

Imperialists Mobilize for Occupation of Kosovo

U.S./UN/NATO Hands Off the Balkans!

JANUARY 31—The United States and other imperialist powers threatened yesterday to launch massive air strikes against the Serbs if the Yugoslav government does not accord “substantial autonomy” to that country’s Albanian-majority province of Kosovo. Hundreds of planes, mainly American, and dozens of ships under NATO command are poised for attacks against Serbia. The U.S.-imposed diktat requires that both Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo send representatives to a “peace” conference in France later this week. The imperialists threaten terror bombing of Serbia if the negotiations are not “satisfactory.” The rebels in landlocked Kosovo would also be “punished” by the blockading of Albanian ports in order to cut off their arms supplies.

The imperialists are also planning to send a U.S./NATO force of some 30,000 ground troops to Kosovo to enforce any “peace” agreement. The Clinton administration is promising to contribute some 5,000 ground troops. The German Fourth Reich under Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder also wants to be part of any NATO occupation force in Kosovo. German imperialism has hitherto been restrained by the memory, seared into the consciousness of the Balkan peoples, of the orgy of mass murder carried out under the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia during World War II. Whether or not the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance carries out its threats, the Spartacist League forthrightly declares: All imperialist



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Clinton threatens Serbia with NATO air strikes to impose imperialist diktat over Kosovo.



Gamma

forces out of the Balkans!

The same day the imperialists delivered their diktat to Milosevic, waves of American warplanes attacked Iraqi installations near the northern city of Mosul in the largest air offensive against that country since the U.S. and Britain launched a four-day missile assault in December. Such attacks have become an almost daily occurrence in recent weeks, including the bombardment of a residential quarter of Basra last week that left at

least eleven civilians dead. Tens of thousands were slaughtered in 1991 by U.S.-led forces acting under a United Nations fig leaf. Today, the blood of the Iraqi people is still being spilled to cement U.S. control over vast oil and natural gas resources which are vital to America’s imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan. Over a million children and hundreds of thousands of other Iraqis have died from malnutrition and disease resulting from the imperialist embargo. Down with U.S.

imperialist terror bombing! Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq! U.S. get your bloody hands off the world!

For years, Washington denied Iraqi accusations that UN “weapons inspectors” were part of an American spy operation. But last month it was revealed that the search for supposed “weapons of mass destruction” provided U.S. intelligence with information used to plan the

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AIDS Pandemic Ravages Sub-Saharan Africa

Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist

JOHANNESBURG—After announcing that she was HIV-positive on World Aids Day last December, Gugu Dlamini, a mother and AIDS awareness activist, was beaten senseless by a rabid mob claiming to be “cleaning the area.” She died of her wounds a few weeks later. Dlamini lived in eastern KwaZulu-Natal, a province at the centre of the AIDS epidemic in South Africa. She was lynched for having the courage

to talk about her disease, to talk about her sexual life in a society where women live under patriarchal practices such as polygamous marriages, female genital mutilation and lobola (bride price)—“traditions” upheld by tribal reactionaries in league with the capitalist rulers.

The killing of Dlamini near the city of Durban illuminates the immense social backwardness and material deprivation underlying the spiralling AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa, where over 22.5 million carry HIV, the virus

that causes AIDS. By current statistics, more than a fifth of the South African black working class—the bedrock of the capitalist economy—are HIV-positive. In KwaZulu-Natal, some 5,000 HIV cases emerge *every month*, including 1,000 babies whose life expectancies are between two and five years.

While the African National Congress-led bourgeois-nationalist government of Nelson Mandela has put on paper some of the broadest liberal democratic laws—striking down prohibitions on homosexual sex, legalising abortion

and promising free health care to pregnant women and their children—all these legal provisions amount to a cruel hoax. Far from improving the lives of the impoverished masses, the ANC regime, acting as front men for the white capitalists, has laid off thousands of workers, kept education as a privilege for the children of a few ANC cronies and the white racist ruling class, and shut down many hospitals. This capitalist government cannot and will not deliver on promises of quality health care for women, housing, jobs, education or anything else the population desperately needs.

South Africa is an extreme case of what Marxists call combined and uneven development. A large-scale, modern industrial base and mining complex were built through the super-exploitation of the black toilers by the white capitalist class. Yet the black masses remain mired in “Third World” conditions of extreme poverty, superstition and vestiges of tribalist loyalty

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For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

Ian Donovan Is a Dangerous Lunatic!

Condemn Violent Assault by Pro-Imperialist "Socialist" at Bloody Sunday Demonstration

We reprint below a February 2 statement by the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League, protesting a cowardly thug attack on a Spartacist comrade at a London rally marking the anniversary of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre of 14 Catholic marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland. Our comrade was bloodied by one Ian Donovan, a recent ex-member of the dubious International Bolshevik Tendency. Donovan is now chairman of the London Socialist Alliance, a group dominated by the Labourite Socialist Party (formerly the Militant tendency).

Donovan assaulted our comrade after she exposed the Socialist Party's chauvinist support to the Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), British imperialism's police force in Northern Ireland. As the statement notes, the Socialist Party also sponsors a member of the sectarian Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and refuses to demand withdrawal of the occupying

British Army which carried out the Bloody Sunday massacre.

* * *

At the 30 January demonstration in London commemorating Bloody Sunday, Ian Donovan of *Revolution & Truth* violently assaulted Spartacist League comrade Eibhlin McDonald, an Irish woman. Ian Donovan is currently the chair of the London Socialist Alliance, a group which is politically dominated by the Socialist Party. Unable to politically defend the Socialist Party's support to the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland, Donovan responded by driving his fist into McDonald's face, in the midst of a 500-strong protest against British oppression in Northern Ireland. When McDonald shouted that she had been hit, demonstration stewards came quickly, found the cowardly bully Donovan and cautioned him. Dripping blood from the gash over her right eye, McDonald was taken to a nearby hospital where she was x-rayed and given stitches.

Donovan's thuggery was witnessed by many demonstrators. Dismayed that an English male had battered an Irish woman at this demonstration, several demonstrators shouted at Donovan, "You're a nutter!" Representatives from other leftist organisations came forward to denounce the attack. The despicable exception was Workers Power, whose representative on the spot said our comrade brought it on herself, which is in keeping with their own record of violence and exclusion of the Spartacist League.

Hugh Stephens of the Campaign Against Sanctions and War on Iraq sent a written statement which, while expressing political differences with the Spartacist League, declared: "I have discussed this with my own comrades and we wish to express our solidarity with your defence of your democratic rights, and our disgust that violence should have marred the otherwise very successful demonstration. We have never used violence against other comrades as you know, and we have always found your comrades to be principled in discussions even with us who have very different views, a fact which we appreciate and which we endeavour to reciprocate." *Ian Donovan is a danger to the workers movement. This attack must be exposed and condemned.*

In the argument which preceded the attack, comrade McDonald cited the Socialist Party's grotesque line on the RUC, whom they described in the wake of the Omagh bombing as "a bunch of scared young men, thrown into a horror they couldn't cope with." She suggested Donovan should form a contingent with the Socialist Party and write on their banner "'Socialists' for the RUC!" Donovan is a former member and perpetual hanger-on of the dubious "International Bolshevik Tendency" (IBT) who have an obsessional hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League. The IBT are social chauvinists conspicuous for their arrogant indifference to the oppressed, not least the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. Not surprisingly, therefore, they are a culture medium for violent misogynist, anti-communist nutters like Donovan.

Just before he lunged at her with his fist, Donovan ranted that comrade McDonald acted as a "cop" towards him and other IBT supporters, supposedly "fingering them" to the leadership of the Socialist Labour Party (SLP). In fact, we exposed the IBT for being to the right of [SLP leader Arthur] Scargill's left Labourite reformism. The outfit which today calls itself the IBT was founded by embittered and hostile ex-members who individually quit our organisations in the U.S. and Canada in the early 1980s in the face of the escalating imperialist anti-Soviet war drive. It had no sooner set foot in the SLP than the IBT was forming electoral slates with virulently anti-communist elements, including those who had cheered on counterrevolution-

ary Polish Solidarność, outright apologists for Ukrainian fascism in World War II and supporters of "Workers Aid for Bosnia," which has run point for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. In the same time period, a leading member of the IBT's American group *scabbed* on a strike of New York City building maintenance workers in 1996 (see "The IBT: Social Chauvinists Looking for Labourite Host," *Workers Hammer* No. 166, January/February 1999).

The IBT is led by a sexual sociopath and massive liar, Bill Logan, who was expelled from our organisation in 1979 for gross crimes against communist morality and its substrate, elemental human decency. One account from a survivor of Logan's organisation, Phil Ferguson, notes: "His behaviour is the textbook case of the little ratbag in a private boys school who gets to be head boy or head of some little gang," and adds that "every bone in his body is alien to the working class" (Internet posting, 21 December 1998).

A Spartacist League statement issued on the day of Donovan's assault said: "We refuse to involve the capitalist state in the affairs of the workers movement and made clear to the cops on site that we will not press any charges against Donovan." We also made clear our intention to widely expose and condemn his thuggery, as an act of principle and a service to the left. We call on others in the workers movement to do likewise. Donovan is mentally unhinged and dangerous. Politically he is a Labourite toady and apologist for British imperialism, in the tradition of [former Labour leader] Arthur Henderson who led the cheering in parliament when [Irish revolutionary] James Connolly was shot by a British firing squad. The Labourite Socialist Party which Donovan defends upholds this chauvinist tradition—they are notorious for refusing to call for British troops out of Northern Ireland and for sponsoring fascist Loyalist Billy Hutchinson in their meetings. Hutchinson's Loyalist Ulster Volunteer Force has connections to the British fascists, who routinely stage provocations against the annual Bloody Sunday demonstration in London *and did so again on Saturday*, where Donovan had earlier staged his provocative attack.

Our statement concluded:

"Political debate is necessary to clarify what programme and leadership the working class needs to fight for its interests: we oppose the imperialist 'peace' deal in Northern Ireland which is premised on the continued rule of bloody British imperialism, and the continued presence of British troops maintaining the oppression of the Catholic minority. We demand the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British troops! Not Orange against Green, but class against class! For an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles! *"We repeat: acts of violence such as Ian Donovan's against political opponents on the left have no place in the workers movement!"*



TROTSKY

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Since the defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the decades following the Civil War, black people have faced brutal and systematic segregation, constituting an oppressed race-color caste in American society. But as a strategic component of the proletariat, black workers are slated to play a leading role in the American socialist revolution which will eradicate the material basis of racial oppression. In two 1953 lectures centered on the fight against Southern Jim Crow segregation, American Trotskyist Richard S. Fraser put forward the perspective of revolutionary integration—the fight for the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society. The Spartacist League carries forward Fraser's pioneering work in our struggle to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party in the U.S.

The racial division of society was born with capitalism and will die only with the death of this last system of exploitation. Before capitalism there was no race concept. There was no skin color exploitation, there was no race prejudice, there was no idea of superiority and inferiority based upon physical characteristics.

It was the advent of Negro chattel slavery in the western hemisphere which first divided society into races. In a measure the whole supremacy of western capitalism is founded upon this modern chattel slavery. The primary accumulation of capital which was the foundation of the industrial revolution was accrued largely from the slave trade....

The "Negro Question" in the United States exists because of the failure of the capitalist class to solve the most elementary problems of the democratic revolution in the South: the problems of land tenure and democratic rights. Thereby it has left the social heritage of color slavery intact as a malignant feature of social life.

