revolutionary offensive.

Bukharin led the Lefts who were opposed in principle to the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany in 1918, counterposing revolutionary war against Germany at a time when the Soviet state scarcely had an army to speak of. The Stalinists falsely attribute this position to Trotsky. In fact, Trot-

sky's difference with Lenin was tactical—whether to accept the humiliating German peace terms outright or to force the Germans to break the truce and thus make it clear to the international proletariat that the Bolsheviks had no other alternative. In the upshot, Lenin was proved correct, as the Germans swept over the front and imposed much harsher terms than had originally been proposed. In the final vote in the Central Committee, Trotsky abstained in order to allow Lenin to win against Bukharin.

When it became clear that the world revolution was not around the corner, Bukharin, in knee-jerk reaction, anticipated the nascent bureaucracy's conciliationism toward hostile class forces. By 1922 he (and Stalin) were advocating the abandonment of the state monopoly over foreign trade, one of the chief economic bulwarks of the isolated workers state against imperialist encroachment. This prompted Lenin to charge him with "acting as an advocate of the profiteer, of the petty bourgeois and of the upper stratum of the peasantry in opposition to the industrial proletariat" ("Re the Monopoly of Foreign Trade," December 1922).

NEP and Perestroika

Bukharin's biographer Stephen Cohen credits him with being the "forefather of perestroika":

"Anti-Stalinism is an essential part of Gorbachev's program. Perestroika is an effort to dismantle the system created in the thirties. Bukharin was the real defender of NEP... the idea of cooperative socialism, the role of the market, the role of private farming, the role of competition...."

—*New York Times*, 19 January

The NEP was a temporary retreat after the devastation of the Civil War in a backward, overwhelmingly peasant economy in which industry had broken down and was utterly disorganized. *Perestroika* is an attempt to regulate the Soviet economy through market forces and "enterprise competition," with potentially far-reaching consequences of

continued on page 8

In Honor of Christian Rakovsky

If the rehabilitation of Bukharin and Rykov was long expected, the same cannot be said of Christian Rakovsky. From 1923 to 1934, Rakovsky was a central leader—second only to Trotsky—of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy. Three years after the 1938 Moscow Trial, where he stood in the dock, he was shot. Notably, the 25 March *Novoe Vremya* carried a eulogistic piece on Rakovsky, even mentioning that he had been expelled in 1927 for participation in "the Trotskyist opposition." The article described his courageous behavior in Stalin's prisons, where he told an NKVD man: "So, I'll be dead soon; I'll be a corpse.... Some day the corpses will start to talk."

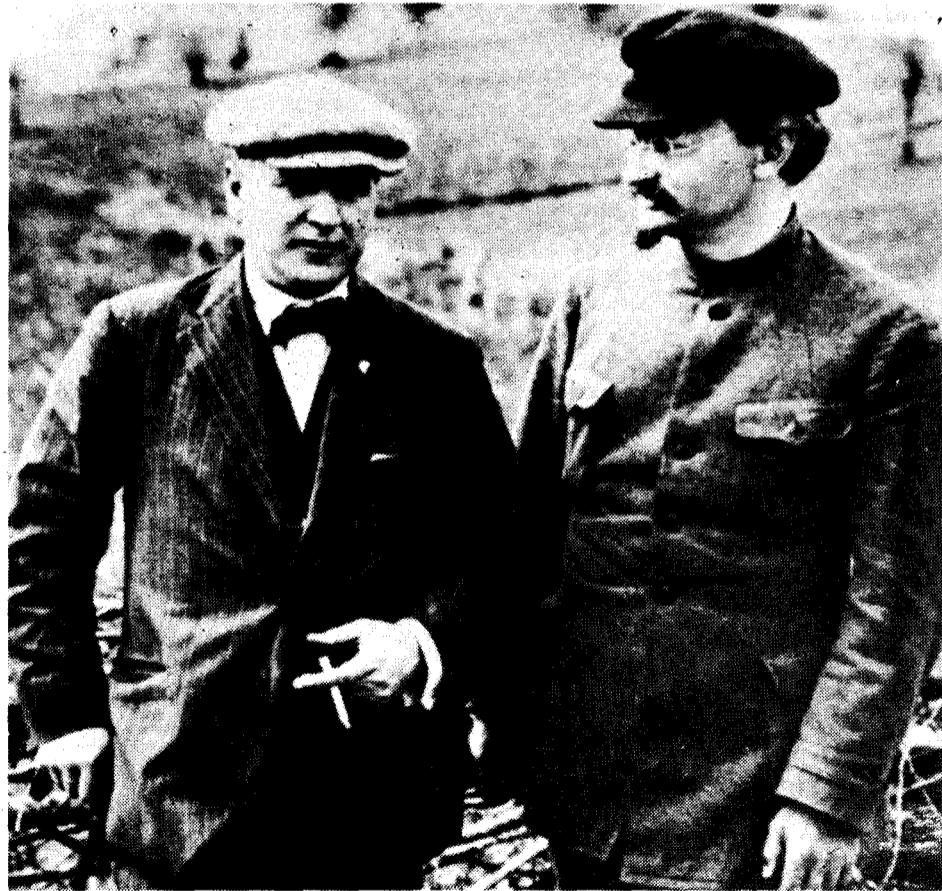
Born in 1873 in Romania of Bulgarian parents, Christian Rakovsky went on to play a leading role in the revolutionary movements of Bulgaria, Romania and Russia (and was also active in the French, Swiss and German movements), following his first arrest at age 14. Six years later he was a delegate to the Zurich congress of the Second International. When the Bulgarian Social Democracy split into "broad" and "narrow" wings, paralleling the split between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks in Russia, Rakovsky sided with the *Tesnyaki*, the "narrow" socialists who insisted on a revolutionary cadre organization. His authority among the Romanian workers was so strong that when he was arrested in 1909 they

went into the streets and took on the Bucharest police in a bloody battle. He headed the first Soviet government in the Ukraine, and was elected to the Executive of the Communist International, whose founding proclamation he wrote.

Rakovsky was one of the first Bolshevik leaders to openly attack Stalin's bureaucratic methods, particularly over his chauvinist treatment of the non-Russian nationalities. At the 12th Party Congress in 1923, Rakovsky warned of "the fundamental discrepancy being created daily and growing larger and larger between our party, our programme on the one hand, and our state apparatus on the other." When, while Soviet ambassador in Paris in 1927, he signed an Opposition statement calling on workers and soldiers in the capitalist countries to defend the USSR in case of war, he was declared *persona non grata* and expelled by France. Shortly thereafter, he was declared *persona non grata* by Stalin as well.

