

Women and Revolution



Journal of the Women's Commission of the Spartacist League

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Spartacist supporters march with other clinic defenders in San Jose, California, 10 July 1993.

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Anti-Sex McCarthyism at S.F. State

Stop the Persecution of Prof. John De Cecco!

We reprint below a leaflet by the Spartacus Youth Club at San Francisco State University denouncing the anti-sex witchhunt against John De Cecco. De Cecco, a professor of psychology whose course "Variations in Human Sexuality" is the university's most popular, came under fire from a group of "incest survivors" for his seat on the editorial board of *Paidika*, a "Journal of Paedophilia." A teacher at State for 33 years, De Cecco is also a founding editor of the acclaimed *Encyclopedia of Homosexuality* and the director of State's Center for Research and Education in Sexuality. A research publication based in Amsterdam, *Paidika* and scholars affiliated with it have been targeted by Ellen Bass, editorial adviser to *Moving Forward*, a Virginia-based "news journal for survivors of sexual child abuse."

A letter to the campus newspaper, the *Golden Gater*, "revealing" De Cecco's affiliation—which he has held since 1987—sparked a media witchhunt of this very decent, well-respected, 68-year-old man. The witchhunters have attempted to equate De Cecco's research in child sexuality with advocacy of child molestation. The

local San Francisco papers picked up the story from the GG with sensationalist, misleading headlines like "SF Professor Attacked for Pedophile Link" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 October). The bigots focused in particular on advertisements which have appeared in *Paidika* for the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which advocates the rights of men and boys to consensual sexual relations. De Cecco received a death threat, requiring police escorts on campus. After a week of silence, the university administration finally backed him up.

The SYC quickly swung into action and organized a speakout at State on November 3 to cut through the atmosphere reeking of the 1692 Salem witch trials. Students from De Cecco's class joined the rally, which grew to 75 people. Amid chants of "1,2,3,4, effective consent is what we're for! 5,6,7,8, it's not the business of the state!" students came by to listen, buy revolutionary literature, ask questions and argue politics.

The capitalist state's busybody snooping in private life must be opposed, just as its bloody imperialist aims must be opposed. The SYC spokesman moderating the speakout

PDC Defends Peter Melzer and NAMBLA

1 November 1993

Board of Education
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Dear Members of the Board:

The Partisan Defense Committee strongly denounces the witchhunt against Bronx High School of Science teacher Peter Melzer. We demand that he be immediately restored to his teaching position and all disciplinary proceedings be dropped.

For 31 years Mr. Melzer, one-time president of the Physics Club of New York, has taught high school science without complaint against him. Now, though he has not been charged with any wrongdoing, a McCarthyite witchhunt threatens Mr. Melzer with the loss of his livelihood solely because of his beliefs and association with the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA).

The vendetta against Melzer and NAMBLA represents the intersection of blatant homophobia with reactionary "age of consent" laws—with a dash of bourgeois hypocrisy thrown in for good measure. American folklore, literature, TV and movies are replete with rites of passage stories of teen males having sex with older women. As for "pedophilia," one of its most famous practitioners (in secret of course) was Horatio Alger, whose rags-to-riches fables fed generations of American schoolchildren with the really perverse myth of the

"American Dream." Whatever consensual sexual activity one engages in is nobody else's business.

In his defense Mr. Melzer has stated, "it is an insult to our youth that a teacher can be barred from the classroom for what he believes or for whom he privately associates with." In the highly literate country of Holland the age of consent is 12. But as the standards and conditions of New York's schools continue to drop, you are purging a dedicated teacher.

We demand that Mr. Melzer be returned to his classroom and all proceedings dropped.

Yours truly,
Paul Cooperstein

cc: Mayor David Dinkins, Ramon Cortines

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. We urge our readers to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Write to the Partisan Defense Committee at Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.



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Speakout organized by Spartacus Youth Club at San Francisco State University November 3 to defend Prof. John De Cecco.

addressed the government's role in the attacks on NAMBLA and others who defend the right of consensual sexual activity: "Do you trust the state that executes children, that beat Rodney King within an inch of his life, that bombed Hiroshima and leveled Vietnam, to decide what is acceptable social behavior? Hell no! Government out of the bedroom!"

At the advice of the campus police, De Cecco did not appear in person but sent a statement to the rally: "I am thrilled with the outpouring of support from students for academic freedom. The University may be the last forum for free discussion we have in the U.S. With your support I'll continue the fight in the media and in the classroom. I deeply regret that I cannot appear because of threats to my life, and I thank you deeply for your support."

Professor Luis Kemnitzer of the anthropology department, who helped found the Human Sexuality program along with De Cecco, addressed the rally. He stated his mutual aim with De Cecco for a "nonjudgmental, objective kind of research into human sexual activity in an age when there is a lot of anti-sex activity, when people who study sexuality are at risk of coming under some kind of attack."

A statement was read by Bobby Lilly, chairman of Californians Against Censorship Together and companion of Nina Hartley, X-rated film star and defender of sexual freedom. She defended De Cecco's "vital" work in the study of human sexuality: "This kind of smear tactic is reminiscent of the McCarthyite tactics used 40 years ago. One of the worst aspects of this kind of accusation is the difficulty in trying to refute the charges with truth."

Noticeably absent from the rally were the campus fake-left groups, which the SYC had invited to participate. The International Socialist Organization gave up their weekly Wednesday table rather than get caught on the plaza. Supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party quickly scurried away when the speakout began. No wonder they ran—the RCP embraces the Stalinist glorification of the institution of the family, the source of the oppression of women and gays in capitalist society, and disgustingly labels homosexuality a "product of capitalist decay"! The Freedom Socialist Party/Radical Women and the Revolutionary Workers League, two groups that lay claim to be

the ultra-liberated champions of women's and gay rights, also chose not to protest this anti-sex witchhunt.

At the rally, Keith Hill of the SYC pointed out, "Traditional 'family values' is a code word for all-sided social reaction. How can anyone expect this racist, criminal ruling class to protect the interests of children? It was a bloody fight to get kids out of the coal mines and factories and into public schools. This government ensures that blacks have an infant mortality rate analogous to the Third World. This government bombs baby formula factories in Iraq. This government, in the name of stopping child abuse, incinerated 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas. That's the capitalist program for 'fighting' child abuse."

* * * * *

We in the Spartacus Youth Club (SYC) condemn the anti-sex witchhunt of Professor John De Cecco, currently under attack by a group of "childhood sexual abuse survivors" for sitting on the editorial board of a Dutch "Journal of Paedophilia," *Paidika*. Articles in the *Golden Gater*, the

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Women and Revolution

Journal of the Spartacist League Central Committee
Commission for Work Among Women

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For Class Struggle Against Clinton's "New World Order"! Immigrant Women Workers Challenge McClintock's Sweatshops

Amid the rising tide of government-sponsored attacks on Asian and Hispanic immigrants in the U.S., a small group of women workers has sparked a campaign to expose the exploitation of immigrant labor in America's urban sweatshops. Working ten to twelve hours a day, six to seven days a week with no overtime pay, no sick pay, no medical benefits, thousands of newly arrived women from countries throughout Asia and Latin America toil in horribly unsafe conditions, earning a pittance in wages while producing millions in profit for a handful of fashion designers.

For many months, 12 seamstresses worked at piece-rate wages for the Lucky Sewing Company in the San Francisco Bay Area. On a good day, they would earn \$4.25 an hour, working in a room with poor light, windows sealed shut, under a sign that read, "No going to the bathroom. No loud talking." In early 1992, Lucky's folded up shop and left the women with \$15,000 in bad checks—not a penny for eleven months of backbreaking labor. Rather than succumb to the fear of retaliation, the 12 workers went to the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), a community group in Oakland's Chinatown, which launched a media campaign on their behalf.

Targeting Jessica McClintock, the fifth-largest clothing manufacturer in the Bay Area, AIWA has called for a boycott and organized protests in San Francisco's fashionable Union Square. McClintock contracts sewing out to small shops like Lucky's for her line of designer clothes, which nets her \$145 million a year. The 12 seamstresses estimated that their work on one dress, priced at \$175 at McClintock's glitzy boutique, had earned them a total of \$5. At the Matamoras Industrial Park across the border in Mexico, women sewed for Jessica McClintock, Inc. at piece-rates amounting to no more than \$2 an hour!

Immigrant labor toiling in slave-like sweatshops helped build the wealth of this country. One of the most horrible industrial accidents in the history of greedy American capitalism was the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire, where 146 young women, mostly Jewish and Italian immigrants, died; dozens leaped to their deaths because the



W&R Photo

San Francisco, 26 November 1993—Activists from Asian Immigrant Women Advocates rally outside Jessica McClintock's posh boutique, protesting racist abuse of garment workers.

bosses had locked them in. Today the garment industry thrives on the exploitation of immigrants from the Pacific Rim, and the brutal conditions remain. Of the 25,000 workers employed in the Bay Area's \$8 billion garment industry, less than 10 percent are unionized. Cockroach employers file bankruptcy or claim loss of contract when jobs are done, leaving hundreds of workers with no compensation for months of sweltering work. The *San Jose Mercury News* reported that eight-year-old children are hired to sew buttons; elderly Vietnamese are paid as little as 50 cents an hour; and bosses routinely cook the books to avoid paying overtime.

AIWA's campaign, which has spread to ten other cities in several national days of protest, has helped to expose the plight of immigrant women workers throughout the country. In Boston former employees of the Standard Peking Ravioli factory worked six days a week at \$2.50 per 100 dumplings, only to be denied a total of \$40,000 in back wages because the factory owner had sold the company (and opened another in the next town). Chicana women employed at electronics giant GTE in Albuquerque are exposed to toxic fumes suspected of causing breast cancer and loss of memory; when the workers filed suit,

For United Working-Class Struggle Across National Borders!

the company closed up shop. Perhaps most appalling are the conditions of virtual servitude faced by the many "illegal" Latin American immigrants and refugees employed as household servants. They endure enforced isolation and starvation wages, often accompanied by beatings and sexual brutalization.

The ruling class is whipping up bigotry against Asians and Hispanics to divert impoverished and unemployed workers from blaming their real enemy, the capitalist bloodsuckers. As the INS tracked down and imprisoned hundreds of desperate Chinese who arrived this summer in boats off the shores of New York and along the West Coast, California governor Pete Wilson proposed to kick "illegal immigrants" off welfare, deny them medical care, kick their kids out of the public schools, issue everyone South African style "identity cards" and rescind the U.S. Constitution's 14th Amendment which establishes the right of citizenship for all those born in this country. He is echoed by Democratic "liberal" Senators Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, who toured the U.S.-Mexican border with Clinton's top cop Janet Reno to push their schemes for "crossing fees" to finance more armed border cops. The Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues held demonstrations in New York and San Francisco to protest this racist war on foreign-born workers, demanding "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

Organize the Unorganized! For International Workers Solidarity!

AIWA's campaign is aimed at pressuring Jessica McClintock to "show some corporate responsibility and respect our community." Rallies have included a mock wedding where men sported Jessica's latest bridal gowns while Gunne Sax dresses donated by embarrassed liberals were waved on poles. While this has attracted media attention and annoyed McClintock, the consumer boycott strategy is a one-way ticket to defeat. AIWA chants like "Be fair, be true, pay the wages we are due" reveal a futile illusion that capitalists will choose to lose money so that workers can live better. In fact, McClintock has been true to her "corporate responsibility" by raking in huge profits. Far from "feeling ashamed," she has refused to make good on the debts of the subcontractors.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs have joined with activists in San Francisco, Boston and Los Angeles to protest with the Lucky workers. We call to organize the unorganized, putting forward a strategy for union power to fight the garment bosses. Other organizations who profess to stand against the capitalist exploiters, like the Committees of Correspondence, have fostered illusions in the bosses' government. Objecting to our call to break with the racist Democrats and to build a workers party, these so-called leftists blew party horns at the August 17 rally in San Francisco to drown out our chant, "Asian, Latin, black and white, workers of the world unite!" until AIWA activists joined in.

In the past few years, immigrant workers have been among the most militant and determined fighters for union rights and better working conditions. In 1992 the overwhelmingly Spanish-speaking immigrant drywall construction workers in Los Angeles fought the LAPD, the INS and the powerful Southern California home building industry to win union recognition. This was no hat-in-hand campaign of begging the bosses but hard class struggle



Komenich/SF Examiner

Garment industry bosses make millions off the toil of immigrant workers who labor under brutal conditions in sweatshops like this one in San Francisco.

of the type that built the unions in this country.

Representatives from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance have addressed AIWA rallies in support of the Lucky seamstresses. But the union tops have not lifted one finger to organize unions among the thousands of immigrant garment workers. The AFL-CIO craft union hacks shoved a no-strike clause down the drywallers' throats. In November the American Airlines flight attendants union—mainly made up of women—faced down the airline in their first strike ever. The company had to shut down 80 percent of their flights at a loss of \$25-50 million a day. But the union bureaucracy was intent from the beginning on pressuring the Clinton administration to impose binding arbitration, a weapon in the hands of the company. The union ranks must break from the pro-capitalist labor traitors who keep the explosive power of the organized working class tied to the Democratic Party.

The trade-union tops push protectionism to "save our jobs" while making scapegoats out of Asian and Hispanic immigrants, directly supporting American imperialist economic trade war and opposing NAFTA for the wrong reasons. The Democrats' and Republicans' North American Free Trade Agreement aims to reinforce the American bourgeoisie's economic muscle against its trade rivals. NAFTA will create a U.S.-dominated free trade zone—"free" for capitalist exploitation and for further immiseration of workers in North and South America and throughout the Pacific Rim. AIWA has signaled its opposition to the NAFTA deal, but its concern is that the fashion yuppies will farm out their sewing to even lower wage areas of Latin America.

Immigrant workers have led courageous fights to defend their jobs and their rights. As part of the multiracial American proletariat, they will be among the leaders in forging an internationalist proletarian party capable of uniting the working masses across national borders in class struggle against the capitalists' reactionary attacks. ■

No Reliance on the Capitalist Cops or Courts

Labor: Defend the Clinics! For Free Abortion on Demand!

The escalation of "god squad" terror and murder against abortion clinics and providers across the country in the last year exposes Clinton's "pro-choice" stance as a campaign sham. While he rode into office in part on the broad support for sexual equality from women of all classes of society, Clinton will only sign a few bills to keep up his image. The forces of capitalist reaction which feed the anti-woman onslaught can't be stopped by some ink on paper. Democrat Clinton has cemented his partnership with the far right wing through his genocidal welfare "reform" plan, targeting millions of poor black women and their children, and his eager backsliding over gay rights.

Meanwhile, the much-vaunted "Freedom of Choice Act" went down in flames in Congress, which this summer reconfirmed the 1977 Hyde Amendment, denying federal Medicaid funding to poor women seeking abortions. The millionaires' club on Capitol Hill balks at support to abortion rights just as they balked at the Equal Rights Amendment (a simple statement that women are equal before the law), which never made it into constitutional law despite years of lobbying by supporters.

The anti-abortion terrorists have interpreted the message from America's rulers as a go-ahead. Their deadly intent was signaled last March by the horrifying murder in Florida of Dr. David Gunn by an anti-woman fanatic with links to the KKK. Last August, Dr. George Tiller, the head of the Wichita, Kansas clinic targeted in 1991 by "Operation Rescue" for a six-week blockade, was shot (but fortunately not killed). But assaults on such heroic abortion practitioners—so commonplace now that many doctors wear bulletproof vests—are only the worst of the terror campaign. A survey by the Feminist Majority Foundation of 281 clinics reported that half had suffered incidents of violence in the first seven months of 1993, including incidents of murder, attempted murder, vandalism, arson, bombing, assault and battery, death threats and stalking! The *Los Angeles Times* (30 September 1993) reported that in a ten-day period in September, clinics in Bakersfield, California; Peoria, Illinois and Lancaster, Pennsylvania were firebombed.

Teddy Kennedy's Clinic Access Bill, recently passed by the Senate, is touted by feminist establishment groups like Planned Parenthood and the National Organization for Women, as well as the Clinton administration itself, as the way to stop the fundamentalist terrorists. This law is a *diversionary trap!* Since when have the cops—city, state or federal—acted to defend women's rights? Clinton won't mobilize the kind of armed government force that would be necessary to stop these bigots—he saves that for such acts of state terror as incinerating the multiracial Branch Davidian religious cultists in



Workers Vanguard
Militants defend San Mateo, California clinic against Operation Rescue bigots, 17 July 1993.

their home near Waco, Texas.

The Clinic Access Bill may be occasionally invoked against thugs like Operation Rescue, but its main purpose is to give the racist cops even broader powers to arrest leftist demonstrators. It sets a precedent legitimating the suppression of, for example, militant actions by students seeking to shut down a military induction center, by blacks protesting an injustice such as the racist verdict letting off the cops who beat Rodney King, or by striking workers trying to shut down their workplace. In fact, some one-third of the Senators who voted for the bill supported it *not* as a pro-abortion measure but as a "law and order" vehicle in line with the "anti-crime" bill of November 1993 which aims at jacking up the numbers of police and prisons and vastly expanding the racist death penalty and gun control.

Last July, Operation Rescue bigots ran a ten-day campaign to shut down abortion clinics, targeting Cleveland, Dallas/Fort Worth, central Florida, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Jackson, Mississippi and San Jose, California. In the main, they suffered a resounding defeat, *not* from the forces of bourgeois "law and order" but from mobilizations of militants, women and men from the campuses, communities and workplaces, who put their bodies on the line to defend women's right to abortion.

It's no accident that the Clinic Access Bill proves so popular among bourgeois legislators and pundits at this particular time: they want to put a stop to militant clinic defense. And the government's handmaidens in the bour-

geois feminist establishment have sought to undercut protests by relying on the cops and courts of the capitalist state. Such "pro-choice" coalitions as the Minneapolis Network to Ensure Access argued against mass clinic defense as "unnecessary and illegal" after a number of targeted cities passed injunctions against demonstrating near medical facilities. But these injunctions have never stopped Operation Rescue and its ilk. The feminists would rather see a clinic shut down than see militant protest keep it open.

In Philadelphia on July 9, Operation Rescue made no attempt to shut down the three well-defended Center City clinics, and instead blockaded the Crozer Chester clinic in suburban Upland. But a NOW/NARAL/Planned Parenthood coalition in league with Democratic mayor Rendell told clinic defenders to stay out of Chester, citing legalistic arguments like "the clinic is part of a hospital, so we're not allowed to defend it." The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Clubs joined clinic defenders in Philadelphia, where on July 10 we, along with members of the Marxist-Leninist Party and other activists, were tossed out of the feminists' demonstration by cops, when we rightly refused to knuckle under to the junior McCarthyite feminists' checkpoint demand: "Do you agree with working with police to keep the clinics open?"