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the countryside. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

—R.S. Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution,"
In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser (Prometheus Research Series No. 3, 1990)



LENIN

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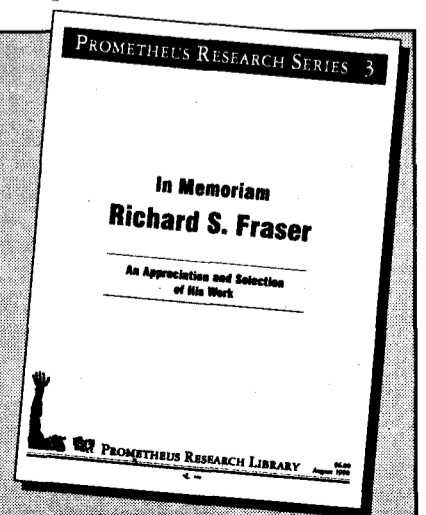
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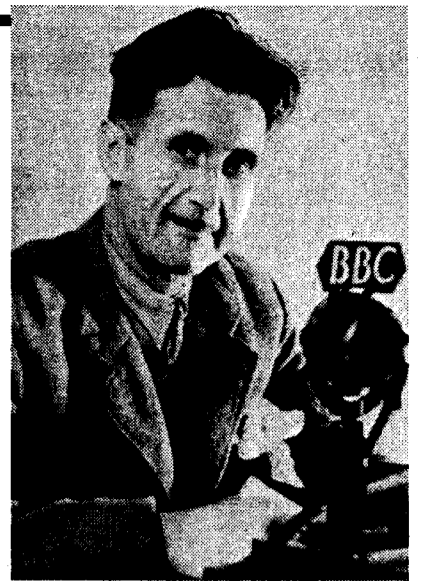
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Imperial War Museum, London
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Northites Salute Generals and Finks



George Orwell

If you're looking for heroes by the criteria of the SEP why not pick Karl Dönitz, admiral of the World War II German submarine fleet. In the First World War, he commanded a submarine that sank. In the next, he lost two sons. The U-boat crews under his command were also heroic, because they kept fighting even when 90 percent were gone. The problem here is that bravery is not a social, or class, criterion. This is made very clear in the movie *Das Boot*.

One would never know from the Northites that the Trotskyists opposed all the imperialist powers in World War II while calling for the unconditional military defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state. In 1939, James P. Cannon, in the course of his great battle to preserve Trotskyism in the U.S. on the eve

ingly, we also find on the SEP Web site a full-blown apologia for Orwell under the byline of eternal toady Fred Mazelis ("George Orwell and the British Foreign Office," 9 September 1998).

It came out last summer that Orwell, the British author of *Animal Farm* and *1984* and coiner of the phrase "Big Brother is watching you," was doing a little watching of his own. In 1949, Orwell turned a list of some 35 people he considered to be in the orbit of the Stalinists over to a unit of the British Foreign Office set up to disseminate anti-Soviet propaganda. Rising from Orwell's snotty comments on "crypto-Communists and fellow travelers" is a nasty whiff of anti-gay and anti-Semitic bigotry. By Charlie Chaplin's name, Orwell writes "Jewish?" in parentheses. The powerful black Amer-

Longtime political bandits and renegades from Trotskyism, the Socialist Equality Party (SEP, formerly Workers League) has now descended to actively saluting imperialism's war chiefs. When Clinton carried out his terror bombing of Iraq in December, the Spartacist League forthrightly declared: "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!" In stark contrast, a "World Socialist Web Site" piece by Martin McLaughlin and SEP national secretary David North, dated 19 December 1998, describes the attack as "a shameful chapter in American history" and explicitly counterposes the supposed glories of yesterday's imperialist war-making:

"This much is certain: 50 years from now no one will be making films like *Patton*, *The Longest Day* or *Saving Pvt. Ryan* about their exploits.

"One need not agree with the politics of such World War II-era commanders as Eisenhower, Bradley, Patton, and Nimitz to acknowledge that they, at least, led their armies against an enemy fully capable of firing back."

Like a newsreel from Hollywood's World War II propaganda mill, North and McLaughlin carefully omit the atrocities committed by the U.S. military in that inter-imperialist war as they list "searing images that profoundly influenced the political consciences of several generations":

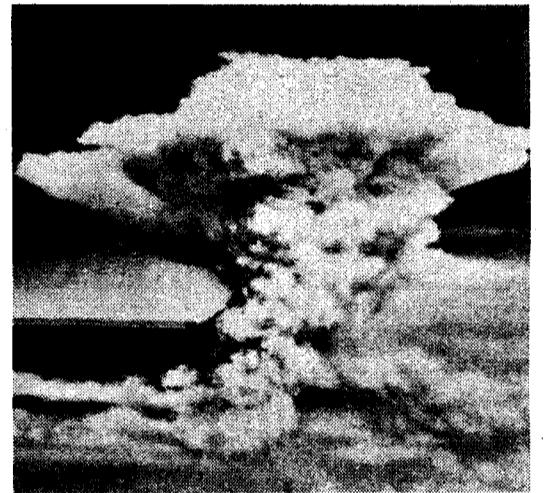
"Next to those produced by the opening of the Nazi death camps, the most unforgettable images were those of the German *Luftwaffe* raining bombs on defenseless populations....

"The manner in which Japan initiated hostilities—bombing Pearl Harbor without warning—outraged millions. For decades to come, the phrase 'sneak attack' was synonymous with the basest form of treachery."

What happened to the "searing images" of the nightly pounding of German cities by U.S. and British bombers and the fire-bombing of Dresden? What about the U.S. government rounding up Japanese Americans into concentration camps for the duration of the war? What about the indelible image of the mushroom clouds produced by American atom bombs dropping on already defeated Japan, incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki? "Down the memory hole," as another current hero of the Northites, George Orwell, would have said.



Deutsche Fotothek Dresden



Asahi Shimbun

Allied firebombing of Dresden, February 1945, killed over 100,000 German civilians. Six months later, some 200,000 Japanese and Koreans were incinerated in American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Northite paean to U.S. World War II exploits disappears such atrocities.

of the war, summed up the program of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP):

"1. The main enemy is in our own country—expose and fight the Roosevelt-Hoover combination.

"2. Defend the Soviet Union in spite of Stalin against Stalin."

—*The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (1943 edition)

Eighteen leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters union were sentenced to Sandstone federal penitentiary for opposition to the imperialist war. In a May Day 1945 speech, his first after serving 13 months in prison, Cannon reiterated the revolutionaries' position:

"We said from the very beginning: It isn't a war for democracy against fascism; it isn't a war for justice and freedom. That is not true. It is a war of imperialist rivals; it is a war for profits to be coined out of the blood of the people of Europe and Asia, and eventually for the enslavement and degradation of the workers here at home....

"What can they show, the masters of the world, but ruined cities, mounds of corpses, and millions of starving people? That is the auspices under which American imperialism enters its day of glory as the master of the world."

—"The End of the War in Europe," *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century"* (1977)

The obscene, gagging patriotism with which North & Co. embrace the military commanders of U.S. imperialism in WWII finds its reflection in alibis for those who served in the postwar anti-Communist crusade. As we commented in "David North's 'Left' McCarthyism" (*WV* No. 702, 4 December 1998): "The herifage North defends is not that of Trotskyism, which was embodied through the 1950s in the now-reformist SWP, but of anti-Communist renegades like Irving Howe and George Orwell, who spied for His Majesty's secret service against 'Soviet totalitarianism.'" Not surpris-

ican singer and actor Paul Robeson, he charges, is "very anti-white." Poet Stephen Spender gets the remark, "Very unreliable. Easily influenced. Tendency towards homosexuality." And on and on.

Yet here Mazelis finds evidence of Orwell's dignity, opining:

"On one level, Orwell's action in turning over these comments was not the same as those of the political cowards who sought to save their careers during the McCarthyite witch-hunt by 'naming names' of prominent figures who had been in or around the Communist Party years earlier. In Orwell's case, there was no cowardice or personal opportunism involved. He was never a man to curry favor with the establishment, and the political characterizations on his list were by and large similar to sentiments he had expressed publicly."

If anything, in Orwell's case it was worse than "cowardice" and "opportunism." Nobody even had to threaten Orwell. There was no subpoena. There was no wrecking of career, no public humili-

famously commented, and he meant it. During World War II, Orwell spent time in the British Home Guard and put in a good two years, from 1941 to late 1943, broadcasting for the BBC as part of Britain's propaganda effort toward its restive colonial possession, India. As Clive James puts it in his glorification of Orwell in the *New Yorker* (18 January), Orwell told his Indian audience "that they had a better chance with the British than with the Japanese." This from one who was formerly a bitter critic of British imperialism in the East. So it's not illogical that he went that next, dirty step, sneaking his vindictive comments to his British imperialist masters.

And where will David North's SEP end up? It's hard to predict the exact trajectory of such an unsavory and unstable outfit. But as the author of *Animal Farm* might have put it, "in the end you couldn't tell the Northites from the pigs." ■

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Report from Russia

The Grim Face of Capitalist Counterrevolution

We print below excerpts from a 5 December 1998 report by a visitor to the Russian Far East (RFE) recounting the devastating effects in this region of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92. As the mass of working people in the former USSR are plunged into deepening misery, the new capitalist exploiters and the Yeltsin regime which serves them have sold off, looted or driven into the ground the country's massive industrial infrastructure. In August 1998, after years of economic disintegration, Russia experienced a total financial meltdown which further ground down the mass of the population and sowed panic in world financial markets (see "Chaos in Russia, Depression in East Asia—Wall Street Bubble Bursts," WV No. 696, 11 September 1998).

We recently published a brief account of political activities during the fall in Moscow and St. Petersburg ("Report from Russia," WV No. 703, 25 December 1998). The report below centers on Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, key cities of the RFE which serves as a crossroads for Pacific Rim trade. In the aftermath of

Part One

counterrevolution, the economic links of this area with the capitalist economies of South Korea, the U.S. and Japan have increased, while the European powers also view the area with avid interest. As well, the RFE has economic ties with the bordering Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state, where the threat of capitalist restoration looms ever larger. These factors underscore the crucial need for forging Trotskyist parties to reawaken in the shattered working class the proletarian internationalist consciousness that animated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

* * *

The Russian Far East does indeed seem to be a "once and future place," like a boom town that has gone bust. But in spite of its current state, the region's role as a central trade link for Pacific Rim powers is sure to increase in the near future. Before going into the particulars, I think it is helpful to step back and look at the international setting.

WV Map



Vyacheslav Voyakin photos

Vladivostok today: pensioner rummages through garbage. Unpaid workers blocking Trans-Siberian Railroad tracks carry placard reading: "We can no longer look into the eyes of our hungry children. We have nothing left to lose."

At the moment, there is a "corridor" war over how to link up Russia's Trans-Siberian Railroad to provide a fast land connection between East Asia and Europe. This war is developing alongside the power struggle over Caspian Sea oil and has particular importance for East Asia. The 9 November 1998 issue of the Russian-language *Ekspert* magazine lays out a thoughtful perspective on this question from the vantage point of a Russian would-be imperialist. It points to Japan's concern that China, having come through the current Asian depression intact, is increasingly seen as the rising power of Asia and could form a new axis with Europe. Chinese trade with Europe in the last six months has increased by 25 percent, and China has promised to place a part of its gold reserves in the new euro currency.

It is *against* China that Japan has sought not only to upgrade the Russian port of Zarubino but to build a bridge and "chunnel" (channel tunnel) rail link, via the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin island, to the Russian mainland city of Komsomolsk-on-Amur and then down to Khabarovsk, linking up with the Trans-Siberian Railroad. For Japan and South Korea, a rail link to Europe would mean that their products could reach stores in France in ten days instead of the month it takes to

sail by way of Africa. Japan would dominate both Asian trade with Europe and Pacific access to northern China.