Deported from one internal exile to another after the suppression of the Left Opposition, his health broken, demoralized by Hitler's unchallenged rise to power, he finally capitulated to Stalin in 1934. In "The Meaning of Rakovsky's Surrender" (March 1934), Trotsky wrote:

"Rakovsky's declaration is the expression of a subjective impasse and of pessimism. Without exaggerating by a hair's breadth, we can say that Stalin



Veteran revolutionary Christian Rakovsky (left), with Trotsky in 1927, was the second leading figure in the Left Opposition.

got Rakovsky with the aid of Hitler.... "We have no time to weep long over lost friends—be it even comrades of thirty years of struggle. Let every Bolshevik say to himself: 'A sixty-year-old fighter with experience and prestige left our ranks. In his place I must win three twenty-year-old ones and the gap will be filled.' Among the twenty-year-old ones, new Rakovskys will be found—who, with us or after us, will carry forward our work."

While Bukharin's and Rykov's works have now been made available to the

Soviet public, Rakovsky's writings remain banned to all but a handful: his powerful indictment of the Stalinist bureaucracy, his eloquent defense of Leninist internationalism, his leading role as Trotsky's comrade in the Left Opposition, represent a dagger at the throat of Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin. The Kremlin seeks only to "rehabilitate" Rakovsky the victim. We honor the memory of Christian Rakovsky, Left Oppositionist and fighter. ■

Bukharin...

(continued from page 7).

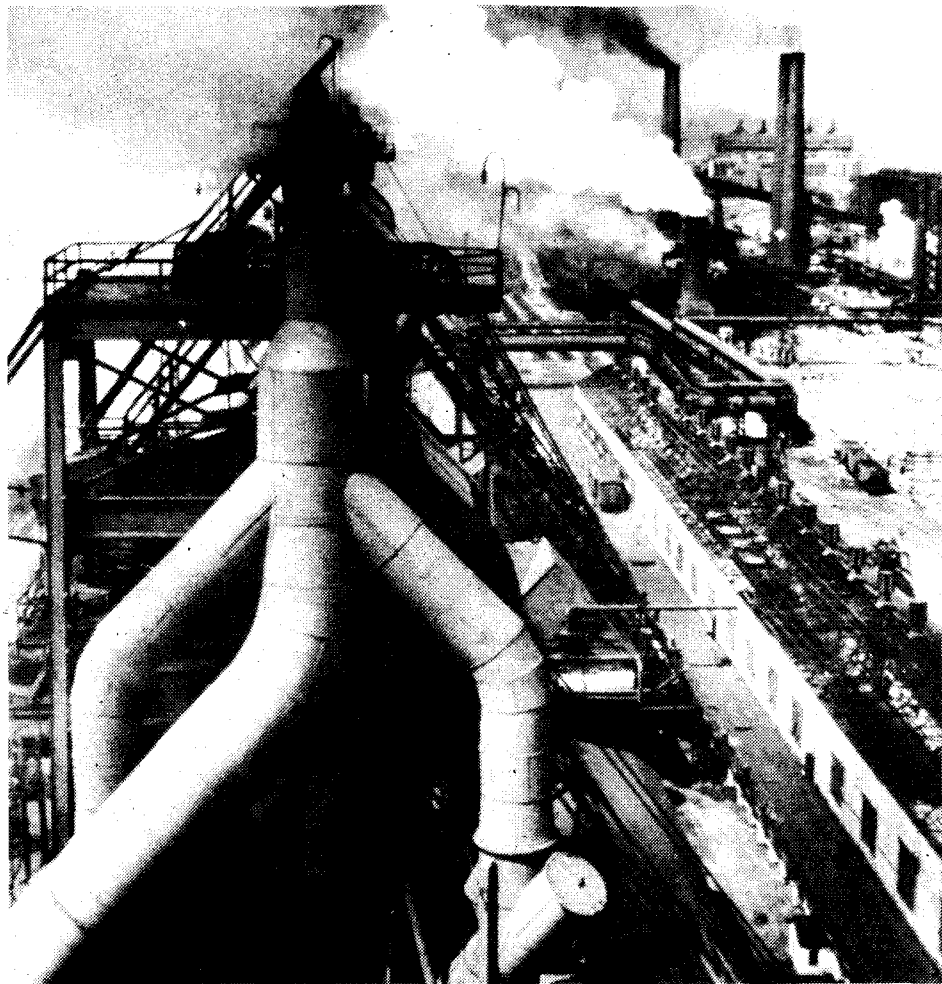
dismantling central planning, the centerpiece of the socialized economy.

It was Trotsky, not Bukharin, who first proposed what became known as NEP, in February 1920, in the form of a "tax in kind" based on a percentage of production, to replace the forced requisitioning of surpluses from the peasantry necessitated by the harsh conditions of civil war—the policy of "war communism." While Trotsky's proposal was defeated in the Politburo, a year later Lenin put forward a similar plan, which became the core of the NEP. In an attempt to lend Lenin's authority to *perestroika*, supporters of "market socialism" claim that he saw NEP as defining the transition to socialism, citing his statement (at a May 1921 party conference) that the NEP was meant "seriously and for a long time." Lenin happened to be (favorably) quoting another speaker, who argued it meant 25 years. "I am not that pessimistic," replied Lenin, referring in the same paragraph to NEP as a "retreat." Earlier in the debate he emphasized:

"We tell the peasants frankly and honestly, without any deception: in order to hold the road to socialism, we are making a number of concessions to you, comrade peasants, but only within the stated limits and to the stated extent; and, of course, we ourselves shall be the judge of the limits and the extent."

It took far less than 25 years to approach the limits of the NEP. On the eve of his final, incapacitating illness in late December 1922, Lenin made a bloc with Trotsky against the developing bureaucracy. One of the issues in the bloc was the need to proceed urgently with *planned industrialization*. He communicated to the Politburo that Trotsky's proposal to grant broad legislative powers to the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was "a sound idea," and "I think we can and must accede to the wishes of Comrade Trotsky." However, Stalin, Bukharin & Co. greeted the proposal for a five-year plan "with mockery in the spirit of the petty bourgeois who fears 'a leap into the unknown'" (Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* [1936]). At the 12th Party Congress in 1923, Trotsky gave a vivid exposition of the "scissors crisis," showing a sharp rise in industrial prices over agricultural prices. This was a danger signal: if there were not sufficient manufactured goods to exchange for agricultural produce, the peasants would begin hoarding and withholding foodstuffs from the cities.

