

## Black Workers: Mobilize and Fight for Power!

# South Africa: Rage Over Apartheid Massacre

JUNE 22—The grassy plain at the edge of the black township of Boipatong was turned into a killing field. In the Sesotho language, "boipatong" means "place to hide." But on Saturday, June 20, there was nowhere to hide from the police and army sharpshooters. When President F.W. De Klerk arrived, hundreds of angry blacks prevented him from getting out of his armored BMW. Holding the head of the apartheid state responsible for the bloody massacre three days earlier of more than 50 black residents, the angry crowd chased him away, chanting "De Klerk go to hell!" Ninety minutes later a police hippo (armored personnel carrier) roared up, disgorging heavily armed cops who suddenly began firing without warning. A dozen blacks fell in the first salvo, more were shot down as the bloodbath continued.

The slaughter at Boipatong was a deliberate provocation designed to discredit the African National Congress (ANC), which had called a nationwide campaign of strikes and demonstrations to speed up negotiations for "power sharing." But instead of producing headlines about "black-on-black violence," the Inkatha *impis* (squads) brought in by the authorities may have set off the South African powder keg. Nelson Mandela's ANC leadership may appear to De Klerk to have an unlimited willingness to



Apartheid terror in "post-apartheid" South Africa: Police gun down black youth who drove President De Klerk out of Boipatong township, June 20. AP

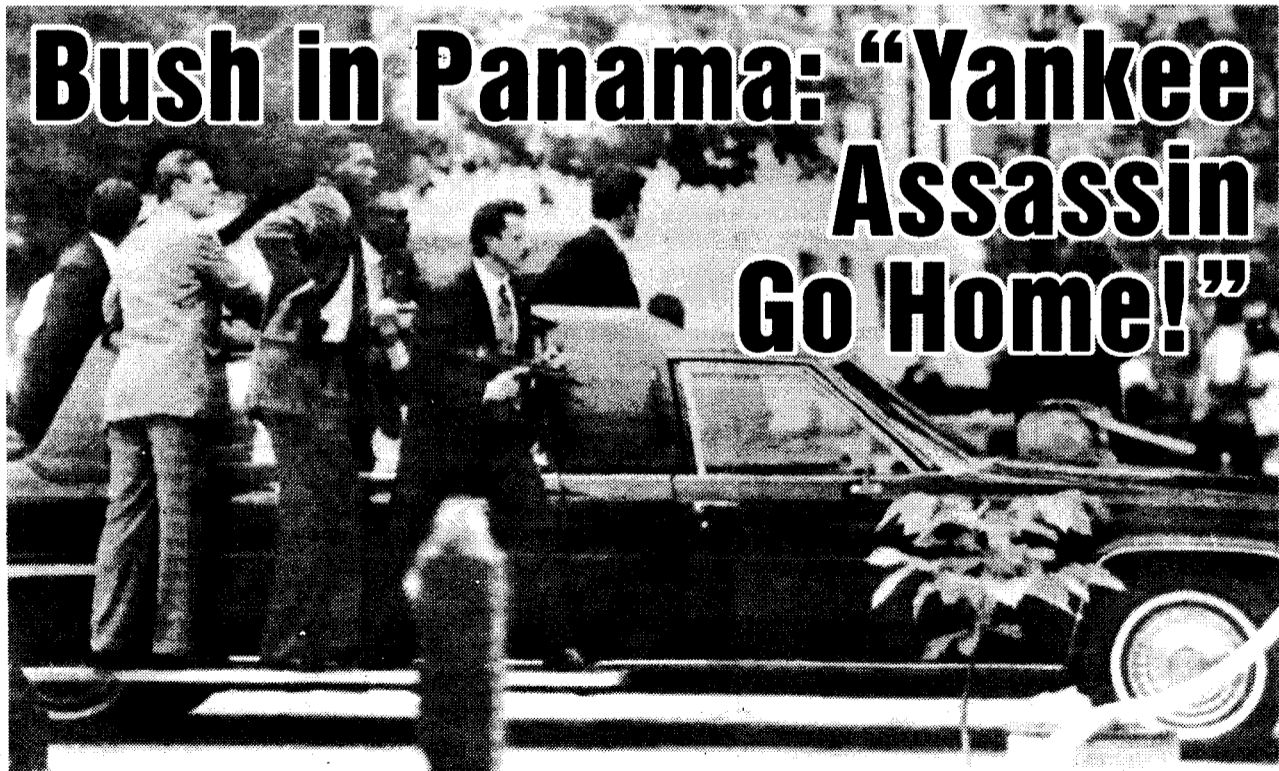
submit to insult, degradation and provocation. However, the impoverished masses in the squalid townships have a much shorter fuse. Already in April, the apartheid *baas* (boss) was run out of

the coloured (mixed-race) township of Mitchell's Plain near Cape Town. Now the whole country, this land drenched in the blood of black people, could blow.

So much for the "neo-apartheid" of

the "New South Africa"—which looks more and more like the old. Already De Klerk has threatened to reinstate the state of emergency, and the third round of

*continued on page 10*



Panicky Secret Service agents whisk away Bush and entourage in Panama City. AP

George Bush figured he could bolster his sagging ratings in the presidential polls by showing the flag in Panama and talking tough at the Earth Summit in Brazil. Voters would be reminded of how U.S. forces supposedly "brought democracy" to the isthmus and seized strongman General Manuel Noriega, the sleazy

former Washington flunky recently convicted by a Miami court on drug charges.

But instead of receiving accolades to a conquering hero, Bush was met with protests by hundreds of Panamanians bitter over the December 1989 U.S. invasion which laid waste to poor neighborhoods of Panama

City and slaughtered several thousand people. As the tear gas wafted back toward the platform where he was scheduled to speak and riot police began shooting wildly, the American entourage hastily retreated.

The picture of Secret Service men on the running boards of the presidential limousine with their Uzis and Berettas drawn looked like nothing so much as 1930s-style Al Capone gangsters careening through Chicago. And as *tanquetas* patrolled the beaches in Rio, Bush's vaunted "New World Order" was looking pretty tattered.

The Panamanian masses certainly have nothing to rejoice over. While business in the banks is booming (mostly due to drug money laundering), official unemployment is over 15 percent and unofficially far higher. In the black Caribbean city of Colón, where government statistics show 52 percent unemployed, there have been numerous marches by the jobless that are brutally repressed by the U.S.-"advised" police.

While 15,000 were made homeless in the slum of El Chorrillo, barely 600 homes have been rebuilt. The crime rate in Panama City is astronomical as drug trafficking skyrockets. Candidates backing the highly unpopular U.S. puppet president Endara have been defeated in by-elections by supporters of Noriega. And several soldiers of the U.S. occupation force have been shot by nationalist guerrillas.

Yankee imperialism is the enemy not only of the impoverished masses of Latin America, which it treats as its "backyard," but also of the working people and minorities of the U.S. The American imperial chief is no more welcome in Los Angeles than he is south of the border. It will take the joint efforts of the workers and oppressed of the Americas to bring down their common exploiters through socialist revolution. ■

## Dredge the Oakland Harbor!

We print below a statement presented by the Spartacist League at the June 18 meeting of the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission. The Commission voted to approve the first phase of the proposed dredging of the Oakland harbor, but with the silt to be dumped in the Bay instead of at a deep-ocean site.

The Spartacist League, acting in accordance with the interests of the San Francisco Bay Area's multiracial working class, supports the dredging of the Port of Oakland and all other harbor channels that carry commercial shipping. Without the deepening of the harbor channels to 42 feet, the port cannot adequately handle the newer generations of deep-draft container ships. As a labor socialist organization, we have an interest in maintaining Oakland as a viable working port city, not to take away from San Pedro in the Los Angeles area or Seattle, Washington and Vancouver, B.C., to the north but merely to maintain the economic life of Northern California and its polyglot working people. An estimated 188,000 jobs depend directly and indirectly on the port and the goods that pass through it. Failure to dredge threatens to turn heavily black Oakland from the fourth largest container port on the West Coast into a dead city.

While defending its immediate economic existence the working people of the Bay Area also have an interest in defending the future existence of one of the world's great natural harbors as a precious legacy that will one day be theirs. Therefore, we demand the dredging spoils be dumped at a deep-ocean site off the continental shelf.

Dredging is a fact of life in the Bay which gets 8-10 million cubic yards of sediment a year from rivers entering the Bay. While San Francisco has allowed much of its waterfront acreage to be used for real estate development, its remaining working piers are threatened by the silting of the once deep-water channel. The port of Redwood City is similarly threatened. Oakland and the other East Bay ports require yearly dredging to maintain even their current levels of functioning.

The phase one plan by the Army Corps of Engineers calls for dumping 540,000 cubic yards of dredged material off Alcatraz Island in the Bay, while 21,000 cubic yards deemed toxic will be dumped on dry land. The entire project, including dredging the Outer Harbor and a turning circle, will comprise 7 million cubic yards of dredged material.

The longstanding practice of dumping dredged materials back into the Bay

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WV Photo  
Oakland Port's Howard Terminal—greedy maritime bosses dump dredged silt back in the Bay, threatening harbor's future.

## On Proposition 13

Last week the Supreme Court upheld California's controversial Proposition 13, adopted in 1978, which limited taxes on real property—industrial, commercial and residential—to 1 percent of its then assessed value. Prop 13 was the first major offensive in the so-called "tax revolt," a white, middle-class backlash against government programs viewed as especially benefiting the black and Latino poor—welfare, public health, public housing, funds for ghetto and barrio schools. "It's these social services that annoy the heck out of me—social services for the colored, the Mexicans and so forth," a Southern California grandmother complained. "Who wants to pay it all in taxes that go for things like that" (*Newsweek*, 19 June 1978).

At the time, while recognizing the rightist and racist nature of the movement behind Prop 13, we advocated that class-conscious workers abstain rather than vote no, arguing: "the issue involved is at bottom a dispute within the capitalist class on how to finance their government, in which the working class does not take sides" ("Right Wing Whips Up Tax Revolt Fever," WV No. 210, 30 June 1978). In response to a letter by a sympathizer criticizing our abstentionist position, we wrote:

"The basic fallacy of comrade Rubinstein's letter is that he equates a reduction in property taxes with a major cutback in government-provided social services. That is, to be sure, how right-wingers like Howard Jarvis [sponsor of Proposition 13] present the issue. However, as revolutionaries we do not accept that a reduction in one form of tax revenue must result in a corresponding (or any) cutback of social services...."

—WV No. 212, 28 July 1978

While this statement is abstractly correct, it failed to take into account the concrete political situation surrounding Prop 13 and its predictable effects. Prop 13 was generally viewed as a referendum on social programs. Jarvis and its other architects deliberately intended to manufacture a fiscal crisis for the state government, counties and municipalities in order to gut welfare and other programs for the poor, slash school budgets and the like. A few years later Reagan, by cutting taxes for the rich while launching a massive military buildup, pulled off the same operation at the federal level.

It was hypothetically possible that the reduced revenue from property taxes due to Prop 13 could have been offset by more federal aid to California and its cities, higher taxes on the rich, or additional borrowing. But given the increasingly rightist political climate and balance of forces within the ruling circles in California and Washington, that was a very unlikely outcome. The actual effects of Prop 13 were pretty much as Jarvis & Co. intended.

For example, public education in California has not only deteriorated but is even more class- and race-biased than before. Wealthy suburban communities can afford schools that look and function like country clubs, while ghetto and barrio schools resemble Third World military barracks. Dedicated teachers in these poor schools have to pay for supplies out of their own pockets to provide the children with even minimal education.

Moreover, since Prop 13 was approved the tax burden on working people in California has increased, especially since real wages have fallen sharply over the past generation. To offset the loss of property-tax revenue, the California statewide sales tax has been twice increased in the past five years. This is a regressive tax, since working people spend almost all of their income, thereby paying sales taxes on it, while the wealthy invest much of their income in stocks, bonds and real property.

The burden of property taxes has been shifted from older families, many of whom are better off and have some savings, to young couples trying to raise small children. New homeowners pay taxes on the basis of the highly inflated real-estate prices of the 1980s, while those who owned their homes before Prop 13 are assessed at the 1975-76 value, which is a small fraction of today's market price. Thus, a new homeowner in a middle-income community is now paying the same property tax as a longtime resident of a mansion on the ritzy Malibu beachfront. At the same time, landlords are passing on their higher property taxes to rent-paying tenants, whose housing costs have increased sharply.

In brief, the effects of Prop 13 have been to cut the living standards of California's working people from both directions—their social programs have deteriorated while they are paying more in taxes. As communists we do not put forward a positive program for how the bourgeoisie should finance the operations of its state (e.g., "tax the rich"), but we do oppose those measures which attack the living standards of the poor and working people. In retrospect, we should have urged a "no" vote on Proposition 13 in 1978, not abstention.

