

## South Africa Elections

# ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom



Reuters



Mottlala/COSATU

**Buthlezi, De Klerk and Mandela shake hands on elections. "Power-sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled through nationalist popular front with bourgeoisie.**

APRIL 25—Yesterday a powerful car bomb exploded near the headquarters of the African National Congress (ANC) in Johannesburg, killing ten and injuring over 100; damage extended for five blocks. Today more than a dozen taxi stands and polling stations were bombed in several areas of South Africa. These vile racist attacks are almost certainly the work of hard-line white right wingers assisted or planned by recalcitrant elements within the army or the intelligence services.

**For a Bolshevik Workers Party!  
For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!**

The bombings, aimed at the ANC, the organization supported by the overwhelming majority of the black population, come one year after the murder by state-connected fascists of South African Communist Party (SACP) leader

Chris Hani, who was also head of the ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The bombings are an attack on the very idea that the black, "coloured" (mixed-race) and Indian peoples of South Africa should have

any democratic rights at all.

The elections to the new, common National Assembly, which will be held over three days beginning tomorrow, are the first time that a vote of any kind has been given to the black African majority who make up *three-fourths* of the total population. The white ruling class has been forced into this concession by the long years of determined struggle by the oppressed South African masses, first against the British colonial rulers and

*continued on page 4*

## All U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out of the Balkans Now!

APRIL 24—In an ominous move, the imperialist powers are threatening to become active combatants and sharply escalate the three-year-old war that is ravaging the former Yugoslavia. On April 22, NATO issued an ultimatum to the Serbs demanding that they immediately pull back their forces besieging the Muslim enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia—and refrain from attacking four other UN-declared "safe areas"—or face aerial bombing. NATO's war threat has now been endorsed by Yeltsin's Russia. While the Bosnian Serb forces have reportedly begun withdrawing artillery, the imperialists could launch military strikes at any moment.

The Western powers are increasingly frustrated at their inability to impose

*continued on page 9*



# Defend Serbia Against Imperialist Attack!

Mellace/Reuters

**Counterrevolutionary Breakup of Yugoslavia  
Unleashed All-Sided Nationalist Bloodbath**



RUSSELL BAKER

# Waiting for a Purpose

The little girl ran up and sat on her grandfather's lap, saying, "Dear, dear Granddaddy, tell me how it was in your days."

"Well," said the old fellow, leaping from his rocker and hurling the dear child across the room and into a faraway sofa before resettling in his chair, "in the old days you could let your dear little grandchildren sit on your lap and not have to worry about being locked up for child abuse."

The little girl whimpered, not because of the brutal de-lapization she had just suffered, but because she had hoped her grandfather would speak of less modern subjects. She was tired of always hearing about incest and safe sex and just saying no.

These were important things for a child to know, and she was glad she lived in a time when everybody was willing to tell her all about them. Still she had the child's primitive yearning to hear tales of yore.

Her grandfather's dear old heart was sorely touched by the sight of the lone tear coursing down his tiny granddaughter's cheek. "Would you like to hear about the bad people who lived in the old days?" he asked.

The child clapped her hands in glee, which set the old man off into one of those flights of tedious reminiscence about which his doctors had warned him, pointing out that, in a society that was armed to the teeth, threatening people with death by boredom could be counterproductive to longevity.

"In those days," he said, "the country was swarming with dangerous people, and they were always threatening to destroy the free world."

"Was that the same as the smoke-free world, Granddaddy?"

"Smoke-free? It wasn't smoke-free that we worried about in those days, sweetheart. It was Communist-free that we fought for. All America, you see, was infiltrated—"

in that voice. So instinctively he told his darling granddaughter, "There is nothing more dangerous these days than sidestream smoke, sweetheart, and anybody who resists doing whatever may be necessary to root it out ought to be—"

The child looked at him in dismay. She'd heard of repressed memory. All the kids were talking about it, and some were already repressing tons of memories so they would have some good ones to retrieve later when mid-life crisis sent them into therapy.

"Granddaddy," she asked, "are you retrieving repressed memories about the old days?"

The old fellow knew the child had him. He didn't hate her for it. No, not her. It was the whole dismal post-Communist age he hated. Ever since Communism collapsed the country had been drifting. No foreign policy left. Just jockers like Clinton refusing to be beastly to thugs on four continents. No real menace to make your blood run cold. Nothing but smokers to satisfy the national addiction to nightmares.

Yes, he had retrieved an awkward memory. In this new day and age, he had better consider what to say when avenging Congressmen asked, "Are you now or have you ever been a smoker?"

"My sweet," said he to his granddaughter, "I have an exciting tale to tell you. You see, my dear, when I was a smoker for the F.B.I.—" ■

"You mean like the cigarettes, Granddaddy?"

"The cigarettes weren't infiltrated, darling. They were filtered. What was infiltrating that wonderful free world was Communism."

"Was Communism like smoking, Granddaddy?"

The old man had trouble controlling his temper. What were they doing to American kids nowadays? All that money for education and they couldn't even come up with a halfway decent menace to replace the great old Communism of his day.

"We had real menaces in our day, honey," he said. "Communists. They had to be rooted out before they destroyed us."

"Don't you think sidestream smoke is just as bad as Communists?" asked the little girl with a disturbing inflection in her voice that reminded him of something from the old days.

Yes, that was it: It was that same gallows-trap inflection he remembered investigating Congressmen using when they asked potentially dangerous Americans if they didn't think Communism was the most rotten idea ever born.

Bad things had always happened to people who said no to questions asked

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## Bolshevism and the First Balkan Wars

*The intervention of various imperialist powers—in the guise of "peacekeeping" forces—in the nationalist wars raging in ex-Yugoslavia poses the danger of escalating and extending the conflict and is a harbinger of heightened interimperialist rivalry in the post-Soviet world. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 served as a springboard for the unprecedented slaughter of World War I. Lenin's Bolsheviks of the Russian Social-*



TROTSKY



LENIN

*Democratic Labor Party (RSDRP) denounced these imperialist intrigues, particularly the pan-Slavic pretensions of the tsarist autocracy which were used to justify Russia's great power ambitions in the region. In building the revolutionary-internationalist party which led the October Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks asserted, as German socialist Karl Liebknecht later declared, that the workers' main enemy is at home.*

All Europe wants to take part in the events in the Balkans! Everyone favours "reforms" and even "freedom for the Slavs". Actually, Russia wants to snatch a piece of Turkey, in Asia and to seize the Bosphorus. Austria has designs on Salonika, Italy on Albania, Britain on Arabia, and Germany on Anatolia.

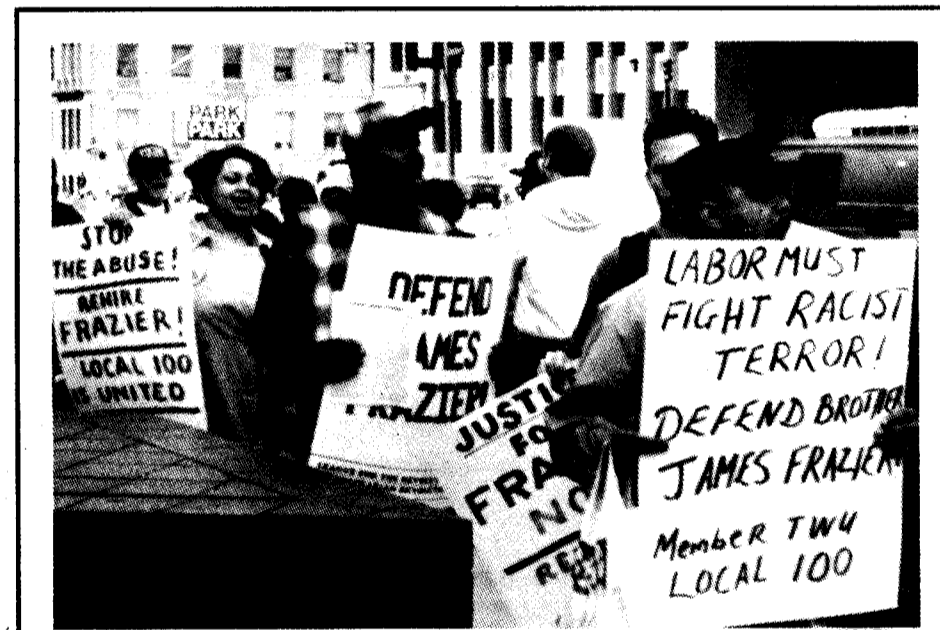
The crisis is mounting. Hundreds of thousands and millions of wage slaves of capital and peasants downtrodden by the serf-owners are going to the slaughter for the dynastic interests of a handful of crowned brigands, for the profits of the bourgeoisie in its drive to plunder foreign lands.

The Balkan crisis is a link in the chain of events which since the turn of the century has everywhere been leading to sharper class and international contradictions, to wars and revolutions. The Russo-Japanese war, the revolution in Russia, a series of revolutions in Asia, mounting rivalry and hostility between the European states, the threat to peace over Morocco, and Italy's plunderous campaign against Tripoli—such has been the preparation of the current crisis.

Wars and all their calamities are produced by capitalism, which keeps millions of working people in bondage, sharpens the struggle between nations, and turns the slaves of capital into cannon fodder. A world-wide socialist army of the revolutionary proletariat is alone capable of putting an end to this oppression and enslavement of the masses and to these massacres of slaves in the interests of the slave-owners.

In Western Europe and America, there is a sharpening struggle by the socialist proletariat against imperialist bourgeois governments, who are increasingly inclined to plunge into desperate escapades as they see the working-class millions inexorably marching to victory. These governments are preparing war but at the same time are afraid of war in the knowledge that world-wide war means world-wide revolution.

—RSDRP Central Committee, "To All the Citizens of Russia" (October 1912)



WV Photo

## Defend Transit Worker James Frazier!

BROOKLYN, April 19: Transport Workers Union Local 100 members and other supporters of track worker James Frazier rallied outside Transit Authority headquarters today after earlier attending a court hearing. Frazier was the victim of a racist cop shooting last October which cost him his eye and his job. Protesters demanded that the D.A. drop the

trumped-up charges against their union brother, and that the TA reinstate him immediately. The next court hearing, in which the cops who shot Frazier are expected to testify, is scheduled for Friday, June 17. Militant transit workers in the Committee for a Fighting TWU are calling for a full mobilization of the union's power to defend brother Frazier. Be there!

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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North America, Europe, Asia  
**For a Workers Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!**  
Page 16

San Francisco, September 16—POC, Spartacist, and Labor Black League supporters outside governor Pete Wilson's office protesting racist war on immigrants.

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners	2
Outrage! Gerónimo Dandé Parole—Again!	4
Letters from Prison—An Exchange with Bob Buck	5
New York City Rally Demands—Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!	10

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard No. 598 (15 April). On April 24, the second round of voting was held in the fraud-ridden Salvadoran presidential election. Armando Calderón Sol of the fascistic ARENA party was elected with 68 percent of the vote, while Rubén Zamora of the leftist FMLN/CD coalition received 32 percent.

The "democratic" rulers of El Salvador are a veritable Murder, Inc. with state power. The Truth Commission appointed by the United Nations documented that the Reagan administration had evidence that ultrarightist leader Roberto D'Aubuisson orchestrated the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero, even as it was denying the same charge by former Carter ambassador Robert White. At one point, according to the released documents, U.S. special envoy Vernon Walters traveled to San Salvador to personally warn D'Aubuisson not to kill Ambassador Pickering... or the U.S. would cut off funding! Later,

## PART TWO OF TWO

the U.S. government documents reveal: "As of early August 1990, Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party members close to Roberto D'Aubuisson were discussing ways to assassinate President Alfredo Cristiani" (also an ARENA leader). Among the plotters was Cristiani's vice president, Francisco Merino.