Addressing the Fifth Congress of the Communist International in 1924, even Bukharin acknowledged that the NEP



Anatoly Skurikhin



Max Alpert

Magnitogorsk iron and steel complex being constructed in early 1930s. As contradictions of NEP came to a head, Stalin undertook brutal, forced-draft industrialization.

had not been intended as a long-term policy:

"The opinion prevails abroad that NEP was introduced in order to preserve power; and so indeed it was. But later we became convinced that NEP was more than a simple manoeuvre."

—cited in E.H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, Vol. 3

In this case, "we" was Bukharin/Stalin, for whom conciliating the peasantry and encouraging the petty-bourgeois "Nepmen" (speculators and entrepreneurs) had become part of a full-scale assault on the principles of socialism. The year 1924 marked the consolidation of power

by a bureaucratic layer in the Soviet party and state, a *political counterrevolution* which usurped control from the hands of the proletarian vanguard.

Bukharin grotesquely urged the peasantry, "Enrich yourselves!" and declared that socialism would proceed at "a snail's pace." Kulaks and Nepmen were welcomed into the party, where they became a significant wing of the now ascendant bureaucracy. The *early NEP* legislation, drawn up under Lenin's direct guidance, while allowing free trade in agricultural produce, severely *restricted* the hiring of labor and acquisition of land. However, in 1925 these restrictions were greatly liberalized. Thus Stalin/Bukharin's post-1925 policies were far more permissive toward agrarian capitalism than Lenin's NEP. Against these policies, the Left Opposition called for increased taxation of the kulaks to finance industrialization and for "the systematic and gradual introduction of this most numerous peasant group [the middle peasants] to the benefits of large-scale, mechanized, collective agriculture" (*Platform of the Opposition* [1927]).

The Left Opposition advocated speeding up the tempo of industrialization not only to relieve "the scissors crisis," but also to increase the social weight of the proletariat. For the Trotskyists, socialist construction within Russia was linked to the spread of proletarian revolution internationally. Against this Leninist perspective, the bureaucracy signaled its seizure of power when Stalin proclaimed the possibility of building socialism in a single country.

Following the defeat of the 1923 German Revolution, Bukharin propounded the theory of the "stabilization of capitalism," denying the prospect of the international extension of

the revolution "perhaps for a considerable time." The erstwhile advocate of revolutionary war became the hatchet man for the attack on Trotsky's permanent revolution, denouncing it for sowing "the seeds of doubt about the possibility of building socialism in one country." The idea that socialism—a classless society requiring qualitatively higher levels of production than even the most advanced capitalism—could be built in one country, moreover one as backward as Russia, was so flagrantly anti-Marxist that not only Lenin, but Stalin and Bukharin themselves, had always denied it.

Bukharin the Anti-Stalin?

The "gentle," "humane" Bukharin threw himself into the struggle against the Leninist Left Opposition with a vindictiveness and viciousness which at the time surpassed even Stalin's. It was Bukharin who initiated one of the hallmarks of the Stalinist method of "polemic," dredging up disparaging quotes from Lenin out of context to use for character assassination. In 1925, Bukharin admitted to Trotsky, "We have no democracy because we are afraid of you." At a November 1926 party conference Bukharin railed at the Joint Opposition of Trotsky/Zinoviev/Kamenev in the language of an Orthodox priest, demanding the groveling confessions which were to become the *sine qua non* of the Stalin regime: "come before the party with head bowed and say: Forgive us for we have sinned against the spirit and against the letter and against the very essence of Leninism." Stalin crowed, "Well done, Bukharin, well done. He does not speak, he slashes." When Kamenev and Zinoviev did "confess," Bukharin reviled them and sneered: "You have done well to make up your mind—this is the last minute—the iron curtain of history is just coming down."

Thus was Trotskyism "ideologically defeated." Trotsky and other leading Oppositionists who refused to capitulate were not only expelled from the party but exiled from Moscow. Bukharin raised no objection. In January 1928, Trotsky and his family were placed under arrest in their Moscow apartment and forcibly evicted and deported to Alma-Ata. His wife Natalia recalled, "Later on, we were informed that the 'political direction' of the send-off had been Bukharin's." Yet Stalin's "iron curtain" was soon to fall on the head of Bukharin as well. In a matter of months, the head of the Right Opposition was secretly appealing for a bloc with the Left Opposition against Stalin, saying in terror, "He will strangle us—He will slay us." Trotsky was adamantly opposed to a political bloc, insisting that the economic program of the Right Opposition was the more immediate threat to the preservation of proletarian state power.

Bukharin's policy fueled the forces of *social counterrevolution in the Soviet Union*. The policy of "enriching" the kulaks predictably led not only to the exacerbation of class distinctions in the countryside, as the poor peasants were virtually reduced to their prerevolutionary status as sharecroppers, but also to blackmail of the cities by the kulaks. Meanwhile, the Nepmen had continued to grow in strength: at the end of 1926, nearly 60 percent of the total industrial labor force worked in privately owned small-scale industry, under the grip of petty capitalists who controlled supply and distribution. By 1928, the kulaks were organizing grain strikes, threatening to starve the cities. In Smolensk, Byelorussia kulaks were toasting the upcoming liquidation of all Communists. Stalin saw no other recourse than to lash out with an unplanned, ill-conceived and brutal policy of forced collectivization and forced-march industrialization.

And he necessarily lashed out at his erstwhile allies of the Right Opposition. Subjected to the same treatment he



Wide World

Stalin's forced collectivization at its height: Banner calls for "Liquidation of Kulaks as a Class." Left Opposition advocated voluntary collectivization with the incentive of tractors produced by planned industrial growth.