The old Stalinist parties claimed infallibility. Even when they opportunistically changed their line 180 degrees overnight, they still said they had been 100 percent correct before. An authentically communist party is not infallible nor does it claim to be. It can misjudge a situation and fail to foresee the full consequences of an event or government policy. On those occasions it has a responsibility to the working class to forthrightly acknowledge its error. ■



TROTSKY

### The Church and Social Reaction

In recent decades, the Catholic church has acted as a powerful agency of Cold War anti-Communism, especially in fomenting capitalist counterrevolution in Poland and elsewhere in East Europe. From Warsaw to Dublin to New York, the church hierarchy is in the forefront of the crusade against abortion rights, aimed at keeping women in chains. Marxists stand for the complete separation of church and state, be it Protestant fundamentalist bigots in the U.S., the Vatican in Italy, the Zionist

theocracy in Israel or the mullahs in Iran. During the Russian Revolution of 1905, Rosa Luxemburg exposed and denounced the reactionary role of both the Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches in attacking the workers movement and promoting social reaction.

The clergy has at its disposal two means to fight social democracy. Where the working-class movement is beginning to win recognition, as is the case in our country (Poland), where the possessing classes still hope to crush it, the clergy fights the socialists by threatening sermons, slandering them and condemning the "covetousness" of the workers. But in the countries where political liberties are established and the workers' party is powerful, as for example in Germany, France, and Holland, there the clergy seeks other means. It hides its real purpose and does not face the workers any more as an open enemy, but as a false friend. Thus you will see the priests organizing the workers and founding "Christian" trade unions. In this way they try to catch the fish in their net, to attract the workers into the trap of these false trade unions, where they teach humility, unlike the organizations of the social democracy which have in view struggle and defense against maltreatment....

The social democracy in no way fights against religious beliefs. On the contrary, it demands complete freedom of conscience for every individual and the widest possible toleration for every faith and every opinion. But, from the moment when the priests use the pulpit as a means of political struggle against the working class, the workers must fight against the enemies of their rights and their liberation. For he who defends the exploiters and who helps to prolong this present regime of misery is the mortal enemy of the proletariat, whether he be in a cassock or in the uniform of the police.

—Rosa Luxemburg, "Socialism and the Churches" (1905)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

## Strike Conrail, Amtrak! No to Congressional Strikebreaking!

As *WV* goes to press, six unions representing 20,000 rail workers are poised to strike Amtrak passenger service and the Conrail freight system. The Brotherhood of Maintenance Way Employees (BMWE) at Amtrak and Conrail, along with 8,000 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and four other Amtrak craft unions, have been working without a contract (or a wage increase) since 1988, as jobs and safety conditions have been slashed to the bone.

Amtrak commuter lines handling tens of thousands of passengers daily in urban corridors from NYC to Washington and Chicago could be shut down. The press is already squealing, as more than 100,000 commuters on the Long Island Rail Road and New Jersey Transit will be stranded in Jamaica and Hoboken since both railroads use Amtrak right-of-way into Manhattan.

Conrail, which handles one-sixth of U.S. freight hauling, would be crippled in the Northeast. Auto assembly would be hit especially hard. Conrail serves 20 automobile plants, and assembly lines are especially vulnerable with their just-in-time delivery systems.

The strategic power of the railroad workers, however, is being thwarted by the rail union honchos, who shudder at the prospect of leading a strike that will immediately confront the capitalist state. The bosses' appetites were whetted by the capitulation of the union tops 14 months ago as they retreated from a solid, nationwide strike embracing 230,000 track workers.

Since last year's strike, the majority of workers represented by a conglomeration of separate transportation unions have been stuck with job-slashing contracts cooked up by an "emergency board" hand-picked by Bush. While the railroads have been raking in billions in profits, the government-engineered contracts have netted a 16 percent cut in real wages for track workers, while jobs disappear as crew size has been cut to just two men. A track man with one year's seniority and a family of five has a salary *below* the poverty line.

Before the 1991 walkout, the heads of the rail unions proved their loyalty to their capitalist rulers by agreeing to a 90-day "cooling off" period explicitly so that Bush could carry out the massacre of Iraq undisturbed. They delayed striking in February 1991, when it would have severely hurt moving military equipment into the Persian Gulf. And then when their Democratic Party "friends" in Congress invoked the Railway Labor Act, the union tops folded the strike after less than 18 hours.

Today the union "leaders" are looking to these same capitalist politicians to come to their rescue. Rail workers need a single industrial union with a class-struggle leadership that doesn't think their enormous strategic power to pull the plug on the U.S. economy is a liability.

A class-struggle union leadership must be independent of the Democrats and Republicans and all capitalist parties. The anti-strike bill, passed last year by the Democratic-controlled Congress, was devised by Teddy Kennedy. Rail workers can fight Bush and the Congress. When rail workers struck in 1946, and tough-talking Democrat Truman "outlawed" the strike, threatening to send in the army, the unions told the president to drop dead. Forty-eight hours later they had their pay increase. If picket lines go up at Amtrak and Conrail, all rail unions must honor the strike. Shut down Amtrak and Conrail—Strike to win!



Local 11 members rally outside Beverly Wilshire Hotel, June 19.

## L.A. Workers Fight Hotel Bosses, La Migra

LOS ANGELES—Since their contract expired on April 15, members of Local 11 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union (HERE) have held repeated demonstrations targeting the eight luxury hotels in Los Angeles and Beverly Hills which make up the Employers' Council. On June 10, more than 300 unionists participated in a spirited and well-disciplined march and picket at the downtown Hotel Bonaventure and Sheraton Grand, under the menacing presence of dozens of LAPD cops and hotel security goons.

On June 19, a noisy crowd of hotel workers converged on the Beverly Wilshire Hotel in the heart of Beverly Hills. The room rates at this place *start* at \$255 a night, yet many of the workers receive little more than minimum wage. As one worker told *WV*, "How can I pay more for my health plan when I make \$4.35 an hour?"

Local 11 is over two-thirds Hispanic, including many with experience of militant labor struggle in Central America and Mexico. They unanimously voted down the employers' last offer, which included a wage freeze, imposed co-payments for medical coverage, and allowed the hotels to rip up union contracts after a change in ownership. In January this year, the Hyatt Wilshire was sold, renamed the Koreana, and the new management fired 175 Local 11 workers and rehired non-union labor at drastically reduced wages and benefits.

While the number of unionized workers nationally has dwindled to all-time lows, the unionization of immigrant workers in service industry jobs in L.A. has shot up. Tourism remains the second largest industry in this city, which is still reeling from the flood of anger and desperation which rocked L.A. after the Rodney King verdict. Immigrant workers have been particular targets of state repression during the upheaval and the subsequent Gestapo-like door-to-door raids of the LAPD in search of "loot" and "looters."

The racist collusion between the despised *migra* immigration cops and the LAPD has resulted in the arrest and deportation of nearly 900 workers as of June 4, according to El Rescate, a local immigrant rights group. Another 177 who refused to sign "voluntary

departure" forms remain in custody at the INS detention center on Terminal Island. The only "crime" of many of these workers was going to work! For four days there was a dusk-to-dawn curfew, with no bus service.

Some of those arrested are members of SEIU Local 399, which has organized 7,000 building maintenance workers throughout L.A. in the past few years. Making \$5 to \$6 per hour, they rely on what passes for public transportation in L.A. to get across town to their jobs, many of which end in the early morning hours. As a result many were arrested as they walked the several miles home from work at 3:00 a.m. One SEIU organizer was fired from his maintenance job after being picked up by the LAPD.

In a courageous move, on May 8 more than 400 janitors of Local 399 marched through the heavily Salvadoran Pico-Union area protesting the racist verdict in the Rodney King beating case. This defiant march during martial law was in stark contrast to the deafening silence of the union tops, especially in the powerful longshore and aerospace unions, who responded with hand-wringing paper motions of woe.

The labor misleadership in this country, which spews protectionist poison, is no friend of immigrant workers. In 1986 the AFL-CIO and unions which include many thousands of foreign-born workers enthusiastically supported the racist, anti-labor Immigration Reform and Control Act, which imposed employer sanctions for hiring so-called "illegals." Not surprisingly, this law has been used to weed out union organizers and militants, or even those who "look foreign." In the Bay Area, immigration agents have been rounding up day laborers for the "crime" of looking for work!

Now many of the union tops have come out for repeal of this racist, anti-labor law (the SEIU convention voted in April to reverse its position). But these pro-Democratic Party labor fakers haven't lifted a finger to defend the victims of *la migra's* sweeps. The unions must use their power to demand full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Free all the victims of the INS/LAPD sweeps!

Hotel workers have shown they want to fight, but the HERE leadership continues to look to the hotel bosses, appealing for them to "be part of the solution" in rebuilding L.A. But the "Rebuild L.A." program being promoted by big business and the capitalist politicians looks to establish "enterprise zones" in South-Central with tax breaks for the bosses in exchange for a paltry number of low-wage, non-union jobs. L.A.'s burgeoning population of Central American refugees will recognize these "enterprise zones" as the "free trade zones" of American imperialism in San Salvador or Guatemala City.

The campaigns of Local 11 and Local 399 are changing the face of organized labor here. While not wielding the social weight of the ILWU, these workers have shown a willingness to fight which could galvanize large sections of L.A.'s multiracial working class. There will be many flash points of potential social struggle. Longshoremen are fighting the union-busting schemes of Southern Pacific. Over the next three years, over 400,000 union jobs in Southern California aerospace are slated to be wiped out. Of the 120,000 jobs in the garment industry here, only a few thousand are union.

And the rage which exploded in the ghettos and barrios following the Rodney King verdict will not disappear. It lit up for the world the grinding racist oppression blacks and Hispanics face every day. What is urgently needed is to weld the power of black, Hispanic, Asian and white workers into the revolutionary party that can sweep away this racist, capitalist system. ■

## Cops Rampage After Bulls' Victory

CHICAGO—Police rounded up more than 1,000 people in the hours after the Chicago Bulls won the NBA championship on Sunday, June 14, as celebration gave way to smoldering rage over the horrible conditions of ghetto life. The mass arrests pushed the inmate population to a record high at overcrowded Cook County Jail, where thousands are forced to sleep on the floor. Soon Mayor Richard Daley was calling for long prison sentences and denouncing judges for letting misdemeanor defendants out on their own recognizance. Then he won City Council approval for a law-and-order ordinance that would enable police to arrest "suspected gang members" (i.e., minority youth) for loitering

### 1,000 Arrested in Chicago

in groups of two or more!

In Segregation City, justice is as scarce as a job. But anger is rife. On June 14, much of the black anger was directed against the police: nearly a hundred cops were injured (two with gunshot wounds) and dozens of squad cars were damaged. But mostly it fed into scattered, indiscriminate looting and arson, especially in the poorest black neighborhoods along Madison Street on the West Side and State Street on the South Side. "The Bulls winning didn't

have anything to do with this. The economy is what caused this," said a black pawnbroker whose shop was trashed. "I'm very angry and very disappointed but I understand what's happening. People are desperate, people are hungry, people are scared."

"The Police Department in Chicago is light-years ahead of Los Angeles in how to handle racially tinged issues," bragged Democratic Senatorial candidate Carol Moseley Braun when Chicago's ghettos remained quiet after the

acquittal of the racist L.A. cops who beat Rodney King. Tell that to Cassandra Seay, the black transit authority bus driver who was viciously beaten by four white cops in her own living room in 1987. Transit union members mobilized to defeat the criminal charges against her and her mother Callie Bryant, but this spring a civil lawsuit filed against the police by the family was shot down in the capitalist courts.

Chicago's integrated labor movement has the power and class interest to lead the oppressed minorities in struggle against racist capitalism and its armed henchmen. What's crucial is revolutionary leadership. Drop the charges against the "Bulls 1,000"! ■

# Young Spartacus

## AIDS and Education

### "Family Values" Are Killing Youth



Downing/Newsweek  
Dan ("What a waste it is to lose one's mind, or not to have a mind") Quayle tells youth to abstain from sex or die.

The New York City Board of Education wants teenagers who have sex to pay for it with their lives. That's the significance of the Board's recent directive that all AIDS education in the city's schools must devote "substantially more time and attention to abstinence than to other forms of [AIDS] prevention." Organizations and educators from outside the schools have to sign a "morality oath" pledging to do the same before they can make presentations to students.