In California, a 30-strong Spartacist contingent joined clinic defenders on July 10 at Sunnyvale near San Jose, an integrated and heavily working-class area. There the Operation Rescue fanatics were successfully repulsed. However, Planned Parenthood people announced that nobody would be allowed on clinic property who did not sign a "non-violence" pledge. The SL, along with BACORR (Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights) supporters, refused to give up our right to self-defense, and the bourgeois feminists didn't hesitate to call the cops against the clinic defenders. But when police advanced on the pro-choice crowd, militants linked arms

in solidarity with the SL contingent, and the cops backed down.

Repeatedly, throughout the week, a militant bloc of clinic defenders including supporters of the SL, BACORR and the Revolutionary Workers League kept the San Jose clinics open, repulsing Operation Rescue despite the interference of the cops and their Planned Parenthood side-kicks. On July 17 in San Mateo, SL supporters organized defenders to keep a clinic open where two dozen Operation Rescue creeps were blocking the door. Working with BACORR supporters, we led the defense line to drag, lift and throw the Operation Rescue thugs out. The cops were too few to stop us before most of the bigots were removed from the premises.

Our militant tactics flow from the Marxist understanding of the nature of the capitalist state as a special coercive force made up of special bodies of armed men, the cops, the courts and the army, which protect the interests of the ruling class. Even the most token gains have been won through building the biggest, most politically independent mobilization of working-class power, and extracting those gains from the ruling class, which will give in only when it sees the alternative as more costly. We reject the liberal claim that social change and reconciliation of class conflict are possible through court suits, lobbying Congress or organizing another massive crawl through Washington.

The fight for abortion rights requires mobilizing the power of labor to defend the clinics and to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all. That is what the Spartacist League stands for, as part of our struggle to build a revolutionary party which will serve as a tribune of all the oppressed and organize to sweep away this entire disgusting system. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for women's liberation—and send reactionary scum like Operation Rescue packing once and for all. ■

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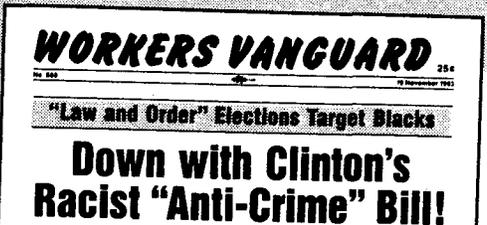
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The "Date Rape" Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt

From the attack on the right to an abortion to the railroading of Michael Jackson for sleeping in the same bed with a young boy, the ruling class has been on a rampage to restore morality and "family values" to the American population as an instrument of social control. For the past 15 years the government has escalated its poking and prying into every aspect of our private lives, reinforcing the values of "Christian" morality through courts, cops and witchhunting. Homosexual teachers have been driven from schools "to protect our children" while "child abuse" witchhunts have fomented fantastic charges against scores of innocent people. Reagan's Commission on Pornography issued a 262-page report which "defined" sin, while distributors of *Playboy* were prosecuted under draconian RICO conspiracy charges and mom-and-pop stores were closed down for renting out "obscene" videotapes. And in the most terrifying instance, Clinton's attorney general, feminist hero Janet Reno, oversaw the incineration of 86 men, women and children of the multi-racial Branch Davidian sect for the "crime" of being a religious cult. To justify government mass murder, Reno smeared the victims as guilty of "child abuse."

The anti-sex frenzy springs from the agenda of the religious right. Espousing an ideology supposed to have something to do with women's rights, the feminists might be expected to oppose this witchhunt. Instead, there is a convergence between feminism and religious reaction in support of moralist repression. This is particularly evident in the "date rape" frenzy on the campuses which has recently grabbed headlines across the nation and the world. Egged on by feminist witchhunters, "politically correct" sex on campus serves the war on privacy by whitewashing the intrusion of the campus administration and the cops into students' personal business as "protecting women" and "stopping rape." One goal of the student struggles of the 1960s and '70s at colleges across the country was to put a stop to the *in loco parentis* prerogatives of campus administrations and to end rules that set curfews for young women, limited the hours that men could enter the sex-segregated dorms and encouraged "house-mothers" to make periodic checks of the rooms to see that "all four feet" were firmly planted on the floor when a guy visited one of the "coeds." The "date rape" hysteria has opened the door to the return of the college snoops.

In *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus*, Princeton grad student Katie Roiphe exposes the climate of fear and the self-imposed status of "victims" engendered by the "date rape" feminists. Speaking for a layer of young women repulsed by this anti-sex hysteria, Roiphe contrasts

what she found when she entered Harvard with what she was taught by her mother, who grew up in the wake of the anti-Communist witchhunt of the 1950s:

"This image of a delicate woman bears a striking resemblance to that fifties ideal my mother and the other women of her generation fought so hard to get away from. They didn't like her passivity, her wide-eyed innocence. They didn't like the fact that she was perpetually offended by sexual innuendo. They didn't like her excessive need for protection. She represented personal, social, and psychological possibilities collapsed, and they worked and marched, shouted and wrote, to make her irrelevant for their daughters. But here she is again, with her pure intentions and her wide eyes. Only this time it is the feminists themselves who are breathing new life into her."

Roiphe's scathing attack on the "date-rape crisis" has earned her the enmity of rabid feminists everywhere, and congratulations from more rational layers. In "Not Just Bad Sex" (*New Yorker*, 4 October 1993) Katha Pollitt accuses Roiphe of everything from poor journalism to a "privileged" lifestyle. While Roiphe's polemic does not reach beyond the middle-class, heterosexual and largely white college milieu in which the "date rape" frenzy is centered, she has done a real service in challenging the campaign of "politically correct" sex—what the *Nation* (8 November 1993) labels "the new sexual McCarthyism."

On a certain level, "date rape" hysteria is an absurdity: Even literary classics like Andrew Marvell's love poem "To His Coy Mistress" have been tagged as apologies for male sexual "coercion"! "Date rape" is indeed a fitting butt for the spate of cartoons and magazine articles that followed the publication of Roiphe's book.

But ludicrous as it is, "date rape" feminism has a destructive logic, and it's nowhere more obvious than on the question of abortion rights. The government has usurped the authority to determine when and if a woman wants to have a child by whittling away at the historic 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision which legalized abortion nationally. A big part of this is its assertion of the *in loco parentis* privilege of "protecting" young women through "squeal laws" that demand parental consent for abortions for women under the age of 18. Last November the Supreme Court upheld Mississippi's reactionary law requiring permission from *both* parents or a judge.

"Date rape" hysteria serves as a diversion from the *real* oppression and exploitation suffered by the vast majority of women in this country. Most working-class and minority women can't afford to go to college, but rather endure the constant menace of violence and rape as they go to and from backbreaking, low-paying jobs or to pick up

their continually threatened welfare pittance. The most forceful and consistent assertion of government intrusion into private life has been the anti-drug witchhunt, which for poor blacks (including, obviously, women) in the devastated inner-city ghettos has meant massive police raids, while workers across the country are subjected to urine testing serving to enforce discipline in the workplace.

Willfully lumping together everything from morning-after regrets to savage brutality, "date rape" hysteria trivializes the crime of rape and belittles the real humiliation, terror and agony that rape victims undergo.

Anti-Sex Codes and Campus Hysteria

The "date rape" campaign was launched on campuses in the 1980s with annual "Take Back the Night" candlelight parades to "end sexual violence against women." Culminating in outdoor speakouts where "survivors" give testimonials of their personal experiences, the marches have taken on the aura of religious ceremony.

Far from focusing on real acts of violence against women, the "date rape" frenzy redefines as rape experiences which are instead ambiguous or unpleasant—thus trivializing the sometimes painful tribulations of young people grappling with their first sexual encounters. But the "date rape" frenzy is more than these celebrations of trauma and helplessness. Freshmen undergo required "sexual harassment counseling"; films are shown and peer-group sessions held, all with the message that sex is dangerous and dating should be done only when sober, preferably with a chaperon. College pamphlets ask, "Is Dating Dangerous?" and "Friends

Raping Friends: Could It Happen to You?"

As if this weren't sufficiently daunting, campus administrations are now enforcing *in loco parentis* anti-sex codes. At Ohio's "liberal" Antioch College, a "sexual consent policy" proscribes "Insistent and/or persistent sexual harassment...emotional, verbal or mental intimidation or abuse found to be sexually threatening or offensive...unwelcome and irrelevant comments, references, gestures or other forms of personal attention which are inappropriate and which may be perceived as persistent sexual overtones or denigration." To avoid any misunderstandings, students must get "willing and verbal consent" at each stage of the sexual encounter: "If you want to take her blouse off, you have to ask. If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask. If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask." While many of us would be begging this motormouth to shut up and get on with it, this seemingly absurd scenario is serious: A woman can now cry "rape" if she *thinks* a guy might want to screw her, and the administration can suspend or expel the accused, who then faces the hideous legal ramifications of a bogus rape charge. Novelist Martin Amis, speaking at Princeton in 1992, quipped, "As far as I'm concerned you can change your mind before, even during, but just not after sex."

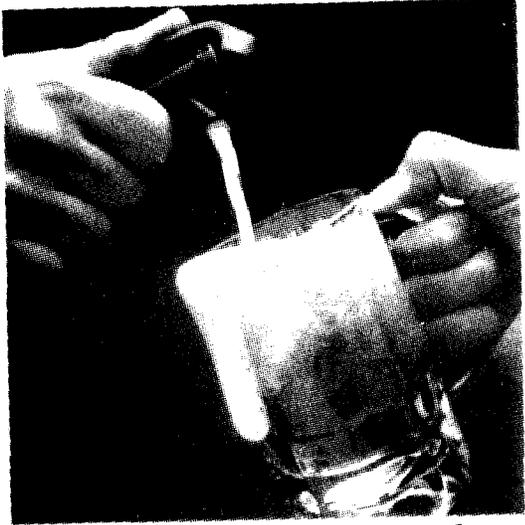
Lots of people think it's fun to get drunk and screw, but if you go to Antioch it's against the rules: If you're drunk, your "consent is not meaningful"! At Ann Arbor sororities, one woman is picked to remain sober during frat parties; it's her job to stop her sisters from going off with a guy to his room. The logic of the "date rape" frenzy is carried to its chilling extreme in a poster put up around Berkeley, "Dead Men Don't Rape" and signed by the Women's Action Coalition "We Will Take Action."

University sex cops don't only tell you how to have sex, but who you can have it with. At Harvard, affairs between professors and students are *verboden*. "A smart person won't get involved with any student," says the assistant dean, "and if they do, we're the ones who'll decide if it's appropriate." The University of Virginia at Charlottesville prohibits "amorous or sexual relations, or overtures" between a student and anyone on the staff in a position of authority. And this was a *compromise* measure—the "Committee on Women's Concerns" wanted to ban any sexual relationships between staff and students.

"Date Rape": Brutal Reality or a Political Program?

Statistics are notoriously susceptible to manipulation for political ends, and the statistics cited for the feminists' "epidemic" of campus rape couldn't be a better example. The evidence for "date rape" rests on a 1985 survey by *Ms.* magazine, financed by the National Institute of Mental Health, which found that "one quarter of women in college today have been victims of rape or attempted rape." But, as debunkers have pointed out, 73 percent of the women categorized as rape victims did not define their experience as rape—that was done by Dr. Mary Koss, the psychologist who analyzed the survey and who coined the term "date rape." Some 42 percent of these women later had sex with the man who allegedly "raped" them!

Roiphe astutely points out that the "date rape epidemic" is not a reflection of sexual behavior but a "mood." Just



A lot of campus rapes start here.

Whenever there's drinking or drugs, things can get out of hand. So it's no surprise that many campus rapes involve alcohol. But you should know that under any circumstances, sex without the other person's consent is considered rape. A felony, punishable by prison. And drinking is no excuse. That's why, when you party, it's good to know what your limits are. You see, a little sobering thought now can save you from a big problem later.

"The fatal glass of beer" theory resurrected. Campus administration snoops want to dictate students' personal lives, creating climate of fear with posters like this.

listen to its propagandists: "Without mutual desire" it's a "form of rape," according to Andrea Parrot, Cornell professor and "date rape expert." The code words are "manipulation" and "verbal coercion"—defined as "a woman's consenting to unwanted sexual activity because of a man's verbal arguments not including verbal threats of force." The etiquette guides of the 19th century told young women that attractive men "can with a subtlety almost beyond the power of her detection, change her ordinary views of things, confuse her judgements, and destroy her rational confidence in discriminating the powers of her own mind" (*Advice to Young Ladies*, 1848). The titles may be different, but today's "sexual consent policies" peddle the same retrograde assumptions about the stereotype of the aggressive, violent man, who "wants only one thing," and the weak, indecisive woman, uninterested in sex and requiring protection.

The definitions used in the "date rape" culture reflect the feminist view that heterosexual sex and rape are a natural progression. Naomi Wolf in *The Beauty Myth* (1991) writes: "Cultural representation of glamorized degradation has created a situation among the young in which boys rape and girls get raped as a normal course of events." This is a rehash of Susan Brownmiller's 1975 book, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape*, in which she argued that rape was "nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear." According to Brownmiller's contemporaries:

"Rape is not a special isolated act. It is not an aberration or deviation from the norms of sexual and social behavior in this country. Rape is simply at the end of the continuum of male-aggressive, female-passive patterns, and an arbitrary line has been drawn to mark it off from the rest of such relationships...most men in our country are potential rapists."

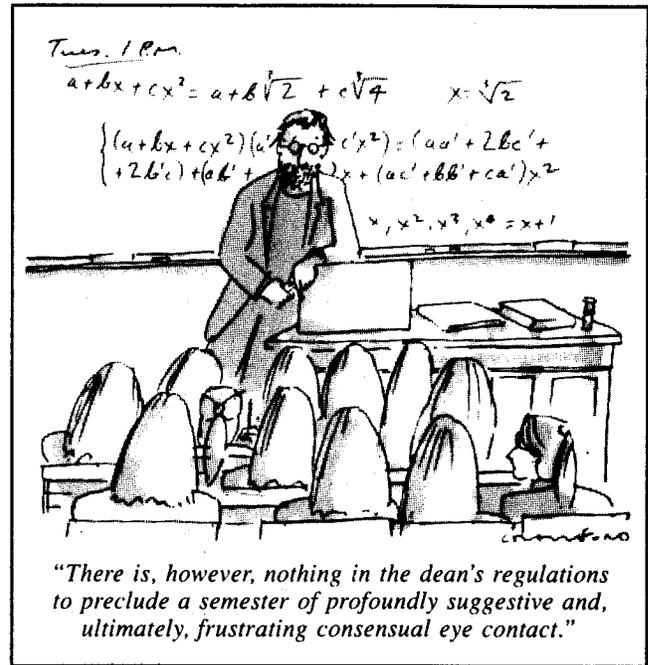
—A. Medea and K. Thompson, *Against Rape*

At its extreme, rape is equated with sex, for example by anti-porn queen Catharine MacKinnon: "Compare victims' reports of rape with women's reports of sex," she says. "They look a lot alike." But contrary to feminist mythology, rape is not a "normative" expression of sexuality in this society. As we wrote in 1975 in "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" (*Young Spartacus* No. 29, February 1975):

"Rape transforms what is normally a pleasurable intimacy and consensual activity for sexual gratification into an experience of fear, degrading submission, brutality and often injury for the victim and into an overt expression of hostility and aggression for the rapist. Between the actuality of rape and the sex act per se there are differences. These differences may be considered as discontinuities in the continuum of sexual relations. It is precisely the feminists who make the value judgement that there are no discontinuities, no differences in kind, between mutually pleasurable, consensual sexual intercourse and a victimization and violation filled with terror and degradation."

Rape at the final discontinuity ceases to be a sexual act.

Susan Estrich, feminist author of *Real Rape*, believes many women "would say no if they could" to any sex with men. Nonetheless she is quite correct that "The legal definition of rape turns on force and nonconsent, not on the relationship between accuser and accused." We believe that effective consent should determine sexual relations—not the age, sex, number or degree of intimacy of the people involved. Because it's the circumstances of a sexual encounter that determine whether it is a



"There is, however, nothing in the dean's regulations to preclude a semester of profoundly suggestive and, ultimately, frustrating consensual eye contact."

Crawford/New Yorker

crime or an act of voluntary sexual intercourse, ambiguities about consensuality do and must occur, particularly when the people know each other. Consent is always colored by the society we live in. Consensuality is rendered something less than complete when sexist attitudes and economic constraints (however expressed through a complex set of social factors that make them more or less "acceptable") keep estranged couples together. And given the tangle of race, sex and class in this bigoted society, relationships can often be emotionally exploitative and unequal—but to call them "crimes" is to bring in the government, which is the very enforcer of that bigotry and exploitation.

If among adults the psychology and sociology of sexual relations are murky and complex, they are all the more so when young people come into sexual contact with each other at the height of their *socialized* sexual differentiation, without any preparation or experience and without much access or opportunity. Sexual experimentation is one of the things youth is all about. Sex hormones are boiling for both young men and women, but the expressions of this sexuality differ. While the current crop of college women has been spared some of the guilt, shame and fear of pregnancy imposed on earlier generations, experiences vary from doing nothing to doing a lot. Social control over teenage boys is much less: they can be described as alienated young males charging an indifferent and hostile society with an erection, and generally bouncing off. Young men will do almost anything to get off; mainly this takes the form of masturbation, but guys will get a girl in bed if they can. And contrary to feminist myth, they are often successful: many young women do like to screw.

Of course early sexual experiences are not always the most auspicious, particularly now that AIDS is a real fear. Condoms do not make for a spontaneous expression of passion. Teenagers often have to get drunk to get up the nerve to have sex, and they aren't experienced at handling alcohol. Under these circumstances, premature ejaculation, fumbling, miscommunication are unfortunately

probably the norm rather than the exception. But awkward, unpleasant, even manipulative experiences are *not* rape. In an interview with the London *Independent on Sunday* (31 October 1993), Mary Koss revealed an underlying assumption behind the "date rape epidemic": "It isn't drunkenness itself that determines whether or not you get raped, it's whether you have the misfortune to be drunk around a sexual jerk." If finesse defines consensuality, one gets an idea of the genesis of her "one in four women raped" statistic.

The difficulties of teenage sex result in part from religious moralism which reinforces the myth of asexuality of youth in this society and in part from sexual stereotyping which tries to make bullies out of little boys and compliant dolls out of little girls. Moreover, deforming puritanism and bigotry in North American society all but seals off, especially for boys, anything but heterosexual activity.