Leaders of the Left Opposition in 1928: Seated, left to right: Serebryakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky. Standing, left to right: Rakovsky, Drobnis, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky.

had earlier meted out to Trotsky, Bukharin not only capitulated but crawled. He disowned his pro-peasant policy and his opposition to collectivization with grotesque paeans to Stalin's infallibility, even outdoing Stalin in his praise for a policy he opposed. A recent letter to the *New York Times* (28 February) points out that only eleven days before Stalin's cynical article, "Dizzy With Success," which tried to lay the blame for the catastrophic tempo of the collectivization on lower-level cadre, Bukharin wrote an article for *Pravda* (19 February, 1930) entitled "Great Reconstruction," which happened to be the last defense of unrestrained collectivization.

For a few years, Stalin "rewarded" Bukharin for his good behavior. For a while he was editor of *Izvestia*. In 1936 he drafted the notorious "Stalin Constitution," which proclaimed the advent of socialism in the midst of the most hideous police-state terror. Having authored what was deemed to be the "most democratic constitution in the world," Bukharin was arrested. Faced with Stalin's threat to murder his young wife and son should he resist, Bukharin verbally fenced with his accusers, in the manner of Bertolt Brecht's Galileo. He sought to mock his persecutors, denying specific allegations while absurdly declaring: "I plead guilty to... the sum total of crimes committed by this counter-revolutionary organization, irrespective of whether or not I knew of, whether or not I took a direct part in, any particular act."

Bukharin supporters like Cohen call this his "finest hour." But if he did not grovel in the pitiful manner of the rest of the "defendants" in this show trial, he did, nevertheless, confess. In his book, *Nikolai Bukharin—The Last Years* (1980), Roy Medvedev quotes Bukharin's abject confession to the 17th Party Congress in 1934, when the noose was not yet hanging over his head and that of his family: "Comrade Stalin was entirely correct in speaking out so eloquently, making brilliant use of Marxist-Leninist dialectics, against many of the theoretical premises of rightist deviation which I myself had previously formulated." After quoting this, Medvedev comments: "Bukharin could scarcely have been sincere in saying all this but sometimes it is necessary to act against one's conscience." This is hardly a commendation for a Commu-

nist leader, much less one now claimed to be the leading opponent of Stalinism.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

What was posed in the factional struggles of the '20s was the very existence of the Soviet state. It was Trotsky and the Left Opposition who fought Stalin and Stalinism, who had a program for developing and strengthening the Soviet workers state while fighting for its only sure defense, international extension of the revolution. And this is precisely why Trotsky remains anathema to the bureaucracy. In his 70th anniversary speech Gorbachev regurgitated timeworn Stalinist attacks on Trotsky:

"Trotsky and the Trotskyites negated the possibility of building socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement. 'In foreign policy they gave priority to export of revolution, and in home policy to tightening the screws on the peasants, to the city exploiting the countryside, and to administrative and military fiat in running society.'"

So now that they've stopped trying to pass Trotsky off as the agent of Hitler, the Mikado and the King of England, the line is to portray Trotsky as "Super-Stalin," addicted to "military fiat." But in an incisive commentary on Gorbachev's speech titled "Trotsky Still Shrouded in Non-Personality Cult" (*New York Times*, 8 November 1987), Christopher Wren explained that "Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' is embarrassing when Mr. Gorbachev says he wants to cooperate with the West." Wren added, "Trotsky's castigation of Stalin as the 'gravedigger of the revolution' was far harsher than Mr. Gorbachev's description of the dictator as 'an extremely contradictory personality'...."

Stalin was not only the gravedigger of the world revolution—in China, in Spain, in Greece—he almost succeeded in digging the grave of the Soviet Union itself. Much of the hostility to Stalin within leading circles in the Soviet Union, particularly among the military, derives from his catastrophic destruction of the leading cadres of the Red Army in 1937, including Marshal Tukhachevsky. As many as 82,000 Red Army officers, including virtually all of the general staff, were slaughtered in Stalin's purges. (Twelve years earlier, Mikhail Frunze, a Civil War hero who succeeded Trotsky as war commissar,



Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution, 1928. Banner at left says: "Turn the Fire Against the Right, Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat...."

died in mysterious circumstances when Stalin insisted he have an unnecessary operation.)

The war against Nazi Germany, in which 20 million Soviet citizens died, understandably looms large in the consciousness of the Soviet population. At a recent public appearance in the New York area, Anatoly Rybakov, author of the anti-Stalin novel *Children of the Arbat*, said bitterly, "It was because of Stalin that the Germans got as far as Moscow.... We won the war despite Stalin."

Stalin's heinous crimes represented the end logic of his defense of the privileged interests of the bureaucracy, whose overthrow of the revolutionary-internationalist program of the October Revolution necessitated the "liquidation" of the cadres who had led it. The bureaucracy's anti-revolutionary policies internationally reinforced the isolation of the Soviet Union. Stalin's grotesque confidence in Hitler's assurance of peaceful intentions following the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, his destruction of the cream of the Soviet officer corps, cost the Soviet peoples millions of lives. If the policies of the Bukharinist Right Opposition had won out, there likely would have been no Soviet Union by 1941.

From the 1956 Khrushchev speech "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences," to contemporary Soviet works, Stalin is treated primarily as an aberrant, brutal personality. That he was. But, as Trotsky said, "it is not a question of a match between Stalin and Trotsky, but of an antagonism between the bureaucracy and the proletariat" ("Stalinism and Bolshevism," August 1937). It is hardly an accident that Stalin's apparatus was populated by many

who had been on the other side of the barricades in 1917. The chief prosecutor in the third of the Moscow Trials, Andrei Vyshinsky, was not only a Menshevik official in Kerensky's Provisional Government, but reportedly personally signed an order for the arrest of Lenin as a German spy during the reaction of the "July Days."

With its policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, the Gorbachev regime is simultaneously encouraging a re-examination of Stalin's crimes against the Soviet working people and the revolution they made, while trying to pursue economic and international policies which cut deeply against the interests of the Soviet and international proletariat. The Soviet Union is headed toward serious internal turmoil, as the working class seeks to defend its economic interests from the "market economy" and austerity measures of *perestroika*.

The only revolutionary alternative to the crimes of Stalinism lies in the program and history of the Trotskyist Left Opposition. The archives of Soviet history must be made available to the masses. There, in the record of earlier struggles, they will find a revolutionary answer to the problems that face them today: the perspective of international socialist revolution to defend and extend the gains of October, the program of proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucratic usurpers. As we wrote ten years ago in "The Campaign to 'Rehabilitate' Bukharin" (*WV* No. 220, 1 December 1978): "The real historical reckoning will only come as a result of the proletarian political revolution to oust Stalin's heirs, together with social revolution in the capitalist countries." *Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!* ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

the mine bosses, who are offering barely a quarter of that.