What's next? Undercover sex cops in classrooms keeping count of how many times teacher says "condom" vs. "abstinence"? As a 16-year-old student at Flushing High School in Queens told *Newsday* (29 May), "Teaching abstinence is not realistic when so many kids are having sex." One-fifth of people with AIDS are in their 20s, and most were infected with the HIV virus as teenagers. The Board's warped "morality" means that more kids will contract HIV and more will die of AIDS.

According to the sick official "morality" of bourgeois society, youth are presumed to be asexual. Since this is not the case, youth are expected to repress and feel guilty about the sexual feelings they do have. If that doesn't work, the prospect of an unwanted pregnancy should help instill fear of sex. For right-wing zealots, the threat of AIDS is yet another welcome addition to their anti-sex armory. Or if you're a teenager and your lover is older than you are, maybe he or she will be thrown in jail under the reactionary "age of consent" laws—that'll teach you some "morals." In any case, since you aren't supposed to be having sex, you presumably don't need

contraception, condoms or information about safer sexual practices. But today the majority of high school students are in fact sexually active. And especially in the age of AIDS, as the gay activist group ACT UP says, "silence equals death."

The situation of gay and lesbian youth is especially difficult. These youth are subjected to a double dose of guilt and frustration, and are made to fear ostracism and violence as the likely consequences of even acknowledging their feelings. Behind the anti-gay crusades to "Save Our Children" lies the grim reality of suicide among gay teens. A report commissioned by the federal government in 1989 found that gay teens are three times as likely to commit suicide as their non-gay peers. But the Department of Health and Human Services refused to release the report officially because it was deemed an affront to "family values."

Likewise, district school boards in Queens and Staten Island recently deleted sections of the citywide "multiculturalism" curriculum designed to pro-

mote "tolerance" of non-heterosexual relationships, since in their eyes such relationships are anathema. In the elementary schools, book-banning bigots have outlawed all mention of homosexuality to children—many of whom come from homes with single moms, two moms, two dads and other consensual human relations that Dan Quayle and the Waltons can't even imagine. Children's books with titles like *Heather Has Two Mommies* and *Gloria Goes to Gay Pride* were pulled from the classrooms and libraries. Just imagine trying to teach a kid about AIDS without mentioning the word "homosexual" and you get a picture of the backwardness and bigotry that passes for "sex education" in these schools.

Meanwhile, out in Clifton, New Jersey eighth-graders at the Sacred Heart Catholic elementary school recently got an unexpected blast of anti-gay bigotry when they proposed to play the rock group Queen's "We Are the Champions" at their commencement exercises. The school deals in a general way with the theme of overcoming obsta-

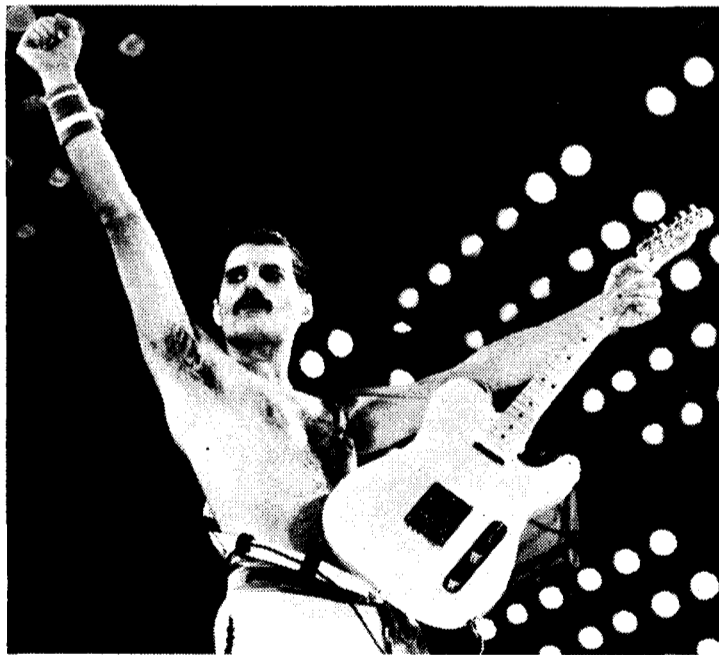


Newsday  
Cardinal O'Connor—more papal bull from New York City's leading anti-sex crusader.

cles, but Freddie Mercury, the group's lead singer, was bisexual and died of AIDS. So the school authorities deemed him an inappropriate role model, banned the song, and canceled the class's entire commencement ceremony! But the kids' spirit remains undaunted.

"On the one hand they teach you not to be prejudiced. On the other hand they ban a song because the singer was bisexual," said an eighth-grader who led protests against the ban. "I don't want my diploma from a bunch of hypocrites anyway" (*Record*, 9 June). Maybe the Sacred Heart officials would rather the students emulate the Bishop of Galway, Eamonn Murphy of Ireland. This well-heeled hierarch paid out \$125,000 in "hush money" in 1990, only to be hoist by his own petard when two years later the American woman he had an affair with and their 17-year-old son were outraged over the bishop's hypocritical stand against abortion and went public.

The social tensions generated by crisis-ridden capitalism are all too readily manipulated by right-wing demagogues who promise a return to moral certainties of yesteryear by targeting sex and sexual "deviants" ("deviant behavior" being defined as anything the missionary position zealots do not want to 'fess up to themselves). In pursuit of this anti-sex witchhunt they would sacrifice even their own children. We socialists are fighting for a rational society where viral diseases like AIDS can be treated as concerns of public health, free of sexual moralism, and youth need not suffer the abuse of sexual hypocrisy and lies. ■



Rama/LGI  
Bisexual rock singer Freddie Mercury died of AIDS. Bigoted Clifton, NJ school officials canceled commencement rather than play his music.

## Oakland...

(continued from page 2)

off Alcatraz Island reflects the kind of greed and bureaucratic mismanagement by which the capitalists have destroyed much of America's basic industry. This practice in the name of saving money is foolish and shortsighted. The Corps itself estimates that 70 percent of the spoils dumped off Alcatraz remain in the Bay and only 30 percent will disperse out to the open ocean. An estimated 7 percent of all the spoils will end up back in the Oakland harbor! A suitable deep-ocean site at which to dump this material can and must be found. (The Department of the Navy, which is also planning to dredge its own ship channels to the Ala-

meda Naval Air Station and the Naval Supply Center at Oakland, is projecting to dump the spoils at such a site, approximately 55 miles west of San Francisco at a depth of 2900 meters off the continental shelf, a site well beyond the prime commercial fishing grounds.)

The benefits of dredging the Port of Oakland will not automatically accrue to the Bay Area working class—longshoremen, railwaymen, Teamsters, warehousemen and many, many others. Containerization and the treacherous Mechanization and Modernization agreements between the Bridges leadership of the longshore union and the Pacific Maritime Association in the 1960s led to massive job loss for longshoremen. The constant attacks by the maritime bosses on the longshore hiring

hall and the recent union-busting by Southern Pacific at its inter-modal facility in the Port of L.A. will not be stopped by union leaders sitting on phony joint commissions with the bosses.

In contrast to historically open-shop Los Angeles, the 1934 San Francisco General Strike and the 1946 Oakland General Strike made the Bay Area a racially integrated union stronghold and the center of political culture in California. Only militant class struggle can defend the historic gains and living standards of working people. Such struggle is the only way to overcome the divisions in the working class caused by the subjugation of whole peoples for the profits of the few, as was done to the Chinese in this state in the last century, to black people throughout this country's

history and to immigrants of Hispanic and Asian origin today.

The management of the Port of Oakland has squandered millions on real estate speculation like its sister organization the Port Authority of New York. In New York the Port Authority built the World Trade Center while the port decayed and the actual conduct of world trade moved elsewhere. This must not be allowed to happen here. The only way the vast wealth and resources of this planet can be used to benefit the majority of its people is for the working class to take over and reorganize society on the basis of socialized property and a planned economy as expressed by Karl Marx. But also like Marx we do not sneer at reforms that genuinely benefit the whole of the working people. ■

# Italian Capitalists Demand "Strong State"

Key sectors of the Italian ruling class were counting on the April 5 parliamentary elections to give them a mandate to put in order the perennially chaotic affairs of state, go after the notoriously corrupt *partitocrazia* (autocracy of the parties), bring the Mafia to heel, slash the huge government deficit by massive privatization of state-owned industry, and "discipline" the working class with a brutal austerity program. The watchword of the bourgeoisie was for a "second republic" and a "strong state." The election results were indeed dramatic: the governing four-party coalition fell way below 50 percent. The media called it an "earthquake." But the immediate result was chaos.

As the government lost its working majority, Italy's president Cossiga abruptly resigned, followed by Prime Minister Andreotti and the head of the ruling Christian Democracy (DC), Forlani. The country's politicians bickered for a month and cast 15 ballots before voting in Christian Democrat Oscar Luigi Scalfaro as chief of state. What finally galvanized them into action was the spectacular assassination of anti-Mafia judge Giovanni Falcone, whose bullet-proof car was blown away in Palermo, Sicily. The bombing, with suggestions of complicity high in the secret service, recalled the "strategy of tension" of the 1970s when far-right forces carried out repeated bombings.

This isn't just the business-as-usual parliamentary crisis of a country that has had 50 governments in 45 years. The editor of the newsweekly *L'Espresso* warned, "If the parties don't change their ways, they will wake up tomorrow with a man in uniform knocking on parliament's door with his tank." After the bombing of Falcone, the liberal daily *La Repubblica* (24 May) foresaw a "government of emergency" that would "put a stop to the indecent ballet of a national legislature which already looks like it's dressed in a clown suit." Two days later, after Scalfaro was elected, *La Repubblica* proclaimed, "And Now a Government to Save Italy." But it took another three weeks just to name Socialist (PSI) deputy leader Amato as prime minister designate. Fed up with the game of musical chairs, the head of the industrial capitalists' association, Confindustria, demanded impatiently: "We must have a government immediately. This week."

These parliamentary elections marked a watershed in the history of postwar Italian politics. With the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union and the accompanying breakup of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), the bourgeoisie no longer needs the Christian Democracy as a "bulwark against Communism." This unwieldy, faction-ridden patronage machine is an enormous drain on the productive capacity of the country. And now Italy is facing the rigors of entry into the European monetary union. The other European bourgeoisies, and the Germans in particular, have made it clear that they won't pick up the tab for the huge Italian budget deficit, \$108 billion in 1991 (almost 11 percent of the gross national product), and heading for \$130 billion this year.

Slashing the deficit to only 3.5 percent of GNP, as the Eurocrats in Brussels are demanding, will require severe austerity measures such as doing away with the

**Bomb murder of anti-Mafia judge last month recalled far-right "strategy of tension" of 1970s.**



remnants of the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages, a cost-of-living escalator) and gutting the enormous state sector. The London *Financial Times* (27 May) warned: "This can only be done by a strong government." And the head of Fiat, Giovanni Agnelli, declared to a meeting of the European Monetary Union in Frankfurt that "a strong government that takes unpopular measures" is needed, particularly to cut pensions and health care (*La Repubblica*, 29 May). "Mr. Fiat" knows whereof he speaks. Agnelli's grandfather was an intimate associate (and beneficiary) of fascist dictator Mussolini, and he himself fought for *Il Duce* as an officer on the Russian front. In a recent interview with *Le Monde* (17 June), Agnelli remarked frankly:

"At the beginning we had this huge Communist Party, which in the late '70s came very close to power. Our priority was to defeat it, and we sometimes made absurd concessions. In a way we bought consensus in order to bar the way to the PCI, and in the end it fell for other, international reasons."

The bourgeois press has focused on the new president's devout Catholicism (he claims to have conversed with the Virgin Mary). They portray Scalfaro as "Mr. Clean," although he has been a perennial government minister since early in the Cold War, including two

stints as interior minister, the dirtiest post in the government. Scalfaro announced that his program would be "electoral reform" (axing proportional representation to get rid of many of the smaller of the 16 parties seated in parliament, which can only benefit the fascists) and "institutional reform," a code word for increased presidential powers and bonapartist tendencies. With Scalfaro's "soft cop" version of the "strong state," the bourgeoisie can draw the PDS (Party of the Democratic Left, the bulk of the former PCI) into the "presidential majority" as these reformists help bring in the repressive instruments which will inevitably be used against the workers movement.