But while the death squads might occasionally kidnap an oligarch, their real targets were the potential leaders of worker-peasant insurgency, whom they killed by the thousands. This was no rogue operation by "out of control" right-wing elements, but a systematic program to eliminate leftist oppositionists. It was a "privatized" version of its forerunner, Operation Phoenix in Vietnam, where the U.S. murdered tens of thousands in order to eliminate the "Viet Cong infrastructure." And the orders came straight from the top. This was shown by the assassination of the six Jesuit priests in November 1989, at the height of the FMLN (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front) offensive against San Salvador. At the time, the government tried to pass the murder off as a guerrilla action; later a couple of lower-ranking officers acted as fall guys. In fact, the crime was ordered at a meeting of the military command, whose decisions were then approved by President Cristiani.

According to a draft report by the Truth Commission (published in *Estudios Centroamericanos*, November-December 1993), the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Salvadoran Armed Forces met on 15 November 1989. Head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colonel René Ponce, announced there was "authorization to proceed with the elimination of

Rubén Zamora, candidate of leftist popular-front coalition, sells accommodation to death squad "democracy."



ringleaders, trade unionists and well-known member-leaders of the FMLN in their respective areas of responsibility." Ponce added: "I don't want reports by radio, tomorrow you can report to me." One of the military chiefs led a prayer citing Romans 13: "Everyone must submit to the authorities who are in power, because there is no authority that does not come from God." After checking with Cristiani the Atlacatl Brigade made a midnight raid on the University of Central America, gunning down six priests, a housekeeper and her daughter. The Jesuit academics were supporters of "liberation theology" and considered by the military to be intellectual gurus of the guerrillas.

The U.S. Embassy MILGP (military group) ran the cover-up. The Truth Commission detailed how the Americans had ten people inside the headquarters of the Atlacatl Brigade, how they funneled information to General Ponce, warning him he was a suspect in the investigation, so he could press a key witness to change his testimony. Moreover, U.S. "adviser" Major Eric Buckland knew of the army

plot to kill the Jesuits *ten days before the murders occurred*, but the Americans did not disclose the information; after the murders, they withheld Buckland's testimony from investigators for another year. And what became of the perpetrators of the Jesuit massacre? Ponce was promoted to defense minister as a "moderate," and was allowed to retire in 1993. Two lower-level officers went to jail briefly, only to be released in the amnesty ordered by ARENA in the aftermath of the "peace accords."

From start to finish, these brutal assassins were financed, trained and advised by the U.S. Based on names cited by the Truth Commission, a *CovertAction* (Fall 1993) article detailed various well-known massacres, showing that the U.S. Army's School of the Americas (SOA) should more aptly be called "School of Assassins":

- *Archbishop Romero assassination* (March 1980): Of three army officers cited in the assassination, two were SOA graduates.

- *Murder of three American nuns and a Catholic layworker* (December 1980):

five army officers cited, three were SOA graduates.

- *Sheraton Hotel murders of three land-reform and "AFL-CIA" operatives* (January 1981): three army officers cited, all three were SOA graduates.

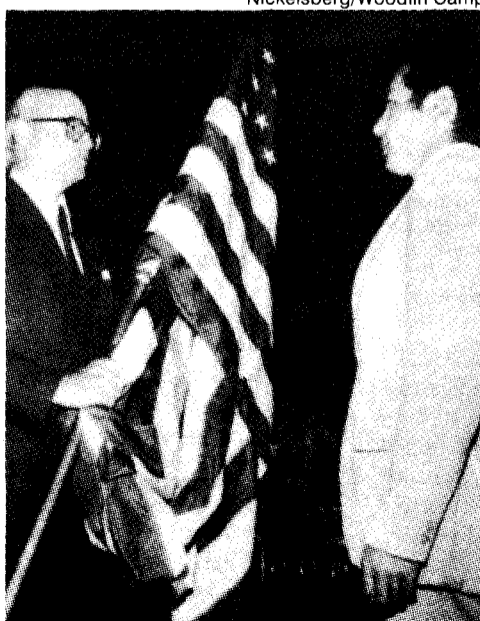
- *El Mozote massacre* (December 1981): 12 army officers cited, ten were SOA graduates.

- *Jesuit massacre* (November 1989): 27 officers cited, 19 were SOA graduates.

### FMLN's Lurch to the Right

Today, the Salvadoran officer corps is still in place, not even cosmetically "purged" of a few notorious killers. Significantly, among their defenders are none other than the former guerrilla leaders of the FMLN. After the Truth Commission report was issued in February 1993, the ARENA-dominated Salvadoran legislature hastily passed a general amnesty of political killings. This move to absolve the top military leaders was supported by top FMLN leaders. When the minister of defense, General Ponce,

*continued on page 8*



Massacres Made in U.S.A.: U.S.-trained killers carried out massacre of Jesuit priests in 1989 (left). Center: American ambassador Hinton presents flag to death squad chief D'Aubuisson. Right: U.S. Army's notorious School of the Americas trained dictators and mass murderers from all over Latin America.

# South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

later, after 1948, against the Afrikaner-dominated system of apartheid.

The threat of white-supremacist revolt against the ANC-dominated government which Mandela will head after the elections is real and dangerous. But the enormously wealthy white mine owners, industrialists and financiers and their senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—the real owners and rulers of South Africa—are staking their future on the National Peace Accord, their deal with the ANC leadership. They correctly calculate that the ANC (already installed in the corridors of power since last December through the Transitional Executive Council—TEC) will uphold and administer capitalist rule in government. Speaking last week at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, Mandela declared: "The economy must be built on sound and market principles. If you look at our program, there is not a single sentence about nationalization."

The white capitalist rulers know that the ANC's vast political authority is the strongest tool at their disposal for suppressing and denying the hopes and demands of the black masses. And the expectations are enormous. The huge formerly disenfranchised nonwhite majority sees these elections as opening the road to "freedom" and a share of the wealth produced in South Africa. A comment by one grandmother in a squatter camp in the Western Cape indicated the limits of the "patience" of the downtrodden: "We will be patient once he [Mandela] is elected, and so maybe the first improvements won't be seen here for one or two months" (*New York Times*, 21 April).

Although the elections are billed by the ANC as the "transition to democracy," in fact they are a far cry from "one person, one vote." *Whatever the outcome*, the main party of the white ruling class, the National Party, led by President De Klerk, is guaranteed a place in a "Government of National Unity" for a five-year period. This is included in the "sunset clause," agreed to by the ANC, which gives a cabinet seat to any party obtaining 5 percent or more in the ballot, and then imposes the need for approval by two-thirds of the cabinet on "certain issues." The National Party and the other main white party, the Democratic Party, will thereby have effective veto power over all major decisions.

Mandela has bent over backward to reassure and conciliate the capitalists, whose junior partner he has now become. All the radical talk of the years of struggle—the rhetoric of "socialism" by the SACP and the COSATU union federation—has evaporated, to be replaced by the language of "moderation" and compromise. The rights of capitalist property are incorporated into a "Bill of Rights!"

The South African Police and the South African Defence Force (SADF)—the butchers of Sharpeville and Soweto and the former colonial occupation forces of Namibia and Angola—will be left under their existing command.



Der Spiegel

South Africa's army of racist killers will be preserved under neo-apartheid regime.

Meanwhile the ANC's military wing, the MK, is dissolved and partially incorporated into the SADF or the impotent National Peacekeeping Force, charged with policing the black townships. And at one of his final campaign rallies Mandela "vowed that gun control would be firmly enforced by the new government that he expects to lead" (*New York Times*, 24 April). This means leaving blacks defenseless in the face of racist army, police and fascist paramilitary killers.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, whose Zulu Inkatha movement has allied with the Conservative Party and white reactionaries even further to the right, has for months been attempting to sabotage the elections. Inkatha forces have whipped up and perpetrated horrendous attacks on ANC supporters, seeking to exploit tribal divisions. But last week Mandela guaranteed Buthelezi's cousin, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini, the status of a "constitutional monarch," complete with king-sized personal subsidies, in a successful effort to get Inkatha to end its boycott of the elections.

The capitalists are gambling on an ANC-led government as their best hope of obtaining stable conditions for continued extraction of southern Africa's natural resources and superexploitation of its black proletariat. The dominant white caste, making up 13 percent of South Africa's population, owns 86 percent of the land, 90 percent of all productive wealth, and on average has an annual income ten times greater than that of the blacks. Three out of every five blacks live in rural areas where over 80 percent have no electricity and over 90 percent have no sewage. Fully half of the black labor force has no permanent regular employment.

Faced with these appalling conditions, the ANC is promising a five-year "Reconstruction and Development Programme" (RDP), including building one million new homes, supplying electricity to 2.5 million households, ten years of free schooling for all, and the creation of two million jobs through the public works program. But the bourgeoisie has no intention of financing this scale of public works. The chief economist of the Johannesburg Nedbank pointed out:

"With limited resources and limited taxable capacity it can't be done. The problem facing the incoming government is whether the new electorate is going to accept the shortfall between what they expect and what is actually going to be delivered."

Genuine universal suffrage, universal schooling, equality of all the peoples of South Africa, full citizenship rights (including the right to vote) for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers drawn from neighboring countries and their families, equal pay for equal work, the right of the rural black population (particularly in the barren bantustans) to land stolen over the centuries, first by Afrikaner colonial settlers and then by the British imperialists, equality for women—to realize all these elementary democratic demands requires that capitalist rule be overthrown by workers revolution.

South African capitalism's viability, its ability to compete in the world market, is based on the system of superexploitation symbolized by the lives of the mine workers. The core of the economy has been and remains gold mining. With the richest veins having run out, the "Randlords" like Anglo American are left with vast quantities of low-grade ore that they can mine profitably only by paying slave wages. Over the last 90 years, nearly 90,000 South African miners have died at work: apartheid capitalism is blacks' blood transmuted into gold. And for the apartheid bosses, that is not negotiable.

## ANC/SACP: Black Front Men for Neo-Apartheid Capitalism

The understanding that in a country like South Africa it is impossible to satisfy the many unfulfilled revolutionary democratic tasks short of the seizure of power by the socialist proletariat is central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This was demonstrated by Lenin's Bolshevik Party as it led the suc-

Mandela at Johannesburg Stock Exchange reassures racist rulers of ANC's commitment to capitalism.



cessful struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in October 1917. Securing basic democratic rights, let alone the huge economic expansion and redistribution required to give a decent life to all the people of South Africa, can only come by breaking the economic and political power of the giant mining and manufacturing houses through expropriation of their assets, laying the basis for an economy planned under the rule of workers councils.

South Africa requires a *black-centered workers government*, not the installation of aspiring black exploiters in the antechambers of *verligte* [enlightened] apartheid power—which is what the ANC offers and desires. As we said last issue:

"A vote for the ANC—including its Communist Party members and affiliated trade-union leaders of COSATU—is a vote to perpetuate the racist oppression and superexploitation of the black, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in a different political form."

From being a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement in opposition, the ANC is in the process of integrating its leading elements into the South African ruling class as it becomes a bourgeois-nationalist ruling party. The *Wall Street Journal* (3 March) reports, "Blacks Enter South African Boardrooms." South Afri-

can corporations, especially those looking for government contracts, are falling over each other to recruit ANC cadres as managers. They are also prepared to buy off sections of the black middle class and skilled workers by widening pay differentials in the black workforce.