The massive gold and coal mine strike last August ended in a standoff—the union was forced back without winning its wage demands and had 44,000 members fired, but the NUM was not broken and many fired miners were later hired back. In April, the NUM held underground demonstrations at the world's largest gold mine, Vaal Reefs, protesting the anti-labor bill. A total of 18,000 participated in protests against the bill at Anglo American, Gencor, Goldfields and Rand Mines. But while in the June 6-8 strike coal and diamond miners went out, the gold miners stayed on the job.

Forge a Bolshevik Party!

It is nearly four years since Crossroads "squatters" in Cape Town and black youth in the townships of the Transvaal erupted in fury, lighting the flames of protracted revolt which spread throughout South Africa. While many nationalists and leftists acted as if "the end of apartheid is near," and the ANC leadership talked optimistically of "escalation of our attack" to the point that in short order "it will be possible for us

The danger is of a...one-sided blood-bath in which the vast majority of the victims will be from the oppressed black, Indian and coloured majority. "Yet the class principle can prevail."
—"South Africa: Razor's Edge,"
WV No. 376, 5 April 1985

As the black revolt continued to mount over the next year, demonstrating the masses' unwillingness to live in the old way, we noted that the government's actions were losing coherence, trying for piecemeal reform of apartheid while ordering brutal repression (as open fascists grew in strength). In short:

"Today in South Africa all of the elements of a prerevolutionary situation are there, and yet there is one absolutely vital element missing: a Leninist vanguard party. Without revolutionary proletarian leadership the rebellious black masses can be played off against one another (e.g., along tribal lines), isolated in the segregated townships and crushed in a bloodbath of historic dimensions. What is desperately needed to prevent this outcome is a racially integrated Bolshevik party fighting for a society based on the principle that he who labors must rule."
—"Black Workers Must Bury Apartheid!" WV No. 409,
1 August 1986

The response of the Botha regime was to institute a "state of emergency" to put a halt to the revolt. Over the next two years, the Pretoria regime played this repression out, killing well over a thousand, jailing tens of thousands,

Free the Alexandra Five! Save the Sharpeville Six!

The battle over the South African apartheid slave labor bill coincides with the urgent legal defense of two major groups of anti-apartheid fighters. Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), and four others are on trial for treason, subversion and sedition, accused of forming the Alexandra Action Committee which led the revolt in the black township in February 1986. The essential charge in the case is that the five usurped the authority of the apartheid state by establishing "organs of people's power" organizing Alexandra residents into yard, block and street committees, and forming "people's courts."

In the case of the Sharpeville Six, worldwide protest won a stay of execution in March, but the lives of these freedom fighters still hang by a thread. Their lawyers have applied for a new trial, since perjured testimony convicted the Six. They were charged on the Nazi-like principle of "collective guilt," that is, simply being in the area when members of an enraged crowd of black rent strikers stoned a collaborator of the apartheid regime to death in September 1984. As we go to press, the judge has rejected the appeal of the Sharpeville Six for a new trial. An international outcry of protest must immediately be raised to save them from the apartheid hangman's noose!

ing a "political settlement" with the apartheid butchers. Affiliates of the ANC's satellite United Democratic Front (UDF) talk of creating "broad alliances" with mainstream white politicians like the Progressive Federal Party and "enlightened" capitalist slave

bique and Angola. During the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow, according to press reports, a September 29 target date was set for a settlement in Angola. Soviet deputy foreign minister in charge of African affairs Anatoly Adamishin offered the USSR's services as "co-guarantor" of a "peace" pact with the South Africa-backed UNITA mercenaries (*New York Times*, 6 June). What does that mean for the Cuban expeditionary force in Angola, reportedly numbering some 40,000 soldiers, who have been racking up impressive battle victories right up to the border with South African-occupied Namibia? Cuban/Angolan forces won a key battle this spring when they turned back a South African assault force of 10,000 soldiers at the southern Angolan crossroads of Cuito Cunavale.

Smash Apartheid— For Workers Revolution!

Black labor is the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. With hundreds of thousands of black workers organized in a strategic position at the point of production, South Africa's combative industrial unions have increasingly come to the fore in the black struggle. Particularly with the banning of anti-apartheid organizations like the UDF and AZAPO, and given the impotence of the ANC's military operations against the militarily fearsome apartheid state, COSATU has emerged as the voice of broader sections of the oppressed masses. Yet while clothed in a more "workerist" language, its program is not substantially different from



Zw/Reflex

Armed fist of the apartheid police state.

to overthrow the apartheid regime," we warned:

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

censoring the media and closing down the "alternate" press, banning anti-apartheid organizations, forcing their leaderships into hiding. Faced with "hippo" armored vehicles and mass arrests, the township revolts have been ground down. But the bedrock question the apartheid state cannot get around is insurgent black labor.

In the face of the crackdown, the popular-frontists and nationalists who yesterday claimed revolution was just a step away are now talking about mak-

drivers like Anglo American's Gavin Relly. After the ANC met in Europe with South African white liberals, there has been a flood of rumors that anti-apartheid groups are "debating" reversing their longstanding boycott position to participate in municipal "elections" in October.

On top of this, the Gorbachev leadership in the Soviet Union has evidently sharply shifted the USSR's military/political support for the ANC guerrilla struggle to now call insistently for negotiations with the apartheid butchers. A *Los Angeles Times* (5 February) article from Lusaka reported on Soviet efforts pressuring the ANC to seek "negotiations" with Pretoria:

"The Soviet experts have also suggested that the ANC put off the whole question of socialism until majority rule is well established in South Africa and that it forget its long-cherished ideas about a state takeover of the country's giant mining houses and industrial conglomerates.

"One leading Soviet academic, Gleb Starushenko, deputy director of the Africa Institute in Moscow, went as far as to suggest a federal system made up of 'autonomous components' and a bicameral parliament that would give the white minority an effective veto within a majority-rule government."

Meanwhile, the Soviets are pushing for Afghanistan-style "national reconciliation" deals in the neighboring black African front line states of Mozam-



WV Photo

Spartacist contingent in San Francisco protest last October calls for freedom for black South African union leader Moses Mayekiso, imprisoned on treason charges.