It would surely help to have sex education that prepared young people for screwing. An understanding of the reproductive system is important, but somewhat more pertinent for youth than the placement of a girl's Fallopian tubes is the existence of her clitoris. Instead, the federal government has spent over \$31 million to develop an "abstinence only" curriculum which teaches "the only safe sex is no sex," doesn't mention condoms or homosexuality, and counsels girls that have had sex already to practice "second virginity." This does not differ much from the message of pamphlets distributed at some college orientations to teach of the danger of AIDS: "To eliminate risk, abstain from sex or avoid sexual intimacy beyond fantasy, massage and mutual masturbation." In this sexually charged society, the message that teenagers get from these moral strictures is that when adults tell you "what's good for you" it's all hypocrisy and lies.

Rape Laws and "Family Values"

While no one knows the real extent of actual cases of rape, a notoriously underreported crime, statistics from the National Victim Center indicate that about 13 percent of adult women are the victims of forcible rape. They are overwhelmingly poor and young; only 22 percent are over the age of 25, while 75 percent were raped by someone they know. Until about 20 years ago, rape by an acquaintance was barely acknowledged, and marital rape was generally legal. While laws have been changed to allow the uncorroborated testimony of the woman, convictions for rape are still rare and sentences usually short. In 1989 the Department of Justice estimated the average time served by a convicted rapist as 29 months.

Rape is a hideous crime, one which embodies all the sexual myths and stereotypes of this deeply racist society. But the juridical basis of the current rape laws has little to do with protecting women against violence. The laws exist for the protection of women as *property*, based on the moral code embodied in the institution of the family. Thus the real crime of rape in patriarchal societies of all kinds is that the woman is "defiled"; her value as a "pure" transmission belt for the inheritance of private property is damaged. In the U.S. this is expressed in the notorious harassment of the victim by the police. Victims are sometimes denied immediate medical attention and frequently find themselves on trial as courts subject them to rigorous moral scrutiny. For the cops and judges in America, a rape victim with a sexual past has no value to protect.

In strict Islamic societies, rape victims are often killed by their families; at best they cannot marry. Shrouding women in the veil in countries like Iran and Afghanistan is the ultimate in "protection of women," meant to keep them in a condition of chattel slavery to husbands or fathers. This was not the least of our reasons for hailing the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, which alone held forth the prospect of freeing women from this bondage. Indifferent to the plight of their Afghan "sisters," American feminists backed the CIA's cutthroat *mujahedin* allies in their fight against the Red Army.

Despite the inherent contradictions of "justice" in the bourgeois court system, we do not oppose the rape laws *per se* and could well support prosecution of an accused rapist in a given situation. We take a very different attitude, however, to the statutory rape laws, which prohibit *any* sexual intercourse with *any* girl under the age of consent (which varies from state to state). Such laws exist only to oppress young people and are almost always prosecuted in a vindictive manner by the state. In New York, for example, a 19-year-old boy can go to jail for spending the night with his 17-year-old girlfriend.

The Social Tinder of Race and Sex

The reform of the rape laws in the 1970s made it easier for a woman to prosecute, but it also made it easier to railroad the accused on purely vindictive charges. In this racist society the new laws have been used to further victimize black people. In a country where the ultimate taboo is interracial sex, the ruling class never hesitates to pull out all the stops in their manipulation of sexual fear in the service of racial oppression. Nor are the feminists wanting in this regard.

Emmett Till, a 14-year-old black youth, was hideously mutilated and murdered in Mississippi in 1955 for "reckless eyeballing" a white man's wife. This monstrous racist lynching was a touchstone on the race question. But 20 years later Susan Brownmiller disgustingly insisted that Till had something in common with one of the murderers: "*They both understood that...it was a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this black boy, Till, had in mind to possess her.*" In her book *Katie Roiphe* recalls Emmett Till's case, and describes how at George Washington University a female student fabricated a story about "two muscular young-looking black males" in "torn dirty clothing" raping a white student; she later recanted.

Roiphe rightly points out that the feminist insistence that male catcalls and leers are tantamount to rape is no different from the accusations of "reckless eyeballing" that formed the basis for white lynch mob attacks on blacks in the South. But Roiphe relegates it to a lesson of history, asserting that "lynchings and Jim Crow are not the current danger." In fact, the protection of "Southern white womanhood" remains the bloody battle cry of the Ku Klux Klan. Legal lynching is a current reality: In 1990, a 21-year-old black man, David Scott Campbell, was found hanged in a Mississippi jail, one of 24 blacks who were declared "suicides" in the state's prison system in the past five years. Campbell was arrested on a year-old warrant, but in the eyes of the cops his "crime" was dating a white woman.

The institution of the family inculcates powerful anxieties and superstitious fears which are especially prone

to social control by reactionary forces. "Take Back the Night" marches are reactionary, not-so-thinly veiled calls to strengthen the state and its repressive apparatus, the racist cops; along with slogans like "Dead Men Can't Rape" and "Castrate Rapists," they're a lynch mob waiting to happen. (The demand for castration is especially horrifying: this brutality was performed on black men by the slavocracy until as late as the 19th century, when even they abandoned it as too barbaric; and for decades the Klan performed it in lynchings.)

That the "date rape" campaign serves as an extralegal prop for the racist authorities was demonstrated at the University of California at Berkeley last October. The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), front group of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League, held an "anti-rape" rally during the cop-sponsored "campus safety week" which amounted to a call for an anti-black manhunt on campus. NWROC posters described a "light-skinned black male, mid-20s, 5'8"-5'11" tall, 180 pounds," sought for allegedly fondling several women around campus. Their questionnaire on sexual assault and harassment asked students to rate the university's safety and rape services—which are run by the cops! This crusade occurred in a context of escalating police attacks on minorities at Berkeley. Just one month earlier the cops attacked Latino students at a party on campus; some years ago they raided a black fraternity dance. Black teenagers who used to enjoy coming to the area on weekends have found Telegraph Avenue sealed off by armed police manning barricades to keep them out.

Feminist Sex Cops from Hell

"Date rape" is not the only issue on which the feminists have found themselves in bed with the religious right in the service of further state repression. "Porn is the theory, rape is the practice" is feminist canon. Catharine MacKinnon thinks that the mere act of looking at porn is tantamount to rape. It runs like this: porn is "used as sex.... Men come doing this. This too is behavior. It is not a thought. It is not an argument. If you think it is, try arguing with an orgasm." But who besides crazed feminists like MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin are driven into an irrational, violent frenzy by pornography?

A case in point is the chilling anti-porn conference held last summer in Chicago to advance new "legal strategies." As the *Playboy* reporter on this 1,000-strong frenzied hate-fest eloquently put it:

"Dworkin's language and stories place her firmly in the obsessive world she denounces. Porn is Dworkin's element. Like a fire-and-brimstone preacher riled up by his own descriptions of hell, Dworkin revels in her hard-core discourse. She arouses at the same time she shames, fires sexual tension and then condemns it. This is her idea of a good time."

The conference, devoted to explicit descriptions of pornography, was punctuated by orgies of shredding as participants responded to calls to "Rip this shit up," this "shit" being a *Playboy* article critical of MacKinnon. The conference climaxed when 20 women rushed the stage to tear apart Madonna's book, *Sex*, while the speaker urged her acolytes to "put stickers on things, rip up pornography and kill a basher if you have the opportunity."

The Dworkin/MacKinnon antics are repulsive and dangerous. While their "Minneapolis ordinance"—the pro-

posal that pornography is a violation of women's civil rights—was ruled unconstitutional in the U.S., its essence is now enshrined in Canadian law. MacKinnon helped write a decisive brief to the Supreme Court of Canada for the feminist Legal Education and Action Fund (LEAF) against the 1992 appeal of a video store operator. Arguing that pornography is not images or ideas but an act, the court held that "prohibiting pornography promotes equality." The first victim of the Canadian court decision was an erotic U.S. lesbian magazine, *Bad Attitude*. (Another was MacKinnon's sister-in-struggle: Dworkin's works were initially banned by Customs, deemed "too pornographic" for gentle Canadian audiences.)

To justify the program of state repression, MacKinnon compares pornography to the Holocaust and grotesquely says, "Even Hitler didn't know how to make killing into sex the way the pornography industry does." Hitler, like MacKinnon, was against pornography. It is now commonplace among feminists to invoke the Holocaust. Use of the word "survivor" ("potential survivor" for those not yet raped, "co-survivors" for friends and relatives of victims) is telling. Intended to shock and horrify, the comparison of individual cases of rape to Hitler's mass murder of millions of Jews and Gypsies, homosexuals, communists and others is genuinely obscene.

"Survivor" is also the feminists' preferred label for those who were sexually abused as children—or who now think they were abused. Statistics on incest are, again, unreliable. The estimated 16 percent of women who are "incest victims" include those who suffered violent abuse, sex with any relative, kissing, stroking a leg, grabbing of buttocks—or attempts to carry out any of these acts. The *Wall Street Journal* (22 February 1993) has described how the government, through the 1974 Mondale Act, has built up and continually reinforces a network which by its very existence encourages charges of child abuse. Federal funding to the states is contingent on mandatory reporting laws; professionals and officials face criminal charges if they do not report every "suspected" case of child abuse—even when they know the charge to be frivolous or fantastic.

Another feature shared by "victims" of incest and rape is the recovered memory of past acts, what Roiphe aptly calls "retroactive trauma." In the case of child abuse, some of these memories are *manufactured*. In "Cry Incest" (*Playboy*, October 1992), journalist Debbie Nathan described a retreat held by Incest Survivors Anonymous. Clutching a stuffed animal in one hand and a rubber hose in the other, women gathered for therapy: recapturing one's "inner child" by beating phone books supposed to represent the perpetrator. One member of the group was ashamed because she had no memories of incest. The social worker told her, "Look at all the people who have no memories. You all deserve to be here."

Let us not forget the case of Kelly Michaels, sentenced to 47 years in prison for molestation of children in her day-care center on the basis of lurid and impossible tales of satanic abuse implanted in the children's "memory" by prosecutors' repetitive and abusive interrogation. Michaels' conviction was subsequently overturned. Dorothy Rabinowitz (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 April 1993) noted that "we live in an era that has elevated certain accusations and accusers to the status of the sacrosanct." An assistant dean at Vassar underscored the chilling similarities of this to the "date rape" hysteria when in 1991 she told *Time*

Viva Nina!

Nina Hartley, socialist, champion of sexual freedom and popular X-rated movie star, has the "sex-neg" feminists dead to rights. We print below excerpts from "Reflections of a Feminist Porn Star," which Hartley wrote for *Gauntlet* (No. 5, 1993):

"Blaming all of the sexual violence in our culture on the availability of sexually explicit words or images (no matter how distasteful) is illogical, irrational, ahistorical, puritanical, prudish, ignorant and just plain mean-spirited...."

"Sex as a commercial venture doesn't bother me because I do not automatically view all women as victims of sex; nor do I view all men automatically to be victimizers, or all intercourse as de facto rape (a Dworkin/MackKinnon tenet).... What really matters is time, place, degree, mutuality and consent. I believe that a woman is capable of consent. If we aren't granted that one prerogative then we are not being granted full adult status...."

"Women alone are not the victims of the system. Rather, women, children and the majority of men are oppressed by our pleasure-negative, puritanical society which deliberately denies both genders full access to their own bodies...."

"In their frenzy to see the subjugation and victimization of women in every sexual encounter, to profess that no woman's 'yes' can ever mean just that, the modern pro-censorship feminist seeks nothing less than the complete re-infantilization of every woman...."

"The sex-negs' rhetoric of man-as-lustful-animal vs. woman-as-pure-victim is Victorian sexual propaganda dressed up in modern language. It plays right into the hands of reactionary religious fundamentalists. Can't these women see that nothing good can come from an alliance with a group of people who have, as their stated goal, nothing less than the recriminalization of abortion (to say nothing about their stance on gay rights)?..."

"We cannot—we must not—be drawn into limiting by law what consenting adults do in private."



Courtesy of Nina Hartley

Nina Hartley and ten other women face up to 12 years in prison for performing oral sex at a lingerie show in Las Vegas last March where they were raising funds for sexual freedom causes. In a vicious anti-sex vendetta, the feds arrested the women for misdemeanor prostitution, then raised the charge to "felony lesbianism" after studying videotapes of the performance, claiming the women had violated "infamous crimes against nature" statutes. Contributions to their legal defense, which has already mounted to over \$30,000, should be made out to "The Freedom Fund" and sent to Bobby Lilly, 2550 Shattuck Avenue No. 51, Berkeley, CA 94704.

magazine, "Women shouldn't have to concern themselves with being right when they charge someone with rape."

Feminist Puritans and Dictators

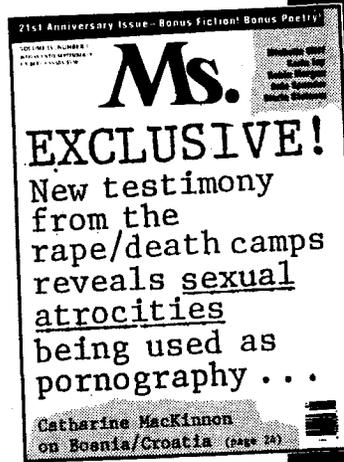
In her introduction to *The Morning After*, Roiphe expresses shock that today's "rape crisis feminists" espouse a worldview so different from the feminism that she was raised to believe was "a train you could catch and ride to someplace better." But the "sexual revolution" and the rejection of the stuffy bigotry of American society had little to do with the "women's movement" per se, which spun off from the deep-going social struggles of that period. In fact, it was the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s which first challenged the grip of enforced racial segregation, attempting to break a lock on American social relations fundamental to the existence

of capitalism in this country.

The New Left challenged American ruling-class goals from the imperialist war against the Vietnamese Revolution to the 1950s ideal of women as passive and obedient wives and mothers. Partial and short-lived, limited by its petty-bourgeois composition and its sectoral view of social struggle, the New Left movement nonetheless did create a brief time when some of the stifling moral restrictions of the past were undercut. (This coincided with the availability of birth control pills; for the first time, at least for relatively privileged women, the fear of pregnancy was removed from sex.) Faced with the deep political alienation of an entire generation of youth, the ruling class sought to buy back the loyalties of the children of the white middle class and in 1973 legalized abortion and abolished the draft.



Brown Brothers



John W.H. Simpson

Feminist puritanism in the service of capitalist reaction: Carry A. Nation took an ax to beer halls; Catharine MacKinnon calls for state ban on pornography. Ms. magazine cynically used horrors of Balkan war to drum up support for Clinton's threatened imperialist intervention.

The American bourgeoisie had no reason to tolerate a situation where the population was not toeing the line for its imperialist adventures. A section of the bourgeoisie wanted to recreate the 1950s, the first and last decade of the "American Century," a period before the civil rights movement, before "sexual liberation," before the Vietnamese won the war against the U.S., and, above all, before American capitalism's loss of unquestioned world economic and military hegemony. This required a crack-down on dissent and increasing regimentation of all aspects of social life, and is fundamentally the reason behind the capitalist war on privacy of the last 15 years.

It's instructive to look at other instances in the history of this deeply puritanical country. Crusades against sex have burgeoned in periods of reaction, like the post-Reconstruction Robber Baron era when Jim Crow was imposed in the South and Northern workers faced assaults by troops and cops against any attempt at organizing unions (the famous Homestead Steel strike of 1892, for example). This was also the heyday of the notorious Anthony Comstock, who appointed himself America's guardian against the evils of drink, gambling and prostitution. He pushed through Congress the act, since called after him, which prohibited the use of U.S. mails to disseminate "smut." This law was used to prevent information about contraception and abortion from being circulated, and to limit access to contraceptive devices.

Comstock's campaign prospered in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as reactionary backlashes against free blacks and immigrant workers encompassed crusades against "drinking" and "vice" which were identified with poverty, radicalism and racial and ethnic minorities, especially Catholics. This cross of Protestant moralism and race-hate found its ultimate expression somewhat later in that quintessential American phenomenon, the Ku Klux Klan, in its second incarnation after 1915. Evangelical Protestant morality reinforced racial and ethnic hatred by smearing as "evil" and "immoral" people who had different religious, cultural and sexual practices.

Where was American feminism in all this? After the Civil War, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony launched the organized feminist movement by opposing the 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution because they gave the vote to the freed black (male) slaves and not to white women. In 1894, their successor, Carrie Chapman Catt, appealed to the right wing when she called for votes for women:

"The Government is menaced with great danger.... That danger lies in the votes possessed by the males in the slums of the cities, and the ignorant foreign vote.... In the mining districts the danger has already reached this point—miners are supplied with arms, watching with greedy eyes for the moment when they can get in their deadly work of despoiling the wealth of the country.... There is but one way to avert the danger—cut off the vote of the slums and give it to women."

—quoted in Richard J. Evans, *The Feminists* (1977)

Meanwhile, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, historically the largest feminist organization and the most effective in campaigning for female suffrage, was mobilizing to smash drinking along with bar-buster Carry A. Nation. Other feminist preoccupations in the U.S. at the end of the 19th century were to criminalize prostitution and abolish the "white slave trade." They did nothing to challenge the reign of Anthony Comstock over America's morals: that was left to Margaret Sanger, who began her work to legalize birth control as a member of the Socialist Party left wing.

The feminist establishment's only quarrel with capitalist society is that it denies them full access to the boys' club of ruling-class power. The craven political services performed today by American feminists for the goals of imperialism are also evident in the international arena. When last spring Clinton threatened to send bombs, guns and troops to the warring, fratricidal factions issuing out of the destruction of the former Yugoslavia, some of the loudest war cries came from the imperialist feminists, who exploited the reports of mass rape and sexual brutality in Bosnia and Herzegovina to call for the American jack-

boot to "save" Bosnian women. Such imperialist sanctions hurt women and children disproportionately; in Iraq and Haiti, both suffering from U.S./UN boycotts, rates of child mortality are soaring. The National Organization for Women even called for sanctions by the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the hated international bankers' cartel which for decades has subjected hundreds of millions of Third World poor to brutal starvation policies.

"Date Rape" Feminism: Handmaiden to Reaction

While the campus "date rape crisis" is for the consumption of relatively privileged, heterosexual, mainly white women, it serves as an ideological spearhead to regiment sexuality. Out in the real world, ruling-class interference in the most intimate areas of people's lives is constant, vicious and fraught with tragic consequences.

In September a Virginia circuit court judge ordered a young working-class woman's son taken away from her on the grounds that she is a lesbian and by definition an "unfit mother." This is a state where only a few decades ago the infamous "miscegenation" laws which outlawed interracial sex were still on the books. In Syracuse, New York a mother who told the La Leche League that she "was experiencing some emotional phenomenon" while breast-feeding her daughter was arrested and charged with first-degree sexual abuse. An 11-year-old Sacramento boy was charged with attempted rape and thrown into juvenile hall for allegedly yanking down the side of a girl's halter top. Elsewhere in California a three-year-old boy was forced to undergo therapy after he was caught "molesting" his 22-month-old sister!