Today the ANC leaders are no doubt getting fitted for top hats and morning coats on London's Saville Row. Nelson Mandela will perhaps ride to his presidential inauguration in the red Mercedes-Benz armored limo built for him by the combative Mercedes workers in East London before the ANC tops with the aid of the SACP sold out their militant 1990 strike. As the ANC tops become increasingly estranged from the township masses, the SACP and COSATU leaders are playing a vital role in defusing discontent. The SACP's Stalinist theory of "two-stage revolution" (democracy first, socialism in the sweet by-and-by) is a reformist rationale for subordinating the working class to the nationalist ANC.

The ANC sellout to the South African ruling class is so blatant, including the open repudiation of its liberal-nationalist Freedom Charter, that most groups claiming to be Trotskyist have criticized the Mandela/De Klerk "power sharing" deal. But, mesmerized by the popular support for the ANC and the SACP, several of these groups share the practical conclusion of the Stalinist reformists. The Marxist Workers Tendency (MWT), which sees itself as part of the ANC, calls for voting ANC. "Kick out the Nats!" they headline, proclaiming: "The elections give us the chance to crush the party of apartheid and dictatorship. Every vote must be used to close the door on the old South Africa" (*Congress Militant*, February-March 1994).

The MWT are the co-thinkers of the British Militant Labour group, which likes to posture as a thoroughly orthodox Trotskyist tendency. Yet one of Trotsky's crucial fights in the formation of the

international Left Opposition to Stalin was against the latter's policy of entry into the Kuomintang (the bourgeois-nationalist party in prerevolutionary China). The Stalinist policy led straight to disaster in the bloody Shanghai massacre of 1927 in which thousands of worker communists were slaughtered by KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek.

Organizational *separation* and political independence from the nationalists are the bedrock of a working-class revolutionary party. And those who today call for votes to the ANC are assuming the political responsibility for the inevitable massacres of South African workers by the ANC/De Klerk neo-apartheid regime.

Other smaller groups have also directly capitulated to the ANC/SACP in these elections. The International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), acolytes of Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party, call for a vote to the ANC. ISSAer Terry Bell, in an article in *Work in Progress* (reprinted in *Socialist Organiser*, 21 April), argued:

"In this particular battle, the working class is lined up behind the ANC alliance against the NP [De Klerk's National Party].... Since revolutionary socialists stand for the self-emancipation of the working class, the Left should argue that

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—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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we vote—without illusions in party or parliament—with the class on April 27.”

So since many workers have illusions in the bourgeois nationalists, these consummate opportunists call...for feeding their illusions.

One small South African grouping, the Comrades for a Workers Government (CWG), who publish *Qina Msebenzi* and are affiliated with the British Workers International League, has in the past been identified with the demand for a “mass workers party.” But as the elections approached they switched gears and came out for a “Vote ANC” line which echoes that of the MWT. Describing themselves as “supercritical” supporters of the ANC, the CWG points out: “The ANC will not be able to implement even the most minimal social demands of its RDP and the popular demands of the masses because the ANC leaders have bound themselves hand and foot to the capitalist class.” From this premise they draw the conclusion that the “ANC leaders must cut ties with the bosses!” and that “the bosses must be driven out of the ANC” (whoever and whatever that means).

The CWG’s punch line is: “We must put demands to the ANC leaders and the in-coming ANC government—demands such as the scrapping of all power-sharing agreements; the expulsion of the open bourgeois elements in the ANC and in the ANC-led election front.” In effect, they treat the bourgeois-nationalist ANC as if it were a reformist workers party which had entered a popular front, rather than a force outside the workers movement. The bottom line is that an ANC government—like other bourgeois-nationalist regimes in the Third World, such as Peronism in Argentina, the Mexican PRI, the Ba’athists in Iraq and Syria—could (and may be driven to) *smash* the unions, whereas for a reformist workers party, which bases itself on the labor movement, this would be suicidal.

Meanwhile, the militant nationalists of AZAPO (Azanian People’s Organisation), derived from the “Black Consciousness” movement, are calling to boycott the elections. While the ANC/NP “power-sharing” deal, on which these elections are based, violates even the elementary principles of bourgeois democracy, nonetheless the black masses are determined to participate in their first-ever chance to vote in any way on the South African government. Proletarian revolutionaries seek to use the elections, as the Bolsheviks sometimes did with the votes for the tsarist Duma, as a platform for their communist program. In particular, Marxists would counterpose the fight for a workers party to voting for the ANC, the co-rulers of a capitalist “new South Africa.”

### Critical Support to the Workers List

One of the groups running is the Workers List Party (WLP), initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). After examining the program and statements of the WLP that are available to us, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) call for *critical support* to the Workers List Party in the April elections. The platform of the WLP can be summarized by its opening sentence:

“The WLP enters the elections in order to promote the formation of a ‘Mass Workers Party’ (MWP). We believe that only such a Workers’ Party will be able to carry forward the struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses of South Africa. We do not believe that any of the white or black nationalist parties can solve the crisis of unemployment, homelessness, disease, illiteracy and poverty that afflict the urban and rural poor; those who live in the crime-ridden townships and squatter settlements of our cities, in the rural slums in the Bantustans and in the slave-like conditions on the white farms and in the dorps [small farming towns]. These parties cannot do so because they accept the capitalist system.”

—“Manifesto of the Workers’ List Party of South Africa,” reprinted in *Socialist Organiser* [London], 17 March

The WLP calls for “nationalisation under workers control of the monopoly



**COSATU union federation met in 1991 under banner of “socialism.” Today ANC wants black unions to prevent strikes on behalf of “government of national unity.”**

companies, banks, mines and land without compensation.” The party’s manifesto also “reject[s] the idea of a Government of National Unity that includes the racists.” It says that a “genuine constituent assembly could be no more than a stepping stone to a Workers’ Government.” (We have in the past polemicized against WOSA for “constituent assembly fetishism” when it failed to connect this revolutionary-democratic demand to the fight for workers soviet rule.) The WLP claims to be standing some 80 candidates in all regions. With an electoral system based on national and regional party slates (rather than constituencies), a vote for the WLP will be counterposed to a vote for the ANC.

The question of political organization of the proletariat, independent from and in opposition to the nationalist ANC, is a key strategic question for South Africa today. In this regard, the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC.

At the same time, we emphasize that the platform of the WLP is left-reformist. *Never once* does it define itself in reference to the ANC, nor even mention it, which takes some doing in South Africa today. Nor does it raise the need for a *socialist revolution* against the neo-apartheid ANC/NP capitalist regime. While calling for “self-defence and a workers’ militia,” the WLP platform does not call for smashing and replacing the existing capitalist state machine which is the direct continuity of the apartheid state. Union-based workers militias, composed of all ethnic groups, are needed to overcome the Inkatha thugs, defend strikers and smash white racist terror.

While the WLP speaks of “a socialist democracy” and “democratic planning process,” this is in the spirit of European social democracy rather than the kind of revolutionary regime based on workers councils (soviets) that would be needed in order to expropriate the wealth of the Randlords and crush the bitter-end resistance of the apartheid racists backed by international imperialism.

Yet in South Africa today, more directly and immediately than anywhere else on the planet, virtually every social and democratic struggle necessarily poses the question of workers revolution. WOSA/WLP has campaigned heavily on the right to a job, and reportedly plans a march for jobs on May 6, at the opening of the National Assembly. But, while their platform calls for “a 35 hour week without loss of pay, an end to retrenchments [layoffs], scab labour and lock-outs,” it presents these demands in a pressure campaign directed toward the capitalist parliament rather than calling for sharp class struggle such as plant occupations, establishing genuine workers control (dual power in the workplace), and demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to create jobs for all.

Although the WLP makes ritual reference to “internationalism,” in reality

this tendency has long stood for a certain species of South African “nation-building.” WOSA’s principal leader, Neville Alexander, has written: “The existing South African state forms the boundaries of the potential nation, not the particular existing cultures” (in Alex Callincos, ed., *Between Apartheid and Capitalism: Conversations with South African Socialists* [1992]). The WLP platform’s call for “a united socialist nation” reflects an understandable reaction to the divide-and-rule policies of apartheid (most visible in the alliance of the Zulu-nationalist Inkatha with the most reactionary, fascist supporters of an Afrikaner *Boerestaat*).

The colonial-derived South African state consists of different national, racial and ethnic groups, with the whites on top, the black Africans on the bottom and the coloureds and Indians occupying an intermediate position. The goal of communists is not to forge “one nation” in the borders of the 1910 Union of South Africa but to achieve political and social equality for *all* of South Africa’s diverse peoples. This requires a racially integrated Leninist party. We call for a socialist federation of Southern Africa, with regional autonomy, should they desire, for such peoples as the Ovimbundu in Namibia/Angola, the Ndebeles and Shonas in Zimbabwe and the Zulus in Natal.

In giving critical support to the WLP slate, we note that we are not able to judge the reality of its campaign on the ground in South Africa. We also point out that groups with centrist politics like WOSA (whose demand for a workers party is consciously confined within the framework of a social-democratic labourite program) are highly susceptible to calls to pressure the popular front, or to vote for the “workers parties of the pop-

ular front.” One may ask: under a constituency-based electoral system, were WOSA and its allies unable to stand candidates everywhere, would the WLP have opposed the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, including its COSATU/SACP allies? This goes to the heart of the debate over a workers party in South Africa which has been raging in the black union movement over the last year.

In an article last fall, we noted that in pushing this issue, WOSA consciously looks to the example of the Brazilian PT (Workers Party) of Luis Ignacio da Silva (“Lula”), as a Third World variant of the British Labour Party. We noted that many “workerists” within COSATU, the main political current toward which WOSA is now orienting, talked of forming a workers party only *after* the April elections, in order to *not* break with the ANC at this crucial juncture. “We emphasize that the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism,” we wrote, “but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution” (WV No. 587, 5 November 1993).

A party of the Bolshevik type, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International, is necessary for the South African masses, like the workers of all countries, to make a successful socialist revolution. A revolutionary workers party can come about only through the intervention of a Marxist nucleus, committed to sweeping away every vestige of apartheid capitalism and dedicated to the cause of international socialism. There can be no justice in South Africa until the non-white majority has power in a revolutionary workers state which would unite Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Indian, with ample room and full democratic rights for those whites who would join in building a society based on genuine equality.

A proletarian revolution in the industrial powerhouse of South Africa would be a beacon to the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, helping to lift the continent out of imperialist-enforced starvation and poverty. It would be an inspiration to the hundreds of millions—black, Asian, Latin American—across the world who have suffered the violence and degradation of racial arrogance at the hands of the haughty white ruling classes of the Western powers—whether in the colonies or within the imperialist metropolises themselves. Black people in the U.S. in particular see in apartheid slavery the mirror of their own oppression. Socialist revolution in South Africa is not just a matter for South African workers—no less than the Russian Revolution of 1917 it would be the cause of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

For a black-centered workers republic! For a socialist federation of Southern Africa! For a South African Trotskyist party as part of a reforged Fourth International! Those who labor must rule! ■

Labor/Black Struggle League • Spartacist League Forums

**For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!**

**South Africa Elections:  
ANC’s Deal with Apartheid Bosses**

**South African Workers Need a Bolshevik Party!**

The superexploitation of black labor is the bedrock upon which South African capitalism rests, but black labor is also its Achilles’ heel. Apartheid capitalism has created its own gravediggers, the black working class, which has the power, organization and self-interest to sweep away the Randlords and those who would defend them. What it needs is revolutionary leadership.

Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member  
ATU Local 308

Chair: Mary Vaughn, Spartacist League

**Sunday, May 1, 3 p.m.**  
Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel  
636 South Michigan (at Balbo)  
For more information: (312) 663-0715

**CHICAGO**

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,  
Spartacist League  
Central Committee

**Saturday, April 30, 4 p.m.**

Call for location

For more information: (510) 839-0851  
(415) 777-9367

**BAY AREA**

# Young Spartacus

## Champaign-Urbana: Salvadoran Cop Training Canceled!

# Abolish the Police Training Institute!

**FLASH**—26 April, as we go to press, we've learned that in response to our call for a protest, the Police Training Institute (PTI) canceled their plans to train cops for the bloody Salvadoran regime. University vice president Robert Resek told a *Daily Illini* reporter, "We can't guarantee that the police that would be coming here would be free of war crimes." SYC member Julia Behn responded, "We have struck a blow in solidarity with the working masses of El Salvador. But we want to see the PTI abolished because the cops still beat up and jail poor people, black people, Latinos and working people every day in this country and internationally. The demonstration against the PTI is happening!" We print below an excerpted leaflet issued by the Champaign-Urbana Spartacus Youth Club on April 24.

The University of Illinois administration wants to bring the heirs of the Salvadoran death squads to Champaign-Urbana. These butchers for imperialism are responsible for tens of thousands of deaths during El Salvador's 12-year civil war. Their atrocities included the Salvadoran military's 1981 massacre of the entire village of El Mozote, in which more than 700 people, including at least 122 children, were killed. More deadly still were the Treasury Police, who tortured and "disappeared" tens of thousands. Among those to be added to the "new" Salvadoran National Civil Police are over 1,000 former Customs Police notorious for their brutality, and members of the DNI intelligence group which compiled "hit lists" for the extermination of leftists, unionists and peasants. Their host in Champaign-Urbana will be the U. of I. Police Training Institute, which wants to train these kill-crazed cops.

The idea of training capitalist police to be "humane" is a disgusting hypocrisy. U. of I. vice president for academic affairs Robert Resek said the training would help Salvadoran cops become like

U.S. cops, who "are trained to believe in human rights." Tell that to Rodney King, who was beaten nearly to death by LAPD thugs following their standard operating procedure; the Branch Davidians in Waco, incinerated by the sinister Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; and striking Teamsters, who have been beaten and gassed by police for defending their picket lines from Chicago to Southern California.

The Salvadoran National Civil Police force resulted from the 1992 "peace" agreement that disarmed the FMLN guerrillas. Under the plan, former FMLN members are to be allocated spots in the

clean up their image.

The so-called "peace" accord came after a decade of civil war in which the FMLN, a large and very popular guerrilla force, controlled vast areas of the country. Despite their revolutionary posturing, however, the FMLN always favored a negotiated settlement to guarantee the maintenance of capitalist rule instead of a revolutionary struggle to sweep away the landlords, the blood-soaked military and police and the "14 families" of the ruling capitalist oligarchy. During the war, most of the U.S. left opposed the call for military victory by the leftist insurgents and built popular-front coalitions

with Democratic Party liberals. The so-called "peace" accord came after a decade of civil war in which the FMLN, a large and very popular guerrilla force, controlled vast areas of the country. Despite their revolutionary posturing, however, the FMLN always favored a negotiated settlement to guarantee the maintenance of capitalist rule instead of a revolutionary struggle to sweep away the landlords, the blood-soaked military and police and the "14 families" of the ruling capitalist oligarchy. During the war, most of the U.S. left opposed the call for military victory by the leftist insurgents and built popular-front coalitions

for Salvadoran death squad leaders and the worst Latin American dictators, butchers and war criminals. It was liberal democrat JFK who initiated the "Alliance for Progress"—a cover for "counter-insurgency" actions and training throughout Latin America. Meanwhile, Kennedy tried repeatedly and unsuccessfully to overthrow the Cuban Revolution while sending in 16,000 elite Green Beret "advisers" to Vietnam in the early '60s to head off revolution. Schooling the enforcers of imperialism on campuses is nothing new. Through ROTC, CIA recruitment and government-funded research, bourgeois universities are training grounds for the future leaders of the capitalist ruling class. Indeed, far from being Ivory Towers dedicated to the disinterested pursuit of knowledge, universities are tied by a thousand threads to the capitalist state. Anti-imperialist students once had ROTC on the run. From 1967 to 1969, during the height of Vietnam antiwar protests, ROTC was withdrawn from more than 100 campuses. Shortly after the removal of American ground troops from Vietnam in the early '70s and the Watergate scandal, the ruling class renewed its drive to get and keep ROTC on campuses to combat the "Vietnam Syndrome" and to refuel its anti-Soviet war drive.

Only the social power of the working class can sweep away the blood-drenched imperialists and their tin-pot dictators once and for all. But driving these war criminals off campus can strike a small but real blow at the imperialists' designs in Central America. And a blow against U.S. imperialism at home is a blow to the advantage of those who defend the Cuban deformed workers state, fighters for the oppressed worldwide and the international working class. **No cop training for Salvadoran death squad regime! From Los Angeles to South Africa, cops are the bosses' paid killers: Abolish the Police Training Institute! Be there to demonstrate, Thursday, April 28, at noon on the Quad. ■**



**Brutal Salvadoran cops drag off leftist demonstrator last spring. U.S. imperialism gave cops "professional" training in savagery.**

police along with members of the military and a percentage from neither group. But the composition of the force doesn't matter; what is key is whose interests this force will protect. The "new" police force protects the same ruling-class interests as the old, and while the FMLN has disbanded its army, the Salvadoran capitalists are not dissolving their armed forces, just shuffling them around and trying to

tions with Democratic Party liberals.

The recent "free elections" in El Salvador illustrate that the "peace" is a cruel farce. Indeed, the death squads got very busy when the election campaign opened last November, gunning down at least 40 FMLN and union leaders. The Illinois Police Training Institute is of an ilk with the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Ft. Benning, Georgia—training ground

# Interracial Boycott of Alabama School

## A Tale of Two Proms

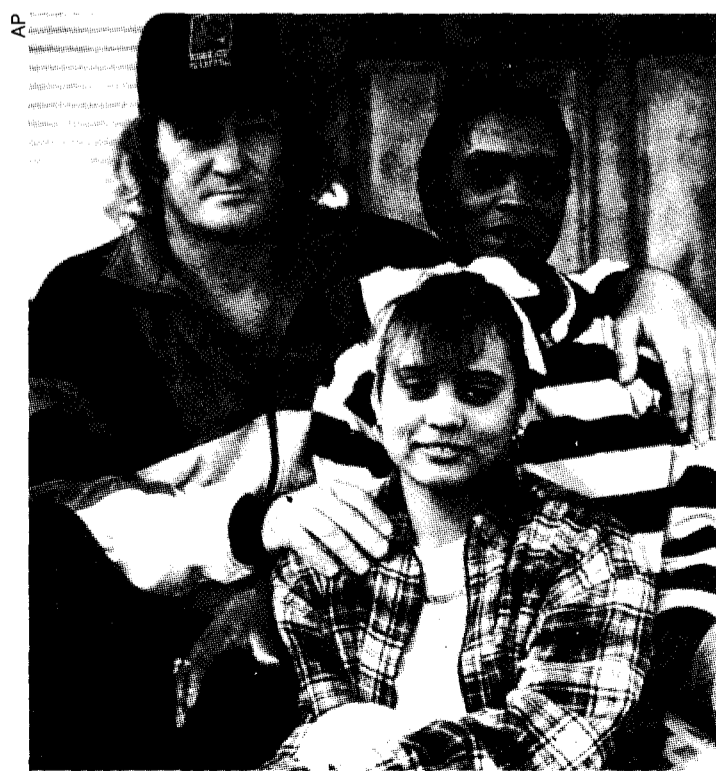
A racist principal's schemes to stop interracial dating turned prom night into protest night at Randolph County High School in the east-central Alabama town of Wedowee. The April 23 official prom at the high school included a heavy police presence. This cop provocation was at the behest of principal Hulond Humphries, who argued interracial dating leads to "trouble." A protest prom was organized by civil rights organizations and students who have been waging a school boycott in protest of Humphries' attempt to impose the social mores of the defeated slavocracy on high school youth today.

Back in February, Hulond Humphries called an assembly to ask students if anyone was planning to attend the prom as part of an interracial couple (38 percent of the school's students are black). When more than a dozen hands went up,

Humphries threatened to cancel the dance! The president of the junior class, Revonda Bowen, whose father is white and mother is black, had planned to take her white boyfriend to the prom. She rose to challenge the principal's absurd racist threat, and asked: "Who am I supposed to take?" Revonda burst into tears as Humphries replied, "That's a problem, Revonda. Your mom and dad shouldn't have had you. You were a mistake" (*New York Times*, 16 March). Humphries said he was trying to prevent others from making the same "mistake."

This grotesque incident produced an outcry from students. Five hundred black and white Randolph County residents signed a petition calling for Humphries to be fired. But the racist Randolph County School Board backed up their man Humphries, first suspending him *with pay*, then reinstating him on March 31. Racist reactionaries organized a 100-car motorcade in support of Humphries, and the "grand titan" of the Alabama Ku

*continued on page 11*



**Revonda Bowen, victim of racist school principal, with her parents.**

## Boston University Forum on Chiapas Revolt

# ISO Glad-Hands Mexican Consul

The cry of rebellion from Chiapas, Mexico resonates among all those who challenge the imperialists' "New World Order." Coast to coast, demonstrations in U.S. cities protested the Mexican government's bloody repression of Mexican peasants. The news of the rebellion, which denounced the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as a "death sentence" for Mexico's indigenous peoples, found an echo across the ocean in Europe, where militant Alfa-Romeo workers in Italy raised signs proclaiming "Viva Zapata!"

Any leftist with a gut hatred for the capitalist government's pillage and repression of the Indian uprising would want to solidarize with the *victims* of bourgeois state terror. But the reformist pseudo-socialists of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) recently marked the Chiapas rebellion in their own grotesque way, joining a roundtable discussion with a spokesman for the Mexican government on March 25 at Boston University.

Before the "dialogue" began, David Whitehouse, the ISO's spokesman, went up to shake hands with Mr. Ortíz, the Mexican consul in Boston. This representative of the bloody Mexican government was the lead-off speaker. He carped about Chiapas even being on the agenda, claiming the forum's title, "The Military and the Guerrilla in Latin America," shouldn't encompass Chiapas and protested that Mexico is a "democracy." ISOer Whitehouse followed with a bloodless, academic assessment in which the word "NAFTA" wasn't mentioned once, since the ISO has *never opposed* the imperialist plundering promised by this trade pact, against which the Chiapas peasants rose in revolt.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have consistently called for international working-class opposition to the NAFTA rape of Mexico. The ISO, in refusing to oppose NAFTA, gives *de*

*facto* backing to the intensification of imperialist exploitation by their own ruling class.

The "New World Disorder" of heightened economic rivalries and military intervention by the U.S. around the globe is a product of the capitalist counter-revolution in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, prepared by decades of Stalinist conciliation of imperialism.



January 1994: Captured Zapatista rebels were summarily executed by Mexican government forces in Chiapas province.

This was a huge *defeat* for the international working class *which the ISO hailed*.

In contrast, we Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) fought to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against internal counterrevolution and imperialist attack. While the ISO cheered Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 coup for Wall Street, we fought and continue to fight against the "free market" misery Yeltsin's counterrevolution has brought to

the land of the Bolshevik October 1917 Revolution.

Not only are the State Department socialists of the ISO silent on NAFTA—while their Canadian "comrades" oppose it—the *bloody repression in Chiapas also didn't elicit a word from Whitehouse*. And no wonder. The ISO's newspaper, *Socialist Worker* (March 1994), grotesquely alibis the butchers of Chia-

derous repression against the working people and the peasantry of Mexico, particularly in Chiapas—unlike counterfeit socialists like the International Socialist Organization. We say that it is absolutely necessary to fight using the methods of class struggle to spread the rebellion in Chiapas to the cities, to the proletarian centers, to the concentrations of oil workers, to fight for workers revolution to overthrow the blood-drenched Mexican capitalist government."