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the open popular-frontism of the ANC and its satellite organizations. As set out in the Freedom Charter, this means envisioning a non-racial "democratic" society with a "mixed" (i.e., capitalist) economy.

As is frequently the case under repressive dictatorships, South Africa's black unions have become spokesmen for a broader opposition movement. But as insurgent black labor has rattled the chains of apartheid capitalism, the bosses are of two minds as to how to deal with the challenge. Following the explosive 1976-77 wildcat strikes, the Wiehann Commission allowed the registration of black trade unions, the better to control them. But they could not keep the flood tide of unionization within bounds, and faced with escalating wage demands, repeated strike struggles and an increasingly politicized labor movement, not just the Afrikaner Nationalists but the entire South African bourgeoisie has grown increasingly nervous.

They have struck back at the black workers movement by threatening the existence of their trade unions. These are elementary forms of working-class organization. But they are inadequate as the leadership of a *revolutionary* struggle. The key to organizing the power of the proletariat for socialist revolution is a *Bolshevik vanguard party*.

In the last year, COSATU has engaged in a debate over a "workers charter" to be added to the Freedom Charter (see "South Africa: For Workers Power!" *WV* No. 434, 7 August 1987). While many black union militants want to build a socialist South Africa on the ruins of apartheid South Africa, they have not yet broken from, much less do they oppose, petty-bourgeois nationalism. The socialist aspirations of the black proletariat can only be realized through forging a revolutionary workers party in opposition to the ANC and all forms of nationalism and two-stage reformism.

A Leninist-Trotskyist party raising the banner of permanent revolution can lead the South African black workers in a direct struggle for power, uniting behind it the oppressed coloured and Indian populations, the youth, the unemployed, the women, the Bantustan and peasant populations, and, not least, those whites who do not want to live in and serve a racist police state. There will be no liberation from apartheid slavery without the revolutionary expropriation of capitalism.

South Africa and U.S. Elections

Next month, while Atlanta cops under black mayor Andrew Young are kicking the shit out of blacks in the projects, Jesse Jackson will be inside the Omni stadium at the Democratic convention pushing his platform proposal to declare South Africa a "terrorist" state. It's cheap for Jackson to cry over black militants imprisoned in South African jails while he eggs on fellow black collaborators with racist American capitalism such as Los Angeles mayor "Uncle Tom" Bradley to round up thousands of black youth in the "war on drugs" at home.

Michael Dukakis, meanwhile, one-ups Jackson, saying South Africa is "more than a terrorist state" and is "spreading aggression all over Southern Africa." This from the governor of Massachusetts, where racist mobs stoned black kids integrating the schools while Democratic liberals killed busing in the halls of Congress. In an election year where the black vote is key, the Democrats are pushing a sweeping new sanctions bill that calls on America's racist rulers to set its South African junior partners straight. The only "divestment" that will serve to emancipate South African blacks is for the working class internationally to seize the factories, banks and wealth of their exploiters and oppressors. Break with the Democrats! From Durban to Detroit, from Soweto to Harlem—Smash racism with hard class struggle! ■

Mr. Air Disaster...

(continued from page 5)

which seeks to equate "organized labor" with "organized crime." It is Lorenzo's revenge for a series of union court suits which threw a monkey wrench into his plans to cannibalize Eastern, selling its profitable operations to non-union Continental at bargain-basement prices, and siphoning off planes to a cargo airline, Orion, where he is training strike-breakers. But ALPA and the IAM won't smash "Darth Vader" Lorenzo with appeals to the capitalist courts and Democrats in Congress. The wholesale assault on the airline unions and the deterioration of air safety comes straight out of Jimmy Carter's deregulation of the industry which began in 1978. In fact, many of Lorenzo's executives at Texas Air came straight from the Carter administration. Sixty-eight percent of pilots polled by the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (10 April) believe deregulation has made flying more dangerous. One American Airlines pilot said that "Sadly, it will probably take multiple midair collisions in this country to bring a significant change."

At the April IAM convention in Atlanta there were calls to "smash Reaganism." IAM chief "Wimpy" Winpisinger railed against the "corporate Rambos," while hosting capitalist politicians Jackson and Dukakis. But it was Winpisinger who ordered the IAM to *scab* on the air controllers strike, the opening shot in Reagan's war on labor. And in 1983, IAM Local 100 head Charles Bryan, like Autoworkers pres-



Thousands of Machinists march on April 30 during IAM convention in Atlanta, protesting Texas Air chief Lorenzo's union-busting. WV Photo

ident and company cop Doug Fraser, traded millions in concessions so he could sit on the Eastern board of directors with his buddy Frank Borman.

Now the program of the ALPA and IAM tops is to mortgage the unions' pension funds (to the tune of \$1.5 billion) and take massive concessions in order to help corporate raider T. Boone Pickens grab Eastern, saddling the unions with its \$3 billion debt! (The popular movie *Wall Street*, showing a takeover artist who tries to destroy an airline union, dramatically exposes that con game.) Wimpy not only plays by the bosses' rules—he wants to administer the austerity that Lorenzo has thus far been unable to shove down the workers' throats.

Lorenzo and the rest of the air pirates count on slicing up the unions one by one, company by company. But airline workers have a powerful position, with their hands on the throttle of capitalist commerce. There must be coordinated, industrywide strike action to smash the Lorenzos and Icahns, building an industrial airline union of all workers, from mechanics to flight attendants to pilots. Yet the scabherders and aspiring corporate board members, who are running the unions into the ground in order to put a Democrat in the White House, are the enemies of such a struggle. What is necessary is a class-struggle leadership, fighting to forge a revolutionary workers party that can put an end to capitalism and make air travel safe. ■

Atlanta Cops...

(continued from page 12)

Young, Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson all hyped for "Super Tuesday" in a well-publicized march for the homeless. But the Democrats' real program for the homeless is Young's eviction of "bridge people" living in cardboard shanties in view of the Omni. One MARTA rapid transit station will be closed because it empties into a "sanitized zone" at the convention center. Protesters chosen by lottery will be bused to a fenced-in "peaceful protest zone" near the center. Public schools are to be used as holding pens for protesters. (They could use the federal pen if Cuban detainees hadn't torched it!)