According to *Ekspert*, only the U.S. has the money for such grandiose projects, and the U.S. is pushing for an alternate rail link: through a reunified Korea to Vladivostok, which would deny China its own direct link to Europe. "Russia must become a buffer between China and Europe," Zbigniew Brzezinski, who in the late 1970s was U.S. president Carter's national security adviser, is quoted as saying. The South Korean rulers also seek the destruction of the North Korean deformed workers state and its assimilation into the capitalist South. In the words of Choo Kang Soo, president of the new \$100 million Hotel Hyundai in Vladivostok: "We expect that Korea will be united in the near future.... We hope that in the near future, the resources of Russia will reach Korea by land" (*Russia Review*, November 1998).

European powers, for their part, have projected a rail link to China that circumvents Russia altogether, using circuitous but existing lines through the Carpathians, Ukraine, the Caucasus and Central Asia to the northwest border of China, where there is only one last stretch to connect to the Chinese rail terminus in Urumqi. So it is not just from the position of a social and economic basket case—albeit possessing natural resources and military hardware—that Russia bargains with West and East. It can also use its strategic geographic importance and its transport infrastructure as bargaining chips in the context of rising international trade wars.

The Looting of Vladivostok

From just about any vantage point in Vladivostok, the first city I visited, you get a breathtaking panorama, the dramatic sweep of the harbor naval base, transport and fishing docks. Several strategic assets remain in spite of the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution. Besides the terminus of the Trans-Siberian rail line, which uniquely links the Russian Pacific coast to Europe, there is a vast natural harbor that is home to the Russian Pacific Fleet, the Far Eastern Shipping Company and some of Russia's largest fishing-industry facilities. Until recently, Vladivostok also had the RFE's largest ship repair and construction enterprises. But above all,

Vladivostok has its geographic advantage: it is the trade crossroads for Japan, South Korea and China. These factors resulted in a boom in port trade in 1992-93, when many Soviet-era restrictions were dropped.

In addition, Vladivostok is the administrative center of the Primorsky Krai (Maritime Region). And here it is worth mentioning some characteristics of the Primorsky Krai as a whole. While Vladivostok's population is estimated between 650,000 and 800,000, the kraï has 2.2 million people (1.7 million urban). The gross regional domestic product for 1997 was \$3.5 billion, which dropped 8 percent in the first half of 1998. This is of course the official economy; the black-market economy is many times greater. I found that the biweekly *Vladivostok News* provided an excellent source of information and window into the area's political life.

The Primorsky Krai's industrial centers are Ussurisk (pop. 162,000) and Arseniev (pop. 71,000). The latter is where military aircraft such as the Black Shark helicopter and navigational equipment are or were produced. The Kavalerovo-Dalnegorsk mining center turns out tin, lead, zinc and boron. Of particular interest for foreign exploitation are the neighboring Sakhalin Island Shelf Oil Projects One, Two and Three, which represent the largest concentration of foreign investment in all of Russia. There are an estimated 2.5 billion barrels of oil and 15 trillion cubic feet of natural gas that Exxon, with a series of Russian consortiums and the Japanese company Sodeco, seeks to extract. Vladivostok is expected to provide machine-building and other support services—if the project ever manages to cut through frozen seas and the frozen Russian bank accounts.

With the destruction of the Soviet Union and subsequent implosion of military/industrial production, the Primorsky Kraï has been devastated. The industrial collapse is probably even greater there than the national average, which New York University professor Steven Cohen recently estimated to be 50 to 83 percent in the post-Soviet period. Unemployment for the RFE as a whole is actually 1.5 times the national average—and given the state of Russia, that is saying something. An American think tank recently estimated real unemployment in Russia at a minimum of 18 million out of a total

working population of 68 million.

What does remain viable in the Primorsky Krai is, in the first place, fishing-related industry. Annual catch is still two million tons—half the total for the RFE. But processing is down from 1.5 million to 200,000 tons. The workforce on the Vladivostok fishing docks has been reduced to 2,000, half of its former size, because federal taxes have driven much of the processing overseas or into the domestic black market. As the father of the family I stayed with described, fishing factory ships that come into port are required to pay tax on their haul in cash even before it is sold. But in the cash-strapped Russian economy that is impossible. So a major part of the catch is sold directly to ports in South Korea and America. It is only the government quota for domestic sale of fishing hauls that keeps the fishing industries of the Vladivostok port alive.

According to the son of my host family, there remains a constant demand for workers on the fishing docks, but for miserable pay, certainly not enough to raise a family. He is indignant that the Far East exports timber, oil, coal, ferrous metals, fish, submarines and whole factory assembly lines, and in return imports soft drinks and chicken legs. Timber extraction also remains important at three million cubic meters annually—second only to the neighboring Khabarovsk Krai. Coal was important, but it is undergoing the same drastic contraction that is taking place throughout Russia. The nearby coal town of Partizansk, which ten years ago employed 12,000 miners, shut all four of its primary shafts this spring. Of the 3,162 miners who stayed in town, 250 now sew T-shirts for a South Korean-owned firm, a subcontractor for Gap stores.

Just up the coast from Vladivostok is the town of Nakhodka, where Russia's first Free Economic Zone (FEZ) was established in 1991. The idea was to employ highly skilled, low-paid Russian workers to assemble computer components and so forth. After receiving \$90 million in investment, the failure to come through with federal tax privileges for the 450 South Korean-, Japanese- and American-registered enterprises resulted in the FEZ going to the brink of bankruptcy this year, even before the August financial crisis hit. So instead of being superexploited at Third World levels, the bulk of the highly skilled industrial proletariat there, too, has been thrown into a struggle for survival through trade, petty business and subsistence farming.

Many skilled workers are like the father in my host family, an engineer now on "unpaid vacation" for over a year. He survives by tourism and subsistence farming. "You can shout down the barns of our silent factory and hear your echo. It is like a ghost town," he lamented. This family is not nearly as poor as many, but nonetheless speaks of how much comes "from our own garden." They eat fish they catch and even bake their own bread in a modern bread cooker. In fact, they are relatively well-off: two cars, all modern appliances, a home computer and an

apartment in the center of town. But they are cash-strapped and barely able to provide for their teenage daughter.

Something like 90 percent of the population in Vladivostok lives in poverty. The outskirts look more like Kiev than Moscow: there are many long-established family dachas and fewer of the strip-garden plots that provide subsistence farming outside Moscow for the ex-proletariat there. My host noted that this season mushroom-picking areas looked like they had been thoroughly trampled by people foraging for food. Nonetheless, Vladivostok's black market and construction have actually attracted immigration. And not many people leave Vladivostok; most people simply have nowhere better to go.

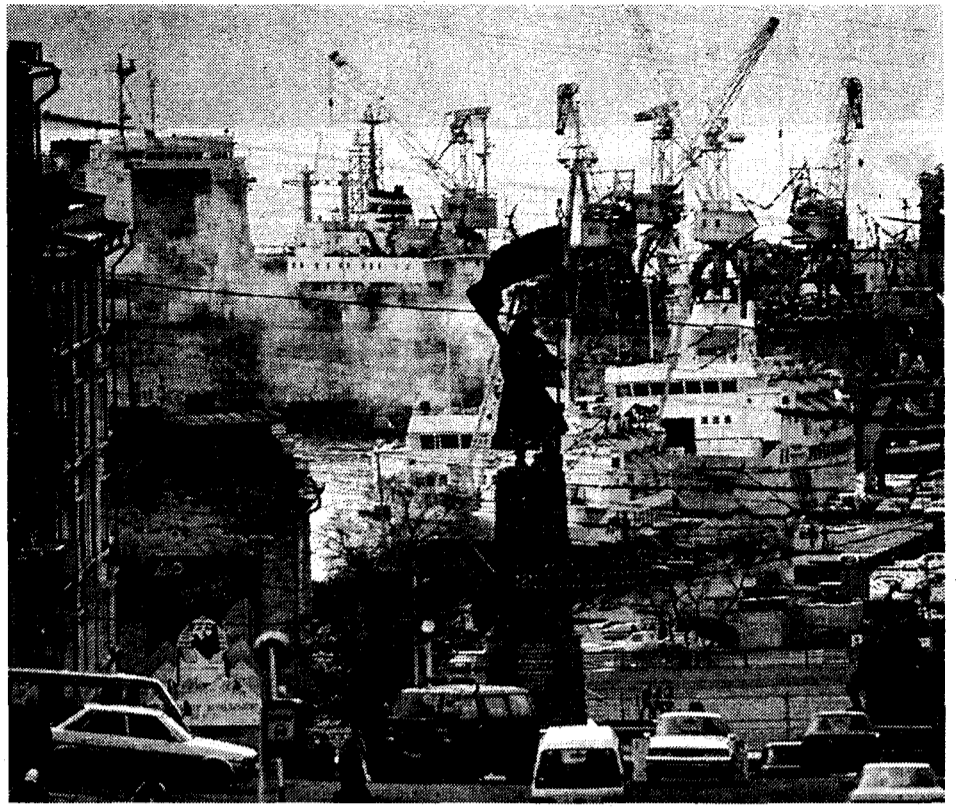
Industrial Ruin and Black Market Enterprise

The Pacific Fleet is still stationed in Vladivostok, but shipbuilding and repair are at a complete standstill. I overheard from local businessmen on my flight back to Moscow that the fleet is slated to be moved out of the city harbor. It is not just the implosion of the Russian military that has devastated the shipbuilding and repair industry of the region. The lack of class cohesion within Russia's looting elite and the parasitism of the central government have driven this work to foreign countries. Moscow has set up 44 different taxes that claim 85 percent of the profits from local enterprises. It is cheaper to repair fishing factory ships in South Korea or Alaska than in Russia!

There is a secondary factor: industry directors and workers prefer postings abroad to exploit channels for black-market trade. But the main thing is that with the destruction of a centralized economy, in this area based on the high-tech military-industrial complex, gang warfare over looting the industrial sector for primitive accumulation has taken over. This loot is what fills the cargo bays of up to 75 percent of the port's outgoing ships. And this is the main source of income for the young racketeer types hanging out in front of casinos in their dark-windowed sports utility vehicles.

An example of what has happened to Vladivostok's ship repair facilities can be seen in the case of a facility in the center of town. I had a chance to visit it briefly and to observe the workforce coming and going. While they did not look as impoverished and demoralized as in many plants in Moscow, it was reminiscent of that. I saw only one stumbling drunkard, but there were very few people in general on this cold Monday. The facility has been sold to a commercial group that plans to demolish it to make way for a dock to off-load profitable foodstuffs. But Moscow regulations stipulate that purchased enterprises cannot change their "specialty" for a period of five years. So, while they are waiting, space has been rented out for business offices. They are liquidating the trade-union library to make way for this.

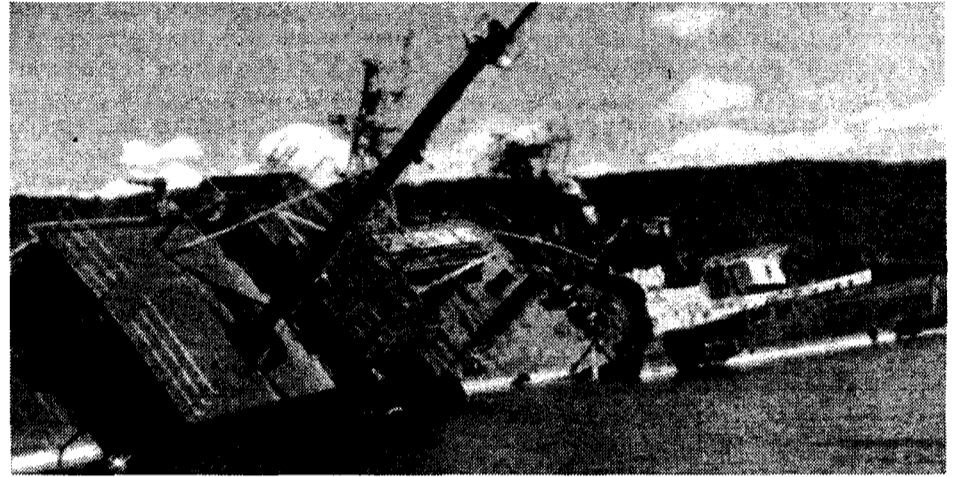
With the disintegration of national economic links, Moscow has sought to keep



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Top: Port of Vladivostok was center of maritime industries before ravages of capitalist restoration. Below: As shipbuilding and repair have halted, wrecked ships spill oil and industrial waste into harbor.