## "Strong State" and Anti-Working-Class Attacks

During the last year of his tenure in the Quirinale Palace, President Cossiga was incessantly railing against parliament and the *partitocrazia*. In his resignation statement he called for a "strong government" and a "strong president." When three politicians (from the PDS, PS and DC) were assassinated during the electoral campaign, Cossiga reacted with a sinister call for "exceptional laws" to circumvent the 1946 constitution. At one point in late March the interior minister

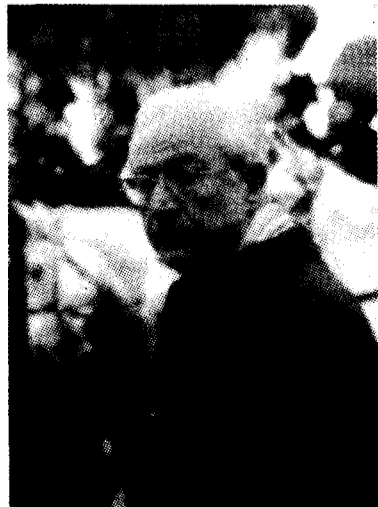
sent a circular to every prefect in the country warning of a supposed plan to "destabilize the country" and calling for increased security measures. And with the assassination of Judge Falcone, many pointed a finger at alleged complicity at top levels of the security apparatus: he had arrived on a secret flight aboard a secret service jet, and the planting and detonation of a thousand kilos of TNT under the roadway had clearly been carefully prepared in advance.

During the election campaign, moves by right-wing elements in the regime to strengthen the state intersected fascist mobilizations in the streets. In January, the "neo"-fascists of the MSI demonstrated in the industrial metropolis of Milano, sporting badges featuring a pickaxe (Cossiga's personal symbol) and chanting "Cossiga! Cossiga!" In the April vote, Alessandra Mussolini, granddaughter of *Il Duce*, was elected to parliament. The power-hungry PSI leader Bettino Craxi (ironically nicknamed "Benito") was toying with bringing the MSI into the *quadripartito* coalition. But while Craxi was passed over for president and then prime minister, whether or not the MSI is brought into the government, the fascists already play a role as shock troops for capitalist reaction in the streets.

The fascists have been mobilizing their troops by carrying out savage attacks against the immigrant population. Yet instead of mobilizing the working class to sweep the fascist vermin from the streets, in late January the reformist leaders of the PDS and Rifondazione Comunista (RC—the splitaway section of the old PCI) sponsored, along with a number of Catholic organizations, a parade in Milano expressing empty "solidarity" with immigrants. Undeterred by such pious expressions of "good faith," hundreds of fascist skinheads demonstrated in Rome behind a banner reading "No to a Multiracial Society," while chanting "*Juden raus!*" and "Immigrants out of Italy!" Meanwhile, the fascist Lombard League, which combines xenophobic attacks on immigrants with calls for the secession of Northern Italy, won over 25 percent of the vote in many Northern cities and became the largest party in Milano.

If today these assassins in the service of capital are thrown against the weaker sections of the proletariat, tomorrow they will be used against the organized workers movement. And indeed the assault on union gains and the unions themselves is well under way in Italy. The capitalists' drive to eliminate the

*continued on page 9*



Carofei/Sintesi



La Repubblica

As then-president Cossiga (left) campaigned for "strong state," fascists demonstrated in his support.

The April parliamentary elections in Italy raised an explosive question when the role of then-president Francesco Cossiga in "Operation Gladio" became a campaign issue. Gladio was the code name for a secret anti-Communist army which was set up by the CIA in Italy at the height of the Cold War and then replicated in the other West European NATO countries (as well as supposedly "neutral" countries like Switzerland). Ostensibly a "stay behind" force to go underground in the Pentagon's fantasy of a Soviet invasion of West Europe, Gladio became a nest of fascists and coup plotters which linked the top levels of the state to ultrarightist terrorist bombers and provocateurs.

In the middle of the recent election campaign, a parliamentary commission declared Gladio an illegal "armed band," leaving its organizers subject to possible criminal charges. This was a frontal challenge to Cossiga, who had declared that if the leaders of Gladio were criminals, then so was he. And so he was.

Gladio emerged into the light of day in the fall of 1990 when a Venice judge, investigating a right-wing bomb attack almost 20 years earlier, discovered that the explosives had come from a secret NATO arms depot, one of over a hundred such arsenals scattered around the country as part of the CIA-financed clandestine army. Subsequently, links have been revealed between Gladio, Italian military leaders, military intelligence and the P2 Masonic lodge, which was closely linked to the CIA and the Vatican (for instance, in the Banco Ambrosiano affair). All have been tied into fascist terrorist activities, in particular the horrifying bombing of the Bologna train station in 1980 in which 85 people were massacred. This capped the so-called "years of lead," when shadowy rightist forces followed a "strategy of tension" to destabilize the country. The Republican Party senator heading the inquiry into the massacres, Libero Gualtieri, declared:

"Not everything that occurred in the murky years of our recent history can be ascribed to Gladio, but Gladio was a component in that strategy which by planting within the system elements of tension, justified the chance for 'stabilising' interventions."

—London *Guardian*, 30 January

The revelations over Gladio have given the bourgeois press a field day in spinning "grand conspiracy" theories, linking "occult" forces to the corridors of power. But terrorism by Italian fascists and their allies in the state is not a conspiracy by some "uncontrolled" or "rogue" elements. When Cossiga declared last January that every head of government had known of Gladio and its activities, there was barely a hint of dissent among Italy's rulers. President Cossiga and Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti were certainly up to their necks in it. Andreotti was defense minister continuously for eleven years up to the mid-'60s, followed by his former subordinate Cossiga. During this time, members of Gladio were involved in more than one "golpe bianco" (white coup), in which a section of the existing state apparatus moves to clamp down on parliamentary democracy, in order to keep the left out of governmental power.

During the first "center-left" cabinet (of Christian Democrats and Socialists) in 1964, the "Piano Solo" coup was set in motion by General De Lorenzo (former head of SIFAR military intelligence, then head of the Carabinieri paramilitary national police), who went on to become a parliamentary deputy for the fascist MSI. In 1970, following the student and worker unrest of Italy's 1969 "hot autumn," the fascist Prince Valerio Borghese in cooperation with General Miceli (head of the SID, the new name for military intelligence) launched the "Rosa dei Venti" coup involving fascist *squadri* from Ordine Nuovo, Avanguardia Nazionale and Fronte Nazionale. Both attempts were called off in mysterious circumstances. Among those arrested in

# THE CIA in COLD WAR ITALY



1948: The Turning Point

L'Europeo

## How the Stalinists Rescued the Italian Bourgeoisie

connection with the Borghese coup was Gladio member Colonel Amos Spiazzi, who was also involved in the Bologna train station bombing.

In Italy, where there have been no less than 50 governments since 1945, there is some reality in talk of a "parallel government" centered on the permanent bureaucracy with the military apparatus in the background. While the Christian Democrats have perennially been in office, the numerous cabinets reflect the "weakness" of the Italian parliamentary system. And this, in turn, reflects the electoral strength of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), for decades the largest CP in West Europe (with up to a third of the vote), which Washington was determined to keep out of power at all costs. When Christian Democratic prime minister Aldo Moro was kidnapped by the Red Brigades in 1978, Cossiga, then interior minister, refused to negotiate Moro's release and let him be shot. There was widespread speculation that the cold acquiescence of the Christian Democratic leadership in Moro's death was due to his holding out the possibility of a "historic compromise" with the PCI.

Thus the polemics touched off by the Gladio affair have gone beyond the usual sordid skulduggery of bourgeois elec-

toral politics, raising the question of how the capitalist order was reconstructed in Cold War Italy. In the giant class battles that exploded at the close of World War II, as in the upsurges which have shaken Italy since, the proletariat was not decisively crushed in battle (see "Resistance and Betrayal: Italy 1943-45," WV No. 525, 26 April 1991). The bourgeoisie has been able to hold on to power only because the Stalinist leadership of the working class has repeatedly headed off socialist revolution. What resulted was an unresolved class confrontation, in which "order" is enforced by a state bureaucracy inherited virtually intact from the fascist regime. With the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the crisis in the Soviet Union, this unstable equilibrium has come unstuck.

With the decline of the PCI—and then its split into the social-democratic PDS (Party of the Democratic Left) and the neo-Stalinist Rifondazione Comunista—voices were heard, among them that of Cossiga, calling for curbing the "partocracy" of parliament and instituting a "strong state." Simultaneously, the Christian Democrats could begin to fracture, having lost their *raison d'être* as the anti-Communist bulwark. So during

the election campaign you had the spectacle of the head of state, President Cossiga, making common cause with the fascists against his own party. In January, thousands of supporters of the MSI marched in Milano, declaring themselves "With Cossiga, Against the Parties." When greetings from Cossiga calling for a "moral revolution" were read to the crowd, the assembled vermin chanted "Italy! Italy!" and gave the stiff-arm "Roman (fascist) salute."

Cossiga also brought up the parliamentary elections of April 1948, recalling how he and other Christian Democrats had been "armed to the teeth," supposedly to put down a "red coup" (or more accurately, to stop a PCI electoral victory). According to this aging Rambo, who said he was proud to be called "an old coup plotter," his own armament consisted of "hand grenades, machine gun and munition belt" (*La Repubblica*, 14 January). PDS leader Achille Occhetto hastily denied that the Italian Communists had maintained a "red army" after World War II and lamely took Cossiga to task for "opening a deep wound in the civil and moral unity of this country!" Behind this "historical" debate is the betrayal by the Stalinist leaders who, in the name of the popular front with the

bourgeoisie, derailed repeated revolutionary upsurges of the proletariat.

## 1945-47: "Containing" the Postwar Revolutionary Wave

It was around the election of April 1948, when massive CIA intervention defeated the PCI and handed victory to the Christian Democratic regime, that the postwar bourgeois regime in Italy was consolidated. The bourgeoisie had been thoroughly discredited by two decades of fascist rule and shaken by the gigantic working-class upsurge at the close of World War II. The defeat of the PCI-led "Democratic Popular Front" in '48 broke this wave of working-class struggle. The election campaign also marked a key moment in the imperialists' Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. U.S. imperialism intervened massively in the Italian elections to head off a "Communist" victory. Fascist bands were recruited and unleashed on PCI candidates and militants, mammoth sums were poured into support for the Christian Democrats, and American labor bureaucrats were mobilized in what was presented as an apocalyptic struggle between "democracy" and "Communist totalitarianism."

The Italian working class showed a remarkable fighting spirit, from the massive strikes of 1943 in the face of fascist repression to the tremendous revolutionary explosion of June 1945, when the armed workers rose up and drove the Nazis from Northern Italy. Once the workers had strung up Mussolini, only one obstacle stood in the road of a socialist revolution. That was the Stalinist leadership, who handed back to the bourgeoisie the power which the workers valiantly seized in June 1945. As ministers of the capitalist government, the PCI drove the workers to increase productivity, sabotaged strikes and helped reintegrate the cadres of *Il Duce's* fascist order into positions of power. The popular front, a class-collaborationist alliance of the working-class leaders with the class enemy, has spelled defeat for workers revolution from China in 1927 to Spain in the 1930s and Chile in the early 1970s, as well as in Europe at the close of World War II.

Although the revolutionary upsurge of 1945 had been checked, the powerful Italian proletariat was not defeated in struggle. Over the next three years the workers launched gigantic strike waves and bravely stood up to murderous police repression. But through the tripartite government with the Christian Democrats under Alcide De Gasperi and Pietro Nenni's Socialists (PSI), the Stalinists were the linchpin in the re-establishment of the bourgeois state. As minister of justice, PCI leader Palmiro Togliatti issued an amnesty law under which all fascists were exonerated of their crimes except those guilty of "particularly brutal tortures." Naturally the judges, virtually all holdovers from Mussolini's regime, interpreted this to mean that the butchers should go free. The official "purge" of fascists in Italy was less extensive than even that carried out by the victorious Allies in Germany.

In June 1946, the voters rejected the monarchy and elected a Constituent Assembly to work out a constitution which the Stalinists portray as a great "democratic" gain. According to Togliatti, the constitution "establishes some fundamental principles which...point to a path of development in the direction of socialism" (*Le Parti communiste italien* [1961]). Yet under this constitution, fascist laws continued to function, such as the Public Security Law of 1931, while the ban on fascist parties was ignored. Meanwhile, powerful state holding companies such as the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI), which administered fascist state-controlled industry, were maintained, as was the General Confederation of Italian Industry (Confindustria), the employers' association assuring capitalists represen-

**April 1948: CIA-financed right-wing campaign posters presented parliamentary elections as crusade against Communism. Preceding page: 1948 election rally in front of banners for Christian Democrats and competing CP-led Democratic Popular Front.**



Rizzoli, Milan

tation in Mussolini's corporatist state. Also preserved were the giant monopolies built up under Mussolini by reactionary industrialists like Agnelli, Pirelli and others.

