

30 Million Blacks Still Can't Vote, Endure Abject Poverty

South Africa: ANC Pushes "Post-Apartheid" Swindle



While Nelson Mandela and South African president De Klerk shake on "deal," blacks are still victims of apartheid terror.

Government Unleashes Inkatha Killers



"The new South Africa is on the march," crowed President F.W. De Klerk after the segregated parliament voted in June to repeal the remaining key pillars of "grand apartheid." The Population Registration Act, which classified everyone born in South Africa into four racial categories (white, African, "coloured," Indian), the Group Areas Act, which set

up segregated living areas, and the Land Act, guaranteeing white ownership of 87 percent of the land, are now officially abolished. Thereupon, the European Common Market voted to lift sanctions, and the 21-year ban on South African participation in Olympic competition was removed. To the chagrin of those leftists and would-be radicals who

looked to the imperialists to clean up the South African racist regime, George Bush issued an executive order lifting U.S. sanctions on trade, investment and banking.

Now the formal statutes of apartheid have been eliminated (the pass laws and Separate Amenities Act were scrapped earlier), but the cruel oppression of the

regime of white supremacy remains and the hopes of the impoverished black majority are being dashed. In the "new South Africa," thousands are slaughtered by government-instigated terror, millions are disenfranchised and condemned to abject poverty. There can be no democracy for the toilers who

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Gorbachev Puts Soviet Union on the Auction Block

They called it the "grand bargain." It was cooked up by economic advisers of Gorbachev and Yeltsin along with Harvard's Kennedy School. The seven richest capitalist countries (the G-7) would give Moscow, say, \$30 billion a year. In return, the Soviet Union would be transformed into a full-fledged market economy within five years.

As an entry fee for Gorbachev to make his pitch to the G-7 meeting in London in mid-July, the Supreme Soviet passed a law allowing for privatization of 70 percent of the USSR's industrial enterprises. And now, on the eve of Bush's visit to Moscow, Gorbachev is calling on the Com-

Soviet Workers Must Defeat Capitalist Counterrevolution!

munist Party to drop all remaining lip service to Marxism, Leninism and even the working class.

Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs, the man who designed the electrodes for the economic "shock treatment" in Poland, argues that the "grand bargain" is a steal for Wall Street and Washington. Thirty billion dollars is a mere two-

fifths of one percent of the gross national product of the industrialized capitalist countries. The proposed U.S. share, \$3 billion, is one percent of the Pentagon budget.

But the masters of the G-7 didn't buy the "grand bargain." Despite entreaties from German chancellor Kohl for massive aid to the Soviet Union now,

they're demanding that capitalist restoration be *in place* before Gorbachev sees any real money. They want proof, as the *New York Times* (18 July) put it, that "the Soviet Union really planned to undo the Bolshevik Revolution."

And even that is not enough. Japan, Inc. will give no yen to Moscow until the Soviet Union gives up the strategically vital Kuril Islands, which the Red Army occupied at the end of World War II. And if the Japanese *zaibatsu* want to get back the Kurils, the American rulers lust to take back Cuba, before the revolution a playground for the mafia and sugar plantation for United

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Rage in the District



Fires dance upon the upturned metallic corpses of police cars cooking in twilight.

Sirens wail in electronic alarm, as strobe lights sweep in a maddening circular arc.

America's capital city experiences one of the first riots of the season, but this burst comes with a difference. Recent history, since the 1960s, reflects Blacks in riot, enraged at a system of total economic, political exclusion. The recent unrest in Washington, D.C. was marked by brown faces, not Black ones, and indeed, was directed at a political system headed and faced by Blacks.

Recent immigrants from Central America, fleeing America's deadly policies of low intensity warfare against workers, peasants in lands like El Salvador, found, upon arrival, not the promised land of milk and honey, but of menial jobs, ethnic alienation, and hostility born of the eternal conflict between the newly-arrived and those who came before.

The reported genesis of the riot, that a Black female police officer ordered a Latino drinker to cease his open, public drinking, is, as always, insufficient.

It may have been a spark, but even a spark needs kindling to catch, to expand, to explode into flame.