These remarks were met with applause by the audience, while the various panelists turned red with rage or shame. One consular official went apoplectic, launching into an attack on Trotskyism and dismissing socialism as "an interesting paradigm." Mr. Ortíz sought to refurbish his fake-left credentials, protesting that the ruling party in Mexico had granted asylum to Trotsky and endorsing the ISO's limp "socialist alternative," for "reform" and "restructuring." The ISO stayed mute on the issue of the bloody terror against the Zapatistas (several hundred of whom were slaughtered by the Mexican army) and concluded with a mouthful of cold porridge about "pressure from below" "to open up new freedoms."

After the forum, Whitehouse again glad-handed Mexican consul Ortíz and they shared a cozy tête-à-tête. Asked later about all the hand-holding, Whitehouse said he shook Ortíz' hand the first time because he "didn't know who he was." And the second time? Well, um, "he sort of slipped his hand into mine without asking." Yikes! By the ISO's rules of etiquette, this must be...political "date rape."

The ISO is looking to cash in on liberal disaffection with the racist Clinton administration by raising a radical-sounding program to do the impossible—reform the rotten capitalist system. Young militants who look to the example of Chiapas as proof that it is right to rebel against capitalism should join the Spartacus Youth Clubs in the fight for socialism. ■

pas, stating: "If the government follows through on all of its promises, the accord will represent significant gains for Indian peasants."

Spartacist supporter Tom Downing rose to denounce the chummy alliance between the ostensible socialists of the ISO and the Mexican consul. Turning his back on them, he faced the audience and said:

"We would not enter into a dialogue or a debate with a representative of the government which has been conducting mur-

Boston, March 25: ISO spokesman Whitehouse (right) shares platform with consul of bloody Mexican government (left).

Young Spartacus

# NYPD Truancy Squads Hound Youth

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani is giving New York City youth an education in racist police repression. Since the first week in April, cops assigned to special truancy patrols throughout the city have been rounding up hundreds of teenagers a day, demanding identification, frisking them and loading them into waiting police vans. The youths are then delivered to "collection points" at designated schools, where their parents and school officials are notified...if they're lucky.

These "truancy officers" are fully armed cops in a city where it's practically a crime to be young and black. We remember Shuaib Latif, the unarmed 17-year-old son of a black Muslim cleric, killed by the police last January, and countless other victims of the trigger-happy NYPD. Despite the phony "sensitivity training" they received for this assignment, these cops are a deadly threat to youth. Young blacks and His-

## Stop the Roundups!

panics, who are sure to be the primary targets of this repressive measure, are especially threatened by the racist roundups.

These new "truancy sweeps" are a full-scale assault on the civil liberties of young people, giving cops police-state powers to stop, question, search and detain them at will. Frisco Rodriguez, a young barber in Brooklyn, complained, "Every cop that goes by stops me. Everyone stops and asks me where I go to school" (*New York Times*, 7 April). And what happens when a teenager responds to this latest attempt to regiment the populace with natural adolescent rebelliousness? As a junior at Brooklyn's Mid-

wood High noted, "A lot of kids—especially minority kids—don't trust the police."

The new crackdown—the first city-wide program against truancy in three decades—represents in part an attempt to revive the repressive social climate of the 1950s, with the capitalist state acting *in loco parentis*. But today no one is even pretending that the aim of truancy laws is to ensure that kids get an education. Giuliani's roundups are being explicitly promoted as a way to keep youth off the streets. "A significant number of truants are involved in criminal activities of all types, ranging up to robberies," Police Commissioner William J.

Bratton told the press. "It is quite clear we're having an increase of youth criminal activities during school hours."

So in the eyes of the racist cops, any supposedly school-age youth on the street during school hours for *whatever reason* is not merely a truant but a suspected felon. The vaguest suspicion of criminal activity is all a New York cop needs these days to try out his new deadly hollow-point bullets. And if it ever gets to court, the felons in blue uniforms just make up their story—the systematic police perjury dubbed "testifying" in the precincts, according to a leaked report from the Mollen Commission on cop corruption. You can bet that "draft" will never see the light of day.

For most poor, working-class and minority youth in this city, public schools are not educational institutions but *holding pens*. With the gutting of

*continued on page 11*

# El Salvador...

(continued from page 3)

resigned three days before the report was published, FMLN leader Juan Ramón Medrano declared that Ponce "had played a positive role"; FMLN coordinator Shafik Handal, the secretary general of the Salvadoran Communist Party, declared that Ponce "supported the negotiations" (*New York Times*, 13 March 1993). The "moderate" general they praised was the same Ponce who ordered the assassination of the six Jesuits!

The rightward turn by the guerrilla leaders has astonished many liberals and leftists, and it has been dramatic. The refounding of the FMLN as a political party in 1992 took place at a meeting in the plush Camino Real Hotel. Reflecting the FMLN's reconciliation with Yankee imperialism's "New World Order," the party's program doesn't mention the word "socialism" and instead speaks of "revolutionary humanism," of the "revolutionary-democratic ideal for change" and of the need to uphold the "fundamental value of the family" (*Pensamiento Propio*, November 1992). The election platform of the FMLN and Convergencia Democrática (CD) states, "the coalition pledges to develop a market economy" and "an economic policy based on genuine competitiveness" (*La Prensa Gráfica* [San Salvador], 16 March). The leftist presidential candidate Rubén Zamora declared, "there will be no nationalizations" if he is elected, and even "price controls can only be allowed for a limited time" (*La Prensa Gráfica*, 3 March).

Zamora has always been a Christian Democrat, although he broke with the official party led by Washington's man José Napoleón Duarte after his brother, Mario Zamora, then attorney general, was assassinated in 1980 by a death squad (following a death threat by D'Aubuisson on national TV) and the government did nothing. Another former Christian Democrat is now returning to his ideological roots, namely Joaquín Villalobos, leader of the ERP (formerly Revolutionary People's Army, now renamed the Expression of Popular Renovation) faction of the FMLN. Villalobos recently declared, "We were never Marxists." True enough—we repeatedly emphasized that despite their leftist trappings the Salvadoran guerrillas were petty-bourgeois nationalists. And now the ERP leader wants to put his youthful leftism behind him, saying "The civil war was our puberty, now we have grown up." Having hung up his AK-47, Villalobos declares his current goal to be turning the FMLN into "the counterpart of the Democratic Party in the U.S." (*Der Spiegel*, 16 April).

In a book published in late 1992, *Una revolución en la izquierda por una revolución democrática* (A Revolution in the Left for a Democratic Revolution), the "older but wiser" Villalobos says goodbye to the "dogmatic childhood of the FMLN." Denouncing "left-extremist criticism," he comes out for "democratic socialism." This born-again Clintonite social democrat declares the market to

be "a component in the progress of civilization," and a value that is "inherent to the human being." In El Salvador, says Villalobos, "in the context of the market, a democratic struggle between big monopoly capital and small producers" will take place. In addition, the left must "preserve values, which were erroneously ignored by the revolutionaries: family, property, nation, religion, individual freedom, respect for nature, democracy, etc." This political pacemaker for the FMLN denounced "forced collectivization and levelling," adding that "enrichment is permitted."

Villalobos summed up: "We must correct the idea that socialism means the elimination of private property, the market, opposition, etc." To carry out this "correction," he calls for an "ideological

**Former guerrilla leader Villalobos now hails capitalist market economy, hobnobs with generals whose troops mowed down tens of thousands of workers and peasants.**



Valtierra/Cuartoscuro

purge" of the FMLN to get rid of "a mentality that is hostile to the system" (in "From People's War to People's Capitalism," *Arbeiterkampf*, 5 May 1993).

Ideological purges and eliminating opposition are something the ERP leader, whose code name was Attila, knows plenty about. When back in 1975 renowned Salvadoran leftist poet Roque Dalton came out in opposition to Villalobos' "militarist" line and argued for mass work in the cities, the ERP leadership arrested him on charges of being a "right-wing revisionist," a "Cuban agent" and even a "CIA agent." A month later, Villalobos had Dalton executed. In closing the ERP's congress last June, Villalobos "assumed responsibility for Roque Dalton's death and announced that the ERP is trying to locate Dalton's remains" (*Diario Latino* [San Salvador], 21 June 1993). But this "apology" didn't stop the "renewed" ERP from purging a left-wing opposition. One of its leaders complained of the ERP that "every single one of their cadres has arranged to have his own company" with party funds (*Arbeiterkampf*, 9 March).

While this former guerrilla leader is particularly shameless, grotesquely hobnobbing with the generals in their hobnailed jackboots, Villalobos is by no means unique on the Salvadoran left. He is rather a vile example of the Latin American nationalists who mimic the values of their bourgeois rulers. At the time of the 1984 assassination of FMLN leader Comandante Ana María by her factional rival Comandante Marcial (Salvador Cayetano Carpio), we wrote:

"The struggle to forge genuinely Bolshevik parties in Latin America is an

arduous task, requiring a clear political break from nationalism and from the social values of a nationalist left that imitates its own rulers, embracing the values that have led to every mass-murdering bourgeois *caudillo*.... For the imitative macho pigs of the petty-bourgeois nationalist 'left,' what goes for a programmatic split is to say, 'Cabrón, I screw your wife. And you steal party funds.' And of course they blame everything on *yanqui* CIA agents to amnesty their own rulers."

—"Behind Bloody Tragedy of Ana María and Cayetano Carpio," *WV* No. 350, 16 March 1984

Villalobos has his rivals within the FMLN, and following the elections this coalition of five former guerrilla groups may split apart. But even the supposed left wing, the FPL (People's Liberation Forces), declares that the peace accords

clares: "Production is like the military. You need clear orders that are followed." And during the election campaign, labor was essentially ignored by the FMLN. The National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS) sent its platform of demands to the FMLN/CD without effect, and according to *El Salvador Proceso* (5 April), "the FMLN paid less attention to labor leaders in choosing its candidates. In some cases, partly due to the need to get closer to business sectors, the FMLN opted for small business leaders..." While the ARENA government denounced the 7,000 health workers who struck for 39 days last fall as dupes of the FMLN, threatening to fire all strikers, in fact the former guerrillas, avid for respectability, did nothing to back the strike. Nor did they lift a finger when workers at Rosales Hospital went back out during the election campaign.

Their rhetoric of "armed struggle" and anti-imperialist "revolution" obscured the fact that the Salvadoran guerrillas were always at bottom nationalists who sought to bargain with imperialism. With their perspectives limited to tiny El Salvador or even Central America, they couldn't conceive of a struggle to bring down the capitalist-imperialist system. This would require extending the struggle to the millions of combative proletarians to the north in Mexico, who were facing the hammer blows of IMF austerity imposed by the capitalist government of the perennially ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). Instead, the FMLN leaders looked to the PRI for diplomatic support. And now that a peasant insurrection has broken out in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas, the FMLN leaders rush in with sage advice to negotiate a "solution" like they did in El Salvador!

Salvadoran militants who seek to fight imperialism rather than to make a "separate peace" that may enrich a few while the vast majority remain brutally oppressed and exploited are understandably distraught at the FMLN's pathetically "moderate" election campaign. The first lesson they must draw is that this lurch to the right was inherent in the petty-bourgeois program of Stalinist-nationalist reformism. While some may have had illusions of building "socialism in one country" in this statelet, in reality the program of "two-stage revolution" served as a roadblock to socialist revolution throughout the region. And as the impact of the Stalinist collapse in East Europe and the USSR hit Central America, with the Sandinistas' 1990 election defeat in Nicaragua and the cutoff of aid to and from Cuba, the FMLN threw in the towel.