In Glen Ridge, New Jersey in a case of wanton brutality, a group of popular local athletes enticed a 17-year-old mentally retarded woman into a basement and repeatedly rammed a broomstick and a baseball bat into her vagina. Convicted of first-degree sexual assault, the woman's tormenters are free on bail pending their appeals. Sentenced to "soft time," these offspring of the white "pillars of the community" got a slap on the wrist. For the victim, the trial was a humiliating ordeal in which she was dehumanized by all sides. Yet the basis of the conviction was not the brutality of the assault, nor even the assault per se, but the finding that a mentally retarded woman was incapable of giving consent. This nasty sentiment is echoed by Dr. "Date Rape" Koss: It's all right for women to flirt, she told the *Independent on Sunday*, but not if she's a 17-year-old mentally retarded girl. "The man should say to himself, 'Whoa, this poor woman does not know what she's doing and it's not appropriate to have sex with her.'" It is a degrading myth that mentally retarded people are asexual and incapable of giving consent.

The "date rape" hoax is a cynical and dangerous business because it invokes government authority to intervene as moral arbiter in our most intimate affairs and fuels a state-sponsored campaign of sexual regimentation in the service of bolstering the reactionary institution of the family. While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed "norms." Back-alley abortions, prostitution, unwanted pregnancies, physical and sexual violence and racial oppression are the sordid

reality behind "public morality."

The "date rape" fraud deflects attention from the real violence perpetuated every day against women and children under this class system. Social degradation and dehumanization (which permeate sexual relations as all else) is rooted in the nature of this society and the exploitation of labor. The social alienation of a system in which the vast mass of people are tools for the enrichment of the very few is compounded by the institutionalized inequalities of race, nationality and sex. Violence against women springs in part from the deep sexual insecurities fostered by repressiveness and social irrationality.

This system is also imperialist, reaping billions off the Third World masses who are deliberately pushed down into starvation, illiteracy and endemic disease, and held down by brutal dictatorships. Subjected to oppressive practices like female genital mutilation or enforced segregation under the veil and in the home, most women get to watch their children die and to die young themselves, often in childbirth or after some botched abortion.

To create genuinely free and equal relations between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class system and the creation of a communist world. In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be non-existent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, "there is no other motive left except mutual inclination." ■

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De Cecco...

(continued from page 3)

Chronicle and the *Examiner* have served to whip up an image of a child molester lurking in our midst when in fact De Cecco's only interest is the exploration of and research in human sexuality, in particular such taboo subjects as child relationships with adults and homosexuality. But in this truly perverted and obscene society, such alone may be deemed a crime.

This is nasty stuff and goes well beyond some horrified ladies in the *Moving Forward* gang. The violent rape and abuse of children is a terrible crime. But the issue of child abuse has become a political football in the hands of the racist and reactionary rulers of this country. Hysteria whipped up over day-care centers, with frame-ups of childcare providers on spectacular charges of "satanic rituals," has led to a witchhunt throughout the country that far surpasses the Salem witch trials of the 17th century. Attacks on NAMBLA (the North American Man/Boy Love Association), portraying this group whose sole purpose is the defense of the civil rights of those engaged in consensual relations as "child molesters," have promoted vicious state reprisals, the firing of their members from long-held jobs, their beating in prisons. Last year, following an "exposé" by KRON TV in collusion with the SF cops, NAMBLA members were threatened at their press conference by a demonstration of child abuse "survivors," joined by a gang of skinheads carrying the Confederate flag of slavery. The last time the words "child abuse" were spoken by the U.S. government was to justify the incineration of the Branch Davidians in Waco—the calculated murder of 86 people, including two dozen children—for the "crime" of having guns and a "bad attitude" toward the state.

When Ellen Bass & Co. go after De Cecco as "socially unacceptable," whose interests are they serving? There is a campaign against sexuality in general by the powers that be that has nothing to do with the protection of women or children. Rather we are smack in the middle of a "moral rearmament" of the American people in a conscious attempt to force women back into the home, instill fear of sex into young people and shore up the "sacred" monogamous family—where most of the real oppression and abuse of women and children takes place. The American bourgeoisie wants to mold a more compliant population that will march with blind obedience behind their aims at imperialist hegemony—like the bombing of civilians in Iraq, the occupation of Somalia or the blockade of Haiti and the starvation embargo of Cuba.

This moral frenzy actually began under the last Democratic administration of "ethnic purity" Jimmy Carter, who ushered in Anita Bryant's anti-gay campaign to "Save Our Children." Under Reagan and Bush, creationism was forced into the schools while sex education was forced out, the AIDS epidemic was ignored except to gloat at "god's retribution" against homosexuality, and anti-abortion terrorists got the green light to bomb clinics and murder doctors. Now Baptist Bill—whose first words in accepting the Democratic nomination were a pledge to uphold "family values"—is in the White House: the Hyde amendment prohibiting funds for abortions for poor women is upheld; abortion is no part of the "health care"

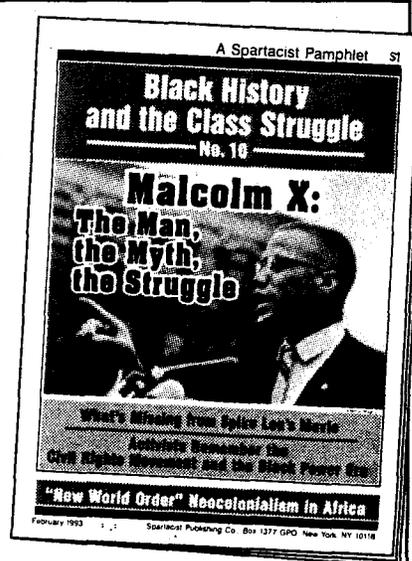
package; lesbian mothers have their child taken away by a reactionary Virginia judge; the courts are putting teenagers on death row, while the U.S. has seen the highest rate of legal lynchings in the last 30 years. Clinton's woman in the Justice Department, that darling of anti-porn feminists, Janet Reno, cut her spurs as Florida D.A. on the vicious prosecution of a 14-year-old boy for "satanic abuse." Her first act in her new job was to train the guns on the black and Hispanic masses in LA in anticipation of outrage against the slap-on-the-wrist verdicts of the cops who beat Rodney King; then she turned and fired them on the men, women and children of an integrated, obscure religious sect in Waco.

The fact is that the biggest child abusers in America have resided in the White House. The government anti-sex witchhunt is designed to eliminate ideological "deviants," while hiding the fact that this society has done unimaginable harm to youth with its enforced inequality, poverty and deep cuts in everything from basic medical care to education. This goes hand in hand with wholesale attacks on women's rights, immigrants, unions, minorities and anyone who may get out of line and cause "trouble."

We in the SYC oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed "norms." The guiding principle of sexual relations should be that of effective consent, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding. Determining effective consent is always tricky, particularly when young people are involved with older ones; but such relationships must be viewed individually and not as *prima-facie* evidence of abuse or coercion. We are unalterably opposed to intervention by the racist, anti-woman, reactionary state. We fight for a society where sexual relations between people can be truly loving and voluntary. That requires that the working people sweep away this rotting capitalist system and lay the groundwork for replacing the stultifying bulwark of social reaction, the family. Government and campus administration out of the bedrooms! Defend NAMBLA! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt of Professor De Cecco! ■

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Germany

AIDS and the Fourth Reich's Blood Business

The following article is translated and updated from Spartakist No. 108, November-December 1993, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the International Communist League. It was published under the Frauen und Revolution (Women and Revolution) masthead.

BERLIN—Germany is reeling in shock over the news that blood products known to be contaminated with HIV have until now been sold all over the country and Europe. German hospitals involved have treated several million patients. Doctors say up to 30 percent of patients are now postponing operations, and hospitals and health authorities are swamped with calls. The first company that got caught, UB-Plasma in Koblenz, Rheinland-Pfalz, routinely mixed several blood samples before testing—to save money. This mixing disguises positive test results. As one woman in a Berlin supermarket put it, "They've been killing people just for the money!"

Four UB-Plasma employees have been arrested, but the real criminals are sitting in Bonn. In mid-October the government "discovered" what it has spent a decade covering up: Since the early 1980s, the pharmaceutical crooks have been selling blood known to be HIV-infected. Over half the hemophiliacs in West Germany—2,300 to 2,800 people—and about as many recipients of transfusions, other blood products and organ transplants were infected by HIV-contaminated products. In 1985, at the latest, this danger could have been stopped cold with the implementation of the test developed that year. That this did not happen was premeditated murder.

Now the ruling Christian Democratic Union minister of "health," Seehofer, is coming on as the "savior" of the nation, fanning AIDS hysteria as the Kohl gang slashes every program for AIDS research and for the care of those who have come down with the disease. State governments run by the Social Democrats (SPD), which supports the cuts, are up to their necks in covering up the sale of infected blood. Thus Ullrich Galle, the SPD minister responsible in the state of Rheinland-Pfalz, ignored and obfuscated evidence of the company's criminal practices. Galle is a member of Rudolf Scharping's team, the SPD would-be candidate for chancellor in the 1994 elections and the state's prime minister. Seehofer, of course, is gleefully exploiting this.

In a November 1991 declaration, 200 doctors and scientists (including many in East Germany) attested that the Bonn government had the "world's worst AIDS pre-

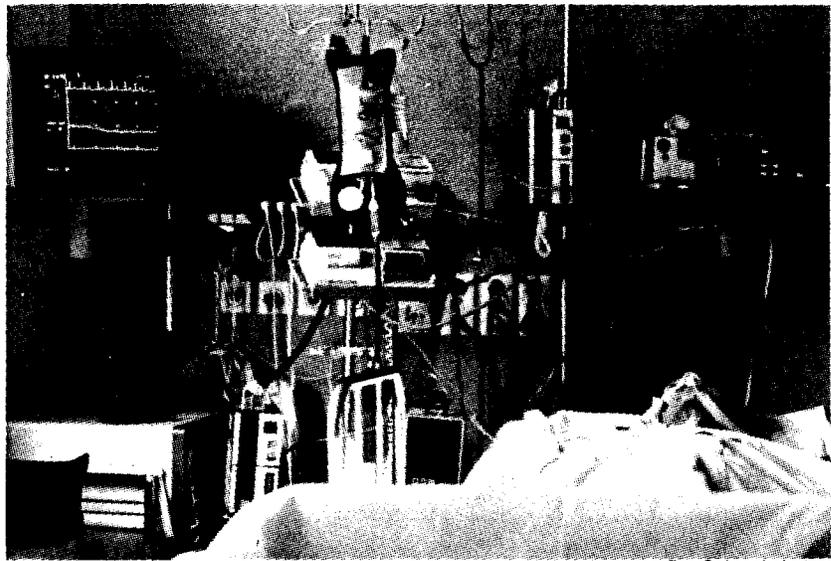
Hysteria sweeping Germany over HIV-contaminated blood is being exploited by Kohl government to cut health programs.



vention," devoid of "any epidemiological overview, not to mention an effective policy for preventing new HIV infections" (*Der Spiegel*, 2 December 1991). As if it weren't bad enough, this year Bonn spent a lousy 1.60 D-marks per capita on AIDS prevention; next year it is cutting even that by 20 million marks.

Seehofer is just shouting, "Stop, thief!" Bonn and the state governments, CDU and SPD alike, kept the whole ghoulish business under wraps, defending and furthering it. The Federal Health Agency (BGA) and German Red Cross justify it, the commercial plasma manufacturers do it, all under the rubric: what are a few thousand hemophiliacs, who aren't going to sue anyway, compared to the price of pharmaceutical stocks on the market? The cold, calculating logic behind medicine for profit is deadly. On November 12 Seehofer announced that the government would "compensate" those infected with the paltry sum of up to 2,000 marks per month (\$1,176).

AIDS is a lethal disease for which to date no cure has been discovered. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is transmitted sexually, through blood, semen or vaginal secretions, or through the exchange of contaminated needles by intravenous drug users. In the advanced industrial countries AIDS first spread among homosexuals but is now spreading most rapidly in poor inner-city areas among oppressed racial and national minorities, where it is wiping out whole families. AIDS has rapidly developed into a staggering worldwide epidemic, a disease of poverty and misery. Today there are at least 15 million people infected with the virus, 80 percent in the Third World, where it hits men and women about equally. AIDS is depopulating entire areas of East Africa and spreading in all other directions, but the explosion of HIV infections



Der Spiegel photos

Since 1982, Kohl government, including "health" ministers Süssmuth (left), author of *AIDS: Ways Out of Fear*, and Geissler, systematically suppressed all warnings of public health danger.

in Asia is rapidly overtaking even this.

The current hysteria over HIV-contaminated blood products in Germany, where an estimated 80-100,000 people are infected, touches only a tiny part of this hideous pandemic. The bourgeoisie and its government in Bonn have in fact sabotaged every attempt to fight AIDS. Safe methods of testing and sterilization of blood are known worldwide—but that costs money, which they are not about to allocate. In the case of contaminated blood products, there is absolutely no reason why some 5,000 people were infected with the deadly virus, except pure capitalist greed.

That is old bad news. The new bad news is that the government is using the AIDS hysteria to dismantle the German health care system as a whole. The further slashing of programs to fight AIDS is part of the broad attack on social gains of the working people in Germany, including centrally the considerable health care services covered by the national insurance plans. These are part

of the social programs introduced after World War II in the social-democratic "welfare state," developed as anti-Communist bulwarks in West and Southern Europe. They served to appease the proletariat and head off the pre-revolutionary situation after the war.

After the counterrevolution in the East, the "welfare state" and the SPD-administered *Burgfrieden* (civil peace) had outlived its usefulness to the capitalists. In 1990-91 German imperialism bulldozed the industrial infrastructure of East Germany (DDR), financing this capitalist campaign by massive borrowing, and declared war on the working class. Now they are presenting us with the huge bill for their rapaciousness: mass layoffs and plant closures, lowering of the standard of living and wholesale dismantling of social programs. German capital, wracked by the worldwide economic crisis, is now the driving force for austerity in all of "fortress Europe." As long as the bourgeoisie retains state power, proletarian gains can always be reversed. To secure the historic interests of the workers

DPA



Protesters at World AIDS Congress in Berlin, June 1993, carry coffin inscribed, "Drug Industry: At grabbing money they're quite something; for the victims they do nothing."

and oppressed, the workers must take on the capitalist system itself.

The SPD was the spearhead of counterrevolution in the East; the Stalinist Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) gave away the DDR to the Deutsche Bank. Now they are all preaching a program to administer the bosses' affairs more "humanely." They are demanding state blood banks, so the capitalist state can *directly* administer the blood business—like in France, where it organized the murder of at least 1,500 hemophiliacs through HIV-contaminated blood products without the assistance of commercial blood merchants. Of course even this useless program of government administration of the blood banks has elicited protest, and not only from such illustrious figures as Prinz zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, president of the German Red Cross (that nest of old Nazis), who is into the blood business for 750 million marks a year.

All necessary resources of society should be mobilized to combat the spread of HIV infection, to ensure the humane care of the sick and to find a cure. But the rulers of the Fourth Reich wouldn't dream of it: they want to expand their role as a great power, at the expense of working and oppressed people. In this racist, xenophobic and anti-gay social system the capitalists and their government *will not* fight AIDS effectively, because it is simply not in their interest.

Murderers on the Bench

Lenin aptly called the bourgeois state the executive committee of capital. Hitler was financed by Krupp and Thyssen. Helmut Kohl, the godchild of the giant corporation BASF, was heaved into the chancellor's saddle by powerful circles of former industrialists from the chemical giant IG Farben, who made their fortunes off Holocaust slave labor. Millionaire and convicted big-time crook Otto Count Lambsdorff, former chief of the "liberal" FDP (the party in coalition with the CDU), is the leading representative of the insurance conglomerates which cut HIV-positive hemophiliacs out of *all* insurance payments for "pain suffered," save the most paltry compensation for "loss of income" and their own funeral expenses. (By law blood merchants are not liable for their own products.)

The health officials in the BGA health care administration commute between industry and their offices. Seehofer is exploiting justified hatred for the BGA, which has licensed over 140,000 medicines but has done nothing for industrial safety (the laws date from the 19th century), nothing against the highly poisonous wood sealant pentachlorophenol (100,000 victims) or carcinogenic asbestos and mineral fibers and thousands of other industrial poisons, nothing against the "industrial accidents" at Hoechst. But Seehofer wants to smash even the appearance of BGA independence from the government, putting its component institutes on a politically short leash and handing them completely over to industry.

Since 1982 the Kohl government, including CDU "health" ministers Geissler and Rita "Don't Worry" Süßmuth (her book was called *AIDS: Ways Out of Fear*), has systematically suppressed all warnings of the impending catastrophe, including from the BGA, gagged critical researchers, rejected all measures which could have prevented it, had proposals "disappeared." In Berlin at the end of 1982 Johanna L'Age-Stehr (BGA) published a memorandum condemning Bonn's laissez-faire AIDS policy



K.H. Kreifelts

Solingen: Five Turkish women and children were murdered in 1993 Nazi firebombing. Capitalist counter-revolution has fueled rise of fascist attacks on foreign-born workers and minorities.

and warning of the risk for thousands of people if HIV-contaminated blood products hit the market (*Der Spiegel*, 11 October). The BGA under Geissler rewarded her for her astuteness by kicking her into yellow fever research. This was no doubt regarded by the bourgeoisie as a punishment, since yellow fever has not been a big problem to Germany since it lost its African colonies. To this day L'Age-Stehr may not do research or make public statements on AIDS.

In Hamburg the head of the transfusion medicine center warned early on against the immediate danger of HIV contamination. He was slandered as a "panic-monger" and threatened with disciplinary measures. He resigned his post in 1988.

By June 1983 there was plenty of evidence of the threat to hemophiliacs; nevertheless, contaminated blood was sold openly until October 1985. Bonn then passed a law requiring testing of all blood donations, but products already in circulation were *not* recalled and thus were used for two more years. The national insurance plans rejected blood products tested for HIV contamination as "too expensive." Only at the end of 1987 were commercial manufacturers required to sterilize blood products against HIV. About the same time, Süßmuth wrote in the bulletin of the German Hemophiliac Society that the danger of contaminated blood products had been "mastered rapidly" by the BGA's appropriate measures.

In October 1992 we wrote of the scandal in France

and West Germany about HIV-infected blood:

"The international scandal of the infection of thousands of hemophiliacs has made the French government totter. But precisely the same murderous dealings were pursued for years in Germany as well. The people primarily responsible for this are sitting in the Bonn government. Politicians (including the SPD 'opposition'), health officials, pharmaceutical conglomerates, health-insurance companies as well as some prominent doctors treating hemophiliacs not only suppressed the danger—they covered up the catastrophe and are protecting the guilty to this day. Even the BGA's statistics prove new infections among hemophiliacs. Here as in France the guilty should be called to account by a tribunal of their victims—especially the ministers and the leading government officials that are responsible for the lethal health care policies."