The most important bastion of the fascist regime to be integrated into the new "democratic" order was the Catholic church. The Stalinists combined with the Christian Democrats to provide the votes to approve Article 7, which included the 1929 Lateran Pacts, in the Constitution. These accords between Mussolini and the Vatican made Catholicism the state religion and accorded vast privileges to the Vatican. The Stalinists thus renounced the elementary democratic demand of separation of church and state, and bolstered the very forces which would be in the vanguard of anti-Communist reaction. In the first years of the reconstructed bourgeois order, local prefects threw out scores of elected mayors for such "offenses" as refusing to kiss the bishop's ring.

While pretending that postwar Italy was a "democratic republic of the working people," the Stalinist ministers agreed to a wage freeze (in return for illusory price controls) and worked overtime to get strikes called off, such as the general strikes in Torino and Milano in the summer of 1946 when armed workers seized many plants. The Stalinists stayed at their ministerial posts as police shot down workers protesting layoffs in the southern city of Andria in March 1946, where 12 workers fell under the police fusillade, and in Rome in October where two workers were gunned down. In exchange for the PCI's services rendered, in May 1947, Prime Minister De Gasperi, following the dictates of Washington, threw the PCI and PSI out of the government. Togliatti could only make plaintive appeals to return to *tripartismo*:

"We said to them 'let us collaborate'.... But the workers did more. They moderated their movement, they curbed it, they kept it within the necessary bounds so as to not hinder the task of reconstruction."

—Liliana Lanzardo, *Classe operaia e Partito comunista alla Fiat: La strategia della collaborazione: 1945-1949* (1971)

The workers were not as sanguine as their Stalinist leaders about enduring the



Government of class collaboration: PCI leader Togliatti (right) and Socialist Nenni (left) with Christian Democratic prime minister De Gasperi (second from right).

Archivio Centrale dello Stato

skyrocketing unemployment and food shortages caused by the brutal austerity program introduced by De Gasperi under Washington's tutelage. By the fall of 1947, a proletarian upsurge was convulsing Italy as the workers occupied the plants and demanded workers control of hiring, firing and production. More than 2,000,000 workers downed their tools, agricultural laborers seized the latifundia. As De Gasperi mobilized the troops and army tanks, squads of armed workers repeatedly attacked the fascists, stormed prefectures and ransacked the offices of the ruling Christian Democratic party. The social ferment spread to the army, as the lengthening of military service provoked spontaneous protests. The American Trotskyists' *Militant* (23 February 1948) reported: "At Milan almost the entire garrison suddenly left the barracks, surrounded the prefecture and demanded their immediate release."

Once again the laboring masses surged toward power. The ease with which the working class could have taken over if the Stalinists did not stand in their way was shown in November 1947 when the workers of Milano, reacting to the revocation of a leftist prefect put in office by the partisans, occupied the factories, took over the telephone exchange and the local prefecture. A "Citizens Committee" took over the administration and ran Milano for a full day while the workers responded to its call for a general strike. The police showed their sympathy with the workers, and the army refused to move in. Only when the Stalinists heading the committee agreed to relinquish power could De Gasperi's political machine again assume office.

A proletarian seizure of power in Italy could have been the spark igniting a revolutionary conflagration across Europe, as workers were forced to pay for the breakdown of the capitalist economy and the destruction brought about by the war. The strike wave in Italy was mirrored in France where in November 1947 a colossal struggle by dockers, miners, auto and other workers toppled the government. In neighboring Greece, Communist-led partisans, abandoned by Stalin, were waging a heroic civil war against the U.S.-backed right-wing regime. Yet the Italian proletariat was betrayed by its

Stalinist leaders on the altar of "peaceful coexistence" between the Kremlin and imperialism. At Yalta, Stalin had agreed with Churchill and Roosevelt on a division of Europe into "spheres of influence." The CPs in the capitalist countries were expected to head off revolutionary struggle, which they did.

Stalin moved his pawns at the head of the PCI with the aim of increasing his bargaining power with Wall Street, permitting them to speak radically enough to maintain themselves at the head of the popular movement, while seeking to restrain the workers. In the fall of 1947, Togliatti reviewed a parade of 30,000 armed partisans. Thousands of PCI-led workers remained armed or had reacquired arms despite the disarming of the Resistance at the hands of the Stalinist leaders. No doubt many were waiting anxiously for the day when they would settle accounts with their oppressors. But Togliatti's real effort, as he explained in circulars to the local PCI federations, was to rid the party of the supposed "extremism" and "outdated methods" which were "left over from the period of the civil war" (quoted in Giorgio Bocca, *Palmiro Togliatti* [1977]).

There is an enduring myth among Italian leftists that the "left" wing of the PCI, with its criticisms of overreliance on "parliamentary struggle," represented an alternative to Togliatti's reformist line. However, the "left" wing of the PCI leadership was as tightly locked into the Stalinist program of popular fronts and "peaceful coexistence" as Togliatti. After De Gasperi booted the PCI out of the government, and the latter pathetically requested its reintegration, Pietro Secchia, the most prominent spokesman for the "left," declared:

"Basically Togliatti's reaction was the correct one.... A general strike to the bitter end, on the other hand, would have certainly paralyzed the country. But then what political outcome, given the overall Italian and international framework, could we have provided for the country?"

—quoted in Antonio Gambino, *Storia del dopoguerra* (1978)

## "The Company" Buys the 1948 Elections

While U.S. rulers were demobilizing their huge army (slashed from over 12 million in 1945 to 1.5 million two years later), despite the Stalinists' strangling of revolution at the end of the war the White House and Pentagon were still anxious about the possibility of a Communist takeover in West Europe. In the spring of 1948, Washington pulled out all the stops to cajole and intimidate Italian voters to ensure a PCI electoral defeat. It was the first major campaign of the newly formed CIA, and it served as the model for subsequent covert operations, such as the intervention in Allende's Chile in the early 1970s. Testifying before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in December 1975 on the U.S. efforts to overthrow Allende, Clark Clifford, the former legal counsel to President Truman, former head of the President's

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# CIA in Italy...

(continued from page 7)

Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and former Secretary of Defense, said:

"In the spring of 1948 there was an enormously important election in Italy. The Communists were very prominent. It looked as though they were going to win. If Italy had gone Communist, at that time, the Mediterranean could have very well gone Communist, and the impact on France and Belgium and other countries in Europe would have been very profound.

"The United States saw fit to conduct a covert operation in Italy. Had they done so openly, it not only would have been counterproductive, but I think it would have assured a Communist victory."

The Agency subsequently admitted having funneled \$1 million to anti-Communist parties in the 1948 Italian elections, a sum described by William Blum (*The CIA: A Forgotten History* [1986]) as "a king's ransom in Italy 1948." Other sources say: "About \$10 million was apparently taken in the greatest secrecy from the economic stabilization fund and used to pay for local election campaigns, anti-communist propaganda and bribes" (*Historical Journal*, Vol. 24, 1981). Another account reports: "\$10 million in cash was withdrawn from the Economic Stabilization Fund, after which it was laundered through individual bank accounts whose owners in turn 'donated' the funds to a variety of front organizations which either bought Italian lira or transmitted the funds directly to the CIA's secret assets and front organizations in Italy" (William Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire* [1977]).

Not just money was involved. Truman's defense secretary James Forrestal "arranged for the transfer of arms stocks from U.S. storehouses in Germany to reliable Italian supporters, many hardcore Mussolini veterans" (Burton Hersh, *The Old Boys: The American Elite and the Origins of the CIA* [1992]). The CIA's James Jesus Angleton had returned from Italy in 1947, where he had been in close touch with the Vatican. The CIA and the Holy See recruited an anti-Communist "underground" of hundreds of goons used for beating up PCI candidates, breaking up political meetings and intimidating voters. These were the prototype for similar fascist gangs set up by the CIA throughout Europe over the next decade. Meanwhile, the CIA and the Vatican were already working hand in hand running the "rat line" through which Nazi war criminals like Klaus Barbie and Croatian Ustashi butchers were spirited out of Europe.

The Vatican's anti-Communist crusade was the most open and brazen political intervention in the modern history of the Catholic church. Catholic Action, the powerful secular arm of the church, was mobilized into a huge election machine for Christian Democratic candidates. Having built up a grassroots base under Mussolini, organizing students in support of the fascist order and recruiting workers for Mussolini's corporatist "unions," the arch-reactionary Catholic Action became, in postwar Italy, the backbone of the Christian Democratic party.

The State Department combined prom-

ises and outright bribes with the most dire threats against the Italian people if they exercised their democratic rights by voting for PCI candidates. After having starved Italy under military occupation, the U.S. now poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Italy under the Marshall Plan. This "aid" plan was designed to reinforce reaction in Europe, stave off socialist revolution and mobilize support for Washington's war drive against the Soviet Union. The State Department insolently announced that if the PCI won the elections, the shipments of food and economic aid to Italy would be cut off.

American trade-union bureaucrats enlisted in the State Department campaign to defeat the PCI and split the Italian CGIL trade-union federation. In 1947, AFL representative Irving Brown (later a paymaster of Polish Solidarność) used CIA money to split the French General Labor Confederation (CGT) and bolster unions in Greece which supported the blood-drenched dictatorship. The "progressive" bureaucrats of the CIO also signed on for the drive to "defeat Communism" in Italy. As in Italy, the Cold War witchhunt in the U.S. labor movement brought together social democrats and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists in a drive to expel or split CP-led unions. CIO secretary-treasurer James Carey later explained: "In the last

European exiles recounting horror stories of life behind the "Iron Curtain." Hollywood turned out extra copies of the film *Ninotchka*, its famous anti-Soviet satire, which was shown in working-class areas throughout Italy.

Massive intervention by the CIA and the U.S. government resulted in a stunning victory for the Christian Democrats, who won an absolute majority in parliament and garnered 48.5 percent of the total vote (after polling 36 percent two years previously). The Christian Democrats emerged from the elections the major party in Italy, a position they have continued to hold since. The popular-front coalition was humiliated, polling only 31 percent (compared to 40 percent in 1946). Most of the decline was due to the split and electoral collapse of the Socialists, but this provided scant consolation to the PCI leadership. The Stalinists had proved unable to increase their vote despite two years of mass starvation, social crisis and class struggle.

## Attempted Murder of Togliatti: Workers' Anger Explodes

The PCI leadership had been so confident of victory that the PCI daily *l'Unità* joyously announced, on the basis of the first returns, a "powerful affirmation of the Front throughout the country." At the news of the electoral defeat, a



Cop assault on Communist workers protesting a meeting of fascist MSI in Rome during 1948 elections.

war we joined with the Communists to fight the Fascists; in another war we will join the Fascists to defeat the Communists" (quoted in Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais, *Labor's Untold Story* [1955]).

A key instrument of Washington's Cold War assault on the Italian workers movement was the bureaucracy of the ILGWU. Luigi Antonini, head of the ILGWU's Italian-language locals in New York City, formed the Italian-American Labor Council (IALC), which was a key conduit for U.S. government funds to anti-Communists in the Italian workers movement. Antonini and the ILGWU had helped finance, at the end of 1947, the U.S. government-sponsored assault on the PSI, splitting off the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (PSLI), headed by Giuseppe Saragat, in an attempt to give De Gasperi's government a semblance of working-class support. During the '48 election campaign, Antonini's IALC poured vast sums of State Department funds into the campaign chest of the PSLI.

A massive letter-writing campaign was launched by the main Italian-language paper in the U.S., *Il Progresso*, whose publisher Generoso Pope was a Democratic Party bigwig and former fan of Mussolini. Millions of sample letters warning of the dire consequences of a PCI victory were produced by the Catholic church, the American Legion and many businesses; they were dispatched by Italian Americans to their relatives on special U.S. Post Office "freedom flights." Washington lined up stars like Bing Crosby and Dinah Shore to broadcast to Italy along with East

wave of shock and dismay broke over the PCI leadership, as described by a member of the national leadership:

"When, in the course of the night, the first results arrived, there was very great demoralization... No indication had been given in the event of a defeat. So many comrades were disoriented and didn't know whether to stay at home or hide at friends' houses while waiting for the situation to develop."

—quoted in Liliana Lanzardo, *Classe operaia e Partito comunista alla Fiat*

A PCI factory committee leader at Fiat described how masses of workers, upon learning of the electoral returns, spontaneously demonstrated before the offices of their trade union—but their leaders refused to meet with them: "Thousands of workers, in large part from all the Fiat sections, protested the fact that power had not been taken by force rather than promising to take it through elections."