The answer to the FMLN's electoral-reformist popular frontism is not to head back to Guazapa Volcano to take up peasant guerrilla struggle again. A workers party must be built on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution to win the most conscious elements to the banner of Bolshevik *internationalism*, of world socialist revolution. This was the program of the early Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, and it was under this red flag that Farabundo Martí fought. Martí, the founder of Salvadoran communism, was an internationalist to the core, fighting in Guatemala, in New York and Nicaragua, and breaking with Augusto César Sandino over the latter's nationalism.

Above all, what's needed is to take the battle to the heartland of Yankee imperialism. In such a struggle, the tens of thousands who died heroically in El Salvador will not have fought in vain: where the nationalists see only a diminutive country in the narrow waistband of the continent, "the Tom Thumb of the Americas," proletarian revolutionaries see the hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran workers who are today playing an important role in labor struggles from San Salvador to Los Angeles and elsewhere in the U.S. This is the revolutionary potential we of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) look to. ■

are the basis for a "democratic revolution." While continuing to talk of a socialist perspective, the FPL holds that the necessary conditions for it are not present. Closing the party's congress last May, FPL secretary general Salvador Sánchez Ceren declared that the peace agreements "opened the path to democracy, modernization of the political system," and called for a "pact of governability with the country's most important economic, political and social sectors" (*La Prensa Gráfica*, 25 May 1993). In fact, the FPL first proposed the bourgeois politician Rubén Zamora as the FMLN's presidential candidate (the ERP wanted a right-wing Christian Democrat).

## For a Trotskyist Workers Party!

Already at the outset of the guerrilla fighting at the beginning of the '80s, as we marched for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists," the Spartacist League warned:

"What kind of 'political solution' can there be for the savagely oppressed Salvadoran workers and peasants short of a revolutionary victory over their landlord/capitalist/military class enemies? So long as the bloody officer corps remains intact and a rapacious oligarchy continues to rule the land, the death squads will continue their killing and abysmal poverty will be the fate of the masses in El Salvador. The only ones who stand to gain by an illusory 'compromise' are the capitalist politicians (many of them former junta members) who now seek to play games with the buffoon Duarte. Alarmed by the extreme class confrontation in El Salvador, their main concern is to stave off the 'threat' of workers revolution."

—"Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!" *WV* No. 279, 24 April 1981

Repeatedly, we stressed that "because of their fundamental commitment to defending capitalism," the guerrilla leaders and their bourgeois politician allies such as Zamora "do everything to keep the Salvadoran civil war within national limits. Reformism is inherently national, socialist revolution international in scope.... The petty-bourgeois nationalism of the Central American left also leads it to abandon the working class in favor of peasant guerrilla struggle" ("For Workers Revolution in Central America!" *WV* No. 321, 14 January 1983).

Today, the bourgeois aspirations of the top leaders of the Salvadoran left are even more blatant. In case anyone begins talking about unions in the companies founded by ERP leaders, Villalobos de-

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# Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

order in this tinderbox of Europe. The imperialist economic blockade of Serbia, while causing terrible suffering for the civilian population—especially old people, young children and the poor—had no effect on the war on the ground in Bosnia. The previous NATO attempt at using military force—the pinprick raids against Serbian forces around Gorazde on April 10-11—backfired. The Serbs blockaded 5,000 UN “peacekeepers” throughout Bosnia, Serbian gunners shot down a British Sea Harrier fighter, and the offensive against Gorazde was stepped up.

The latest military moves by the Western imperialists reflect divergent appetites in the Balkans. Clinton’s White House keeps harping on NATO’s “credibility”—and its own—as the U.S. seeks to act as top cop in a “New World Order”...without risking American casualties. Reunified German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Meanwhile, in the wake of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet Union, Russia wants to reassert its “great power” status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

But despite differing long-term interests and short-term concerns—the Americans want to go further and arm the Muslims, the French and British are worried about their troops on the ground, the Russians don’t want to see Serbia too humiliated—they are all united for the moment in forcing the Serbs into line and more generally imposing an imperialist carve-up of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

While opposing *all sides* in the fratricidal civil war between the Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims, we call upon the working people to defend Serbia against imperialist attack. The nationalist atrocities carried out by all sides in Bosnia pale in comparison to the crimes of the Western imperialists. The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 were a prelude to the first imperialist world war, which slaughtered millions of working people. The U.S. which spouts about “democracy” is responsible for the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the carpet-bombing of Vietnam and the terror bombing of Iraq. And the German Fourth Reich, which sanctimoniously denounces Serbian “ethnic cleansing,” is self-proclaimed successor state to the Nazi regime which murdered millions of Slavs, Jews and Gypsies.

Imperialist hands off Serbia—Down



New York, April 14: Spartacists call for defense of Serbia against imperialist attack.



Bosnian Serbs welcome Russian troops with reactionary three-finger Orthodox Christian salute and hail fascistic pan-Slav demagogue Zhirinovskiy (bottom right). Boris Yeltsin and Helmut Kohl (top right) engineered Russian intervention to bring Serbs into line in imperialist carve-up of former Yugoslavia.

with the starvation blockade! All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans, now!

## Western Imperialism Behind Balkan Bloodbath

Western propaganda blames the war on Serbian “aggression” and “age-old tribal feuding” in the Balkans. In reality, this orgy of murderous nationalism originates in the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the U.S., Germany and the other NATO powers. Since the imperialist powers had different policies, they did not intervene in Yugoslavia in a united and decisive way.

In the ethnic-nationalist wars set off by the secession of Croatia and Slovenia in the summer of 1991, tens of thousands have been killed and maimed, and hundreds of thousands driven from their homes. All sides have embraced the most reactionary “traditions,” with the Croats harking back to the pro-Nazi World War II Ustasha regime, the Serbs glorifying monarchist Chetniks and the Muslims unfurling the green banner of Islamic fundamentalism. These were precisely the forces which Tito’s Communist Partisans overcame while defeating the German Wehrmacht to create a multinational Yugoslav workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed.

But the nationalist jackals, all of them, picking at the corpse of Yugoslavia, are not the only forces responsible for the communalist bloodbath. Behind them stand imperialist powers who are increasingly pushing their own particular interests as economic rivalries emerge which were formerly muted by shared anti-Sovietism. Of these, Germany is most directly responsible for the destruction of Titoist Yugoslavia. After buying out East Germany in 1990 from the disintegrating Soviet Stalinist regime, German capital is pursuing important economic interests in the Balkan peninsula, which produces strategic minerals—chrome, zinc, lead, copper, bauxite, silver.

In late 1991, Germany steamrolled the European Community into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia over the objections of Britain and France, allies of Serbia during the interwar period. The establishment of a Croatian nationalist state provoked a revolt by the large Serb minority, backed by the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav federal army. The war for eastern Croatia ended—or, more accurately, was temporarily suspended—with the Serbs controlling 30 percent of the territory of that former Yugoslav republic, a region now renamed the Republic of Serb Krajina.

Then came the three-sided communalist slaughter in Bosnia between the

Slavic Muslims, Serbs and Croats. The Serbs in Bosnia are predominantly peasants and owned 65 percent of the republic’s land although making up only a third of its population. The Muslims, slightly less than half the population, are largely an urbanized people. Consequently, when the fighting began the Serb forces gained control of most of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

The *Wall Street Journal* (21 April) pointed to the fundamental dilemma facing Western imperialism, headlining “Serbs Bet That the West Won’t Risk the Thing They Fear: Ground Troops.” In Bonn, the Kohl government is pushing hard to overcome “constitutional” objections to sending in the German army as “peacekeepers.” But Germany has another problem. Such an action would provoke a violent response from those peoples who suffered as the Nazis laid waste to the South Slavic lands. It would certainly inflame anti-German sentiment in Greece, which has backed the Serbs. More generally, a German army in the Balkans would send shudders throughout Europe—East and West.

Unlike Germany, the U.S. has no intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics are divided between the contending Balkan nationalisms. Originally, Washington sought to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the region while preserving a federated Yugoslav state. When these plans were torpedoed by the Fourth Reich, the U.S. had no coherent Balkan policy. However, the Serbs’ defiance of Western imperialist diktats, their open contempt for UN resolutions and NATO threats, is an affront to the American would-be masters of the world. Some in the U.S. ruling class have been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson.

But the U.S. has its own constraints... on the home front. The continuing potency of the “Vietnam syndrome” was revealed and reinforced recently in Somalia. The U.S. troops supposedly sent on a UN “humanitarian” mission to help feed the starving people of this East African country were in fact a colonial expeditionary force which massacred hundreds of black Africans. But when Somali clan warriors managed to turn the tables and kill a few dozen U.S. soldiers, the overwhelming response of the American public was: Pull U.S. forces out, now!

While Clinton waffles on Bosnia from one week to the next, the Pentagon generals have been vocally “dovish” about getting stuck in a Balkan “quagmire.” Anxious to avoid any American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. This was expressed in a particularly open



and cynical way by liberal Democratic Senator Joseph Biden:

“The Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats are perfectly capable of fighting for themselves. There’s no need for a Vietnamization. There’s not a need for a single American soldier. Let’s supply them with weapons and let them go after the Serbs.”

—New York Times, 18 April

In other words, U.S. imperialism is willing to fight the Serbs to the last drop of Croat and Muslim blood!

## Russia: Soft Cop for the NATO Powers

Enter at this stage Russia, the historic patron of their Serbian “Slavic little brothers.” Partly to divert popular discontent at home over the economic devastation resulting from the capitalist counterrevolution, the Yeltsin regime—fully backed by the nationalist opposition led by fascistic demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—saw in the Balkan crisis a golden opportunity to posture as a “great power.” Moscow’s deputy foreign minister and chief envoy in the Balkans, Vitaly Churkin, proclaimed: “The West should learn a lesson from the current Bosnian crisis. The lesson is that Russia should be treated as an equal partner” (*Economist*, 26 February).

But this is not counterposed to acting in concert with Western powers. We noted in “Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe” (*WV* No. 595, 4 March) that the Russians intervened to help broker a German plan to establish a Greater Croatia overlapping a Greater Serbia. The Croat and Muslim regions in Bosnia would link up with Croatia. Krajina Serbs would dissolve their statelet and accept the sovereignty of the Croatian government. In turn, the Bosnian Serbs, with a diminished territory, would be allowed to link up with Serbia. Moscow’s slated role in selling this deal was to solace the Serbs, for example, promising the Krajina Serbs that the Russians would protect them against the fascistic Croatian regime of Franjo Tudjman.

When several hundred Russian soldiers, wearing the blue helmets of UN “peacekeepers,” entered the environs of Sarajevo in mid-February, they were welcomed by the besieging Bosnian Serb forces, who saw them as protectors against the threatened NATO air attacks. We quoted in our earlier article a commentary by the *Wall Street Journal* (22 February) complaining that the interplay between Russia and the U.S. over Bosnia “looked more like confrontation” than “cooperation.” Indeed, the Clinton White House was initially irked by Moscow’s move. But the Russian intervention’s purpose was to implement a UN ultimatum to the Serbs to pull back from Sarajevo, and Moscow supported a U.S.

continued on page 10

# Teamsters...

(continued from page 12)

militant fighters. All Master Freight locals must be pulled out now—Carey's "me too" agreements with companies covering over 40,000 truck drivers and inside workers have split the union and undermined the strike. Spread the strike—send out roving pickets to the "double breasted" non-union subsidiaries of Yellow, Roadway and CF Freightways. Pull out Teamster brothers and sisters at UPS! For mass pickets to stop any scabbing and deal with the cop scabherders like the Minneapolis Teamsters did in 1934! Railroad workers and longshoremen have honored Teamster picket lines everywhere they have gone up. Join with them to shut down the "intermodal" facilities—at the docks and piggyback yards. This points the way forward to a militant organizing drive to reforge Teamster power.