—"AIDS and the Murderous State,"
Spartakist No. 98 (October 1992)

Now Michel Garretta, former head of the French state transfusion center, is doing a four-year prison term for violating the pure food and drug law—like any "normal" crook guilty of selling watered-down wine.

Blood Money

The consequences of the counterrevolution are now coming home to roost in the West as well, and the bosses and their government have vowed that rescuing their sagging profits is going to hurt working people bad. Bonn's problem is how to ram it down their throats. The "Health Care Structural Law," a CDU/SPD co-production by Seehofer/Dressler, was loudly celebrated as a "big step forward in CDU-SPD cooperation"—a "business coalition." After the SPD's racist Petersburg accords which paved the way for gutting the constitutional right to asylum, the murderous consequences of this coalition were demonstrated in the Rostock pogrom last August, and again in May when the government voted out the right to asylum, threatening thousands of refugees and immigrants with deportation from Germany and egging on the murderous attacks against immigrants by the growing "neo"-Nazi terrorists.

Health care "reform" has already poured billions of marks into the insurance companies' coffers as chronically ill patients are refused medicine and doctors face big fines for prescribing "too much" or "too expensive" medicine on the national health plans. AIDS patients and old

people in need of nursing care can't be patched up by the notorious "quick repair" medicine doled out by national health insurance either. The state treats them like human garbage. Medicine is big business, so national health insurance is seen increasingly as a brake on the profit-oriented restructuring of the industry according to the principle of "more market." Quality medical care is being made increasingly into a privilege of the rich. Now even the "privatization" of the national health care system is on the agenda. Instead of going to the doctor you're supposed to diagnose yourself and buy the pills directly from the pharmacist.

People had better be worried about what is in blood and blood products. But Bonn's blood scandal serves to augment its health "reform" by driving people away from hospitals and health care services. Since the beginning of the health "reform," self-help—from nature healing to miracle healing—is undergoing a renaissance. The family with "motherhood at the center" is supposed to become the institution for healing. Abortion rights are drastically restricted; the woman's family and doctor are to be criminalized and subjected to an inquisition. In addition to baby machines, women are supposed to be free nurses for the sick and the old. If your family can't help, tough—there's always the streets.

Seehofer's AIDS scandal intersects the wave of social reaction following the *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, which has been fanned by state-organized terror first against immigrants, drug users and the homeless. Again the trial balloons for mandatory registration and for a sharp policy turn on AIDS are going up. *Die Zeit* (22 October) quotes hard-pressed BGA AIDS researcher Georg Pauli on the fears of serious scientists: "'We stand for an AIDS policy that is no longer wanted today.' And that is: education instead of prosecution [and] anonymous HIV tests instead of mandatory registration with central files which would have driven the infected underground." In other words, in their crusade for "conservative values" à la Steffen Heitmann, Kohl & Co. want to replace the BGA with the Federal Criminal Bureau (BKA) in fighting AIDS!

From the Springer gutter rags to the SPD-oriented *Der Spiegel*, filthy and literal "blood-and-soil" sentiment is being fanned by greater German nationalism. They

Caratini/Syigma

Fearful Romanian refugees evacuate a hostel in Rostock, Germany, in 1992; it was firebombed later that night. German government gutted right to asylum; murderous consequences include the Rostock pogroms of August 1992.





Jens Kracheel/Humboldt University

Defend Dr. Tomas Porstmann!

This summer East German immunologist and AIDS researcher Dr. Tomas Porstmann was fired from the Charité teaching hospital in Berlin. Refusing to fink for the capitalist witchhunters of the Fourth Reich, Porstmann was framed up as an alleged "informer" for the East German Stasi (secret police) and fired. The attack on Porstmann is part of a purge of East German scientists, researchers and doctors, teach-

ers and artists, being carried out as Fourth Reich revenge against the former East Germany.

The International Communist League demands Dr. Porstmann's immediate reinstatement at the Charité. For more information, in the U.S. contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

howl about "foreign" blood from poor blacks in U.S. ghettos, which could infect "a German mother." This campaign for "German blood *über alles*" comes at a time when everybody knows that Germany has been selling HIV-contaminated blood all over the world. In this country the legal definition of a "German citizen" with civil rights (e.g., East European *volksdeutsche*) is based on "German blood"; Jews are not part of the "*volksgemeinschaft*." And please, no gays or persons classified as "mentally handicapped": they may not donate blood.

From refugees to AIDS victims, Bonn's all-party coalition breeds Nazi terror; when the CDU/SPD want to dismantle something, the fascists burn it down. Just consider the dedicated work of Aids-Forum in the Moabit district of Berlin, whose office was devastated by a firebomb on the night of August 3. Aids-Forum cares for HIV-positive children and those with AIDS, particularly Roma (Gypsies)

who were infected with the virus by blood transfusions in Romania. They, like the other 1,000 HIV-positive children in West Germany, are thrown out of school, blackmailed and socially isolated. Fleeing from the pogroms in East Europe, now they and their families face deportation. Aids-Forum executive member Gerda Hansen told *Spartakist* what social reaction means to them:

"We have a case of a premature baby who got twelve pints of blood; at least one of them was contaminated. The parents have undergone the worst discrimination. They were asked if they had sexually abused their three-year old child and if it was transmitted sexually. The child is now almost nine, and they are still fighting for their rights and still haven't gotten anything from the government or the hospital."

How the DDR Deformed Workers State Combatted AIDS

Since capitalist reunification, thousands of DDR scientists have been purged from medicine and research, including Dr. Tomas Porstmann, a leading immunologist at the Charité, Humboldt University's huge teaching hospital in East Berlin, who lost his job at the end of August. He was central to the 1987 development of an HIV antibody test in the DDR. Today, as mass unemployment and homelessness cover the former DDR and all of East Europe, these areas are threatened by the spread of the AIDS epidemic.

The DDR's program for AIDS prevention and research, care and treatment of AIDS patients shows graphically the enormous superiority of the planned economy. While the capitalist West was doing less than nothing, the DDR was developing a program esteemed by western scientists particularly because it was begun in 1983, *before* AIDS spread and the infected came down with the disease. In 1987 the program was centralized at the government level and expanded on an interdisciplinary basis. Four central treatment centers for HIV-positive and AIDS patients were set up in East Berlin, while a modest network of consultation units were set up in every part of the DDR for counseling and care (Kiehl and Altmann, "AIDS and HIV infections in the area of the former DDR," 1991).

In the DDR the social catastrophes facing those in the West who might be HIV-positive, driving them away from tests and treatment, were never posed. People who were HIV-positive or already had AIDS certainly had to submit to bureaucratic measures, but in contrast to the West they did not lose their homes, their jobs, their free medical care. Likewise, the DDR was certainly restrictive for gays,



Langrock/Zenit

Unemployment line in East Berlin's Marzahn district, 1991. Millions have lost their jobs under capitalist "market" counterrevolution.

but Paragraph 175 of the law code, which criminalizes homosexuality, was abolished in 1968. Gays were not hunted and beaten up by the fascists.

In the DDR, medicine was not run for profit but was free and the right of all. Like the right to a job and an affordable home, it was integral to the historic gains of the social revolution which was carried to the Elbe on the bayonets of the Red Army in their victory over fascism in 1945. The health care system was built on rubble, amid chaos, imperialist blockade and scarcity, including a drastic lack of doctors. In the Third Reich half of all doctors had gone over to Hitler; liberation sent many of them into flight from the Soviet zone. But many who fled from Hitler's Germany returned to help build the new health care system, based on the Soviet model of plant-based polyclinics and unified social insurance.

From day one, this meant a struggle against all the old institutions, from those bastions of reaction, the innumerable small enterprises of private medical practices, to the big industrial capitalists in pharmaceutical production. In the West wartime measures granting free universal medical treatment were abolished in 1948 and class medicine was restored for the benefit of private doctors and the health insurance conglomerates. In the East, liberated from the profit motive, health care was built on a fundamentally humane principle, encompassing individual healing and communal preventive measures. Thus in the East there were proportionately more epidemiologists and hygienists, and following the fascist devastation enormous efforts were made to restore medical knowledge and rebuild an infrastructure, on the basis of a new model of social organization.

At the same time, the medical system was not a priority area for the DDR. Hospitals in general were fairly shabby and poorly equipped, particularly outside of Berlin. There was little serious effort to deal with the sharp deterioration of health standards due to the devastating air pollution in the Halle-Bitterfeld area caused by the burning of lignite (due to the shortage of oil supplies), and many chronic diseases got short shrift. What the DDR did well was preventive and basic comprehensive medicine and care of children.

In the DDR the bourgeoisie as a class had been smashed, but a parasitic bureaucracy wielded political power in place of the working class. The deformed workers state as a whole exhibited contradictions reflecting this. Industrially advanced Germany has throughout the century been the locomotive of Europe. The proletariat of Sachsen and Thüringen in particular have traditionally been among the most advanced elements in the German workers movement—the best organized and politically most conscious in Europe. The position of women in society built upon this; they were integrated into the process of production and had a high degree of economic independence. Thus there is a material basis for the fact that the social consciousness of the DDR population was the highest in Europe, reflected in the social position of women, who enjoyed unprecedented gains. But as Trotsky said, the Stalinists had “glued back together the broken shell of the family,” the source of the continued oppression of women as well as homosexuals.

Despite the initial resistance of the Honecker government, which first regarded AIDS as an “imperialist excrescence,” AIDS prevention was approached *scientifically*,

in contrast to the fear and hysteria which was fanned by even doctors and scientists in the West. For example, homosexuals were not damned *a priori* as a “risk group,” but rather sexual practices relevant to HIV transmission were discussed as “risk indicators.”

The DDR took a series of significant measures which in the West were either ignored or rejected outright. From 1985 on, when the test was developed in the West, all blood donations, blood products and organ, tissue and semen donations were tested for HIV antibodies. No blood products suspected of contamination were put in circulation. In 1987 a program was launched for public education about HIV and AIDS, including in the schools. Early voluntary tests and partner tracing were encouraged. Through these methods experts estimate that one-third of infections were traced. But the means were lacking for the necessary expansion of the programs. And as a consequence of the contradictions of the bureaucratically planned economy in half a country, the birth-control pill was generally available but decent condoms were not. Lubricating gel (which can help prevent viral transmission) was completely unavailable.

For HIV infection, classified as a sexually transmitted disease, mandatory registration by name was in effect from 1986 to 1988, and by code until November 1989. This bureaucratic measure did not prove itself to be effective as an epidemiological measure, as DDR scientists later admitted in studies. But despite the not irrational mistrust of handing over such intimate data to the DDR medical establishment (which was seen as an arm of the state), the statistics for voluntary tests were significantly higher than in the West, because people did not fear victimization by the state for reporting. And any mistrust paled before the fear later brought by *Anschluss* and heralded by a wave of bloody fascist attacks on gays: voluntary tests in the East plummeted as those at risk flocked to West Berlin for anonymous tests.

In 1986 there were only 30 diagnosed HIV infections in the DDR; in 1989 there were only 69. Three years



Der Spiegel

In the former DDR, basic medicine and childcare were priorities. Factory crèches such as this allowed women to work knowing their children were well cared for.

after the counterrevolution, the number of infections in the East is estimated at 4-8,000 (a fraction of the infection rate in the West). In the DDR exactly five hemophiliacs were infected with the virus (and *not* with DDR blood products); *nobody* got AIDS in a DDR hospital.

The International Communist League defended the Berlin Wall as a necessary, although bureaucratic, measure against imperialist economic subversion of the workers state. But our support to this defense of the planned economy did not extend to the DDR's bureaucratic restrictions on travel nor to its reactionary policy of excluding HIV-positive people from the country. HIV-antibody tests were mandatory for all foreign students and contract workers before entering the DDR. Those who tested HIV-positive were barred from entry—an objectively racist policy totally against the principles of proletarian internationalism and human decency. Closing the borders of any one country is a reactionary and utopian program unable to stop the spread of disease. We oppose the exclusion of anybody from any state, including African students or contract workers from the DDR, for reasons of their infection. Now, under Bonn's iron fist, the last of the remaining immigrant workers are also to be deported from the former DDR.

In the DDR as in the West, the virus spread first among homosexuals, only much more slowly. A highly mobile homosexual scene was practically nonexistent; just about the only well-known gay hangout was at Alexanderplatz. Social life continued to be based on the institution of the family, the source of the oppression of women and gays. With the dull conformity enforced by Stalinist repression, the DDR was a pretty monotonous and static society in which social contradictions were suppressed. However, the basic social equality of a society where everyone had a job, an education and a place to live meant the social alienation bred of deep poverty and oppression which produces such pathological social phenomena as drug addiction did not exist. While in the West about one-fourth of all IV drug users are HIV-infected, in the DDR HIV was not spread by intravenous drug users sharing contaminated needles.

Because of the DDR's testing and travel restrictions on those testing HIV-positive, in early 1988 Seehofer's mentor Franz Josef Strauss orchestrated a meeting between leaders of the DDR AIDS program and Bavaria's hardcore reactionary "health" minister Gauweiler. As was widely publicized at the time in the liberal press such as *Frankfurter Rundschau* (2 May 1988), the DDR experts were revolted by Strauss/Gauweiler's senseless, brutal, counterproductive proposals. These included sealing Bavaria's (and West Germany's) borders to all "foreigners," forced testing for entire job categories and population groups, up to and including concentration camps for those infected with HIV. Bavaria has implemented some of these draconian measures, including forced testing in the hospitals, as a national "model"—just as the 1988-89 Memmingen anti-abortion witchhunt against Dr. Horst Theissen and his patients was used as a trial balloon for a hardline Paragraph 218 restricting abortion rights for all German women.

With the capitalist counterrevolution the historic gains of the DDR were destroyed. The effects are doubly terrible for those infected with HIV. We Trotskyists always defended the DDR and the USSR unconditionally against the threat of counterrevolution from within and without,



Der Spiegel

Striking IG Metal workers in Berlin in 1992. The Social Democratic union tops sold out the strike in the East just as the industrial powerhouse of the West German Ruhr was beginning to catch fire.

despite the bureaucracy which endangered and undermined the proletarian gains. We warned of the catastrophic effects of the capitalist reunification. And we fought for the only effective defense of the workers states: proletarian political revolution in the East and a social revolution in the West. For a red Soviet Germany as part of a socialist Europe!

What to Do, and What Not

In capitalist society everything connected with "public health" is infused with the prejudices of class, race and sex. The extraordinary powers which the public health authorities have by law are necessary to combat infectious diseases. This can often mean quite harsh state intervention into private life. But forced measures do not help in the fight against AIDS—on the contrary. Today there is no vaccine and no cure for AIDS, and in this racist, anti-gay society measures like forced testing and mandatory registration of those infected with the virus only expose those who need help most to brutally escalating bigotry.

The shame and revulsion heaped on AIDS sufferers under capitalism are a huge barrier to combatting the epidemic. They are stigmatized, fired from their jobs, evicted from their homes, leading the wretched existence of the homeless, often ending up in jail. Who wants to register voluntarily for an HIV antibody test under these conditions? Like DDR researchers, the BGA and most of the German medical profession argued for years against forced testing.

Since the HIV antibody test became available, the International Communist League has opposed all attempts of

any government to introduce forced testing—for anybody. We are for *free, anonymous* tests for all who want them. But if a vaccine against AIDS existed we would be in favor of forced vaccination of the entire population, even by a reactionary capitalist government, in the overriding interest of stopping this disease cold. As an immediate measure we demand the free distribution of condoms, including in the schools, the decriminalization of drugs, the distribution of clean needles, as well as a sensible, massive educational campaign in questions of public health.

The answer to the AIDS crisis lies in science, not hysteria, and certainly not in state criminalization and prosecution. The AIDS pandemic, like so many other questions of health, cries out for international cooperation for research and the development of treatments and a cure. But under capitalism scientific AIDS research is fundamentally hindered by a system of medical care run for profit.

We Need a Revolutionary Workers Party

In the DDR the material means were lacking to expand preventive programs to other diseases, but through the massive day-care system of crèches and kindergartens virtually all children were vaccinated against tetanus, polio, whooping cough, tuberculosis, diphtheria and measles. Thus, these last four diseases were practically eradicated in the DDR. In the West, 100,000 children get whooping cough every year; vaccination there was and is considered a "private matter." Now in the East the crèches and kindergartens are gone, the health care system is in chaos, and doctors report an ominous decline in vaccinations. Whooping cough, tuberculosis and diphtheria have been the first to break out again (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 7 July). It is a barbaric crime that the officials of this leading industrial country refuse to ensure the simple vaccination of all children.

Worsening working conditions coupled with the threat of layoffs is already driving many to work sick; experts warn that this threatens to bring an increase in chronic disease and early disability. The further privatization of public health opens the door to epidemics, the return of virulent strains of tuberculosis (already rampant among immigrants and refugees), and more. Everybody has the

right to safe, quality medical care, which is simply an urgent necessity in social life on this planet. Every working person has a vital interest in fighting for the organized workers movement together with *all* the oppressed to combat the murderous plans of the Kohl government—and that means confronting the capitalist system itself.

In 1991 Kohl's throne tottered when public service workers in the West struck for eleven days. They would have achieved more if the SPD bureaucrats hadn't sold out the strike precisely as it began to spread to the East. In last April's metalworkers strike in the East, the Social Democratic union tops in IG Metall also sold out just when the Ruhr started to burn. Only when the paralyzing influence of the Social Democrats is broken can the enormous power of the workers movement be unleashed in this country, through the construction of a class-struggle alternative leadership. It is necessary to unite all the exploited and oppressed—women, youth, immigrants, gays, the elderly, homeless, unemployed—behind the banner of real proletarian internationalism. What is lacking is a revolutionary party to forge this fighting unity in the struggle for working-class political power.

We do not have a patent solution to the problem of disease, and we do not pretend to be experts where scientific technology has not yet found a solution. But as Marxists we try to approach general social problems scientifically and rationally. And we fight for a society in which existing resources can be mobilized on the basis of what people need—e.g., to fight disease, to educate the entire population—and not what is profitable for the pharmaceutical companies or what is left over after the imperialist "defense" budget in the tens of billions.

This inhuman social system cannot be patched up to give it a "human face," as the social democrats and reformists in the SPD and PDS seek. Quality health care is within the realm of possibility, but not in the framework of the capitalist system which cannot even give its citizens the necessities of life, although the productive capacity and the technology exist to feed the hungry on the whole planet. What is necessary is the reorganization of society on a socialist basis to place knowledge and technology in the service of all. ■

Berlin, June 1991: German Spartakists join protest against fascist attacks on gays in East Berlin. Signs read, "Stop the Nazis through workers united front! Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers!" and demand "Billions for AIDS research!"