Three months later, the workers' anger and frustration exploded on July 14 in a massive general strike at the news of an assassination attempt on PCI leader Togliatti. PCI and union leaders totally lost control of the mass movement, as workers—within minutes of hearing the announcement on the radio—spontaneously downed tools, occupied the factories and turned out in massive demonstrations in virtually every city of the industrial North. The country was paralyzed as armed workers blocked the roads, sabotaged rail lines and occupied many government buildings. In Tuscany, they stormed a telephone relay station, cutting communications between Rome and the North. Groups of ex-partisans in the army, air force and even the Carabi-

nieri contacted the PCI, asking for the order to mutiny and announcing: "We are ready. The arms are ready" (Giorgio Bocca, *Palmiro Togliatti* [1977]).

At the giant Fiat Mirafiori complex in Torino, workers held the director of the company in his office. In Genova, workers and ex-partisans disarmed soldiers and police, captured a column of five armored cars, set up automatic weapons on key bridges and avenues, and besieged the barracks of the Treasury Guards. The CGIL union leaders desperately tried to get control of the movement by issuing a call for an unlimited general strike to start at midnight July 15—after the workers had already shut down the country since noon on the 14th! While red flags waved above occupied factories across the Northern industrial belt, the words on millions of lips were "Via il governo degli assassini!" (Down with the government of the assassins!). The Stalinists' response was to call a general strike as simply a reformist "protest," calling on the government to resign in favor of a government of "internal peace."

"The general strike," exulted Secchia, "was the most imposing, the most spontaneous, the most powerful in the history of the workers' movement" (Pietro Secchia, *La resistenza accusa: 1945-1973* [1974]). However, the Stalinists embraced the workers' struggle in order to stab it in the back. As organizational secretary, Secchia dispatched PCI cadres across Northern Italy to "take the movement in hand and prevent uncontrolled initiatives or spontaneous tumult from...creating dangerous situations" (Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, *Archivio Pietro Secchia* [1979]). Secchia later pontificated that anyone who thought revolution was possible "shows he doesn't know either the international or the domestic situation at the time." Luigi Longo, another prominent "left" PCI leader, cried frantically: "Another step and we would have fallen into open illegality!"

Walter Tobagi, in his book on the assassination attempt on Togliatti and the popular reaction that followed, *La rivoluzione impossibile* (1978), declared that "A revolution in these conditions was impossible and unthinkable," noting that the South did not rise and citing the attitude of the PCI tops. Yet the Stalinist leaders did everything to prevent revolutionary struggle. This was no isolated Paris Commune. Key centers across the North, the entire industrial heartland, were in the workers' hands, and there were numerous actions in the "red belt" of the center (Tuscany, Emilia-Romana) and in Naples. A revolutionary leadership would have launched a general strike to drive out the "government of the assassins" and called for a workers government, establishing dual power in the large areas under its control and seeking to extend the movement to the rest of Italy.

The international context must be taken into account here as well. The attempted assassination of Togliatti came barely two weeks after Stalin's Cominform excommunicated Tito's Yugoslavia, producing great commotion in the Stalinist parties. From the outset, Stalin had opposed revolution on either side of the Adriatic. Not only did the two countries share a common border, but in the "Free Territory of Trieste" the Italian and Yugoslav CPs had close contact. During 1942-44, the PCI organ *La Nostra Lotta* saw the Yugoslavs (who helped them set up the resistance) as "older brothers who have shown us the way...to victory over the Nazi occupiers and fascist traitors" (quoted in Eric Terzuolo, *Red Adriatic: The Communist Parties of Italy and Yugoslavia* [1985]).

Had an insurrectionary situation or dual power arisen in Italy, a link-up with Yugoslavia could have had explosive consequences. Yet the leaders on both sides were Stalinist nationalists. Rather than pursuing an internationalist revolutionary policy Tito pressed territorial claims for Trieste, while PCI "hard"

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# Italy...

(continued from page 5)

*scala mobile* is the cutting edge of a drive to slash real wages by at least 20 percent and throw the working class back 40 years. Unrelenting attacks by the bosses have cut back the "sliding scale" so that today it covers barely 25 percent of inflation.

The battle over the *scala mobile* isn't a simple trade-union fight, but a political battle. And the biggest obstacle is the reformist leadership of the ex-PCI (now split between PDS and RC). In 1984, when over a million demonstrators in the streets of Rome demanded a general strike in defense of the sliding scale, the PCI general secretary of the CGIL union federation, Luciano Lama, knifed the workers' mobilization. Last December the CGIL union tops, joined by the smaller CISL and UIL federations, signed an agreement suspending the *scala mobile* and agreeing to "renegotiate" the question this month. But the powerful Confindustria flatly declared that it considered the sliding scale of wages system dead.

Italy's European partners and a substantial part of the Italian bourgeoisie from Agnelli on down are also demanding extensive privatization of the enormous state sector, which accounts for 41 percent of all economic activity. State-owned industry was carried over from Mussolini's fascist regime when the bourgeois order was reconstructed following World War II. The government-controlled holding companies IRI (industry) and ENI (energy) were simply left intact. The Stalinists hailed this as a move toward "socialism"; the "left" Christian Democrats viewed their direct control of industry as a means of building up a (previously nonexistent) party apparatus to counter Communist influence in the working class in the near civil war conditions of the late '40s. Later it became a huge patronage cow.

Much of the state-owned sector is "loss-making," particularly the banks, surviving only because of massive state subsidies. In Italy's South, the *Mezzogiorno*, state investment was posed as a development strategy. "Since the 1960s, particularly after the first oil crisis of the '70s, this concentrated power was consciously used for job creation," noted the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (2 August 1991). "Yet in many branches—such as food processing, steel, shipbuilding, chemicals, electronics—they are market leaders." While the bourgeoisie has no intention of paying taxes, it is

Secchia and his people in the Organizational Section were unconditional Kremlin-loyalists who took the lead in going after Tito, and Vittorio Vidali, the Stalinist thug (he was involved in the murder of Trotsky and Spanish POUM leader Andrés Nin) who headed the Trieste CP, waged a vicious anti-Slovene campaign defending the *italianità* of Trieste. Another revolutionary opportunity was lost.

Instead, having called their "general strike" in order to get out in front of the workers, the CGIL tops quickly called it off. After three days of bludgeoning by their leaders, the workers followed a CGIL call to end the strike on July 16 and return to work. In smashing the 1948 general strike, all wings of the Stalinist leadership were united. Secchia describes the extraordinary "united front" of the PCI leadership against the workers' struggle:

"No one proposed insurrectional upheavals or anything like that. Everyone agreed on the line to follow, on the slogans to put forward and on the manifesto to issue to the country."

The U.S. embassy in Rome reported with satisfaction to Washington that the PCI had been quick to "take it in hand" and had "quietly applied the brakes" (see E. Timothy Smith, *The United States*,

quite willing to help reduce the budget deficit by buying up at bargain prices state industries which can turn a profit. This could aid Italian capital in the race to compete in a German-dominated European Monetary Union: of the seven largest companies in Europe, three are Italian (IRI, Fiat and ENI), but two of those are state-owned.

Widespread privatization of state industry would mean brutal attacks on working conditions and massive layoffs—added to the current unemployment, which is officially more than 10 percent. It is vital that the Italian proletariat launch a counteroffensive against the onslaught being prepared by the bourgeoisie. Workers' struggles have taken place this spring throughout the industrial belt of Northern Italy against layoffs and other attacks. However, simple trade-union struggle is insufficient to counter the bosses' political offensive, centered on the threatening moves to institute a strong executive power as it seeks to drive down workers' living standards and cut government services.

## Mobilize the Workers to Smash Bonapartist Threat!

A front-page article in *La Repubblica* (14 June) recalled "the upheavals in France caused by the Algerian War and what quickly followed it," namely "De Gaulle's rise to power, the conflict with...the military right wing, the end of the Fourth Republic and the birth of the Fifth." The writer asks, "What can Scalfaro do to master this Italian Algeria, which has been incubating for 20 years...?" There can be no solid majority in this parliament, he declares, so the "only way possible" to resolve the crisis

*Italy and NATO, 1947-52* [1991]).

The Christian Democrats seized on the general strike as a pretext to split from the CGIL trade-union federation, which the U.S. had been pushing for months. Saggat's PSLI and the Republicans, pressured and bribed by the State Department, followed the Vatican's troops out of the CGIL the following year.

The crass betrayal of the general strike, even more than the electoral defeat of the popular front in April, inspired the Italian bourgeoisie with confidence and encouraged it to launch a counteroffensive. Against the backdrop of the Pope excommunicating all Communists, a wave of repression crashed over the working class. Seven thousand workers were rounded up by the police and brought before the fascist judges for the "crime" of participating in the general strike. By the mid-1950s, the police had murdered 75 protesting workers throughout the country and wounded over 5,000. Yet in parliament, PCI deputies supported the vast majority of Christian Democratic legislation! In the midst of the capitalist offensive, the Stalinist-led CGIL trade-union federation proposed a "labor plan," including a wage freeze and increased productivity.

The abject leadership of the PCI was well on the way to its future derailing

Financial Times



**Fascist goons attack immigrant youth in Italy. Workers must mobilize to sweep fascists from the streets!**

is "a government of the President." What follows is an elaborate scheme for imposing this: while only some parties will support it, the others will have to abstain, for if the government falls, then the head of state must go to the president of the senate "with the decree dissolving Parliament already signed in his pocket."

In France, the Fourth Republic was replaced by de Gaulle's semi-bonapartist Fifth Republic because of the treachery of the reformist leaders of the working class. The social democrats of Guy Mollet's SFIO were in the government running the dirty colonial war against Algerian independence, while the French CP was supporting them from the parliamentary benches—and sabotaging working-class actions against the war. General de Gaulle was voted in by parliament, Mollet joined his cabinet, and the PCF sat on its hands. As soon as it could come to terms with the Algerian FLN, the regime began lashing out at the unions.

The theme of strong presidential rule is heard as well from that authoritative voice of U.S. imperialism, *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1992), which ends an article titled "A Second Italian Republic?" with the ominous statement: "In the wake of the 1992 elections...the first Italian republic is all but dead."

In the face of the blatant and increasingly strident calls for a "strong state," what is the response of the traditional leaderships of the Italian workers movement? Following the assassination of Judge Falcone, both the PDS and Rifondazione Comunista moved to establish class-collaborationist coalitions with the Christian Democrats, the anti-Mafia "reformers" of the Rete (Net-

work), the Republicans and other supposedly "honest" parties of the bourgeoisie. The "struggle against the Mafia" has become the code word for building a popular front which stretches from the RC to the right-wing pro-business Liberals. In the name of "fighting the Mafia," the offshoots from the PCI dedicate themselves to reinforcing the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state.

Thus PDS secretary Achille Occhetto appealed on television on May 28 for "wider powers" to be given to the police, while Rifondazione Comunista leader Sergio Garavini, in his speech to parliament the day after Falcone's murder, called for "more autonomy" for judges and "more resources and maximum respect for the police forces" (*Liberazione*, 30 May). While RC voted against Scalfaro for president (the PDS voted for him), they were prepared to come to an arrangement with the Christian Democrats, calling for "a candidate on the border between the left opposition and the DC." Above all, in its election program the RC declares: "Against the totalitarian advance we counterpose that the Constitution and the values it expresses be fully implemented." But as our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) wrote:

"The 'values' expressed by the constitution are the fruits of a compromise signed against the proletariat when it had the concrete possibility of taking power and was held back only by the class-collaborationist policy of its PCI leaders."

—Spartaco, March 1992

Throughout the postwar period, the leaders of the PCI (or its disintegration products) have kept the lid on the struggles of the intensely combative Italian proletariat in the name of a popular-front coalition with the ruling Christian Democrats, whether in the corridors of Montecitorio (the seat of parliament) or now openly acknowledged. The Stalinist lackeys sabotaged the revolutionary struggles which followed World War II, headed off the class explosion of the "hot autumn" in 1969, and shored up the DC governments in the 1970s in the name of a "historic compromise" with the class enemy. The LTd'I called for no vote to the reformist PDS and RC in the April elections, declaring:

"The working class needs its own government, based on proletarian organs, workers councils, that expropriate the bourgeoisie and defeat capitalist resistance. Powerful class struggle is necessary, a 1969 that goes all the way, that can tear the masses away from the bureaucrats of the bourgeois workers parties and gather the working class around a revolutionary Trotskyist program and leadership." ■

Socialist revolution was on the agenda in postwar Europe, but it was strangled by the Stalinist-reformist misleaders of the working class. The Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is dedicated to building the Leninist-Trotskyist party which is so urgently needed today, as it was then, to lead the proletariat to victory in the world socialist revolution. ■

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# South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

CODESA (Conference for a Democratic South Africa) talks could be sunk before they ever begin. Emboldened by its victory in the March 17 "whites only" referendum, the government took a hard line against its ANC collaborators. More than two years after the release of Nelson Mandela and "legalization" of the underground ANC and SACP (South African Communist Party), blacks still cannot vote, while the economic devastation and misery of millions consigned to black townships and squatter camps has sharply increased. The racist sociopaths at the core of state power, from the SADF (South African Defence Force) to the shadowy DMI (Directorate of Military Intelligence), are consciously fomenting intercommunal warfare to terrorize and demoralize the black masses, as part of the old imperialist adage "divide and rule."