Yury Lugansky



its grip on Vladivostok by fostering a really nasty war between the governor of the Primorsky region, Evgeny Nazdratenko, and the Vladivostok mayor, Viktor Cherepkov. In contrast to the single-handed control of Moscow's mayor Luzhkov, their fight over federal and local budgets and business kickbacks has wreaked havoc on the region's infrastructure. But other aspects of life in Vladivostok reminded me of Moscow 1992-95: much is done under the table, in dark corridors of buildings owned by no one knows who.

In 1994, of the half billion dollars of trade going through RFE ports, Japan accounted for 44 percent, while China and South Korea each accounted for 15 percent. The trade boom continued through the first half of 1998 when it reached \$820 million, but by midyear it hit a sharp downturn. Even before the pivotal crisis of August 17, U.S. trade was down 50 percent from the previous year. After the August ruble devaluation, imports into the RFE went down another 50 percent. There is still a trickle of imported foodstuffs and construction materials, but cargos that brought 500 to 1,000 containers before the August crisis now bring in 10 percent of that. Exports of timber, seafood products and ferrous metals continue, but at a fraction of the 1994 volume. That is to say, trade at the moment is at a virtual standstill.

This is evident on the Vladivostok container cargo docks, where there is but a handful of ships in port. When my hosts and I stood on "Krestovaya Hill" overlooking the docks, they commented that just a few years ago there were hundreds of ships lined up outside the bay waiting their turn to offload. Here we are talking about official trade; in 1994, according to the *Russian Far East Directory* (Autumn/Winter 1996-97), "Unofficial statistics indicate trade is two to three times greater" than the official figure. This includes the looting of whole factory and military complexes. This black-market looting has increased, if anything. In the freight ports, it provides low-paid work for many who have been

thrown out of production jobs.

Potentially far more important as a regional port is the town of Zarubino, just south of Vladivostok where Russian territory tapers off along the Chinese border and meets North Korea. It is slated for a \$200 million investment from Japan aimed at creating a shipping corridor to northern China. China's own closest deep-sea port, Dalian (Dairen), is to the southwest, on the other side of the Korean peninsula, and far from the center of China's northern market, the city of Harbin (population 3.5 million). The final decision on the Japanese investment is due by March 1999, but last week the first stage was given a go-ahead. The U.S. also has a keen interest in the Zarubino project. American trade with northern China has far outweighed its trade with the RFE.

Even the used car trade has frozen for the moment, as is evidenced by the Customs Point Parking Lot next to the Sea Passenger Terminal that is full of cars waiting to be sold. Ninety percent of all cars on the roads of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk are secondhand Japanese models, with steering on the right, which are relatively cheap and high quality. One of the few remaining productive industrial sectors in Russia as a whole is auto manufacture; 70 percent of all cars are domestically produced. But even so, these Russian cars are inferior to and more expensive than used foreign cars. So, many Russians had been coming to Vladivostok to buy cars and ship them home by train. Many hustlers made their start-up capital traveling by passenger boat to South Korea or Japan, bringing back up to 20 cars using a sailor's duty-free privileges. These cars would sell for \$3,500 to \$6,000. As in Khabarovsk, the Vladivostok auto parts open-air market is another place that the ex-proletariat has gone to make a living as petty traders.

The Chinese and Korean Minorities

One neighborhood in Vladivostok is still called the "Chinese Millions." This is a block of buildings where Chinese had

continued on page 6



Moscoop



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Deadly outgrowth of capitalist counterrevolution: rally of Russian National Unity fascists; Cossack rides in Vladivostok main square near monument celebrating Bolshevik victory in Civil War.

Russia...

(continued from page 5)

lived and worked in service trades before, as one local resident casually put it, "they were driven out." In some ways, the treatment of Chinese in Vladivostok is even worse than the racism Caucasians and Central Asians experience in Moscow. At least Moscow allows its 600,000 Azeris to live, work and trade throughout the city. But in Vladivostok, only a small number of Chinese are allowed in at all, and those seem to be segregated in certain market areas and housing compounds. In contrast to Khabarovsk, I rarely saw any Chinese in the rest of the city. Throughout the Primorsky Krai, Chinese workers were rounded up in trucks for mass deportation in a campaign known as "Operation Foreigner" that officially "ended" in February 1997.

There is an economic basis for this difference. In Moscow, few Russians would try to take on the miserable social niche of the vegetable traders from the Caucasus and Central Asia. In the Russian Far East—from Magadan down to Vladivostok—ex-proletarian Russians seek survival by taking over the small stalls of the Chinese. This is reminiscent of the revanchist drive by the fascist regime of general Josef Pilsudski in Poland during the 1930s to have ethnic Poles take over the social niche of the poorest Jews there. The Vladivostok "Chinese Market" was in fact formerly predominantly Chinese but there are now only about 200 Chinese traders there; today Russians, who sell the same wares from China, predominate.

In a chauvinist drive against the Chinese, the Primorsky Krai Duma voted \$11 million this summer to establish a string of 60 Cossack hamlets, just as in tsarist times, along a stretch of the sparsely populated border with China, allowing 73,000 local Cossacks to patrol alongside conventional border guards. This is an obscene resuscitation of Rus-



WV Photo

rail line to Khabarovsk (and 60 kilometers from the Chinese border). In this industrial town the Chinese market has up to 2,000 traders who never leave the walled-off compound where they cook and sleep inside shipping containers, working 16 hours a day. The ruble devaluation has seriously cut into their profit margins and many are now struggling to sell off what they have—even at a loss—and return to China.

The state of siege that the Chinese market traders feel in both Vladivostok and Khabarovsk is so heavy that they cut off conversation with me the moment I tried to talk about anything beyond simply bargaining over prices. The goods on sale are strictly clothing and simple household materials—no electronics that would have to be tested and covered by warranty. The goods in city electronic stores that I saw were all Japanese and Korean.

In addition to the traders, there are Chinese laborers who are often highly skilled and work for wages even lower than those for the notoriously undisciplined Russian construction workers. I caught a glimpse of some Chinese construction workers on a site in the Vladivostok city center, but that was the only instance. A Chinese

Soviet Encyclopedia photos



Red Korean partisan unit in Soviet Far East, 1922. Alexandra Kim, Korean Bolshevik organizer in Khabarovsk. Moscow newspaper reports formation of Chinese-Bolshevik Red Army battalion in 1918.



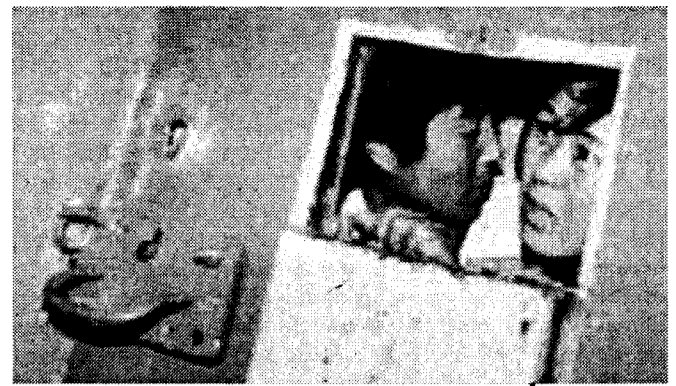
sian chauvinist traditions, harkening back to the Cossacks' rape and pillage of Korea and China in tsarist times.

Illegal Chinese entry into the Primorsky Krai is minuscule, considering the vast border, and in the RFE there are only about 100,000 undocumented Chinese workers and traders. In all of August, only 17 "illegals" were arrested in Primorsky. With increased patrolling, arrests of immigrants in the southernmost Russian Pacific coastal town of Khasan have dropped from 137 per month to three. But the sorry mentality of the Russian petty-bourgeois and lumpenized population leads them to believe that the rising tide of China's regional strength can be abated by sweeping back petty traders and laborers.

In Khabarovsk, the main Chinese market seemed about three times as large as Vladivostok's. In Nakhodka, there is a Chinese market street that is a kilometer long. The largest Chinese market in the region is in the city of Ussurisk, about 90 kilometers outside of Vladivostok on the

construction company has bid to build a bridge over one of the coves of Vladivostok harbor. In Khabarovsk, they have built whole modern office complexes. Economic links of petty trade with China are still vital but immediately and directly affected by the ups and downs of Russia's short-term problems. Larger-scale trade such as timber is actually on an upswing. Russian protectionism and chauvinism make the border far from open from the Russian side, but if trade routes to China through the RFE are opened up, the economic weight of the Chinese as well as the Korean minority in the RFE is bound to grow.

Near Zarubino south of Vladivostok, just where Russian territory along the Chinese border ends at the North Korean border, lies the town of Khasan where there is a large Korean diaspora. There were other concentrations of Koreans (in Khabarovsk and other Siberian towns), but 95 percent of today's 112,000 ethnic Koreans in Russia are in the Primorsky Krai. As many as 250,000 had fled the



Valentin Trukhanenko

Chinese market in Vladivostok. Imprisoned Chinese nationals await deportation. Chinese and Korean traders and workers are victims of intensifying Russian chauvinism.

Japanese occupation of Korea before the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and achieved legal status in tsarist Russia. In the main, they fought on the Soviet side of the Civil War against Japanese and other imperialist intervention forces. But in 1937 Stalin deported all 171,781 of them on charges of "spying for Japan." As of last year, 26,000 ex-Soviet Koreans had returned to the RFE from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other points, from which they were expelled by nationalist pogroms. Russian *derzhava* (strong state) chauvinists today fear that the Korean minority will concentrate and press for regional autonomy or even territorial unification with Korea at some point, so Koreans are discouraged from returning to the RFE through racist discrimination.

An indicator of the level of anti-Japanese paranoia is the case of environmentalist, journalist and navy captain Grigory Pasko, who was jailed by federal authorities in November 1997 in Vladivostok. He was charged with treason for allegedly providing Japanese media with information about the navy's dumping of radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan.

As for other minorities, I heard from one businessman that there are 30,000 Moslems in Vladivostok, about 5 percent of the official population. There is great religious diversity in Vladivostok—a legacy of its long and complex history as a port. Protestant, Lutheran and Catholic churches are being renovated today no less noticeably than Russian Orthodox ones. There is a mosque, a Buddhist and even a Hare Krishna shrine, but there are no listings for Jewish synagogues or Confucian temples.

Signs of Political Life

There is a real "wild west" feeling here, with, for example, a very high rate of contract killings in commercial disputes. In contrast to Moscow, where big money is more firmly and officially in the saddle, here one feels that the degree of economic collapse, the thinness of the frail upper crust, the large black-market component all contribute to an atmosphere of volatile social hatred that sooner or later is going to arc down in a bolt of violence against somebody.

The fumes of mass discontent are explosive, but the explosion can go more ways than one. Over the past year, Vladivostok has seen several labor actions by coal miners, teachers, defense, oil, medical and scientific research workers, to demand wages unpaid for over a year. These included sit-ins, demonstrations in the central city square and sensational highway/rail occupations. The freeze in spending on social services, in part coming out of the war between the governor and the mayor, provoked protests over the unprecedented collapse of social services. These actions were dramatic and very popular but, in keeping with the national pattern, they did not lead to independent or ongoing movements, they were desperate appeals that evaporated. The fumes linger and will yet ignite, but there is no class organization or axis.