Women and Revolution: International Communist Journal of Women's Liberation



In the past year the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) has initiated a modest extension of our special work around the question of the emancipation of women. The struggle for women's rights has assumed particular political importance after the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe, where the return of the imperialist "free market" unleashed an aggressive attack against the rights won by women and the workers movement through the proletarian conquest of state power in Russia, extended to East Europe after World War II. Further, growing interimperialist rivalry and the capitalists' drive to increase profits through intensified exploitation have fueled a reactionary social climate in which basic rights like abortion are increasingly targeted for restriction or elimination. We anticipate therefore an expanded role for *Women and Revolution* in the struggles of the future.

While necessarily limited in scope, this perspective looks to the tradition of the Bolsheviks' work among women, to the authority of their paper *Rabotnitsa* (*The Woman Worker*) and to the Leninist principles of the early Communist International, which established a Women's Section and an international women's journal. As our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, said in *Spartakist* (No. 106, September 1993):

"An integral and strategic part of our perspective as Trotskyists is to win the masses of women to the proletarian revolu-

tionary vanguard party and the struggle for socialism. As Clara Zetkin said in 1921: 'Without the seizure of political power, without the establishment of the soviet dictatorship, there is no building communism, no liberation, no equality for women. But...without the joint work, without the joint struggle of women, there is no seizure of political power, no building communism.' It is in this tradition that we intervene in struggles to defend women's rights."

For the ICL as a Leninist fighting propaganda group seeking to intervene as a tribune of the people and to win over the most conscious, politically committed layers to the struggle for socialism, the first and most important organizing tool is our press. The press of the vanguard party is a collective organizer, bringing our revolutionary program to the working class, women, youth, the specially oppressed racial and ethnic minorities. Our goal is to build a party which can lead the working class in irrevocable struggle against the rule of capital which exploits and oppresses us. As communists, we know that the fate of women depends on the outcome of the class struggle.

Leninist Work on the Woman Question

With the presentation of the "Thesis for the Communist Women's Movement" at the Third Congress in 1921, the Communist International founded a section for special work among women, involving all national parties at every level. The work was organized on the international level



Rabotnitsa (*The Woman Worker*, lower right) first appeared in 1914; *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* (*Communist Women's International*) in 1921. Comintern national parties published women's journals such as the French *L'Ouvrière* (*The Woman Worker*, 11 March 1922). In Italy *L'Ordine Nuovo* (*The New Order*) included special sections such as the 6 April 1922 "Conference of Communist Women."

Communists organized "First Congress of the Peoples of the East" in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920. Shown here is a demonstration of the Baku Women's Union on 22 August 1920; banner at right reads in Azerbaijani, "Long live the world revolution," while Russian text links "liberation of women" to "liberation of the world's toilers." Women militants donned the veil to bring Marxist program to Muslim women.



Jules Humbert-Droz Archives, Switzerland

by the International Secretariat headed by Clara Zetkin, who served as editor of *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* (*Communist Women's International*). Addressing the special needs of women as an oppressed group in society, the women's sections, established on both a national and international level, were led by the party and sought to extend the influence of the party to layers of working-class and peasant women whose participation in the revolutionary movement was vital. These transitional organizations were founded to undertake special work among women who, weighed down by the residue of thousands of years of subjugation, required special measures to draw them into class-struggle militancy. The Bolsheviks rejected the demeaning notion that the liberation of women was "women's work" and saw it as a task of the party as a whole, welcoming the participation of men comrades in the women's commissions which oversaw the party's work in this arena.

The press was vital to this work. Zetkin projected "women's pages" in each sectional press, sectional women's magazines and an international journal containing "general, all-embracing reports as well as particularly important individual reports" and drawing "attention to current general problems, tasks and campaigns." This of course was the perspective for a Women's Section of a millions-strong Third International. The national parties published national women's papers or opened women's pages in their official press. For example, the French Communist Party published *L'Ouvrière* (*The Woman Worker*), while the Italian Communist Party established women's pages in their daily paper, *L'Ordine Nuovo* (*The New Order*).

Zetkin introduced *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* as "the only international women's journal not to regard the problems of the so-called woman question from the shaky ground of the bourgeois view of society and from the perspective of the women's righters, but to

base its viewpoint on the weather-hardened granite of the socialist, communist worldview, oriented unswervingly toward the liberation of humanity through communism" (see "Communist International's Work Among Women," *W&R* No. 31, Spring 1986). In the "Thesis" the communist women's movement stated its opposition to bourgeois feminism:

"Realizing feminist demands results primarily in reforming the capitalist order for the benefit of wives and daughters of the possessing classes. Meanwhile the huge majority of proletarian women, the women of the toiling people, still unfree and exploited, are abandoned, their humanity stunted, and their rights and interests neglected.

"As long as capitalism survives, a woman's right to dispose freely of her property and her person signifies the final stage of the emancipation of property and a broadening of the scope for capitalists to exploit proletarian women."

The Bolsheviks insisted that the precondition for women's emancipation was the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist order, which exploited women as workers and oppressed them as household drudges. After the proletariat's seizure of state power under Bolshevik leadership in October 1917, the Soviet government moved immediately to end all the old legal impediments to women's equality, giving women the vote and breaking the power of the Orthodox church over marriage and divorce by making them simple matters of civil registration. But the oppression of women could not be legislated out of existence: it required laying the foundation of new ways of living by replacing the institution of the family as a social and economic unit through the socialization of household labor.

The Bolsheviks' aim was to build childcare centers and socialized dining halls to enable women to participate fully in social and political life. They also established special schools to teach women to read and write and sought to equalize educational and vocational oppor-

tunities. In the Soviet East, heroic women communists donned the veil in order to reach the hideously oppressed Muslim women who, having the most to gain, could be the link that broke the feudal chain. Soviet state power carefully and systematically undermined the native tribalism by demonstrating the superiority of Soviet institutions.

The young Soviet state's economic backwardness and its international isolation at the hands of hostile world imperialism meant that the Bolsheviks could only hint at the large-scale allocation of social resources necessary to

basic rights under capitalism requires a class-struggle mobilization; but only the overthrow of that system once and for all will secure our rights and lay the foundations for a new world.

Women's Rights in the Front Line of Struggle

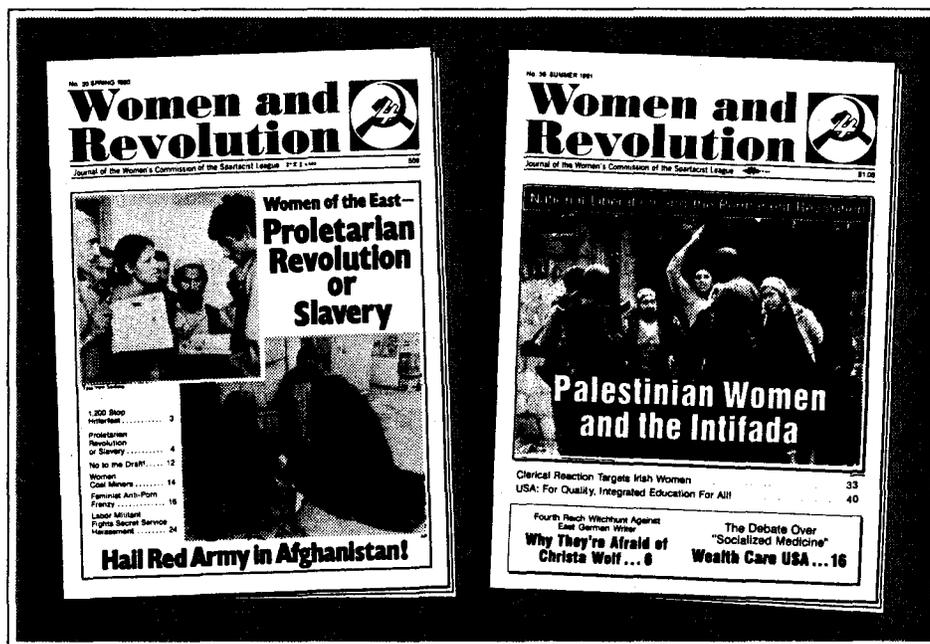
In the recent historical period, the struggle for the rights of women emerged as a major political issue internationally with Khomeini's 1979 seizure of power from the U.S.-backed Shah in Iran. The mullahs' Islamic dictatorship was founded on the unrestricted right of capitalist exploitation, peasant dispossession and the all-encompassing oppression of women. Grotesquely, this regime of theocratic terror was not opposed but hailed by most of the Iranian and U.S. left. The ICL (then the international Spartacist tendency) uniquely opposed this bloc with Khomeini with the slogan: "Workers must lead Iranian revolution! Down with the Shah! Down with the mullahs!" We argued that defense of women's rights was central to a revolutionary perspective in Iran and demanded "No to the veil!" (see "Opportunist Left Paved Way for Khomeini: Social Struggle Shakes Islamic Dictatorship," W&R No. 41, Summer-Autumn 1992).

As U.S. imperialism's Cold War II against the Soviet Union heated up under Carter and Reagan, defense of women's rights emerged as a key question in other areas of the world. In Afghanistan, the CIA-

backed, feudalist *mujahedin* waged a civil war against the Soviet-backed Kabul regime. While the Kremlin bureaucrats sent in the Red Army for their own reasons (defense of a common border in a historically unstable area), the Soviet military objectively defended the lives and rights of women: the Kabul regime's reforms favoring women's education and legal rights were targeted for destruction by the *mujahedin*, who shot schoolteachers for teaching little girls to read.

In Poland, the imperialists launched an ultimately successful attempt to roll back Communism using Pope Wojtyla's church as their battering ram. The rise in the early 1980s of Lech Walesa's clericalist *Solidarność* was funded by the CIA, the German bankers and Wall Street. Our call to "Stop *Solidarność* Counterrevolution" stood out sharply as a concretization of the Trotskyist insistence that the USSR and the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe must be defended against capitalist restoration. In the sequel women's right to abortion was one of the first casualties of Walesa's capitalist regime.

Poland and Afghanistan represented early battlegrounds in the imperialist onslaught against the planned economies of the Stalinist-ruled countries. Today, women across East



W&R said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" in 1980; only the Soviet Red Army stood between women and brutal subjugation under the veil. Our 1991 story on Palestinian women links the fight for women's liberation and national liberation to the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution in the Near East.

achieve equality for women. With the Stalinist usurpation of political power from 1923 on, the Bolshevik program itself was abandoned. Stalinism destroyed the Communist International as a revolutionary force, subordinating it to the false doctrine of "socialism in one country." In 1925 *Die Kommunistische Fraueninternationale* ceased publication. The Women's Section of the Third International was one of Stalinism's first victims.

Today, the International Communist League looks to the legacy of Bolshevik work among women and defends it against the Stalinists who betrayed it and the bourgeois feminists who are its class enemies. Like the Bolsheviks, we reject the treachery of the social democrats and other reformists who want to pacify workers' discontents with a few sops. The false notion of capitalism "with a human face" actually strives to reinforce capitalism's power of exploitation and thus to obstruct the full liberation of women. This has been repeatedly shown in the struggles in country after country during the past period over the right to abortion, a simple reform. To defend even this basic democratic right has meant a confrontation with the capitalist state and the entrenched power of organized religion. The defense of

Europe and the ex-USSR are among the biggest losers as the profit system of imperialist "democracy" brings massive dismantling of social gains like abortion rights, free education and plentiful day-care centers. As a companion article to "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (W&R No. 40, Winter 1991-92), W&R printed an "Interview with Soviet Women" conducted by the Moscow Station of the ICL, in which two Soviet women workers spoke of the contradictory experiences of women under Stalinism and of the tremendous deterioration in social conditions of workers and women suffered already under Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

The growth of capitalist reaction was felt around the world during the 1980s, including in the United States where the Reagan-Bush years brought an assault on the right to privacy as part of an all-sided domestic crackdown. Clinton has only escalated the government's war on privacy, signaled by Janet Reno's incineration of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas—for the "crime" of being members of a religious sect. W&R has been important in our fight to win militants to our socialist program and to the call for free abortion on demand and for militant, class-struggle defense of the abortion clinics.

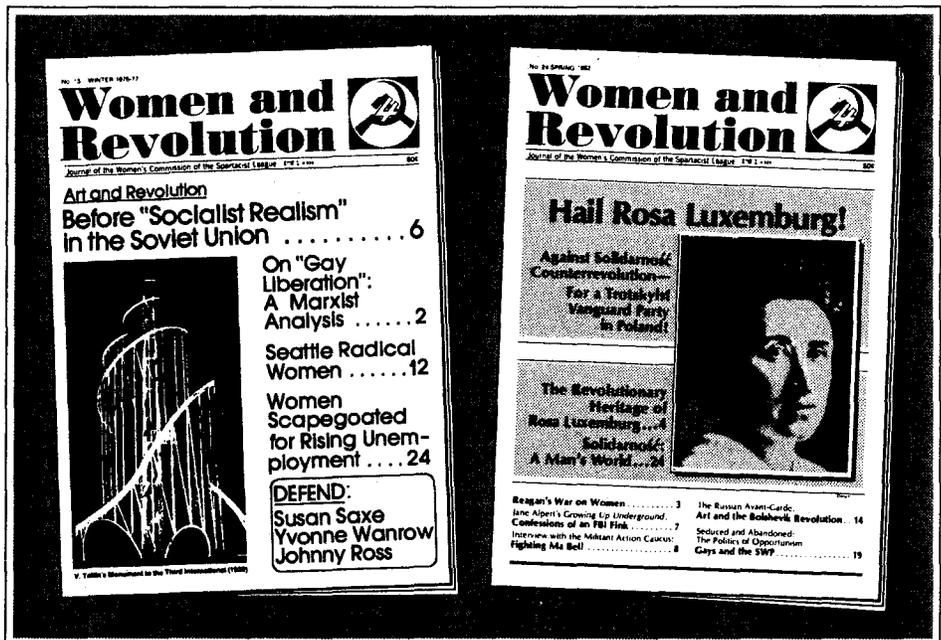
An International Journal

Women and Revolution, journal of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee Commission for Work Among Women, was established in 1971 as a special journal seeking to intervene with a communist program into the women's movement developing out of the breakup of the New Left in the United States. While that movement has long since dissipated, the SL has maintained *Women and Revolution*, the only Marxist journal in the United States dedicated to the question of the emancipation of women.

W&R has always been international in scope, publishing contributions from all national sections of the ICL. Outside the U.S., the journal is sold regularly in the English-speaking countries where we have supporters (Canada, Britain, Ireland and Australia), and has a limited readership in non-English speaking countries as well. More recently, *Women and Revolution* has come to serve as a journal of the ICL as a whole, soliciting articles on a more consistent basis from all ICL sections on politically urgent issues touching on the woman question and related matters of special oppression.

From London to Toronto to Sydney, Australia, W&R is popular among immigrant and minority women, who value our refusal to capitulate to either religious backwardness or anti-woman nationalism. Our article "80 Million Women Maimed: The Crime of Female Genital Mutilation" has

been sold in particular to African women in London and France, where it appeared in French translation in *Le Bolchévique*, newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France. "Korean Women Expose 'Comfort Girl' Atrocities: Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women" appeared in English in W&R No. 41 (Summer/Autumn 1992) and in Japanese in *Spartacist Japan* No. 13 and intersected a number of meetings and cultural events in Japan organized by second- and third-generation Koreans on the question of women forced into prostitution by the Japanese army and the fight for civil rights in racist Japan.



W&R covers broad aspects of society and culture: left, our Winter 1976-77 issue (No. 13) featuring an article on art before the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. Our Spring 1982 issue (No. 24) fought Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland, recalling the revolutionary heritage of Rosa Luxemburg.

The capitalist state arm in arm with its natural ally, religious reaction, has targeted women's rights in countries like Italy and Ireland where the church has historically been a dominating political force. In "Vatican Leads Onslaught Against Abortion Rights" (W&R No. 41), the Lega Trotskista d'Italia called for "Church and state out of the bedroom! For the full separation of church and state!"

In Ireland, the powerful grip of the Catholic hierarchy over every aspect of social life, from medical care to education, is behind the denial of the right to abortion and to divorce. In part through our intervention into the Irish student movement for abortion rights, the ICL coalesced a small section in Dublin, the Dublin Spartacist Group, which has actively sold *Workers Hammer* and *Women and Revolution* to young women and men eager to read not only about the struggle for women's rights in Ireland but the condition of women worldwide. For them, W&R is a window onto a much wider world.

A Modest International Extension

This year, in order to further extend the political influence of our women's journal, the ICL initiated a modest



The International Communist League publishes articles touching on women's liberation in translation under the W&R masthead, including in the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski's *Platforma Spartakusowców*, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia's *Spartaco* and the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany's *Spartakist*.

perspective of publishing some articles in translation under the W&R masthead in the non-English language sectional presses. ICL publications which have implemented the proposal to date include *Spartakist*, newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), *Spartaco*, newspaper of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I), and *Platforma Spartakusowców*, newspaper of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP). The SpAD and LTd'I have published translations of W&R's "From East Berlin to Tashkent: Capitalist Counterrevolution Tramples on Women" (No. 42, Spring/Summer 1993), a Trotskyist analysis of the effects of the "market" counterrevolution on women in Germany, Poland, Russia and the ex-Soviet East.

From Warsaw, SGP comrades report that sales of the new *Platforma* with the *Kobiety i Rewolucja* pages featuring "For free abortion on demand!" are limited not by the level of interest but by our small group's capacity to intervene. Readers often choose *Spartakist*, newspaper of the SpAD, because of the *Frauen und Revolution* pages there and because they can often read German, while English capacity is much rarer. Interest in the paper is evident among not only young women but middle-aged working women and young men. One reader told us that the draconian anti-abortion law pushed through by the Polish government is the new capitalist rulers' debt payment to the Church. There is a growing anti-capitalist mood in Poland, reflected in the recent elections where the strong vote for two parties associated with the former Stalinist regime was widely attributed to being in part a protest vote against the abortion law. At a recent anti-fascist demonstration attended by 1,500 spirited and determined youth, sales of our paper were often clinched by our W&R pages, not only to young women, but also to young men sporting "cleric-busters" emblems on their coats.

In Germany, the effects of the capitalist counterrevolution in the former DDR (East Germany) weigh heavily on women, who are massively unemployed and no longer enjoy the social benefits of the planned economy. Where once over 90 percent of women participated in the labor force, that rate has been slashed in half; the birth rate has plummeted, as women feel their children have no future. Our *Frauen und Revolution* pages hit the streets

as the hated Paragraph 218 vastly restricting abortion rights went into effect in the East, concomitant with massive closings of kindergartens. Comrades sold over 150 copies at protest demonstrations in Halle and Leipzig.