The pictures of black youth in Boipatong carrying the bodies of their slain comrades are strikingly similar to the photo which has come to symbolize to the whole world the Soweto massacre of 1976. And in fact the current explosion of unrest and repression began on Soweto Day, June 16, the first day of the protest campaign called by the ANC under pressure from mounting discontent. Calling demonstrations and rallies in 70 cities, Mandela threatened a general strike if Pretoria does not agree by June 30 to form an interim government. The June 16 protest shut down Johan-



Black youths carrying wounded comrades in Boipatong, strikingly recalls images of 1976 Soweto rebellion.

nesburg and other big cities which are dependent on black labor. Attempting to instill a climate of terror, the government deployed extra police in the townships and called up 50,000 white reservists.

The following day, the apartheid regime gave its bloody reply by unleashing its dogs of war. It was about 8 p.m. on June 17 when 200 men from the Kwamabela Hostel, a barracks for Zulu workers mainly at the nearby Iscor steel plant and a stronghold of Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha, were dropped off in Boipatong, near Sharpeville and Sebokeng in the Transvaal, south of Jo'burg. Later that night they would also attack the nearby squatter camp of Slovo Park (named for SACP leader Joe Slovo). The swath of violence included a nine-month-old child impaled through the head, a pregnant woman riddled with gunshot and knife wounds, and elderly men and women shot or axed as they fled from their homes.

The massacre is one of the largest and most hideous in South African history, and is a textbook operation of the shadowy "hidden hand" of the notorious DMI. There had been rumors for several days that an attack was coming. People standing guard at the township entrance watched as four or five armored police transports and a yellow police bus unloaded scores of Zulu men. As the killers rampaged from house to house, witnesses saw uniformed police firing at

fleeing residents. They watched as a police armored vehicle helped to smash an opening into a house. The ANC immediately blamed the government for the massacre, saying more black people had died in the three years of De Klerk's "verligte" ("enlightened") administration than in the previous 40 years of apartheid.

## "Negotiations" Mean Apartheid Slaughter

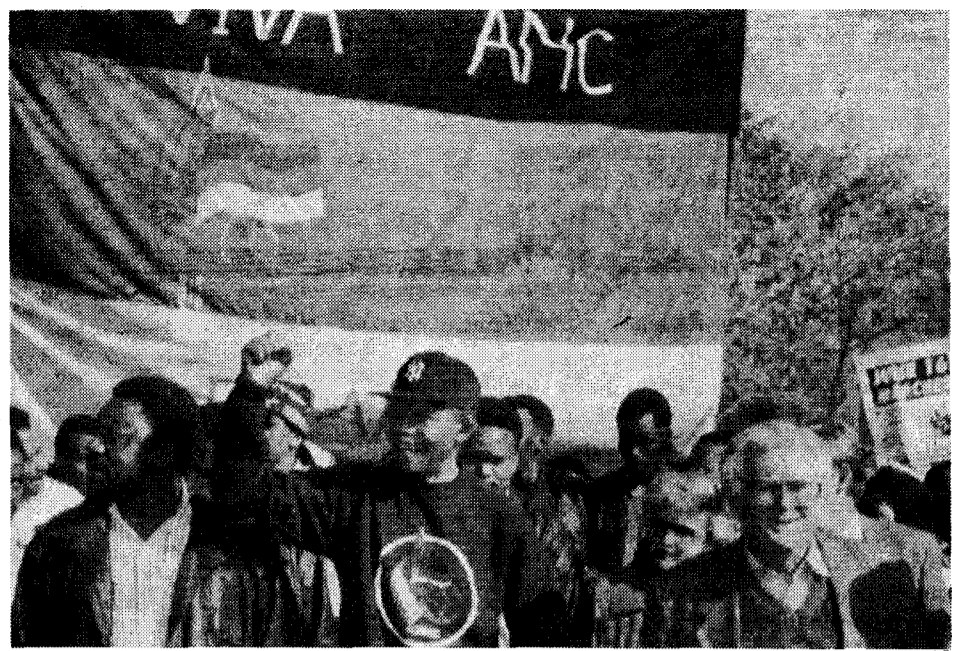
Mandela's release from jail in February 1990 opened a new period in South African politics. The apartheid rulers, hard hit by six years of black revolt and economic losses, tried to salvage their class rule by removing some of the most glaring aspects of apartheid legislation, while preserving the economic basis of superexploitation of black labor. Yet the survival of South African capitalism is incompatible with the most elementary rights for the vast oppressed majority—a peaceful resolution is impossible. As we wrote at the time, "De Klerk & Co. would like to present a façade of democracy while leaving intact the existing economic structure. They figure that only Nelson Mandela would have the authority to pull this off." Yet, we added, "it's far from clear that the maximal changes the Nationalist Party is willing to make would meet the minimal demands of the ANC" (WV No. 496, 23 February 1990).

Thus today, despite the bottomless appetites of the ANC/SACP to be part of some government, any government, even the illusion of "sharing" power with the apartheid butchers, all they get is the

*sjambok* (whip) and bullets from the R4 assault rifles of the SADF. The current situation has been building to a flash point since the March 17 racist referendum. To win ANC/SACP approval of a "yes" vote from their white supporters for the Nats' policy of negotiations, De Klerk promised the ANC an interim government. But immediately upon his victory, he reneged on the agreement. Simultaneously he demanded the ANC dismantle its (inactive) military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and hold back on the "mass struggle."

This was followed up with a press campaign retailing horror stories about MK guerrillas returning from exile and throwing their weight around in the townships, often coming up against the more conservative established ANC leadership. There has also been a government roundup of MKers, and a flurry of assassinations of ANC regional leaders and organizers. Meanwhile, right-wing vigilante armies are running amok and the KwaZulu bantustan (dominated by Inkatha leader Buthelezi) is forming its own army. De Klerk and his cohorts understand, even if the SACP anti-Marxists in the ANC leadership would like to obscure this, that state power boils down to armed bodies of men defending the property forms of the ruling class.

The fight De Klerk has picked over disarming MK indicates the regime is



Nelson Mandela (center), flanked by ANC leader Ramaphosa (left) and South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo, leads march in Soweto, June 16.

preparing violence against the black masses on a massive scale. Yet for all its sputtering, the ANC has gone along. *A Financial Times* (6 June) special survey of South Africa noted that the government already had the ANC's agreement that "a multi-party interim government should retain similar emergency powers to those exercised so brutally by the National Party, which detained 40,000 people in the late 1980s."

## Black Workers the Key

While the ANC is playing games in CODESA, there is massive discontent in the townships and anger at Mandela who called off any freedom struggle, abandoning blacks to growing poverty and the apartheid armies of the night. During a rally near Boipatong yesterday, ANC supporters chanted, "We want arms!" "The Southern Transvaal Spirals Into Bloody Anarchy...It's Worse Than '76" runs a screaming headline in the *Weekly Mail* (29 May). The "anti-apartheid" white liberals are panicked that there is war in the townships again. And this generation of furious, frustrated black youth is less politically conscious and less organized than in the 1970s and '80s. These youth are looking to the MK, and idolize its former commander, SACP leader Chris Hani. But what is the reality of the SACP?

An article in the *Weekly Mail* (22 May) makes it utterly clear that the SACP and COSATU union tops are only squabbling over places at the table:

"Moses Mayekiso, president of Cast [Civic Association of Southern Transvaal] and general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, explains it like this: 'There's impatience on the part of workers. They are not getting what they are supposed to get from the Codesa process. They are asking why is Cosatu not directly involved—why has there been no response to Cosatu's application to join Codesa?'"

But the workers are getting precisely what they are supposed to get from the "CODESA process"—shafted! That's the whole point of this pseudo-democratic charade. The *South African Labour Bulletin* (May/June 1992) headlines "COSATU: Gaining Influence, Losing Power?" but in the reams of social-democratic obfuscation, what's clear is that the federation which stands at the head of millions of combative black workers is indeed losing power. Shop stewards, who forged union power in sharp class battles, are complaining they are not part of the decision-making process. That's also the point, for the SACP's role was to tame the insurgent union movement, derail its revolutionary aspirations and bring it to heel in the interests of Anglo American and other *verligte* capitalists (now expanded to include the secretive Afrikaner Broederbond!).

Since the old debate over a "workers charter" (to parallel the ANC's Freedom Charter), a syndicalist current has argued for an "independent" union movement. What "independence"? As Leon Trotsky wrote in his 1940 article, found on his

desk after he was murdered by a Stalinist assassin: "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat." The SACP made its *reformist* role clear in selling out the 1990 Mercedes-Benz strike in Port Elizabeth—what's needed is a *revolutionary* workers movement.

The situation in South Africa cries out for revolutionary proletarian leadership. Many black militants see the present situation as one of defeat. Yet the black unions have not been broken in struggle. Instead they are being sacrificed on the altar of CODESA, a classic example of the Stalinist "popular front" tying the oppressed to the "democratic" exploiters. Meanwhile, the death toll continues to mount—for what? The black nationalists of the Pan-Africanist Congress appeal to discontented youth with a "militant" program for defeat, seeing no role for the minority coloured and Indian masses, and brandishing a slogan, "One settler, one bullet!", which would only push whites into the fascists' arms.

The government is still trying to buy off the ANC, suggesting that "Mr. Mandela should be happy to share in the governing of a prosperous country; better than presiding over a guerrilla army challenging the best-armed regime on the African continent," as the *New York Times* (22 June) paraphrased a government official. Nationalist guerrilla struggle, whether by PAC or the ANC/MK, has never made a dent in the strong South African state. But the Achilles' heel of apartheid is black labor, without which the diamonds, gold and coal stop, and the wheels of industry stand still. A genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be built that can rally behind it the tens of millions of black toilers, their class brothers and sisters in the coloured and Indian population, and the numerous whites who don't want to spend their lives in a garrison state with the likes of the DMI and the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).

**South African black workers have the power!** Since 1979, this militant proletariat has been at the center of the anti-apartheid fight, flexing its muscles, gaining confidence in sharp battles against the apartheid regime. It was the black workers and youth in the townships who gave their lives to bring South Africa to a prerevolutionary situation and forced the apartheid rulers into a position where they felt they had to "adapt or die." But the monster of apartheid slavery can't adapt, it must be killed, by the very wage slaves on whose toil it depends. Break with the ANC/SACP stranglehold! Forge a revolutionary vanguard that can prepare, organize and lead the fight for power in a socialist revolution that can make the riches of this land serve all the peoples and races of the African continent. ■

# Supreme Court...

(continued from page 12)

Perhaps Mexican Judicial Police, not known for their attention to prisoners' rights, could seize the two American private investigators who kidnapped Mexican citizen Teófilo Rómulo López and dragged him across the border south of Tucson, Arizona the weekend before the Supreme Court decision. Or maybe they could grab U.S. Border Patrol officer Michael Andrew Elmer who on June 12 shot and killed the Mexican youth Darío Valenzuela Miranda just across the line from Nogales, Sonora. Or for that matter, what about the nine "justices" in their august chambers in Washington who just approved what the Mexican government has declared "a criminal act"?

Salinas did order a halt to the activities of DEA agents in Mexico—a ban which lasted less than one day. This and the government's denunciation of the U.S. Supreme Court decision were approved in an all-party vote by the Mexican legislature, including the nationalist PRD of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. Revolutionaries should demand instead the expulsion from Mexico of all U.S. agents—including the DEA, CIA and FBI—and oppose the Free Trade Agreement which aims at the takeover of the Mexican economy by Yankee imperialism. And while the likes of Argentine president Carlos Menem term the American Supreme Court decision a "horror," these junior partners of George Bush continue to cooperate with Washington's "war on drugs," which is really a war on the Latin American masses and the black and Hispanic ghettos and barrios in the U.S.

The Cuban Communist Party newspaper *Granma* pointedly denounced the U.S. attempt "to impose its gun law, its law of the Wild West, its law of the jungle, its lynch law on other countries." What would happen, a 17 June editorial asked, if Vietnam sought to bring to justice the U.S. military men responsible for the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War. "Or if the Iraqis hunted General Norman Schwarzkopf who led the sophisticated slaughter of tens of thousands of children during the Gulf War?" Or perhaps, we could add, the Indian government might want to snatch a few Union Carbide executives responsible for the Bhopal disaster. Havana's Radio Rebelde said the Supreme Court decision went beyond "the wildest ambitions of the Roman Empire in its time.... Nazi Germany did not have enough time to carry out such a hegemonic policy."