In the summer, there was a "red-brown" demonstration, which echoed Russia's own would-be imperial ambitions, against joint exercises with the American navy in the port of Vladivostok. Its popularity succeeded in moving the action some distance outside of the port, but the maneuvers did go on. At no

point, in either Vladivostok or Khabarovsk, did I ever encounter a sentiment such as that expressed by the 2,500 Russian residents of the South Kuril Islands who petitioned for Japan to take over control of the area along the lines of British rule in Hong Kong. Just the opposite. I heard only: "I'd sooner starve than see Russia cut apart."

I was told in Vladivostok that the KPRF (the so-called Communist Party of the Russian Federation, really a bourgeois-nationalist party) has only two local Duma deputies who enjoy little support. They appear somewhat isolated, as they are in moneyed Moscow and St. Petersburg, and less popular than they are in the industrial wasteland of Siberia. In contrast to Moscow, I did not see a single opposition paper in any of the kiosks or bookstores and practically nothing on Soviet history. Yeltsin carried both the Primorsky and Khabarovsk Krai during both rounds of the 1996 presidential elections.

It is indicative of the character of the Federation of Independent Unions (FNPR) and the KPRF that, despite the relatively high level of spontaneous labor actions recently, neither seems to have much of a presence. As one Vladivostok resident told me: "People have long stopped turning to the union with any illusions that they'll get anything out of it." I only saw a couple of leaflets calling for a demonstration in the city square on Revolution Day, November 7, signed by the "Trudovaya Primorye" (Toiling Maritime) movement. More numerous were the leaflets posted for the fascist Russian National Unity (RNE) led by Alexander Barkashov. I passed a hangout on a pier, which was plastered with them, and there was a clod of young punks outside who looked like lumpen RNE types.

The family I stayed with, which had been working class but is now déclassé or integrated into the petty bourgeoisie, is part of a politically volatile layer, moving in a reactionary direction. My hosts made repeated anti-Chinese comments which I of course objected to. One of the first things that my host said to me was, "What we need is an army of the working people to wipe out all this scum," by which he meant not just Russia's new robber barons but certain foreigners and minorities as well. Over dinner one night he argued that someone like ex-general Alexander Lebed or ex-Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet was what the country needed. I asked him if he knew that Pinochet had killed 10,000 workers. Of course, he didn't know anything of it.

It really sent a shiver up my spine when my host said that he was glad that the liberal "democrat," State Duma deputy Galina Starovoitova, was killed. "She was the richest woman in Russia," he said. He did not care who killed her or for what, and that's dangerous. But I don't want to paint them in one color; my host is very proud of his family's heritage of fighting for the Reds in the Civil War, for example. As with many, they might well be attracted to a communist pole in the event of proletarian class struggles, but that pole does not now exist. What they need above all is the proletarian internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky to unite the cause of the ex-Soviet working class with the class struggle of the region and the world.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

and enmity. This is starkly demonstrated by the spread of the AIDS epidemic from central Africa through southern Africa and now to South Africa, where it is devastating the black population. At the same time, the privileged white minority continues to enjoy living standards comparable to the wealthiest enclaves in North America and West Europe, including the best medical care money can buy.

In 1994, open white-supremacist rule was replaced with the dismantling of apartheid, legalised segregation, and the election of Nelson Mandela as the country's first black president. Mandela's "tripartite alliance" with the misnamed South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is a nationalist popular front in which the black working class is chained to its exploiters and oppressors through the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. The pro-capitalist COSATU leadership periodically pays lip service to the causes of the working class, while brutally enforcing capitalist austerity.

The black and also Indian and coloured (mixed race) working class has resisted these attacks by the white Randlords and their ANC/SACP front men, and South Africa is now experiencing a major upsurge of labour struggle. However, popular disillusionment with the ANC regime and its broken promises has also taken reactionary forms: the scapegoating of AIDS victims and activists and the lynching of immigrants from Mozambique and other neighbouring countries, who are often blamed for transmitting the AIDS epidemic to South Africa.

The post-1994 neo-apartheid setup in South Africa is fragile and deeply contradictory. It cannot last. The future of South Africa depends critically on the construction of a multiracial proletarian vanguard party based on the Trotskyist programme and perspective of permanent revolution. In West Europe and North America, social and economic modernisation was brought about by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. But progressive bourgeois revolutions are not possible in the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the present epoch of capitalist imperialism. Social and economic modernisation as well as national liberation can be achieved in these countries only through proletarian revolution.

A proletarian revolution in South Africa, by expropriating the Randlords, would liberate resources to alleviate desperate social conditions both in that country and throughout sub-Saharan



Government fired 60,000 nurses after September 1995 wildcat in which strikers carried signs reading "Away with Mandela."

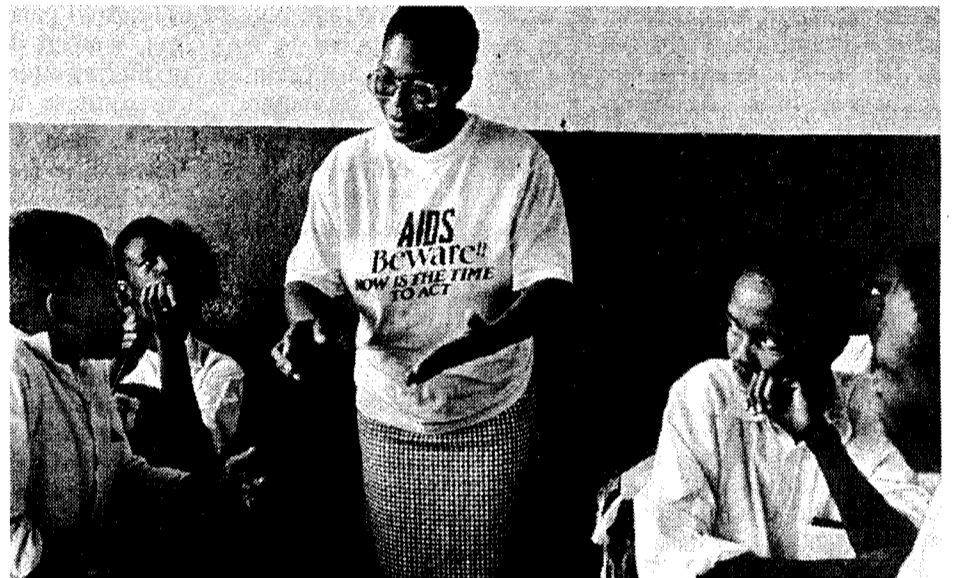
Africa. Among the enormous gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia were bringing literacy, basic education, modern medical care and women's equality to the backward, Turkic-speaking and traditionally Islamic peoples of Soviet Central Asia. Ultimately, overcoming the hideous impoverishment and cultural backwardness of sub-Saharan Africa requires an *internationally planned socialist economy* based on proletarian revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

AIDS Epidemic in Neo-Apartheid South Africa

The AIDS crisis in South Africa is compounded by dangerous, widely held superstitions and backward social beliefs, stemming particularly from the oppression of women, and the effects of mass poverty—prostitution, illiteracy, lack of education. The AIDS virus is transmitted through semen or other secretions during unprotected sex, through intravenous drug use and blood transfusions, from a pregnant woman to a fetus, or through breast milk to a baby. Though there is no cure at present, the spread of the disease could be reduced through condom use, the distribution of sterile needles for drug users, drug therapies for pregnant women and providing infant formula. Because good medical care and especially drug therapies are extremely expensive, AIDS has increasingly become a *disease of poverty* around the globe, from Southeast Asia to the black ghettos of the U.S. The AIDS pandemic in southern Africa is so acute that the rate of new infections is over *ten times* that of West Europe and the U.S. Most medical insurers refuse HIV treatment, which costs from 1,500 rand (roughly U.S. \$250) to 4,500 rand per day, while the average black miner earns

700 rand a month.

On the streets of Durban, purveyors of *muthi* (traditional medicines) offering mystery powders and ground bones as cures for the ravages of AIDS are found side by side with the advanced technology and technique necessary to operate the world's ninth most-active industrial port. *Inyangas* (traditional healers) are more often than not called upon to "throw the bones" to diagnose the disease. Worse still, "some healers end up sucking the blood from the infected



Volunteer instructs South African high-school students on AIDS prevention. Over 22.5 million in sub-Saharan Africa are already infected with HIV.

person" (*The Star* [Johannesburg], 1 December 1998). Some AIDS sufferers are led to believe that they are bewitched by a girlfriend or wife.

In KwaZulu-Natal and throughout South Africa, immigrants from Mozambique and elsewhere "north of the Limpopo" are increasingly being used as scapegoats for the vast spread of AIDS. In early January in Tembisa, northeast of Johannesburg, six Mozambicans were "necklaced"—burned alive—by a 400-strong "street committee" mob run by the ANC, as a direct consequence of the government campaign of blaming immigrants for escalating crime born of desperate poverty. Spartacist South Africa demands: full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

With elections impending after four years in power, ANC deputy president Thabo Mbeki took pains to kiss HIV-positive babies at AIDS Day photo-ops, hypocritically donned red ribbons and pontificated on the "African renaissance." Mbeki launched an 80 million rand "awareness" campaign, which has as its main theme a call on youth to refrain from sex until marriage. This "family values" crusade is part and parcel of the ANC campaign for "moral renewal," which is meant to camouflage the regime's manifest inability to deliver real improvements for the masses. Bourgeois-nationalist politicians, the church and other institutions push the lie that sex outside marriage is "dangerous" and "immoral" in order to shore up the institution of the family, the key prop of women's oppression under capitalism.

In the advanced capitalist countries, those with HIV are stigmatised and often denied care or even simple democratic

rights. Sexual bigotry and racism in the U.S. have meant indifference to the deadly disease, which is seen as the problem of marginalised groups like homosexuals and the ghetto poor. In South Africa today, blaming immigrants, women and gays for the spread of AIDS and other social ills can mean murder, as shown by the cases of Dlamini and the Mozambicans. The fate of women and the struggle for their full emancipation is tied to the proletarian class struggle against capitalism. For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

Criminal Negligence of the ANC/SACP Regime

Last fall, in a public relations move the giant Glaxo-Wellcome pharmaceutical company offered free three-day kits of the anti-AIDS drug AZT to health care workers who had been exposed to the HIV virus. Yet the Department of Health criminally refused this offer, presumably because the government was unwilling to spend the money to continue treatment after the three-day supply was used up. Although more than 20 percent of pregnant women are estimated to be HIV-positive, the government also scuttled a multimillion rand pilot programme to provide them with AZT, which has been shown to reduce by at least 50 percent the likelihood of a mother's passing the AIDS virus to an unborn child. Some govern-

ment officials obscenely argued that "if the baby does not have HIV, it will live, and the mother will die of AIDS. Who will look after the orphans?" (*Sunday Times* [Johannesburg], 24 January).

There is no way that the mass of South African blacks infected with HIV can afford the expensive, life-prolonging drug treatments called "AIDS cocktails." But even the effective use of condoms to prevent infection, literally a matter of life and death, is blocked by the negligence of the South African regime. The government imports large quantities of condoms from East Asian factories, which are supposedly inspected for quality control by South African medical officials. Yet a large fraction of these condoms turn out to be old, inferior or otherwise defective, splitting apart when used. Even the Johannesburg correspondent for the *New York Times* wrote, "Government officials were using a procurement system that almost invited manufacturers to ship their castoffs here" (27 December 1998).