Future Perspectives

In implementing the W&R pages, the ICL does not project that every article on the woman question would appear under such a masthead, which would falsely separate out the woman question programmatically from the class struggle as a whole. For example, as the main press organ of the SL/U.S., *Workers Vanguard* must and does often address this question—it is alien to Leninism to isolate out this strategic political issue as "women's work."

One of the strengths of *Women and Revolution* through its 22 years has been the publication of "archives of Marxism" articles on the history of Marxist and Bolshevik work on the woman question, for example the two-part "Foundations of Communist Work Among Women: The German Social Democracy" (W&R Nos. 8 and 9, Spring and Summer 1975) and "Early Bolshevik Work Among Women of the Soviet East" (W&R No. 12, Summer 1976). The journal seeks as well to address anthropological questions, in line with the Marxist understanding that the roots of women's oppression and the institution of the family lie in the early division of human society into classes, as Frederick Engels wrote in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. W&R has also pursued the intersection of society and culture in articles like "Planning for Collective Living in the Early Soviet Union: Architecture As a Tool of Social Transformation" (W&R No. 11, Spring 1979).

As a journal of Marxist culture emphasizing the socialist answer to the woman question, which touches every human being on the earth, *Women and Revolution* is a valuable tool in the reviving of an international communist movement in the wake of the collapse of Stalinism. It is one of the most appropriate places for the International Communist League to re-emphasize the liberating goals of communism and the necessarily global struggle for a classless society. ■

London...

(continued from page 40)

whose lives have been thrown into economic insecurity and chaos because of widespread unemployment and erosion of health care and social services, the bourgeoisies have sought to incite racism by blaming immigrants for the economic squeeze. But the wave of fascist terror has not gone unimpeded. Across Europe, youth in particular have marched, protested and in some cases battled against the racists and the police who protect them.

In London on October 16, over 50,000 people protested the growing plague of murderous terror against the heavily black and Asian population of east London. This was the largest anti-fascist demonstration in Britain in two decades. As protesters attempted to follow the planned route which passed the fascist British National Party (BNP) headquarters in southeast London, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way, wading into the crowds with batons flailing and following up with charges on horseback. Dozens of marchers were taken to hospitals with blood streaming from their heads. But for two hours, outraged anti-fascist militants stood their ground against the racist thugs in blue, forcing the cops to pull back several times under a hail of sticks, rocks, bricks and paving stones. Police dragged off and arrested 31 of the anti-fascist protesters.

"Police Protect the Fascists!"

The day before the October 16 march, the area had been placed under a virtual state of siege. Police invoked the Public Order Act to overrule the march route announced weeks earlier by the protest organizers. On Saturday, 7,000 cops were deployed, lining the march route and barricading over 50 streets within a half mile of the BNP headquarters, where a couple of fascists sat cowering behind steel doors. Protesters who were charged by



The Age
British National Party skinheads at anti-IRA demonstration in London, April 1993. BNP fascists are shock troops for British imperialism.

police horses and clubbed by police batons learned a basic fact of life: the cops serve their capitalist masters and shelter their masters' reserve shock troops. Demonstrators chanted, "Police protect the fascists!"

That day, the Spartacist League/Britain, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), organized a contingent which marched behind the banner, "Not Wretched Appeals to the Capitalist State! For Trade Union/Minority Mobilisations to Smash the Fascists!" We reprint below two articles from a special supplement prepared for the demonstration, where 9,000 were distributed.

The huge outpouring on October 16 reflected widespread outrage throughout the country over the deadly rise of fascist terror, including the murder of black student



Edward Sykes

Mourners in London funeral procession honor black student Stephen Lawrence, murdered by race-terrorists in April 1993.



Spartacist Canada

Vancouver, Canada, 22 January 1993—3,000 unionists (including Canadian Union of Postal Workers), minorities, students massed to protest fascist rally. Spartacists called for massive labor/minority mobilization to stop the rightist terrorists.

Stephen Lawrence in April. The BNP scored a victory when avowed fascist Derek Beackon won a seat on the local Tower Hamlets council (on the Isle of Dogs) only days after the near-murder by racist thugs of 17-year-old Bangladeshi Quaddus Ali on September 8. Asian youth took to the streets under the slogan, "Self-defence is no offence!" Two days later, cops waded into a crowd of anti-fascist protesters outside the London Hospital where young Ali lay perilously close to death. Twenty-three anti-fascist youth were arrested. The Spartacist League/Britain and the Partisan Defence Committee demand: Drop the charges against all the anti-fascist fighters!

For Labor-Centered Mobilizations!

In the weeks leading up to the march, SL/B supporters fought for a perspective centered on the power of the organized working class to stop the racist terrorists. A symbolic strike against the fascists by area unions, such as the Tower Hamlets public employees union, UNISON, took place immediately after the attacks and the election of the BNP candidate.

Yet while there was a sprinkling of public employee banners at the October 16 march, the trade unions did not mobilize for a display of integrated social power (black, white and Asian) which would have taught the BNP fascists a lesson and made the cops think twice before attacking the demonstrators. The reformist Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) and Anti Nazi League (ANL) organizers had neither a perspective nor a strategy for mobilizing the heavy battalions of the working class, because they capitulate to the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who hold back and strangle the labor movement.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress (TUC) tops, who work together as agents of the capitalist bosses within the working class, organized a deliberately diversionary "Anti-Racist Alliance" rally—which attracted barely 3,000 people—miles from the BNP's terror nest. While many militant anti-fascist youth mistakenly identify the organized workers movement with

the sellout Labourite tops and consequently despair of the possibility of organized workers action, the ICL wages a political battle to break the ranks of the working class from their present leaders, most importantly in the course of struggle.

Reformists Call for State Bans

For months, the ANL has been pouring all its energies into vapid pleas to the Bexley council Conservatives (Tories)—who appeal to the same racist constituency as the fascists—to shut down the BNP headquarters. Under immense pressure from thousands of young people who want to clean out the fascists, the ANL and YRE leaders talked out of both sides of their mouths, calling for militant action against the BNP while pleading with or petitioning the capitalist state. On the one hand, the chief political force behind the YRE, the *Militant* (8 October) of Peter Taaffe, declared: "Militant Labour [also known as Militant] does not depend on or want the state to ban the BNP." Yet a week later, the *Militant* wrote, "we do campaign for local authorities to refuse to allow their premises for meetings and to use local planning regulations to close down the BNP bunkers." In similar fashion, Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which dominates the ANL, stated: "We cannot rely on the state to stop the Nazis" (*Socialist Worker*, 9 October). But in the same issue they declared, "If our pressure succeeds in getting Bexley Tory Council to close down their headquarters it will be an enormous victory."

Denouncing the October 16 cop onslaught which left her bloodied, ANL chief steward Julie Waterson said: "Today has shown the police in their true colours protecting the BNP" (*London Sunday Times*, 17 October). But only three weeks earlier, when the cops took 57 BNPs into custody on September 26 to prevent a repeat of the bashing they received a week before, ANL spokesman Claire Dissington crowed: "We welcomed the police action, but it should really have come sooner. We wanted them to stop the BNP selling their newspaper in the area

long ago" (London *Independent*, 27 September). Both *Militant* and *SWP* argue that the cops should be part of the labor movement! (See "Militant, SWP and the Cops," page 37.)

After October 16, as the bourgeois media sought to whip up a witchhunt against the anti-fascist demonstrators, ANL honcho Paul Holborow joined in the violence-baiting smears: "Those involved in skirmishes were not representative of the 98 per cent of the demonstrators that went along with the publically stated aim of a peaceful demonstration" (London *Guardian*, 18 October). This is the real tradition of the ANL. Faced with a similar witchhunt following a militant anti-fascist demonstration in Lewisham in 1977, the Cliffites formed the ANL as a popular-frontist vehicle to curry favor with Anglican vicars and Labourite politicians. When the fascist National Front marched through the East End in 1978, the ANL organized an "anti-racist" Carnival *ten miles across town*, deliberately preventing thousands of anti-fascist militants from confronting and defeating the NF. Now, as a follow-up to the massive October 16 demonstration, the ANL is once again proposing...a carnival to be held in six months!

The article titled, "The Trade Unions, Minorities and the Left Must Mobilise by the Thousands: Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!" (see page 34) shows that both the *SWP* and *Militant* are *reformist* organizations, despite their occasional superficial militancy. Until recently, *Militant* had been buried deep inside the Labour Party for *decades*. *Militant* argues that a "left-wing" government of the dyed-in-the-wool pro-capitalist Labour Party, if armed with "emergency powers," will bring socialism. For all their occasional anti-Labour rhetoric, *Militant* and the *SWP* *always* call for a vote to the Labour traitors—even when the Labour Party is up to its neck in strikebreaking.

The British Labour Party is an archetypal specimen of the Social Democracy (Second International). The treacherous history of the Social Democracy in the service of international capital had its most notorious expression in voting for war credits in the German parliament in 1914, an act which precipitated the split within the Second International, leading to the formation of the Leninist

Third (Communist) International. Since then, the Social Democrats have slavishly served at every key historic juncture to tie the workers movement, with the assistance of the fake-lefts (such as the *Militant* and *SWP*), to the political interests of capital. Calling on the state to disarm or ban the fascists is a classic demand of social democrats because they *fear* the mass mobilization of the powerful working class. The Social Democracy, echoed by other so-called socialists, cheered the counterrevolution which has brought abject misery to Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. And in Germany, the German Social Democratic Party was the main agent promoting capitalist *Anschluss* under the guise of being a socialist workers party. The ICL fought relentlessly within the limits of our small forces against capitalist reunification of Germany and counterrevolution in the Soviet Union.

The forces of fascism are still weak, while the proletariat has far greater numbers but is politically disarmed by misleadership. The lessons of history show that the capitalist class opts for fascism when a powerful working class threatens bourgeois stability, but is incapable of taking power due to a reformist leadership—then the fascist reserve troops are called in to destroy that proletarian power and restabilize the rule of capital. It is vitally necessary to give the fascists a lesson now, while they are still cowering in their nests. As Trotsky wrote to his French comrades in March 1934:

"In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate.'... Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

When the capitalist class has its back against the wall, it turns to the fascists to act as their shock troops against the working class. The fascists are not just people with bad ideas but an integral part of the state's reserve arsenal. Ultimately therefore, the fight against fascism is necessarily a *class battle*—not just military but political—in which the working class has the social power and the urgent

Financial Times



Spartaco



Rome, November 1992—30,000-strong protest of union workers and youth against anti-Semitism included militant Jewish students (left). Milan, August 1993—Trotskyists demanded charges be dropped against North African victims of police beating and called for full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families.

interest to stop the fascists cold. This fight will be part and parcel of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against the very system of capitalism. Youth and workers who want to wage this fight against the ravages

of capitalism will not find a vehicle among those parties whose strategy relies on *pressuring* the bourgeois state. The ICL intends to be that party armed with a revolutionary program and the firm intention to fight for it.

The Trade Unions, Minorities and the Left Must Mobilise by the Thousands: Drive the Fascists Off the Streets!

The anti-racist youth of this country have had enough! They have pointed a way forward. We salute the militant action of last Sunday [September 19] in Brick Lane [London], largely organised by Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE) and the Anti Nazi League (ANL). Some British National Party (BNP) scum, including their leaders, ended up on the pavement in a humiliated heap. After their murderous rampages in the East End, and their Isle of Dogs election victory, the BNP got the least they deserve, and every decent person cheered at the sight of it. The police who protect them are now forced to talk about not being able to "guarantee the safety of the BNP." After fifteen years of provocations in Brick Lane, the fascists know they are in danger of getting their just deserts. Good! This victory must be built upon: let's win the war, not just one battle.

Now is the time to drive the fascists *off the streets, out*

of the minority areas! Avenge Quaddus Ali and every victim of racist terror! We want to see serious, lasting victories in the fight against fascism. Weld the militancy of the youth to the power of the *organised working class*, black, white and Asian, and deal a decisive blow against the BNP!

Now is the time to *shut down the BNP headquarters:* not by idiotic appeals to the Tory Bexley Council or the Home Office, but by a massive, co-ordinated action: for working-class unity to *smash the BNP!*

Every trade union, every minority community organisation, every socialist party and group should be on the streets of East London. One big fist to crush these rats, the killers of Stephen Lawrence.

Remember Cable Street! In 1936, hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them Jews targeted by the British Union of Fascists, responded to the call of local Communists and East End workers, and *stopped* the Mos-



Radio Times Hulton

Remember Cable Street! The October 1936 battle, in historic photo above, won an important victory as hundreds of thousands of workers, many Jewish, stopped fascist Mosley's Blackshirts from marching through London's East End.

ley fascists in the East End. We need another Cable Street, not soft-headed, suicidal calls for government action.

We reject the crap that ANL and YRE "leaders" have pushed down everyone's throats for so long. Reject their appeals to the capitalist courts and cops and councils! Reject their lobbies to "reform" the racist Liberal Democrats who run Tower Hamlets! Don't lobby the Home Office! Don't appeal for justice to the sell-out Labour Party! The Labour reformist leaders are the enemies of serious action against the fascists. We need a class-struggle leadership, which will mobilise the strength of the working class and the oppressed, in action, on the road to workers power!

The Public Order Act, enacted after Cable Street, was supposed to be a law against the fascists—this law is used today to persecute the anti-fascists who resisted the police riot on 10 September outside the Royal London Hospital. It is being used to go after the militants who gave the BNP a bloody good hiding last Sunday. Drop

the charges against all arrested anti-fascist fighters! No confidence in the capitalist state. No calls on the state machine! The state has always defended the fascists. It murdered Joy Gardner. It has always harassed and intimidated and attacked the black and Asian population. The cops who killed striking miners and the courts that sentenced them by the thousand are the *deadly enemies* of the working people.

The sentiment is there, in the working class, for a real showdown with the fascists. Already UNISON workers have struck for half a day in outrage at Beackon's win. British Telecom workers have voted for pulling the plug on the BNP HQ. The Fire Brigades Union London Region has supported today's demonstration. Tower Hamlets NALGO has called for anti-fascist unity in the workplaces. What's missing is the determined, intransigent leadership that the combative youth and workers deserve.

We need an organised, militant demonstration, well-defended, with thousands of trade unionists at its core. *The BNP can be stopped in its tracks*. We are not talking about weak-kneed protests, and we are not talking about courageous street fights pitting a few tens or hundreds of leftists and youth against the fascist thugs. We are talking about determined *mass actions*. The labour movement in this country is still strong and well-organised, despite the defeats of the last years. It must get off its knees and start to struggle, as a *class*! Defend and steward anti-fascist meetings and marches with disciplined trade union defence guards: it is time the *fascists* went in fear!

TGWU [Transport and General Workers Union] General Secretary Bill Morris wants a "cross-party" demonstration against racism. We can't fight this battle with the enemy's generals in our headquarters! There can be no unity of genuine anti-fascists with the bosses' parties, with the pious humbuggery of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Such cross-class alliances—popular fronts—are fatal. The TUC made common cause with Tories like the vicious racist Winston Churchill in a campaign of words against the pit closures: today there is hardly a working coal mine left in Britain. Today, like last year, what is needed is determined class struggle, not collaboration with representatives of the ruling class.

The working class and the youth who burn with anger at the BNP murderers have nothing in common with [Conservative Party head John] Major, [Liberal Party head Paddy] Ashdown and [Labour Party head] John Smith. These people preside over and love the capitalist system which feeds the fascists. The working class must fight in its own name, and for its own power. This country is rotted and rundown, a sea of misery for millions of unemployed and low-paid workers, a place of fear and violence for Asian and black people. Youth can only look forward to no jobs, nowhere to live, no money, no hope. This country does not need talk or prayer or moral witness: it needs a socialist revolution! Break the power of the capitalist state and expropriate the bourgeoisie! For the socialist reindustrialisation of Britain through a planned economy!

The trade union high-ups and the Labour Party misleaders would love to "calm down the situation." They want to turn the militancy into the dead-end of parliamentary manoeuvres, petitions and electoral farces. Remember that the Labour Party councils ran the hated poll tax. The trade union leaders can't even bring them-



Workers Hammer

The heroic, year-long British miners strike of 1984 had massive support from Britain's multi-ethnic working class, including this integrated contingent of Ford Dagenham auto workers, marching in June 1984.

selves to call a strike of the five million public sector workers who are going to get a *pay freeze* this year. The same leaders refused to back the miners in 1984-85 with the joint strike action that was desperately needed.

The labour movement needs a revolutionary leadership which fights as hard and as long for working-class victory as Thatcher fought for her despicable, parasitic capitalist class. The workers, the women, the black, Asian, Jewish and gay targets of BNP terror need a *workers government*, so that all people can have a decent and secure life, in a society free of exploitation and racism. Such a government will be based on elected workers councils like the original soviets in Lenin's Russia. It will have nothing in common with the windbag chambers in Westminster, which are a front for bourgeois rule.

A socialist society won't come in one country on its own: this is an international struggle of the working class. The fascists feed off capitalist decay, in France, in Germany, in Britain. And it's not just a question of the recession, mass unemployment and anti-immigrant hysteria in the imperialist countries. The restoration of the capitalist system in the USSR and Eastern Europe was a huge defeat for the working class around the world. Fascism, monarchism and anti-Semitism have sprouted like weeds in the capitalist-induced wreckage of the planned economies. Look at East Germany: even under Stalinist rule the planned economy provided jobs, education and health care for all; today the former DDR is a wasteland of unemployment and despair. The fascists in Western Europe have been hugely emboldened by the triumph of counterrevolution in the east.

The imperialists worked for years to destroy the workers states, with hypocritical chatter about "democracy" and "freedom." Parties like the Labour Party backed the bosses' return. Their smaller cousins like Militant or the Socialist Workers Party did the same, sharing Labour's anti-communism. They supported Polish Solidarność, a company union for the CIA, the bankers and the pope. The German Social Democrats (SPD) were the Trojan



Le Bolchévick

When French government threatened to load "illegal" immigrants onto trains for deportation, French Trotskyists protested in July 1993, demanding: "Stop the deportation trains! Railroad workers have the social power to stop these trains!" and "Crush the fascists before they crush us!"

horse of counterrevolution in East Germany.

All the social democrats supported Yeltsin in August 1991 (just as Major and Bush did). Now the workers lose their jobs by the hundreds of thousands, abortion rights are removed or cut back, women are forced out of work and back into the kitchen, youth are faced with a life on the dole, and minorities like Roma (Gypsies) live in fear of their lives.