Without the Kremlin to contend with, the U.S. imperialists are now drunk with power. The American ruling class may be able to trample over tiny black Grenada, bomb Qaddafi's Libya, invade its "own" Panamanian colony and ride roughshod in neighboring Mexico, half of whose territory it stole in the middle of the last century. But there are other imperialist powers in the world which also know how to make atomic weapons and jet planes and missiles, and their economies are in a lot better shape to do so. Next time, let the U.S. try kidnapping some German or Japanese from their homelands and see what happens. The collapse of the degenerated Soviet workers state has whetted the imperialists' rapacious appetites, setting off wars from the Persian Gulf to the Balkan peninsula. Only socialist revolution by the world proletariat can put a stop to these terrorists with state power. ■

# Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

bound so tightly with plastic tie handcuffs that the ties had to be removed with bolt cutters, and the two required medical attention. Most of the protesters were charged with obstructing traffic—on a street the cops had already closed to traffic!

The SL and Labor Black League were singled out for their militant chants and signs including "Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!" "Birds Do It, Bees Do It, Teens Do It—Down With All Parental Consent Squeal Rules!" and "Down With Bush, Break With Democrats! Build a Workers Party!" The aggressive cop crackdown on dissent was an ominous portent of what may be in store at the Democratic Party convention at Madison Square Garden in mid-July. Dinkins and the Democrats want to keep the streets "clean for Clinton"—already the homeless are being swept out of the area, while bizarre plans are afoot to surround the Garden with a chainlink fence.

The "Operation Rescue" forces who threaten to assault NYC in July joined in, as the Cardinal laid the groundwork for their terrorist siege. Protesters greeted OR demagogue Randall Terry with chants of "Operation Rescue, Hitler would have loved you!" Only last month, the Toronto clinic of courageous abortion clinic pioneer and Nazi concentration camp survivor Dr. Henry Morgentaler was reduced to rubble in a potentially deadly bombing. The Eastern Women's Center in NYC was itself bombed in 1986. A Spartacist League sign proclaimed: "Defend the Clinics! Stop 'Pray-by-Day, Bomb-by-Night'

Terrorists!" Cardinal O'Connor fits in well with this crowd. He earned his spurs as a chaplain with the Marines in Vietnam, blessing the dirty imperialist war which killed two million Indochinese. Now he wants to ensure future generations of cannon fodder for the "New World Order," like the signs in Wichita last summer calling to "Support Our Unborn Troops"!

The Cardinal's forces of around 1,700 outnumbered the 1,000 or so abortion rights defenders. This small turnout by no means reflects the vast majority sentiment in NYC for abortion rights. Many of the activists who came out genuinely wanted to defend the clinics, but were crippled by confusion, petty-bourgeois illusions and feminist misleadership. There was a split among the feminist groups over defending the clinic targeted by the Cardinal. WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization) issued a leaflet saying that it "does not condone demonstrations at women's health facilities," even guilt-tripping demonstrators with appeals to "respect the women" against "violation of their privacy" (as if leaving O'Connor's gang unopposed would respect clinic patients' privacy!). WAC, in contrast, went to the clinic.

This led to massive confusion at the demo, as WHAMers tried to corral people away from marching to the clinic and others told arriving demonstrators it was "their choice" as to what to do! NOW stayed away, while NARAL (National Abortion Rights Action League) kept its contingent a block away from the clinic holding green Statue of Liberty signs and patriotically singing the national anthem!

Behind opposition to clinic defense

lies a political program. WHAM's opposition to clinic defense flows from their embrace of the Democratic Party and their cringing position that "WHAM! is not 'pro-abortion'." In Buffalo this spring, abortion rights defenders managed to keep the clinics open against an Operation Rescue siege, but they had to contend with the bourgeois feminists, whose junior G-women worked hand in hand with the police trying to keep more militant demonstrators in line.

WAC is tactically more militant, in a style similar to ACT UP, but this is combined with essentially liberal politics. The flip side of their faith in "civil disobedience" is illusions in the cops to "play the game." Thus there was shock that the cops actually arrested people when they hadn't planned on being arrested. And for the Democratic Convention they plan to have a demonstration around the slogan, "WAC is watching, we'll remember—We'll be voting in November!" Who for? Sinister Ross Perot (after all, he says he's pro-abortion) or racist death penalty backer Bill Clinton? NOW and NARAL's big April 5 march in D.C. was a platform not only for Democratic Party politicians, but even for "pro-choice" Republicans. Defense of women's rights requires a break from the partner parties of capitalist rule, and a fight for a revolutionary workers party to champion the rights of all the oppressed.

Enconced in the leadership of WAC are ostensible socialists like the ISO, who offer themselves up as "best builders" for whatever is happening while burying their politics. But you can't defend abortion rights in the USA while selling them out in Poland and the Soviet Union. For years these pseudo-socialists

supported the Vatican-run Solidarność of Lech Walesa, which is now shoving capitalist starvation programs down Polish workers' throats while its Catholic church sponsors try to ax the right to abortion. In the Soviet Union, they vicariously joined Boris Yeltsin's barricades for counterrevolution last August. It was noteworthy that there was no participation from the labor movement on June 13. Dennis Rivera, whose 1199 union organizes some clinic workers, could have turned out ten thousand or more hospital workers. But Rivera professes himself agnostic on the issue of abortion, while flaunting O'Connor as one of his "mentors."

There should have been thousands of pro-abortion forces on the streets to defend the clinic against the likes of the Cardinal and the Operation Rescue "god squads." But that requires a fight against the popular front which keeps labor and all the oppressed tied to the capitalist Democratic Party. Today women's rights—from abortion and day care to jobs—are under attack around the world by capitalist reaction. *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!*

\* \* \*

The most serious charge against those arrested on June 13 is against SL supporter Caron Salinger for "resisting arrest." Caron is a slight, 5'2" 100-pound woman who was pounced on by three burly cops and dragged away in handcuffs. Her hearing is on Wednesday, July 1, at 9:30 a.m. at the Criminal Court, 100 Centre St. (courtroom "Part AP3") in lower Manhattan. Join us at the courtroom to show your support. Call (212) 267-1025 for more information. ■

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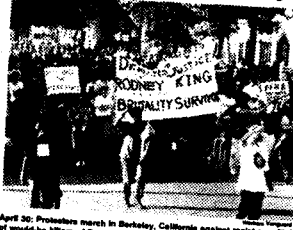
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### Outrage Over Racist Acquittal of Cops in Rodney King Case:



There Is  
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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Supreme Court License to Kidnap

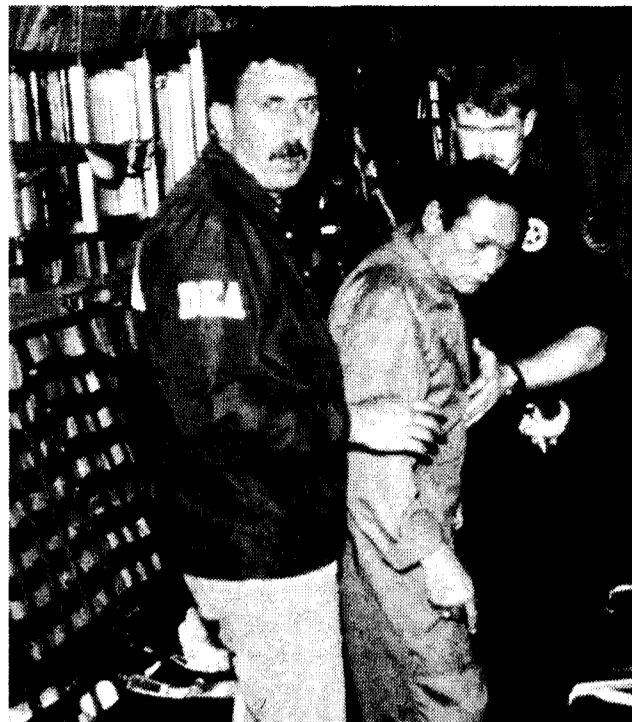
Proclaiming a juridical "New World Order," the Supreme Court in Washington last week haughtily decreed an American "right" to seize anybody anywhere in the world and bring them to the United States for trial. This latest assertion of "supersovereignty" by the U.S. naturally set off a chorus of protest from virtually every state in the Western Hemisphere, worried about the consequences for their own sovereignty. From the standpoint of the international working class, the decision by the high court of American capitalism was a supreme act of imperialist arrogance. It was the international extension of the verdict absolving the LAPD cops who brutally beat black motorist Rodney King, which set off the Los Angeles riots and has come to symbolize the racist injustice system at home.

The decision arming the U.S. cops-of-the-world with a "legal" cover to maraud around the globe was to sanction, after the fact, the seizure of Panamanian strongman General Manuel Noriega by a U.S. invasion in order to bring him before a show trial in Miami. Wars have been started over less blatant prov-

ocations than that provided by the Supreme Court. As a matter of fact, the *casus belli* (cause of war) for the War of 1812 was British impressment of American sailors on the high seas. Today the "sole remaining superpower" is throwing its weight around, no longer checked by fear of Soviet power. But the world does not take kindly to such assertions of global dominance, as the charred remains of Hitler's bunker testify.

This latest outrageous ruling from the Reagan/Bush/Rehnquist Court came in the case of Humberto Alvarez Machain, a Mexican doctor who was kidnapped from his office and brought to the U.S. by Mexican bounty hunters, who were paid \$20,000 by the Drug Enforcement Administration. The DEA claims the doctor was a participant in the torture/murder of one of its agents in Mexico in 1985. The usually obsequious government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, which has been viciously attacking the Mexican masses' living standards as part of its move toward a Free Trade Agreement with the U.S., couldn't swallow the American kidnapping of a Mex-

**DEA agents kidnap Manuel Noriega after U.S. "cops of the world" invaded Panama and slaughtered thousands.**



U.S. Department of Defense

ican citizen on Mexican soil, protesting that the Supreme Court ruling "violates the essential principles of international law." What U.S. rulers think of "international law" was shown by their utter unconcern when the World Court found them guilty of aiding contra terrorists, mining harbors and other acts of war in Nicaragua.

Even the Rehnquist majority of the Supreme Court admitted that the kidnapping may be "shocking" and "in violation of general international law principles"—and concluded: so what? (Just like when they acknowledged that application of the death penalty was racist, but ruled that fact "irrelevant.") The Court argued that the existing extra-

dition treaty with Mexico could be ignored, since it "says nothing" to explicitly exclude "forcible abductions." The minority dissent by Justice Stevens pointed out that if the U.S. "thought it more expedient to torture or simply to execute a person rather than to attempt extradition," this would be OK under the new Supreme Court doctrine. And what about reciprocity? The *New York Times* (16 June) worriedly noted that "the decision would appear to mean that the Mexican government is equally free to kidnap an American citizen for trial in Mexico for a crime committed in the United States."

This raises interesting possibilities.  
*continued on page 11*

## 11 Arrested at NYC Clinic Defense—Drop the Charges!

### The Cardinal and His Cops Target Abortion Rights



WV Photo

**Spartacist demonstrators demand government out of the bedrooms!**

In a calculated outrage against the population of New York City, overwhelmingly in favor of abortion rights, on June 13 John Cardinal O'Connor and the NYPD joined forces to terrorize women seeking abortions and their defenders. The NYPD waded into crowds of abortion rights activists and arrested eleven people, including five members of the Women's Action Coalition (WAC) and four supporters of the Spartacist League. As SL supporter Sheri Stoll, one of those arrested, said shortly after her release: "Where do these cops think they are? New York City is not Dan Quayle country. This isn't some Moral Majority backwater. The NYPD has a deserved reputation for gunning down unarmed black and Hispanic residents. Now they are being used as a praetorian guard for reactionary Cardinal O'Connor and his anti-woman, anti-gay bigots."

All legal rights and regulations were effectively suspended on behalf of the Cardinal's anti-abortion crusade in New York City. A massive contingent of cops was assigned to surround O'Connor's



WV Photo

**New York City, June 13—Nine of the clinic defenders arrested when the NYPD went after abortion rights demonstrators.**

marchers as they moved from St. Agnes church to lay siege to the Eastern Women's Center on 30th Street. The abortion rights protesters were arrested as they peacefully moved up Park Avenue near the clinic. As the Spartacist contingent chanted "One, two, three, four—Free

abortion is what we're for! Five, six, seven, eight—Separate the church and state!" one cop was overheard giving the command "Make arrests" as the thugs in blue went after the clot of protesters. Two of the arrested SL supporters were  
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