While doing little to prevent the spread of AIDS, the ANC-led government is using this terrible medical tragedy to promote reactionary social values. Thus KwaZulu-Natal health minister Zweli Mkhize warned parents and communities "not to exploit young women for labour," claiming women are "vulnerable to sexual abuse" in industry—an order for women to stay jobless, at home and pregnant.

The left face of the Mandela/Mbeki regime is provided by the reformist South African Communist Party which also exercises leadership over the COSATU union federation. Linking AIDS to the left's "globalisation" shibboleth, the SACP wrote: "The lack of

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International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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"Open Letter to the Spartacist League by the National Central Committee of the Workers International Vanguard League"
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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

"Desert Fox" December bombing. The *Washington Post* (17 January) specified: "The heart of the Desert Fox list (49 of the 100 targets) is the Iraqi regime itself: a half-dozen palace strongholds and their supporting cast of secret police, guard and transport organizations." As with Clinton's terror bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan last August, the continued death and devastation being inflicted on Iraq—and the threats of renewed bombing against the Serbs—underline that imperialism is not merely a "policy" carried out by a particular wing of the bourgeoisie. Imperialism is, in the words of Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin, the "highest stage of capitalism," a rapacious system based on the exploitation and oppression of the workers and semicolonial masses.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92, the rulers of U.S. imperialism feel they have a free hand to carry out invasions or launch terror-bombing campaigns against semicolonial countries from Haiti to Somalia to Iraq. These repeated acts of terror by U.S. imperialism are aimed at enforcing the subjugation of the semicolonial peoples of the world and demonstrating to its capitalist rivals that the American bourgeoisie remains top dog. From the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 to the long, losing war against the heroic Vietnamese people, U.S. imperialism is the main force of oppression in the world. This system cannot be "reformed" or pressured into becoming more "humane" but must be overthrown through socialist revolution. The Spartacist League fights to forge an internationalist proletarian vanguard party modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik party, which led the workers to power in the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Imperialist Hypocrisy and Military Terror

As usual, the imperialists couch their threats of military terror against the Serbs in the name of "humanitarian" concerns—in this instance, the murderous oppression of Kosovo's Albanian majority by Milosevic's security forces, which



Iraqi victims of U.S. missile attack near Basra in January.

are trying to crush a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). But this is the most abject cynicism. No less than their West European counterparts, the U.S. rulers are categorically *opposed* to self-determination for Kosovo's Albanian population because they fear that further break-up of the Balkan states along national lines could ignite a conflagration throughout the whole region. This is fully understood in Belgrade. As Serbian government officials indicated to the *New York Times* (31 January), "Kosovo is a political and financial drain for Belgrade, and if NATO is willing to take responsibility for restraining the rebels and keeping Kosovo from independence for three years, Mr. Milosevic may see that as an advantage." If so, it is a highly dangerous gambit. The U.S. is fully prepared to unleash untold destruction on any semicolonial country whose leaders are not 100 percent under their thumb, as the Iraqi people can attest.

When the U.S. threatened air strikes against Serbia last summer, we wrote: "We defend the right of the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo to self-determination—that is, the right to secede from the Serb-chauvinist regime in Belgrade. However, should the imperialists stage a military intervention over Kosovo,

the issue of self-determination would be subordinated to our military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces" (WV No. 693, 3 July 1998). This is precisely what has come to pass. Today, to call for self-determination for the Kosovar Albanians can only be a cover for support to imperialist intervention.

We also defend the right of the Serbian minority to live in Kosovo on the basis of full equality. In contrast, liberals and the reformist left, who divide the world into "progressive" and "reactionary" peoples, dismiss with a wave of the hand the rights of the Serbs. In fact, the Serbian minority in Croatia has already been almost entirely driven out through "ethnic cleansing" there. The Serbs in Kosovo, like the Jews of pre-World War II Poland, make up some 10 percent of the population. With the Albanian Kosovars about to become the pawns of the imperialist occupation force, the stage is set for reversing the terms of oppression.

The Kosovo "peace" process being brokered by Washington is modeled on the NATO-imposed Dayton accords, signed following imperialist air strikes against Bosnian Serbs in the summer of 1995 and policed by an imperialist occupation force in Bosnia. As we warned at the time: "The U.S.-imposed pact and

NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples" (WV No. 634, 1 December 1995). Today, with hardline Serbian nationalists viscerally opposed to autonomy for the Albanian Kosovars and the UCK equally opposed to any solution short of independence, imperialist intervention can only lay the basis for further bloodshed.

The machinations in the Balkans are a harbinger of escalating inter-imperialist rivalries, whose logic ultimately points toward a nuclear third world war. Despite the conjunctural show of unity among the Western powers, all are pursuing their own interests in the region. Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both world wars and are trying to restore influence in the region. Bonn's drive to restore its pre-World War I sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is aimed at the region's wealth of minerals which have strategic importance to German industry. As a recent study pointed out, Kosovo "contains the greatest concentration of mineral wealth in the whole of south-eastern Europe." During Hitler's occupation of Yugoslavia, Kosovo's mines produced massive amounts of lead, zinc, nickel and other strategic minerals for the Third Reich's war industries (Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: A Short History* [1998]).

While the U.S. has no such strategic stake in the Balkans, it seeks to wield the military power of NATO, which it dominates, as a means of furthering Washington's global interests. With inter-imperialist rivalry increasingly coming to the fore following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the U.S. fears that the European powers may conduct independent military operations, bypassing NATO. Today, there are more than 25,000 U.S.-commanded troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia. Two thousand more soldiers occupy Macedonia, including 350 Americans who help police the border with Kosovo.

Washington also worries that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to Macedonia, where ethnic Albanians constitute over 25 percent of the population. The breakup of Macedonia could well trigger a war involving Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

autonomy that accompanies poverty is a major contributor to the spread of HIV/AIDS" and blames policies "advocated by the World Bank/IMF" (*Umsebenzi*, November/December 1998). The SACP has some nerve! It's these social-democratic ex-Stalinists who help administer the starvation, poverty and death of capitalist rule in South Africa.

The SACP/COSATU bureaucrats' anti-labour, anti-woman, anti-health-care programme was underscored when they branded one of the earliest labour struggles against the regime, the 1995 nurses strike, "counterrevolutionary." The strike of these women workers, who are on the front lines of the fight for decent health care, was smashed by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. In the aftermath, 6,000 nurses were dismissed by the Eastern Cape provincial government headed by then SACP national chairman Raymond Mhlaba.

The black South African working class continues to defy and challenge the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange, their ANC junior partners and SACP henchmen. Last year, three million working days were lost by strikes in transport, auto, chemical, garment and other industries—the highest level of strike activity since Mandela became president. What is needed is a revolutionary party which can channel the raw militancy of the working class, and its growing disillusionment with the ANC/SACP regime, into a struggle against the neo-apartheid

capitalist system. This requires combating reactionary prejudices such as hostility to immigrants and AIDS victims which pervade large sections of the proletariat. As Lenin insisted, a revolutionary party must be a *tribune of the people*, fighting for the democratic rights and interests of all the oppressed.

AIDS and the South African Left

Standing to the left of the ANC/SACP regime are a number of groups identified with or claiming to be in the Trotskyist tradition which act as left tails of the nationalist popular front. The International Socialist Movement (ISM), a split from the tendency led by Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, recently wrote in an article titled "Socialists and the AIDS Epidemic": "Obvious steps to counter this problem would be to launch an international campaign featuring presidents, general secretaries, archbishops and even the Pope talking openly about sex and sexual practices; it would involve the mass, free distribution of condoms as well as ensuring that drug addicts would have access to clean needles" (*Revolutionary Socialist*, New Year 1999). One might rightly wonder what world the ISM inhabits thinking that the religious and political leaders of capitalist reaction are about to hand out condoms and give drug users clean needles. But these reformists have long tailed such forces, from cheering counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Poland to supporting the woman-hating, anti-Soviet *mujahedin* in Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the centrist Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL) has



Sina/Syoma

Mozambicans awaiting deportation in South African jail. ANC regime's policies fuel violent attacks on immigrants who are blamed for AIDS and other social ills.

issued a 1999 election manifesto which barely mentions health care and completely omits any mention of AIDS and women! While the WIVL likes to sound "left" compared to the reformists and nationalists, they similarly capitulate to the pervasive social backwardness in this society and reject the fight to break the working class from bourgeois nationalism, including by tailing the reactionary communalist vigilantes of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (see the Spartacist South Africa pamphlet *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacists* No. 1).

The killing of Dlamini and the recent anti-immigrant lynchings are symptomatic of an escalation of ethnic/tribalist hostilities. Only the forging of a revolutionary proletarian party that fights for a black-centred workers government to expropriate the Randlords and all of

the parasitic capitalists can cut through the hatreds born of superexploitation and the divide-and-rule policies of the bourgeois masters. A victorious proletarian revolution in South Africa would lay the basis for smashing imperialist domination throughout sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, it would immediately face the military might of world imperialism, especially the U.S. This underscores the burning urgency of a revolutionary *internationalist* programme and perspective. Spartacist South Africa fights for new October Revolutions as the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society which will marshal the world's resources in eradicating hunger and poverty and advancing the struggle against deadly disease. For a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

on Macedonia. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were mainly fought to determine which Balkan states would get Macedonia and Kosovo as the Ottoman Empire fell apart, were the prelude to the First World War.

The endless cycle of ethnic slaughter in the Balkans underscores the fact that a democratic resolution of the conflicting national claims in that region can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and exacerbating national claims. This was demonstrated by the 1917 Russian Revolution which laid the basis for the numerous nationalities which had been under the boot of the tsarist empire to achieve self-determination. The Bolshevik Revolution opened the road to genuine national equality by expropriating the capitalists and landlords and fighting to extend proletarian power internationally.

Left Face of Imperialist Warmongering

It is striking that the most virulent anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries often comes not from the right wing of the political spectrum but from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left." In the U.S., rad-lib notables like Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens were prominent in calling for bombing Serbian forces in Bosnia, while the liberal *Nation* (30 March 1998) has called for a "U.S. military reaction" against the Serbs in Kosovo. In Europe, fake-Trotskyist groups like Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism in Britain and the West European-centered United Secretariat (USec), tailing the mass social-democratic parties, call for Western governments to act against Serbian "aggression."

The left's support for bloody imperialist terror cloaked in "humanitarian" garb goes back to the 1991 Persian Gulf War against Iraq. At that time, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, called for defeat of the U.S.-led onslaught and defense of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi proletariat to lead the Kurds and other oppressed peoples in the overthrow of the despot Saddam Hussein. But many liberals and leftists, echoing the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait," donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing.

By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types were among the most bellicose advocates of imperialist intervention. The



December 1995 Spartacist demonstration outside UN headquarters in New York City protests imperialist occupation of Bosnia.

most active agency on the left promoting imperialist military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs was the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by the Slaughterites and the USec. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multi-ethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid was in reality a pressure group on the imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime.

The centrist Workers Power (WP) group in Britain, one of the boosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, scandalously refused to defend the Serbs in the face of imperialist attack. In a 5 September 1995 statement, WP declared that "each side's strategic goals are reactionary," repudiating the Leninist position of military defense of small nations and semicolonial peoples against imperialist aggression. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or another "strategic goal" but a system of domination over the vast masses of the world's people by a handful of powerful capitalist classes.

That WP, the USec et al. genuflect before the imperialists' "democratic" pretensions harks back to their support to the Cold War campaign against the Soviet Union. As Trotskyists, the ICL stood for unconditional military defense of the USSR, a degenerated workers state, and the deformed workers states of East Europe against capitalist counterrevolution and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Groups like WP and the USec, on the other hand, bought into the imperialists' drive to restore capitalism in the name of abstract "democracy," supporting Polish

Solidarność, the fake "union" backed by the Pope, the CIA and Western bankers, and hailing the forces on Yeltsin's barricades of counterrevolution. From Yugoslavia to the former Soviet Union, capitalist counterrevolution has meant mass privation, continual nationalist bloodletting and social disintegration. However limited their influence, those "leftists" who championed the forces of capitalist restoration bear their share of responsibility for these horrors.