This is what is urgently needed to win this strike. But neither Carey and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) crew on the GEB nor the "old guard" bureaucrats in the regional conferences and joint councils are prepared to take on the employers and their cops, courts and Democratic and Republican politicians. Among the strikers' ranks, however, there are plenty who recognize the need to spread the strike to win. In many areas, strikers have acted to initiate mobile picket squads to stop the movement of scab freight.

At Yellow Freight in Port Newark, New Jersey, when a van tried to pick up scab freight, it developed a bad case of flat tires (all four). So did the tow truck that was sent for it. As cops mobilized, a large number of pickets from TNT Red Star up the road moved in formation, flanked by a few unionists on motorcycles and a pickup loaded with strikers.

The Teamsters strike is seen by workers everywhere as a long overdue chance to hit back. Strikers have snapped up copies of *Workers Vanguard*, with our call to "Spread the Strike": over 2,000 copies of the last two issues of *WV* have been sold at picket lines, rallies and union halls. In Los Angeles, heavily Latino independent truckers and ILWU longshoremen are honoring the lines. Teamsters picketing Sea-Land stressed the need to organize non-union truckers across the country. They were outraged at the virtual police occupation of the Long Beach port—and the local IBT bureaucrats' support for it—when the independent truckers went on strike last fall.

In Atlanta, when union pickets were dispatched to the CSX piggyback rail facility to stop freight, their lines were honored for 24 hours by railroad engi-

neers, UPS drivers and crane operators from another IBT local. In Jersey, a 40-year veteran called for shutting down Port Newark and Port Elizabeth: "What we ought to do is take all of these pickets out here and go out in front of the whole port and tie everything up."

## Feds' Hands Off the Teamsters!

Teamsters are seeing firsthand the deadly results of government interven-



Martelli/Boston Herald

**North Reading, Massachusetts, April 12: Regional police SWAT team wades into Teamster picket line, manhandling president of Local 25.**

tion in the union movement. Labor-hating prosecutors like current New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani have used the RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) weapon to engineer a virtual takeover of the IBT by the capitalist government. Invited in by the "reformers" like TDU (who were backed to the hilt by a host of phony "socialists"), the feds threw out hundreds of officials and ran the union's convention and elections. Under current court orders, the Teamsters will be controlled by a triumvirate of federal overseers until 1997.

This is the culmination of a decades-long campaign by both capitalist parties, and especially the liberal wing of the Democrats, to shackle the power of the Teamsters union. Virtually alone on the left, *Workers Vanguard* and the Spartacist League have opposed on principle any intervention in the labor movement by the bosses' government. We demand:

Feds and finks out of the Teamsters!

On April 19, Carey's bureaucratic opponents in the union rallied 2,000 Teamsters in Washington, D.C., protesting Carey and the TDU's latest maneuver—abolition of the IBT's four U.S. regional conferences. The conferences grew out of the organizing campaigns of over-the-road drivers in the 1930s and 1940s, drives that established the Teamsters as a powerful industrial union. Now they are the power base of the remaining

Within two days of the White House call, Carey had reportedly agreed to hiring of part-timers, only calling them "casuals" and dickering over the wages.

This was followed by reports that "Teamsters negotiators have agreed to allow trucking companies to move more freight by rail" (*Journal of Commerce*, 22 April). The companies' schemes to increase use of "intermodal" service will wipe out thousands of union jobs. Trucking, rail and longshore unions must demand that the benefits of any new technology accrue to the workers, by fighting for a sliding scale of hours, dividing the work among all workers at no loss in pay.

One of the by-products of the government operation against the Teamsters was the installation in the Marble Palace (International headquarters) of a layer of pro-Democratic Party liberals and social democrats from the United Mine Workers (UMWA) and other unions. They brought with them the anti-strike scheme of the "Corporate Campaign." At the press conference, a Carey aide announced that "We will be taking thousands of our members off the picket line" in order to march outside Wall Street banks! They are begging the capitalist leveraged buyout corporate raiders and union-busters to "make amends" and "negotiate in good faith with Teamsters."

Carey is playing by the bosses' rules—and will kill the strike before he defies his government friends. The government is the executive committee of the capitalist class, and it has declared "illegal" every effective class-struggle weapon, from mass pickets to "hot cargoing" (the secondary boycotts that built the Teamsters union in the over-the-road campaigns of the 1930s).

Even as Carey accepted government "mediation," flight attendants at American Airlines were protesting the treatment they have been getting after agreeing to binding arbitration under the Clinton administration. The union tops had begged Clinton to intervene, and portrayed it as a victory when strikers went back to work under arbitration. But American has taken its revenge on the flight attendants, disciplining scores of workers and giving scabs preferential treatment. It is a bitter lesson in the class nature of the state that Teamsters should learn from.

Key to winning the strike and saving the union is unleashing the Teamsters' tremendous power. To build a combative labor movement you need a class-struggle leadership that stands unconditionally for the independence of the unions from the capitalist state, that understands that the working class and oppressed need our own party, a workers party that will fight for a workers government. ■

"old guard" bureaucrats. But Teamsters have no interest in seeing Carey and the TDU (or the feds) rip up the existing union structure to strengthen their hold on the Teamsters.

The old guard is plenty corrupt, but their biggest crime is that they stood by and let the union be decimated. They scabbed on the recent UPS strike and now sit back and treat this as "Carey's strike." But a defeat here would be a major blow to the Teamsters and all labor.

The federal government's intervention came as the strike began affecting delivery of manufacturing parts, especially in auto, with serious shortages reported in Alaska and Hawaii (both dependent on containers shipped through Sea-Land on the West Coast). After "some phone calls" from the Clinton administration, Carey announced at an April 14 press conference that suddenly the Teamster bureaucrats were willing to "discuss" TMI's demand for part-time workers.

# Balkans...

(continued from page 9)

shootdown of four Serb planes in late February. As we wrote last issue: "The now-capitalist Russian army is acting as the shill and cat's paw for Bonn's plan to impose an imperialist partition of ex-Yugoslavia by squeezing the Serbs."

Speaking to a conference of his Christian Democratic party, German chancellor Kohl bragged about his close cooperation with the Russian leader: "I want to say very clearly that I am happy that with Boris Yeltsin and the Russian government, a new power is now assuming its responsibility." Russian emissary Vitaly Churkin emphasized that they were working together to line up their respective clients: "Some of us have privileged contacts: the Americans with the Muslims, the Germans with the Croats and we with the Serbs. We are seeking to use them for the common good" (*Libération* [Paris], 23 February). Underlining the possibility of a budding alliance with Germany, Yeltsin has now invited German troops into the ex-USSR in an interview with *Der Spiegel* (25

April), calling for the deployment of "the Germany army with UN peacekeeping forces" there to carry out "an important and noble mission."

It did not take long for Serbian nationalists to see through the double game being played by their Slav "big brothers." A UN analysis of the situation in Bosnia in late March reported that the Serbs "see everyone winning except them, view the Russians as siding with the United States and against them, feel diplomatic and military pressure on the increase."

At the same time, the German-brokered deal between the Croats and Muslims, who had been fighting one another, freed up Muslim forces to launch an offensive against the Serbs. When the Muslims refused to halt their offensive against Serbian-held territory in central Bosnia in early April, the Serbs responded with stepped-up attacks on Gorazde, leading up to the latest showdown with the NATO powers.

The Serbs' belligerent response embarrassed Moscow. Churkin exclaimed, "The Bosnian Serbs must understand that by dealing with Russia, they are dealing with a great power and not a banana republic." Yeltsin himself

declared: "The Bosnian Serb leadership must fulfill its promises given to Russia, stop the attacks and withdraw from Gorazde...enable the introduction of UN forces in the area and unblock the UN personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina." Clinton praised Yeltsin's stance as "very helpful." Russian workers must oppose the pan-Slav demagoguery of Yeltsin and Zhirinovskiy and demand: Russian troops out of the Balkans now!

While defending Serbia against imperialist attack, we maintain a position of revolutionary defeatism toward all three sides in the nationalist civil war wracking the former Yugoslavia. However, decisive military intervention against the Serbs by one or more imperialist powers would change the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Muslim nationalist forces and posing the need for revolutionary defensism toward Serbia. In any case, we call on the workers to join in overthrowing their capitalist rulers—in Milosevic's Serbia no less than Tudjman's Croatia and Izetbegovic's Bosnian statelet—in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Important sections of the American ruling class now look on the Bosnia cri-

sis as a test of their ability to control the post-Cold War world amid the devastation and turmoil wrought by counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc and increasing rivalry with German and Japanese imperialism. This view was clearly expressed in an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* (20 April): "The Balkans War is not an isolated aberration but a small-scale model of the large-scale security challenges to come. Taking it as that, the major powers can, if they choose, introduce themselves as well as the Serbs to a new world order."

The "New World Order"—proclaimed by Washington as it was terror-bombing Iraq in the Persian Gulf War—is a formula for intensified U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of working people around the globe. If NATO attacks on the Serbs in Bosnia are effective, it will embolden the U.S. rulers to unleash the Pentagon war machine from South America to southern Africa, from East Europe to East Asia. But heavy bombing against the Serbs could bring in its wake imperialist troops fighting on the ground, sucking NATO forces into an ever-widening Balkan war. U.S./UN/NATO out of the Balkans! ■

# Drop All Charges...

(continued from page 12)

and incurred head injuries and a broken arm. Striker Hernandez commented: "I feel the same way toward him as I would if someone broke into my home and broke his leg. A scab is the lowest form of life" (*Whittier Daily*, 19 April).

Now, as the scab rests at home, Jesus Acuna languishes in a jail cell. Acuna's union brothers remain firm in his defense. An April 22 appeal for support for Acuna sent by Carlos Arroyo, a shop steward at ABF, says: "Throughout his career as a trucker Jesse has been an ardent supporter of union causes." But, the appeal bitterly notes, the "Teamster leadership has chosen to turn their back on him." Striking Teamsters in Locals 208, '63 and across the country must demand that their union provide full legal defense and mobilize its power to defend Jesse Acuna!

The bosses are trying to turn the clock back a hundred years, to the days when gun-toting company thugs terrorized unionists and strikes were branded as "criminal conspiracies." Today, with Democrat Clinton in the White House, the labor-hating government is increasingly using RICO "conspiracy" laws to strangle the unions and put militants behind bars. Labor's social power could make short shrift of strikebreaking terror and turn court injunctions into scraps of paper.

But the pro-capitalist union misleaders play by the companies' rules. Asked by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter how he would respond to police paramilitary attacks on picket lines, IBT chief Ron Carey vowed to "obey the law." You can bet that if a union tactic works, they'll pass a law against it. Remember: the only illegal strike is a losing strike! What's needed is a fighting anti-capitalist leadership that has the program and guts to win.

A representative of the Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League,

# Showdown Looms at S.F. Newspapers

## It's Time to Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO—Eight hundred workers massed in the "first ever" general membership meeting of the Conference of Newspaper Unions here on April 17. The eight unions comprising the CNU have worked without a contract since last November 1. The bosses at the *Examiner* and *Chronicle* escalated their war in March, demanding to bargain with each union separately. This breaks a practice going back to the 1968 S.F. newspaper strike of bargaining jointly with all the unions.