This wave of reaction is coming home to roost in Western Europe. The ruling class is pushing the lie that "communism is dead" and say that any resistance to this criminal system of exploitation and oppression is useless. We say no: Stalinism is dead, but communism lives—in the struggle of the working class around the world. In Britain, France, Germany and Italy, workers are having to resist as the rival capitalist powers try to tighten the screws of exploitation and dismantle the "welfare state" measures they had to offer the workers after World War II to hold off the "spectre of communism." The imperialist powers united against the USSR; now they are more and more openly pitted against each other, in a competition which points towards a third world war.

The Stalinists that ruled countries like the USSR blocked every possibility of socialist revolution in the West, from Spain in 1936 to France in 1968 to Portugal in 1974-75. (There the Social Democrats played an openly counter-revolutionary role, supported by CIA funds channelled through the German SPD.) The "Communist" parties' betrayals isolated the Soviet Union and the other workers states, and led to their weakening and downfall. They

showed that they were no better than organisations like the Labour Party. We are Trotskyists, the political party which stands for the tradition and programme of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. We fought for defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution and for workers political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucrats: to bring the USSR back onto the road mapped out by Lenin and Trotsky. Today we still defend Cuba, Vietnam and China against the threat of capitalism coming back.

We are not reformists. We want revolutions like the Bolsheviks led in Russia in October 1917. We do not believe reforms will change capitalism. We do not believe, like the *Militant* newspaper does, that a Labour government with "emergency powers" will bring socialism. We do not believe, like the *Militant* and *Socialist Worker* say, that the police should be in the unions! The SWP's Anti Nazi League did not stop the National Front in the 1970s. That's a lie that every anti-fascist militant today should know the truth about. In 1978 the National Front had their headquarters round the corner from Brick Lane. They organised a demonstration in Whitechapel, and the ANL organised a carnival, same day, same time...in Brockwell Park in Brixton, ten miles away! We said then that the ANL Carnival was a scab carnival! It's exactly the same kind of politics when the ANL and the YRE leaders call for the capitalists to "ban the BNP" today.

That's why we say that groups like the *Militant* and the SWP are *reformist* organisations. At the end of the day they want popularity with left Labour MPs and celebrities: they don't want a consistent, hard fight for the interests of the working class. They don't believe that the workers can win state power. Their real maximum goal is to get Labour into government on a more left-wing sounding programme. This only means administering capitalism with a "human face."

Parties like the SWP and the *Militant* refused to defend Iraq against Britain, France and the US in 1991. The SWP didn't oppose British troops going into Ireland in 1969. We say: down with colonialism! Imperialist troops out of Somalia and out of the Balkans! Unlike *Militant* we say loud and clear: British troops out of Northern Ireland, now! The unions should black [hot-cargo] shipments of troops and military supplies to Northern Ireland. You can't fight racism and fascism at home unless you fight imperialism and its filthy wars.

The terrible poverty and the starvation that stalks the "Third World" comes from centuries of imperialist thieving and looting. The former colonial slaves of Britain, from the Indian sub-continent or the West Indies were brought to this country to do the most menial, worst-paid jobs. The same applied in France and Germany. The capitalists now make scapegoats out of these immigrants and their descendants. We are for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!

The political backers and leaders of Youth Against Racism in Europe and the Anti Nazi League do not have a strategy which will *win*, either now against the BNP, or in the long run against the capitalist system. It is not a question of "uniting" the existing campaigns, as groups like Workers Power or *Socialist Organiser* put forward. It is definitely not a question of "returning a Labour government." It was Labour who sent the troops into Northern Ireland, and sent the army against striking workers the last time

it was in office. It was the same Labour government that ordered grotesque "virginity tests" of Asian women entering the country, and planned the racist Nationality Act that Thatcher took over and passed into law.

When the SWP and the Militant print front page after front page with headlines which just call for getting rid of the Tories, they show that their horizons are limited to pressuring the Labour Party, even if they talk about "socialism" and "revolution." Pressure groups on the Labour Party can't take up a sharp fight against the union and party bureaucrats who dominate the labour movement. Why is it that the SWP and Militant, who claim to have hundreds and thousands of trade union supporters, are not carrying out a determined campaign for the kind of union and minority mass demonstrations that are needed to smash the BNP?

At best these groups will bend to pressure from the militant youth in times like the last two weeks. They will be forced sometimes to go along with combative actions. Last Sunday was a victory, which could spark integrated working-class action to defend minorities and to drive the fascists off the streets. But the courageous action in Brick Lane is only a beginning. The BNP will be back, and in the future with much larger police protection, backed by prosecutions of the anti-fascist militants. The capitalist media will certainly beat the drums for an anti-red witch hunt.

In the face of such a witch hunt, parties like the Militant and SWP are fully capable of running for cover. In 1977, the SWP was ferociously attacked by the press for its role in organising a large anti-fascist march in Lewisham. They responded by forming the peaceful, legal, popular-front Anti Nazi League. Lords, vicars and the likes of Neil Kinnock were signed up as ANL sponsors. The confrontations with the fascists *stopped* and the scab carnivals of balloons and music began instead. And it's worth remembering that the Militant leadership of the Anti-Poll Tax Federation offered to turn over names of demonstrators who defended themselves against mounted police charges in the huge anti-poll tax march at Trafalgar Square, two years ago. The Militant/YRE and the SWP/ANL are

trying to put themselves at the head of the current wave of outrage, but with an eye to using their influence among radicalised youth for other ends. What these groups really want is to become a bigger factor in the calculations of the Labour bureaucrats. They are still pushing all the same old reformist crap about lobbying the councils and the government. This week's *Socialist Worker* and *Militant* push for the 16 October "Unity demonstration," whose main demand is for the council to close down the BNP headquarters. Strenuously opposing such calls, the Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralise its will." The only consistent anti-fascists are proletarian revolutionaries.

The Spartacist League is part of an international organisation, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). Our comrades in the United States have several times organised the kind of union/minority demonstrations that are needed today in Britain. Similar actions have been initiated by our comrades in France and Canada, at different points. And on 3 January 1990 the largest anti-fascist demonstration in German history took place at Treptow Park in East Berlin. This demonstration of 250,000 people was initiated by our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and then taken up by the ruling Stalinist party in response to the vile desecration of the Soviet war graves by fascist hooligans. We are an organisation seeking to bring together the core of an international revolutionary party. This kind of working-class party fights for the interests of all the oppressed under capitalism, and for a lasting, socialist future for mankind, free of the fear of war and the scourges of unemployment, poverty and racism.

Stop the BNP! For mass, working-class and minority mobilisations against the fascists!

Down with "Fortress Europe"—full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!

For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! For a Socialist United States of Europe! ■

Militant, SWP and the Cops

For militants who want to oppose fascism, the question of our attitude towards the police is critical, because this is the question of the state.

On the morning of 28 July the cops brutally murdered Jamaican-born Joy Gardner. This underlined once again—in blood—the class nature of the police: the stop-at-nothing defenders of capitalist rule and racist oppression.

In a new pamphlet, *Against racism and fascism*, Militant Labour respond to this obscene racist killing by claiming: "Until there is democratic control of the police, including control of their day-to-day operations, outrages like this will continue to happen."

This has nothing to do with revolutionary Marxism—and everything to do with Labour Party-style reformism. "Democratic control of the police" is a fatuous illusion, worthy of Sidney Webb or Tony Benn. The capitalist state, of which the police are an essential part, exists to protect the wealth and power of a tiny minority who

exploit and live off the labour of the overwhelming majority. "The state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another" (Lenin, *State and Revolution*). It cannot be reformed or pressured into acting on behalf of the working people and the oppressed. The bourgeois state must be *shattered* by workers revolution.

The police will obey only one master: the capitalist class. Any minority youth could testify to the daily brutality experienced by blacks and Asians at the hands of the thugs in blue. Remember Blair Peach, the anti-fascist militant and SWP supporter, who was murdered by the cops in Southall in 1979, the countless victims of police frame-ups—the Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, Tottenham Three—and the striking coal miners who were on the receiving ends of police batons and worse, like at Orgeave. We remember those like Davey Jones who were murdered on the picket lines defending their union.

But Militant Labour wants to "win over" the cops who

carry out such vile attacks. They call for the racist, strike-breaking cops to be brought "into the orbit of the labour movement," through the "right of the police to an independent, democratic trade union organisation to defend their interests as workers" (*The State...a warning to the labour movement*).

The notion that the front-line troops of capitalist violence and repression are "workers in uniform," whose strikes should be supported, is also advocated by the SWP.

In July some 23,000 cop thugs assembled in Wembley Arena to protest the Sheehy report on police pay and conditions. They wore T-shirts emblazoned with the emblem of Polish Solidarność—the counterrevolutionary scab "union" supported by the CIA, the Vatican, Thatcher and the fake left. The SWP response was an article concluding "when coppers strike, they stop behaving like police and rejoin their class."

Police "militancy" and cop strikes over pay and "conditions" inevitably have a bonapartist thrust, reinforcing the cops in their view that they are a "law unto themselves." Better "working conditions" for cops means fewer restrictions on their ability to brutalise minorities, attack picket lines and carry out provocations against leftists.

When a reader wrote in to *Socialist Worker* to protest that "police are not workers in uniform," SWP honcho John Molyneux defended their pro-cop line, enthusing over the potential for organising cops into unions. He argued that the police "work for a wage" and that "most ordinary police are drawn from working class backgrounds" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 August). The German Social Democrats (who along with the German Communist Party permitted Hitler to take power without firing a shot) used similar arguments. They claimed that the Prussian police would prevent Hitler's Nazis from taking power. Leon

Trotsky demolished this drivel, pointing out: "The fact that the police was originally recruited in large numbers from among Social Democratic workers is absolutely meaningless.... The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next?*, January 1932).

The SWP gets worse. They favour recruiting prison guards! A letter to *Socialist Worker* (26 June) from Blundeston prison (printed without comment) bragged that "About a year ago we had a number of prison officers who were in sympathy with our objectives and would read *Socialist Worker*," and that the SWP had substantial influence among the screws. Prison officers, like cops, have no place in the workers movement, and the Prison Officers Association should be expelled from the TUC.

In *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Trotsky describes the enormous hatred towards the cops in particular that welled up among the proletarian masses in Russia in February 1917: "Toward the police the crowd showed ferocious hatred. They routed the mounted police with whistles, stones and pieces of ice. In a totally different way the workers approached the soldiers.... The police are fierce, implacable, hated and hating foes. To win them over is out of the question."

Such bitter hostility towards the police is completely alien to Militant Labour. They believe it is possible for "local government police committees" to ensure that "any racist elements or fascist sympathisers within the police are weeded out of the force" (*The State...*). As any half-wit knows, this is tantamount to calling for the dissolution of the entire police force!

Embracing the cops is passed by a true chain of infection, from the Labour Party to both Militant and the SWP. All this disgusting tripe comes straight from the mainstream Labourites. The Police Federation—one of whose leading spokesmen is Tony Judge, a former GLC Labour councillor under Ken Livingstone—has become a cause célèbre in Labour Party circles. This political bacillus has a name: reformism. It is also at work in the calls for the capitalist state to close down the BNP headquarters: a position that the SWP and Militant share with their big brothers in the Labour Party (whose recent conference voted for banning the BNP). The fascists must be crushed by powerful organised mass mobilisations of trade unions and minorities.

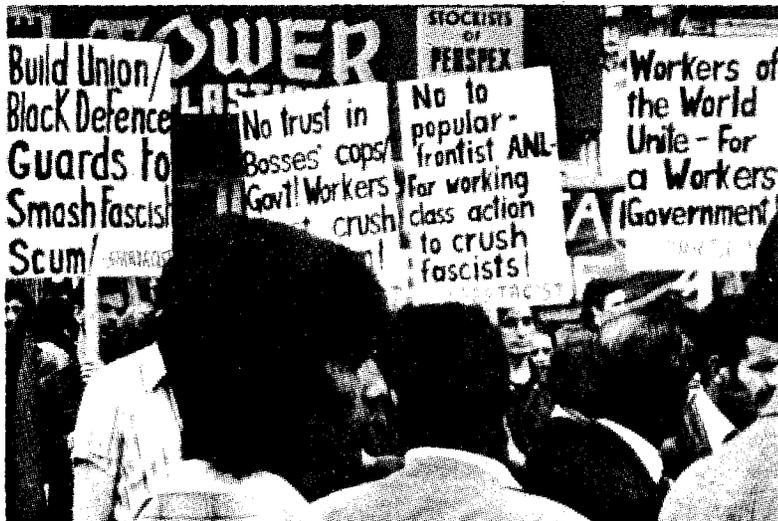
It would be difficult to put a piece of paper edgeways between the SWP and the Militant on these questions. Nevertheless, the Militant tendency over the years has undoubtedly won the prize for its open enthusiasm for reforming the capitalist state.

For forty-plus years Militant's founding cadre burrowed away within the Labour Party. The effort to stay in the party at all costs led them to evolve a set of positions which would be palatable to the Labour left. It was only last year that Militant emerged as an independent organisation, recognising that, for the present, John Smith's Labour Party is an inimical place even for fake Marxists. However, nothing fundamental has changed in their politics. From their refusal to call openly for British troops out of Northern Ireland, to their position of "workers sanctions" against Argentina during the Falklands war, Militant abjectly capitulates to British imperialism. Like the old Russian "legal Marxists," they have covered their tracks with a veneer of formal Marxist learning.



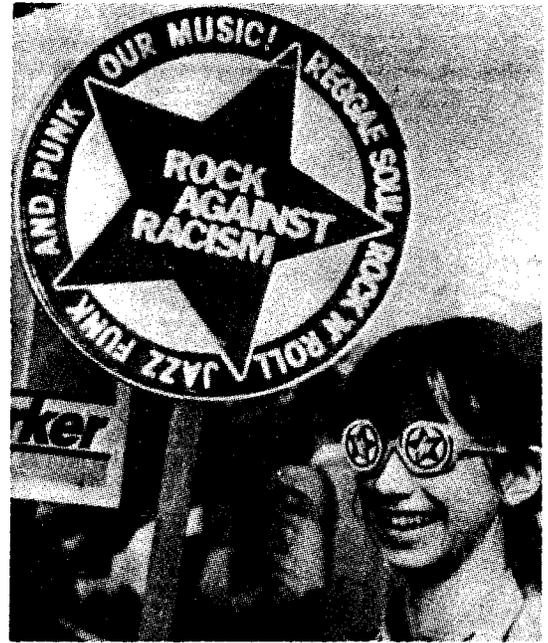
Workers Hammer

Riot police in London mounted on horseback and barricaded against anti-fascist protesters on October 16.



Workers Hammer

September 1978: Spartacist contingent mobilized against fascist National Front march through the Asian Brick Lane area of London, while the SWP-led Anti Nazi League criminally held "anti-racist" carnival on the other side of town (right).



Sturrock/Report

The question of the state is at the reformist heart of Militant's politics. Along with yards of propaganda praising Lenin, they print articles alleging that: "A peaceful socialist transformation of society, would be entirely possible if...bold steps were to be taken by a Labour government" (Peter Taaffe, *The State...a warning to the labour movement*). This position would have had Lenin reaching for the same acid pen that demolished the renegade Kautsky. Attempting to maintain a Marxist cover, they acknowledge that capitalist reaction would seek to crush a workers government—and then reach, not into the arsenal of Marxism, but for a position pushed by Sir Stafford Cripps' Socialist League in the early 1930s: the "Enabling Act."

Cripps theorised that a genuine socialist Labour government (a contradiction in terms) would need to pass emergency powers legislation which would enable it to carry out "a rapid and complete conversion of the Capitalist into the Socialist system." He was at pains to reassure the Attorney-General of the National Government, no less, that while he believed in "a very rapid change of the present system by the method of Parliamentary Democracy," this might be termed revolutionary "in the same sense as one speaks of a 'revolutionary' change in fiscal policy," but certainly not "in the manner of the Russian revolution" (cited in *Parliamentary Socialism*, by Ralph Miliband).

Militant Labour leader Peter Taaffe admitted the lineage: "In the 1930s...[Socialist League leaders] John Strachey and Clement Attlee came out for enabling legislation to be used by a future Labour government. It would be entirely democratic for the labour movement to clearly outline its programme, and then give due warning that [it] would be implemented swiftly by means of enabling legislation" ("Marxism and the State," *Militant International Review*, June 1982).

It is not surprising that an organisation which so clearly has made its peace with left Labourism on the crucial question of reform or revolution, is saturated with softness on the police. And behind the idiotic dreams of "community control" lurks something much more sinister. It is a short step from seeing cops as workers to asking

workers to act as police auxiliaries. In the United States (where, even more than in Britain, "the fight against crime" is a code phrase for straight racism) the *Labor Militant* (September-October 1993) offers what it calls the "Workers' Answer to Crime": "labor-community committees of public safety to deal with the problem of crime." This "socialist" version of vigilantism could only end up as a tool of the racist cops.

In Ireland the Militant didn't even bother with vigilantism—they turned straight to the capitalist state. Joe Higgins, Militant's Dublin West candidate for the Dáil in the elections last November, ran on a "law and order" ticket that would warm the heart of Michael Howard and Peter Lilley:

"Dublin Corporation and County should be forced to evict people who are known drug pushers or using their homes for criminal activities....

"More police on the beat, and concentrated on well-known trouble spots, would prevent crime and anti-social behaviour."

Most grotesquely of all, Peter Taaffe's South African co-thinkers wrote in *Congress Militant* (April 1993):

"Hence Marxism is in favour of universal conscription for military training.... A soldier or a policeman who is a comrade must work hard, so that when he talks his fellow members will listen and he will get unity to paralyse the whole system."

This apparently has aroused discontent even in Militant's own ranks. In favour of *universal conscription* into the apartheid army? A policeman of the South African state who is a "comrade"? One who should "work hard"—i.e., beat more viciously or shoot straighter? Better conditions and better pay for De Klerk's butchers? There is truly no limit to the opportunism of this tendency!

The Militant and the SWP are not forces for revolution—they are obstacles on the road to workers power. Any serious member of these groups should study carefully the politics of their own organisation, and those of Lenin and Trotsky. The international working class needs a Bolshevik party: not one led by those who would lick the boots of the capitalist state. ■

London: Tens of Thousands March Against BNP



Independent

London, 16 October 1993—Riot police block anti-racist militants from marching against fascist BNP headquarters.

For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop the Fascists!

From London to Berlin to Moscow, the New World Order swept in by counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union has fostered the rise of rightist, racist and outright fascist violence against immigrant workers and all minorities. Deepening European recession, exacerbated by the economic disaster of German reunification, has impelled the imperialists to slam the gates of "Fortress Europe," exclude immigrants and refugees and cut back the extensive social services, instituted during the period of relative prosperity after World War II, which were used to pacify the working class. To displace the discontent of a population

continued on page 31

Workers Hammer



**Spartacist
League/Britain
contingent at
16 October
anti-fascist
march.**