Imperialist War Moves Abroad, Escalating Repression at Home

The imperialist military intervention in the Balkans and the Near East is carried out by the same racist American ruling class that has ruthlessly driven down the living standards of working people in the U.S., that brutally oppresses blacks, Hispanics and immigrants, that has condemned millions to homelessness and starvation through the axing of welfare and other social services. Seeking to contain the explosive contradictions between a handful of filthy rich and those at the bottom, the parties of capital—Democrats and Republicans—join in ratcheting up capitalist repression. This has translated into an explosion of the prison population, mounting racist cop terror in the ghettos and barrios, and the grisly speedup on death row.

Most recently, in an interview with the *New York Times* (22 January), Clinton revealed a Pentagon proposal to appoint a high-level military commander for defense of the continental U.S. against "terrorists" using chemical or biological weapons. Veiled as a means of ensuring transport of medical supplies and such,

this plan would significantly augment the repressive powers of the capitalist state. The plan met with immediate opposition from a range of civil libertarians. In response, one Pentagon official claimed that the measure would avoid such "over-reactions" as the locking up of some 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. Yet concentration camps have been an integral part of the repressive apparatus in the U.S. as elsewhere, especially during war time.

During and immediately after World War I, thousands of German Americans, antiwar socialists and anarchists were rounded up and imprisoned, while foreign-born radicals were deported. Currently empowered to carry out such mass roundups of "undesirables" is the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Originally charged with overseeing disaster relief, FEMA was transformed by Republican president Reagan into an apparatus to put down urban insurrection. A top-secret master plan, Rex 84, called for the detention of up to 100,000 political dissidents and immigrants in several concentration camps in the event of "social unrest."

Liberals have opposed Clinton's proposal on the basis of the Posse Comitatus law, which bars the U.S. military from engaging in domestic police activity. But this law, enacted in 1878 to prevent Union soldiers from enforcing the right of blacks to vote in the post-Civil War South, has repeatedly been ignored by the government. The militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, which resulted in the Marines gunning down a Hispanic youth in Texas two years ago, was made possible by an exception to the Posse Comitatus law allowing troops to be used in the racist "war on drugs." And according to the *New York Times* (28 January), a "little-noticed" bill passed by Congress some years back already "gives the Pentagon power to step in domestically in the event of chemical and germ attacks."

As Marxists in the belly of the imperialist beast, we seek to mobilize the multi-racial proletariat against the rapacious, bloodsoaked capitalist rulers. This requires a political struggle inside the labor movement against the class-collaborationist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which chains workers to the capitalist Democratic Party and embraces the aims of the imperialist rulers. In opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of war and racism, we fight to build a revolutionary workers party as the essential instrument in the struggle for socialist revolution to sweep away this system of exploitation and imperialist oppression. ■

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Boston...

(continued from page 12)

a state-paid living stipend for all! Our program is *revolutionary integrationism*—the struggle to smash the color line once and for all through the assimilation of black people into an egalitarian socialist society.

Boston: Hardcore Segregation in the "Deep North"

In Boston, where racist mobs attacked black schoolchildren during the fight to implement school busing in the 1970s, the white bourgeois rulers today feel confident that they can drop even the pretense of school integration and take back the few crumbs thrown to the city's besieged minority schoolchildren. In November, the federal First Circuit Court of Appeals declared the affirmative action admissions policy of prestigious Boston Latin High School unconstitutional.

Boston Latin is one of three "examination" schools—virtually the only decent public schools in Boston—which had reserved a certain number of seats for minority students. Long seen as a gateway to success, Boston Latin has been the target of choice in a series of attacks against school integration in the last few years. In the 1995 McLaughlin case, a white yuppie lawyer successfully sued the city to get his daughter into the school, contravening the quota system. Pending a Supreme Court appeal of the First Circuit Court ruling, the Boston School Committee has announced that "all students invited to the city's three exam schools for next September will be admitted strictly on merit, without considering race" (*Boston Globe*, 3 December 1998). Two months after the ruling, Mayor Thomas M. Menino pledged to construct five "neighborhood schools"—long the code word for school segregation.

Whatever its pretensions to academic



WV Photo



Forman/Boston Herald American

Boston: Spartacist contingent at 1974 demonstration calls for labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. Racist anti-busing mob attacks blacks in the streets, 1976.

busing riots. Joining him is Councilor at Large Albert L. "Dapper" O'Neil, who lauds the Council of Conservative Citizens—a Southern group that is the direct heir to the Klan-infested White Citizens Councils which fought against school desegregation in the 1950s—as "a good group" (*Boston Globe*, 15 January).

To this day, racist politicians and newspaper pundits heap scorn on the busing program and the judge who ordered it, Arthur Garrity Jr. Menino's call for neighborhood schools coincided

who would never send their kids to overwhelmingly minority schools would like to get "their schools" back. Hence, the calls for a return to "neighborhood schools."

The Battle Over Busing in Boston

The defeat of busing in Boston, a quintessential Democratic Party stronghold, foreshadowed its defeat nationwide. During the first year of the plan, the only neighborhoods affected were poor, black Roxbury and poor, heavily Irish Catholic South Boston. When a federal court implemented a limited busing plan to desegregate Boston's schools in 1974, it was immediately met with a white boycott of South Boston High School which rapidly escalated into city-wide racist mobilizations and lynch mob terror. Frenzied mobs roamed the streets intimidating and assaulting blacks, shooting at black housing projects and firebombing the NAACP headquarters.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League immediately mobilized in defense of busing, despite the severe limitations and bureaucratic implementation of the desegregation plan. The busing program was consciously designed to provoke racial polarization by busing black children from deteriorating inner-city black schools to decrepit inner-city white schools—the "Brahmin bourgeoisie" made sure that no black kids would be bused to swanky suburban schools. Nevertheless, busing was a step against the rigid segregation of the schools. We raised the call, "Implement the Busing

Plan! Extend Busing into the Suburbs! Integrated Quality Education for All!" and agitated for the key integrated unions—including teachers, bus drivers and meatpackers—to organize labor/black defense of black schoolchildren. We declared:

"A victory for the racists would represent an enormous defeat for the oppressed black masses in this country. The busing of schoolchildren, which represents a step toward ensuring black people's democratic right of equal access to public educational facilities, must be implemented this fall and, moreover, extended throughout Boston and into the suburbs. "The development of an organized labor/black defense force to intimidate and demoralize the racist vigilantes, to ensure the implementation of busing, to protect black people and especially the schoolchildren threatened with racist attacks, to channel the just rage of black youth away from random retaliation into an effective, organized counteroffensive, this remains the urgent need of the hour!"

—*Young Spartacus* No. 35, September 1975

Of the many leftist groups in Boston at the time, the SL/SYL was unique in our perspective of labor-centered defense of busing. Some "leftists" opposed busing outright, most outrageously the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), forebears of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Catering to backward white workers, the RU paper *Revolution* (October 1974) capitulated to the racist mobs, declaring: "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan"! The International Socialists (I.S.), predecessors of today's International Socialist Organization, also capitulated to white racist backlash on the busing question while claiming to support the right of black children to attend any school they wanted. The I.S. railed against "two-way" busing because white kids might be sent to ghetto schools, while its paper *Workers Power* (10 November 1972) denounced "the 'pro'-busing and 'anti'-busing forces, both of whom use racism to further their own ends."

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) initially opposed busing out of its appetite to tail black nationalists who sought "community control" of the schools, i.e., segregated ghetto schools presided over by black administrators. However, when pro-busing protests swelled, the SWP reversed itself. Joining with liberals like the NAACP, the SWP preached reliance on the forces of the capitalist state to stop the racist mobs, calling for "federal troops to Boston" and denouncing our call for labor/black defense as "unrealistic."

In their appeal to the armed forces of racist American capitalism, the SWP consciously rejected the basic Marxist understanding that the capitalist state is the defender of the bourgeois order. The police, army and state bureaucracy cannot be pressured to serve the interests of the exploited and oppressed. The capitalist state machinery must be smashed through a socialist revolution placing the multiracial working class in power. The reformist SWP promoted the illusion that the racist capitalist government, which in 1973 pulled its troops out of its dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers



WV Photo

1,500 turned out for integrated united-front protest initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee against Klansman David Duke in Boston, 1991. SYCs call for youth to ally with labor in fight against racist terror.

liberalism, Boston has always been a hub of hardcore urban segregation and nasty Deep North racism. For the past 25 years, the political leadership of the city has been a veritable rogues' gallery of those who built their careers on the racist mobilizations against busing. Late City Council president Louise Day Hicks, who threw herself in front of buses carrying black schoolchildren, rode her demagoguery into a Congressional seat. Raymond Flynn, cofounder of ROAR ("Restore Our Alienated Rights"), the reactionary umbrella group that organized the racist anti-busing mobs, went on to become the city's "liberal" mayor and then Clinton's ambassador to the Vatican.

Carrying on the fight for segregation is James M. Kelly, who has just been re-elected Boston City Council president for the sixth time. Kelly began his career as leader of the South Boston Information Center, the front for the fascistic South Boston Marshals—paramilitary gangs that showered rocks on buses of black schoolchildren during the anti-

with Garrity's donation of his papers documenting the implementation of busing to a local university. This touched off a flurry of anti-Garrity and anti-busing tirades in the press, with right-wing *Globe* columnist Jeff Jacoby denouncing Garrity as "the Most Hated Bostonian" and "a megalomaniac, intoxicated with his own power and blinded by self-importance" (*Boston Globe*, 4 January).

Vehemently opposing the desegregation program, even in its recent vestigial forms, many white parents have sent their children to either private or parochial schools. This has given the Boston public education system a rather peculiar character considering the racial demographics of the city. While Boston is almost 53 percent white according to the 1990 census, the school system is now 49 percent black, 26 percent Hispanic, and 9 percent Asian (*Boston Globe*, 1 December 1998). Ironically, South Boston High School, a center of the anti-busing racists during the 1970s, is now largely black. But parochial schools cost money, and racists

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Mumia...

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force notorious for victimizing black motorists, which was brought home in the hail of bullets fired into a van carrying black and Hispanic college students last April. New Jersey governor Christine Whitman, who has placed a bounty on the head of exiled former Black Panther Assata Shakur, is calling for people to demand refunds for their tickets.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is urgently posed! The sinister and orchestrated campaign against him and his supporters has one clear purpose: to prepare public opinion for his legal lynching. The machinery of lies went into high gear after the Pennsylvania Supreme Court announced its rejection of Jamal's appeal last October 30. In December, ABC-TV's *20/20* portrayed Jamal as a depraved cop killer, retailing evidence manufactured by the prosecution and secured through police intimidation and terror. The many who have spoken out in his defense were depicted as simply a small band of "duped" Hollywood liberals and isolated radical crazies. With this lie once again punctured by the many thousands who have bought tickets for the sold-out Meadowlands concert, the media, cops and other forces of the capitalist state are in a frenzy.