Newspaper workers are clearly ready and willing to fight. A *Workers Vanguard* sales team outside the meeting quickly sold 278 copies of our latest issue with the headline "Teamsters: Spread the Strike!" Like the Teamsters, workers at S.F. dailies face an attempt to reduce full-time workers to part-timers without benefits. Last fall, the San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA), which runs the papers, fired 12 union janitors, many Latino, replac-

ing them with much lower-paid workers. The company is out to eliminate youth paper carriers, and hundreds of Teamster drivers as well. One SFNA official has "hinted that management is prepared to unilaterally impose its proposal, possibly as early as June 1" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 23 March).

There was plenty of hot air coming from the union tops. The labor fakers are trying to stall a strike in the vain hopes that some sellout "compromise" can be found via government intervention. The strategy laid out at the April 17 meeting was a "subscription-cancellation drive"—a consumer boycott, not a strike.

At the meeting, a militant from the Bay Area Typographical Union No. 21 spoke from the floor and called for striking now. He noted that the Teamsters walkout is the most important strike in years. He called for Bay Area labor to

be mobilized to shut down the newspapers and defend the Teamsters. Joint roving pickets of striking Teamsters and newspaper workers could quickly deal with any scabs who tried to move newsprint and ink.

The heavily white craft unions must reach out to black, Latino and Asian workers and organize the unorganized. There must be one industrial union in the publishing industry, with union recruitment and training of minorities. As we wrote last fall, the workers must elect a strike committee to "hammer out a program to win a strike":

"There's only one way to stop the Hearst & Co. media barons: Strike together to shut down the *Chronicle/Examiner*—including especially their newer color plants in Richmond and Union City—with mass pickets and plant occupations to stop scab operations, and mobilizing Bay Area labor to beat back strikebreaking company goons, Mayor Frank Jordan's SFPD cops and the bosses' courts."

—WV No. 586,  
22 October 1993

attended Acuna's April 19 hearing to express solidarity and support, including a contribution to his defense fund. The PDC wrote to the D.A., demanding Acuna's immediate release and that all charges be dropped. The PDC has also protested to the governors of Illinois and Massachusetts, demanding that all charges be dropped against arrested strikers in those states.

The PDC stands on the old labor movement principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. The April 12 protest letter declared: "Whether defending the profit-bloated, union-busting trucking companies or the race-terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, the police will stop at nothing to defeat the just struggle of working people and the oppressed."

All Teamsters, all labor, must rally to the defense of their union brothers to demand that all charges be dropped. We

Cops mass to protect scabs at Roadway terminal in Adelanto, California.



urge readers to contribute to the defense of Jesus Acuna set up by his family and fellow unionists by sending donations to:

Defense Trust Fund, Jesse M. Acuna, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. ■

# Alabama...

(continued from page 6)

Klux Klan began attending school board meetings. Parents were herded through metal detectors at a tense April 15 school board hearing where black parents were threatened with arrest by a score of deputies, state troopers and local cops for singing "We Shall Overcome."

"We have a principal acting like he's on a plantation in 1925," said a spokesman for the NAACP in Randolph County. Indeed, Humphries is a certifiable racist pig! His record is so obnox-

ious that in 1989 the U.S. Education Department, which oversees the decrepit and increasingly "separate and unequal" American education system, issued a report criticizing Humphries for systematic harsher punishment of black students ("paddlings" and suspensions) and pushing students to ride in segregated buses! Prior to the flap over this year's prom, parents lodged complaints about Humphries' attempts to stop their children from interracial dating. Since Humphries' reinstatement, over a hundred black students and some whites are boycotting Humphries' plantation and attending a "Freedom School" in-

stead. Revonda Bowen and the Southern Poverty Law Center have filed lawsuits against Humphries and the school board.

The Wedowee story illustrates the cruelty and irrationality of racism and the legacy of Jim Crow—the formal legal segregation of the races that existed across the South until it was smashed by the mass struggles of the civil rights movement. Racist fear and loathing of interracial sex has always been the base rallying cry for lynch mob terror. In 1923, a white racist mob destroyed the entire black town of Rosewood, Florida on the pretext of an alleged rape of a white woman by a black man. The civil rights movement was sparked by the 1955 death of Emmett Till, a black youth from Chicago who was brutally murdered for the "crime" of "reckless eyeballing" while visiting Mississippi.

Until the 1960s, interracial marriage was illegal across the South! In the rural South today, it's still dangerous for an interracial couple to travel together. Recently in Alabaster, Alabama a white cop chased an interracial student couple off a high-school parking lot because he thought he saw them embracing!

In Alabama in the 1930s, when the Communist Party had considerable success organizing among black workers and sharecroppers, anti-communism among whites was fueled by the idea that the "social equality" promoted by Communists meant "free love" and intermarriage between the races. The fact of the matter is that increased interracial marriage and interracial children would go some distance to puncturing racism in America. This was positively demonstrated in the response of many students and parents to Humphries' attempted ban

on "race mixing" at the prom. But to fundamentally shatter the racist status quo in this country will require a thoroughgoing socialist revolution to uproot the system of American capitalism which is built on the bedrock of the forcible segregation and subjugation of the black population at the bottom of society.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for an expansion of human freedom in all spheres, including and especially the fight against racist reaction which is a key pillar of the whole rotten capitalist system. We seek to be the youth auxiliary to a multiracial workers party that will lead the integrated working class in struggle to a socialist society. ■

# NYPD...

(continued from page 7)

New York's industrial base, the financiers and real estate interests who run this city have less and less interest in providing the children of the poor, minority and working people with basic cultural and educational skills. With no jobs left to be trained for, inner-city students in New York's highly segregated public school system are lucky to get textbooks or even classrooms that don't flood when it rains. Little wonder that every day thousands of New York junior-high and high-school students don't bother to show up at school.

The Spartacus Youth Club fights for quality, integrated public education and jobs for all, demands which can only be met through the overthrow of this capitalist system whose decay is symbolized by what's happening to the schools. As for Giuliani's racist roundups, we say: "Racist cops, hands off youth!" ■

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

### National Office:

Box 1377 GPO  
New York, NY 10116  
(212) 732-7860

### Atlanta

Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302  
(404) 521-9338

### Boston

Box 390840  
Central Sta.  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 492-3928

### Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 663-0715

### Cleveland

Box 91037  
Cleveland, OH 44101

### Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.  
Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(213) 380-8239

### New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.  
New York, NY 10013  
(212) 267-1025

### Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO  
Norfolk, VA 23501

### Oakland

Box 29497  
Oakland, CA 94604  
(510) 839-0851

### San Francisco

Box 77494  
San Francisco, CA 94107  
(415) 777-9367

### Washington, D.C.

Box 75073  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(202) 872-8240

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

### Toronto

Box 7198, Station A  
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8  
(416) 593-4138

### Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums  
B.P. 32066  
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

### Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.  
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2  
(604) 687-0353

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Government "Mediation"—Strikebreaking in Disguise

# Teamsters: All Out to Win! Spread the Strike!

APRIL 26—As the Teamsters' national freight walkout is increasingly hurting the bosses, the strike is coming under sharp attacks by the cops and courts, and now by the Clinton administration. The government is moving in because the strike is "beginning to seriously squeeze some businesses," according to the *Wall Street Journal* (22 April). Now is the time to squeeze harder!

In Washington that same day, Labor Secretary Robert Reich complained that the strike is affecting "thousands of shippers and the normal flow of goods by truck and by sea." Reich demanded that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) enter federal "mediation." The employers' association, Trucking Management Inc. (TMI), hopes to use government intervention to get from the Carey leadership what it has been unable to wrest from the workers on the picket line—concessions that will wipe out tens of thousands of Teamster jobs.

Union president Ron Carey, installed two years ago in a government-run election, quickly caved to the feds, entering into mediation yesterday. Late last week, he was reported to be giving in to one after another giveback demand, most importantly the massive use of part-timers. Now the Carey bureaucracy is pointing the strike down the dead end of "Corporate Campaign," with appeals for Wall Street bankers and company directors to come to the aid of the Teamsters!

Right now the main danger to the strike is not on the picket lines where Teamsters are hanging tough in the face of vicious cop attacks, but from the union leadership



Southern California Teamsters marched on April 15 protesting earlier cop attack on pickets. WV Photo

## Elect Strike Committees! For Roving Pickets!

that is bowing down before the sacred cow of government intervention. For strikers who have been beaten and gassed and arrested, this strike has been a school of hard knocks. They have learned that the cops, the courts and the government

are not "neutral" but act to defend the interests of the trucking bosses. In 1978, when Democratic President Carter slapped a Taft-Hartley injunction on the mine workers, they told the government to go to hell and defied UMW president

Arnold Miller, another government-installed flunkey.

To lead the freight strike to victory, Teamsters must *elect strike committees* composed of the most trusted and

*continued on page 10*

## Defy Government Strikebreaking!

# Drop All Charges Against Teamster Strikers!

Across the country, Teamster picket lines have been hit with strikebreaking injunctions, cop attacks and scab provocations. So far, dozens of strikers have been arrested, several facing trumped-up felony raps, one of them an attempted murder charge, aimed at putting them behind bars for decades. They're being victimized for defending the union—and they must not stand alone. It's high time to bring in the power of the Teamsters and the rest of the labor movement to beat back these attacks and win this key battle!

Police attacks on Teamster picket lines revved up when the bosses tried to start moving scab freight. On April 7, some 50 cops set upon Local 63 strikers at Consolidated Freight's Mira Loma sorting center in Riverside County, California. We reported in our last issue how women pickets were beaten with riot clubs while picketers were tempo-

rarily blinded with pepper spray. The courts then handed down an injunction limiting pickets to ten per gate. Among the seven unionists arrested was iron worker Philip Ambrose, who faces felony charges, accused of throwing a rock at the windshield of a scab truck. Ambrose had come down to the Teamsters picket line to join his wife Sandy, a billing clerk at CF.

In a couple of cases, the police have sent in regional SWAT teams: on April 11 in North Reading, Massachusetts after scab trucks were stopped from going into the Roadway Express terminal (seven strikers were hauled off and a union man's video equipment smashed to destroy evidence of the cops' dirty work); and that same day in Sauk Village, Illinois near Chicago when nearly 75 cops from nearby towns and state police with canine units attacked a picket line (six strikers were beaten and

arrested). At Sauk Village, some of the cops were Teamsters. The police are the guard dogs of the bosses. We say: cops out of the unions!

Also on April 11, Roadway driver Keith Clark in Sacramento, California suffered leg injuries after nearly being crushed under the wheels of a truck as a scab tried to ram through the picket line. Nothing was done to the company or the scab for this murderous assault, yet a judge slapped an injunction on the union limiting pickets to six at each gate, only three of whom can march at one time. Three days later, police maced pickets in Canton, Massachusetts and then slammed four strikers with charges of violating the scabs' "civil rights"!

### Free Jesse Acuna!

The most outrageous case of government repression against the union was at ABF Trucking in Pico-Rivera in

Southern California where a scab driver tried to run down pickets and a *striker was charged with attempted murder*. Jesus (Jesse) Acuna, 37, a single father of three and a Teamster member for 19 years, faces possible life imprisonment as he awaits trial in L.A. County Jail on \$500,000 bail.

At least one picket at ABF had already been hit by a scab truck before this incident. Then, on April 15, scab Glen Yeatts made an illegal turn to gun his semi at the picket line, giving them the finger and mouthing "f—k you." Striker Mike Hernandez described how pickets leaped out of the way: "You're pulling a set of doubles, you're talking 100,000 pounds of steel. He drove right at us, so, naturally, tempers were hot."

Minutes later, one of Yeatts' trailers became unhitched as he waited at a stop light. He got out to check on the truck,

*continued on page 11*