Black mayor Young is straining to keep the lid on Atlanta's black majority. But the racist cops are chomping at the bit. Police marched on city hall last winter demanding more pay for their rampages, and last year the cops failed in their attempt to frame up Julian Bond on drug charges. Young just managed to sidestep the witchhunt himself. Today around the country it is black Democratic mayors who oversee the Reagan cutbacks and the killer cops. Young's former bodyguard commands the cops who killed Callahan and has set arrest quotas in southwest Atlanta's "Zone 3" police district.

The identification of "Zone 3" as "drug infested" has turned a black working-class area with union halls and a GM assembly plant into something resembling a free-fire war zone for the cops. This stark reality of cop terror accounts for why a recent anti-drug march hosted by black Democratic mayoral contenders Maynard Jackson, the former mayor who busted the 1978 sanitation strike, and yuppie Michael Lomax, chairman of the Fulton County Commission, drew only a couple hundred people.

While the walls are covered with slogans of "Stop Police Brutality," the cops smear all protesters as nothing but Uzi-toting drug dealers. As despair mounts among black youth with no jobs in sight and the inner cities lurch toward a social explosion, the capitalist ruling

class escalates its attempts to regiment the population under the guise of the anti-drug war. The ghetto social pathology of drugs and crime cannot be eliminated until youth have real education, decent jobs and a future to look forward to—and it will take nothing less than socialist revolution to get that.

In "New South" Atlanta, a black city administration fronts for the Coca-Cola capitalists of the Woodruff family and their class. (Before he became a big-time bourgeois politician, Jesse Jackson was Coca-Cola's man in the ghetto, brokering his boycott schemes for a few distributor's franchises.) Along with cop terror comes racist union-bashing directed at Atlanta city workers. Currently, MARTA transit bosses have threatened to more than double the fares as a club against the union's minimal wage demands. While city workers get paid plantation wages, a coordinated media blitz daily pounds out its anti-union message. In a particularly nasty, racist series, the local NBC affil-

ate recently aired a three-part series trashing the city workers as malingerers, with a TV "surveillance team" even filming workmen urinating behind trees!

Yet Atlanta labor shows signs that it's fed up. In January, 600 city workers packed city hall demanding a pay increase, and a lot of Atlanta's homes didn't get garbage service that day. The slaying of Eddie Callahan was followed by mass protests. What's needed is not voting for another black Democratic front man, whether it's Jesse Jackson or gubernatorial hopeful Andrew Young, but breaking with the racist Democrats. A joint militant struggle of transit and city workers could shut Atlanta down tight, throw back "givebacks" and make the cops think twice about pulling the trigger! A class-struggle workers party is needed to forge the links between labor and the oppressed black poor into a powerful force to smash the exploitation and racist oppression of capitalist rule once and for all. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Dress Rehearsal for Democratic Convention

Atlanta Cops Attack Blacks, Homeless

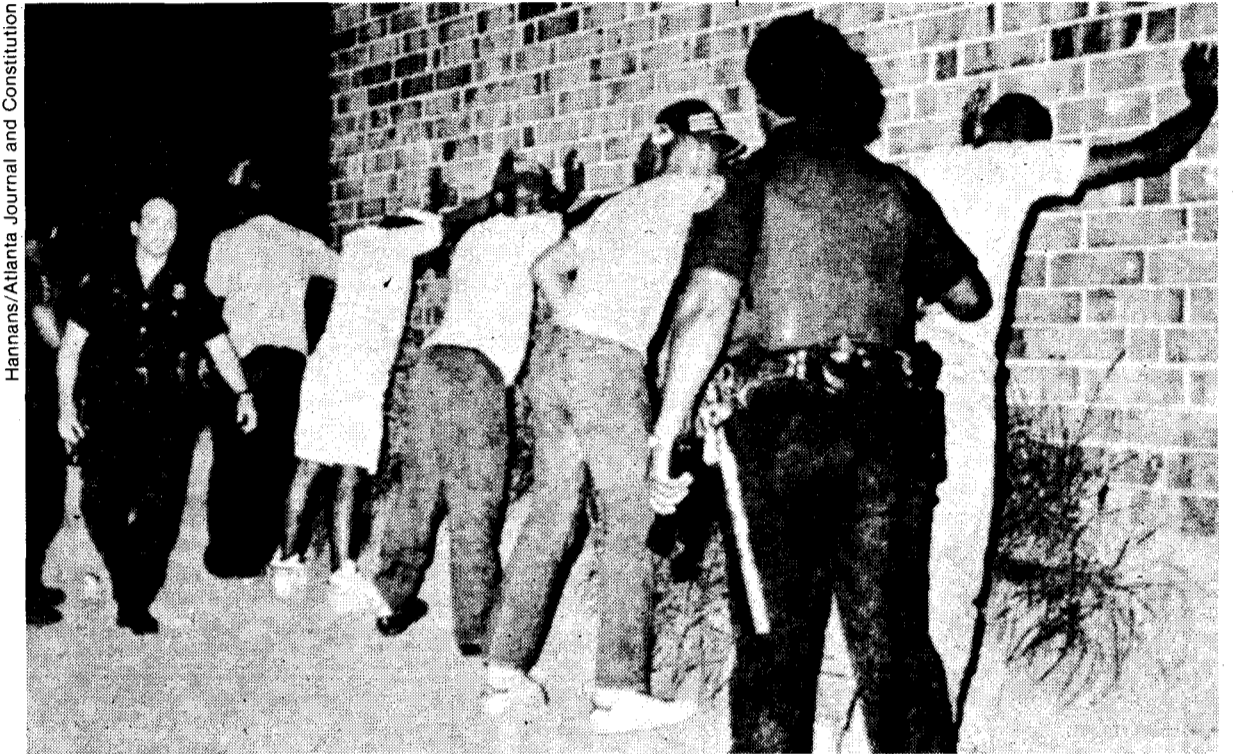
ATLANTA—Racist cop terror (a.k.a. the "war on drugs") has sparked black outrage here at the site of the upcoming Democratic National Convention in July. In "Operation Red Dog," an elite cop unit has conducted dragnet raids for a month in Atlanta's public housing projects.

On the evening of May 18, the cops used the pretext of a drug-related killing to invade Carver Homes, opening fire as a crowd of 200 massed in outrage. Twice in March at Bowen and McDaniel-Glenn housing projects, residents acted in self-defense against police. At Bowen Homes, 200 residents blocked a squad car and released the cops' prisoner. Squad cars were pelted with rocks.