In the eyes of the ruling class of this country, Jamal is a black revolutionary. Above all, the capitalist rulers are deathly afraid of the combination of black and red, the spectre of social revolution. As we wrote in our call for a November 21 Chicago labor/black mobilization in Mumia's defense:

"This is a fight for more than the life and freedom of one courageous man. They want to kill Mumia because of what he represents: defiance of this racist system which saps the lifeblood from the many millions to ensure fabulous profits for a wealthy few. **All of labor must mobilize now to demand: Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!**"

Jamal was in the gun sights of the police and FBI since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, which was targeted for destruction by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation. As an award-winning journalist and supporter of the MOVE

organization, his searing indictments of cop terror further enraged the police. After years of surveillance, the police were unable to charge Jamal with even the most minor offense. But on the night of 9 December 1981, the cops saw the perfect opportunity for a frame-up when they found Jamal slumped on the curb bleeding profusely from a bullet wound to his stomach, with Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner lying shot nearby.

Five different witnesses from five different vantage points told the police that they had seen another man flee the scene of the shooting. These witnesses were bribed, coerced or terrorized by the police into changing their true eyewitness accounts. The cops claimed that the bullets which killed Faulkner came from Jamal's gun. But there is no evidence that his gun was even fired that night! As for the much-touted "confession" Jamal supposedly uttered as he lay near death in the hospital, this fabricated story didn't surface until **two months after** the event, following a meeting called by the District Attorney's office to orchestrate the cops' testimony. None of this came out in the sham 1982 trial presided over by "hanging judge" Albert Sabo who, during his tenure, sent more people to death row than any sitting judge in the U.S.

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a case study in the nature of the racist American "justice" system. This was brought home to high-school students in the heavily black city of Oakland, California in early January when a scheduled teach-in on Jamal's case was canceled amid an outpouring of racist vitriol against "cop killers." The purpose of education under capitalism is to inculcate bourgeois values and discipline. The clamor against the proposed teach-in expressed the fear that exposing the black and Hispanic ghettoized poor in Oakland's public schools to the facts of Jamal's case would explode the myth of American "democracy." Similarly, the rulers seek to stop youth from attending a concert promoting Jamal's defense. The same cops who threaten the Meadowlands concert and its mainly youthful audience roam school corridors and gun down minority youth with impunity.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization which cham-



Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Cops screaming for Mumia's execution in 1995 besiege Philadelphia hospital workers union hall, site of planned fund-raiser for Jamal.

pions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Marxist organization. We understand that the cops, courts and prison system which have persecuted and seek to kill Mumia are at the core of an apparatus of repression which protects the rule and profits of a tiny minority. The death penalty is at the pinnacle of this system of capitalist repression—the lynch rope made legal.

The social power to fight for Jamal's freedom lies in the hands of the multi-racial working class. For this social power to be unleashed, labor must be independent of the capitalist political parties—the Democrats and Republicans—and state agencies of the enemy class. That means ridding the unions of the cops and opposing all state intervention into the labor movement. As is only further underlined by the escalating cop mobilization against Jamal and his supporters, unions infested with these deadly enemies of labor and blacks cannot effectively defend themselves much less the victims of the state's frame-up machine.

The capitalist rulers are mobilizing their forces for Jamal's death. We must mobilize ours to free him. Based on the only significant integration in racist America—the workplace and the factory floor—the trade unions have the poten-

tial to become battalions in the struggle against racism and exploitation and to shake the foundations of this decaying capitalist system. A mobilization of the union movement, drawing in youth, minorities and all the oppressed in the fight to free Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty, would be a giant step in this direction.

26 January 1999

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Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Contact the PDC. In New York: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252; E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. In Chicago: PDC, P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867; phone (312) 454-4931. In the Bay Area: PDC, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107-0462; phone (510) 839-0852.

Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370. ■

and peasants, could be made to deploy its armed forces on the side of Boston's besieged black population.

What reliance on the forces of capitalist law and order meant in Boston was displayed at Carson Beach near South Boston in August 1975, when a march of 2,000 blacks was attacked by twice as many racists hurling rocks and bottles. Eight hundred cops kept the black demonstrators confined to a narrow strip of the beach, enforcing this with brutal clubbing and motorcycle and horse charges. The racist mobs cheered, "Let the cops do the job!"

In the wake of the racist mobilizations, the busing plan became more symbolic than real. The defeat of busing in Boston led to the reversal of school desegregation plans across the country. As we wrote in an article in *WV* No. 175 (30 September 1977): "The simple truth is that it was the liberals, not the racist mobs, who actually killed busing. And those in the left and workers movement who capitulated to liberalism share the blame."

Education and Racist American Capitalism

Public education is a historic gain of the working class won through hard struggle. It is a sign of the utter decay of capitalism that conditions are being rolled back to the 19th century, when Marx and Engels called for public education as a vital democratic demand aimed at breaking the old aristocratic private school system and the hold of the church. Currently in vogue are "charter schools," which are being touted by both capitalist parties, Democrats and Repub-

licans. These schools, now spreading with the approval of local governments throughout the U.S., are meant to circumvent the constitutional separation of church and state, dismember public education and lessen the power of the teachers unions. This development has found resonance among a section of the black population for whom quality education, 45 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against Jim Crow segregation, remains a cruel hoax. Their despair was reflected in the decision several years ago by the national NAACP—whose lawyers argued the historic *Brown* case—to debate dropping its opposition to segregation.

In fact, "public education" itself is largely a misnomer. Schools are mostly funded by property taxes. And since housing is deeply segregated by both race and class, there are actually two "publics": those of affluent white neighborhoods, whose schools get more resources, and poor working-class and minority neighborhoods. Although money might not be the answer to every problem posed by public education, in the ghetto schools it would surely go a long way toward updating facilities, purchasing modern textbooks and equipment and the other prerequisites to a meaningful education. But the bourgeoisie is not about to spend more money on educating working-class, black and Hispanic youth when there are no jobs for them. Instead, they slash education budgets while launching union-busting attacks, such as imposing "competency" tests on teachers. Meanwhile, the Democrats and Republicans join in massively strengthening the arsenal of

racist capitalist repression, pouring billions into new prison construction, putting thousands more cops on the streets, criminalizing an entire generation of black and Hispanic youth through the racist "war on drugs."

There are enormous resources in this society to provide a quality education for all. But under capitalism, the ruling class spends only what it can realize back in profit. Today the ghettoized population is increasingly seen as "expendable" by the

racist capitalist rulers. But at the same time, black workers continue to occupy a strategic place in the integrated labor movement. It is here that the power resides to carry out a socialist revolution to overthrow racist capitalist rule and create a society which will free the resources necessary to meet the needs of all. To unlock this power requires the forging of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

CHICAGO

Revolutionary Marxism Today
Next classes: February 10, *The Marxist Theory of the State*; February 17, *Proletarian Revolution*
Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

Cobb Hall, Rm. 104, Univ. of Chicago
5811 S. Ellis
Information and readings: (312) 454-4930
or spartacus@uchicago.edu

NEW YORK

**Revolutionary Marxism:
The Fight for a Socialist Future**
Next classes: February 9, *Marxism: A Guide to Action*; February 23, *Anti-Labor Attacks, Cop Terror and the Capitalist State*
Alternate Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

Loeb Student Center, Room 511 or 517,
New York University
Information and readings: (212) 267-1025
or spartacus.club@nyu.edu

TORONTO

**Capitalism, Communism
and the Fight for Revolution**

Next classes: February 9, *Labor vs. Capital in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay*; February 23, *Racism and Capitalist Oppression*

Alternate Tuesdays, 7 p.m.
International Student Centre,
33 St. George St. (North of College St.)
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138
or spartacan@on.aibn.com

VANCOUVER

**Capitalism, Communism
and the Fight for Revolution**

Next classes: February 10, *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!*; February 24, *Labor Must Defend Immigrant Rights!*

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.
UBC, Buchanan Building, Room B330
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

WORKERS VANGUARD

New Jersey Meadowlands Concert

Thousands Defy Cop Campaign Against Jamal Benefit

**Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

In the face of police threats, denunciations by state officials and a rabid media campaign, a capacity crowd of some 18,000 packed the Meadowlands arena for a January 28 concert benefiting the cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia police officer. Area newspapers had run daily bloodcurdling diatribes while rock DJs called to boycott the event and ban the artists' records from their stations. Undaunted by the storm against the concert, the young, largely white fans cheered as the concert initiators, the popular leftist band Rage Against the Machine, led the chant "Free Mumia!"

Guitarist Tom Morello noted that their concerts "have been protested by the Ku Klux Klan, and Rage concerts have been protested by neo-Nazi groups. And now, a Rage Against The Machine concert is being protested by the Attorney General of New Jersey." A statement by Mumia saluted those who "continue to stand up for the right to read what they want to read, say what they want to say, and support what they want to support."

After a push to stop the event fizzled because the state had lost previous suits over attempts to ban concerts, New Jersey governor Christine Whitman launched the drive for a boycott. A state trooper policing the event railed, "Everybody who buys a ticket should have blood on their hands" (*New York Post*, 29 January). The media featured interviews with relatives of the dead policeman in an attempt to whip up public sentiment behind the cops. But while some hundreds reportedly demanded refunds, the tickets were immediately resold. We publish below a January 26 Partisan Defense Committee statement, headlined "Ominous State Vendetta Against Jamal Targets Meadowlands Concert," which was distributed on site.

* * *

In a sinister escalation of the drive to execute an innocent man, a lynch mob of cops, district attorneys and capitalist politicians is trying to shut down a January 28 benefit concert for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at New Jersey's Meadowlands complex.



WV Photo

Youth rally outside Meadowlands arena as capacity crowd turns out for January 28 Mumia benefit concert.

Racist "shock jock" Howard Stern kicked off a rabid campaign to silence publicity for the concert which features Rage Against the Machine, the Beastie Boys and Bad Religion. The *New York Post* (19 January) weighed in with a chilling article headlined "Concert Benefits a Cop-Killing Vermin." Volunteering to "squeeze the needle" to end Jamal's life, the *Post* columnist quoted Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) president Richard Costello, who openly threatened: "I hope if there is a 911 call to that

concert, all the cops going to the scene would observe the traffic light laws."

Setting the stage for a police provocation against those who go to the concert, the head of the New Jersey State Police bristled at assigning state troopers to the concert, declaring: "We're putting our troopers in with a hostile crowd, and my people are going to be there trying to maintain law and order" (*Daily News*, 23 January). This is no small threat coming from the top cop of a police

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25 Years After Defeat of Busing

Boston Schools: Separate and Unequal

In this deeply racist society, premised on the forcible segregation of the black population at the bottom, the fight for decent education has long been at

Young Spartacus

the center of the struggle against black oppression. Under the Southern slaveholders, teaching blacks to read or write was a crime often punishable by death. During the period of Radical Recon-

struction following the Civil War, former slaves strove to build schools to teach their children to read as part of the fight to gain full access to American society. And a key component of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early '60s was opposition to "separate but equal" Jim Crow school systems, which condemned black students to miserably substandard education.

Today, as the minimal gains made in the struggle against segregation continue to be eroded, what passes for

public education is more segregated than at any time since the civil rights movement began. Black students in large cities attend schools overwhelmingly made up of minority youth. With overcrowded classrooms, outdated textbooks, antiquated lab facilities and often even lacking paper, these "schools" are little more than holding pens for youth who are offered no future outside of unemployment, prison or early death in this decaying capitalist society.

In the colleges and universities, affir-

mative action is increasingly under attack by racists who want to deprive black people of even this minimal gain, which at best offers access for a small percentage of minorities and women while leaving intact the class, race and sex bias of education under capitalism. The struggle for black rights and social equality is now dubbed "reverse racism." The 1960s goal of racial integration in education, at least on the college level, has now been replaced with "diversity" and "meritocracy"—code words for admission of token minorities only. Last week, in an openly racist appeal, advertisements by the right-wing "Center for Individual Rights" in several university newspapers railed against using affirmative action "to promote racial diversity." The meaning of these attacks can be summarized as: "No blacks need apply."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for free, quality and integrated education for everybody, through the highest level. We defend affirmative action and demand: Open admissions and no tuition, with

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Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!