Earlier, on February 27, a young black man, Baxter Williams, was murdered by the cops. The cops say "someone" in the crowd removed an "alleged weapon" (never found). "They shot my brother like a dog," said Johnny Williams. Last September, white cops pumped eight hollow-point bullets into black Vietnam veteran Eddie Lee Callahan...and walked, although hundreds of eyewitnesses saw their crime.

With the Democratic convention only weeks away, the cops are getting itchy trigger fingers. Atlanta police chief Morris Redding says, "We want to get the word out...this is going to be an orderly convention." Redding's "mes-

Police dragnet targets Atlanta black youth in racist "war on drugs."



Hannans/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

sage" is that blacks are fair game while the "Forsyth County Defense League" and mobs of fascist Klansmen "rallying" to spread racist terror will be protected by the capitalist state's repressive apparatus.

The FBI and Georgia Bureau of Investigation say they are "monitoring" supposed "terrorists." TV flashes show

Fulton County sheriffs hitting Omni Convention Center with grappling hooks and shimmying down ropes. In April police agencies simulated a mythical left-wing "terrorist" assassination attempt on David Duke, the fascist running for president as a Democrat. Yet it is Jesse Jackson who has received hundreds of death threats, as America's rac-

ist death squads vow that no black man will be president. On May 19, a member of the fascist "Order" and his wife were arrested in Missouri in a plot to assassinate Jackson on the Fourth of July.

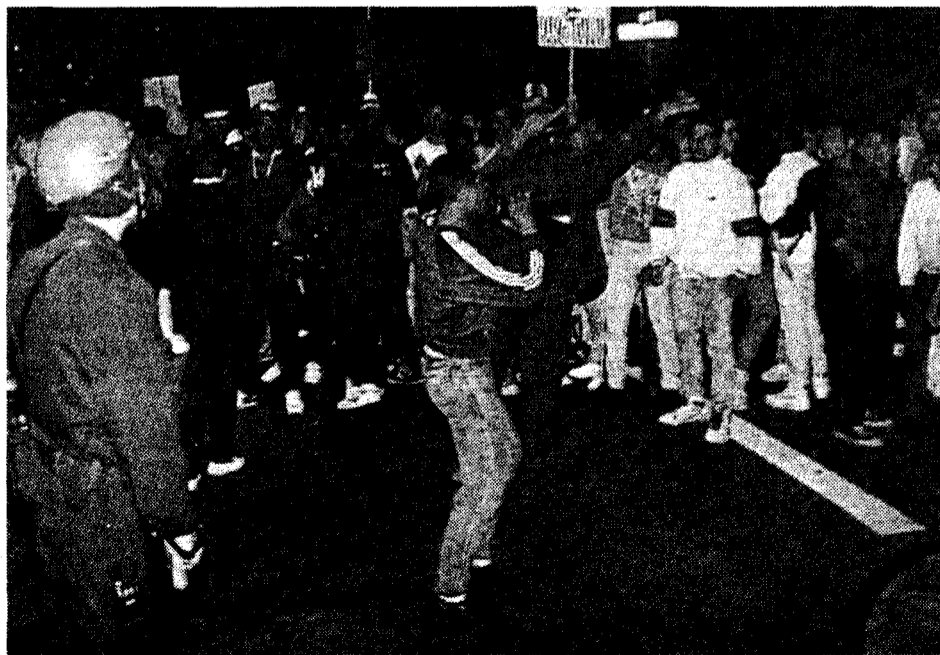
Atlanta will be a virtual armed camp come July, and it's already well on the way. Last March Mayor Andrew *continued on page 11*

Mexican Workers Gunned Down in Perth Amboy, New Jersey

Hispanic Outrage Over Racist Cop Terror

Last week up to 2,000 furious Hispanic and black residents of Perth Amboy, New Jersey took to the streets protesting the June 6 cop murder of Mexican immigrant Carmen Coria. For three consecutive nights pent-up community outrage boiled over as they struck back against a notoriously brutal police force that is more than 80 percent white in this majority Hispanic town just across the river from Staten Island. The Perth Amboy cops are currently facing a dozen police brutality cases. This latest wanton police killing reflects rising racist attacks against Hispanics as the Spanish-speaking population has risen sharply in the area. In February, New York City police beat Juan Rodríguez to death in his Brooklyn apartment after responding to an emergency call for help.

Carmen Coria, who came to the U.S. from the impoverished Mexican state of Michoacán in 1980 and worked for a little more than minimum wage for a landscaping company, was killed outside a bar early Monday morning. Allen Fuller, an off-duty narc who had been drinking in the bar, shot Carmen once in the head, then critically wounded his brother Mateo. Fuller claimed that Carmen Coria had attacked him with a beer bottle, although no evidence has



Connolly/Asbury Park Press

Hundreds of community residents protest killer cops outside Perth Amboy police station, June 9.

been produced. Fuller is notorious in the Hispanic community for his vicious attacks on youths. Nine days earlier he had smashed in the head of 19-year-old Edwin Ramos during a drug arrest, an assault for which Fuller faces a civil suit. Following the June 6 shooting, the

police department gave the killer cop a vacation with full pay.

Community reaction to this latest cop shooting spree was swift. On Wednesday outraged residents marched through the Hispanic neighborhoods, swelling to 800. When Mayor George

Otlowski took a powder rather than reply to their calls for justice, the crowd pelted the windows of City Hall with rocks. The following day a phalanx of riot cops blocked a funeral procession of hundreds heading for police headquarters, setting off running skirmishes which lasted through the night. On Friday, nervous city authorities met with local Hispanic representatives and called for a citizen review board and "sensitivity training" for the rampaging cops. But only hours later, the Perth Amboy cops dragged José Cortez from his car by his hair and beat him and a friend with riot sticks.

The murderous police attack on the Coria brothers is no isolated incident. As Hispanic workers have moved into aging industrial cities in northern New Jersey, in a belt from Elizabeth to Paterson, the cops act as an occupation army, riding roughshod over an immigrant population without legal rights. The racist backlash reached a flash point last fall when murderous gangs of white youth set upon Indians in Jersey City, beating one to death. The workers movement must take the lead in defending immigrants, mobilizing against racist cop terror and demanding full citizenship rights for the foreign-born. ■