People riot when other methods of redress are foreclosed, and when despair reaches intolerable depths of the soul. Many of the peoples of the riot areas of D.C. came to El Norte when government repressions at home left few options; leave or die—and so, they came, by the tens of thousands, drawn by promises of peace, of freedom, of a better life north of home.

Many found crippling, poisonous toil in the fields of the nation's hotlands; grapes, oranges, and tomatoes picked in a daily grind of survival. Some fled to U.S. cities and, when they sought government help, were stunned to find Black faces in civil service, Blacks who, like their predecessors before them, viewed the newcomers with suspicion, for "they were foreigners," "they talked funny," or "they can't even speak English!"

America has historically been hard on its newcomers, as evidenced by the Kensington Riots of May 1844 Philadelphia, where Protestants attacked (predominantly Irish) Catholics, destroying neighborhoods; and in 1902, when Irish, aided by a predominantly Irish police force, attacked N.Y. Jews; also when Wyoming whites in summer 1885 massacred Chinese miners.

To every people who arrive in America is given

resentment and resistance to their presence.

Blacks, surely among those who received the rawest of receptions (and the only people who did not come here willingly), can ill afford to continue this cycle, for among all America's peoples, we have the least hope of fading into the fiction of a so-called "melting pot" (nor should we wish to!).

Though Black faces sit in high places, they still possess no true power, only the curious "option" of continuing "business as usual."

The politics of exclusion, of distinction, of high & low, must give way to the commonality of human, for it is precisely "business as usual" that has brought us to this hour of alienation, of bubbling hatreds, of riotous anger, of social and psychic discontent.

It is past time for fundamental change.



D.C. cops block street, May 6.

Lustig/Washington Post



TROTSKY

Imperialist Rivalry and World War

With the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, the capitalist great powers turned Europe into a slaughterhouse. In response to the "patriotic" betrayal of the official "socialist" leaders (signaled by the German Social Democrats' vote for war credits on August 4), Lenin called for a new Communist International. Its watchword: turn the imperialist war into a civil war. The continued survival of capitalism, propped up by the

social-democratic and later Stalinist bureaucracies, led a generation later to the second imperialist world war marked by the Nazi extermination of the Jews and American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the "postwar" era U.S. world domination has meant more war and mass terror from Korea to Vietnam to Iraq. As Lenin wrote in 1915, capitalism in the imperialist epoch is inseparable from wars over markets and spheres of colonialist exploitation.

Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism now finds that the old national states, without whose formation it could not have overthrown feudalism, are too cramped for it. Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that entire branches of industry are controlled by syndicates, trusts and associations of capitalist multi-millionaires and almost the entire globe has been divided up among the "lords of capital" either in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by a striving towards monopolies, the seizure of territory for the investment of capital and as sources of raw materials, and so on. From the liberator of nations, which it was in the struggle against feudalism, capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or, of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the "Great" Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.

—V.I. Lenin and G. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)



LENIN

Urgent Appeal for Jamal: \$\$\$ Needed Now

Mumia Abu-Jamal writes his eloquent defense of the oppressed from Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, where he sits on death row because of a vindictive frame-up against this former Black Panther Party spokesman. This Philadelphia MOVE supporter and courageous journalist achieved prominence as the "voice of the voiceless." His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

Now Jamal and attorneys are preparing an important legal challenge to expose the frame-up and prove his innocence. Contributions for this legal action are tax-deductible and can be sent to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense, c/o Rabino-witz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky and Lieberman, 740 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

Money is urgently needed! New Su-

preme Court rulings and the Senate's death penalty crime bill are pushing toward an escalation in state-sanctioned murder. Recent cases which have succeeded in overturning death sentences and freeing innocent defendants have cost at least \$1 million in legal fees and expenses.

Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be saved by courtroom battles alone. Like the Scottsboro case in the '30s, it will take mass protest and publicity to win his freedom. At their national convention in May, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists voted to support Jamal, as have a number of union locals across the country. To support the growing campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee. Send your contribution for the campaign to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

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Florida Sex Vigilantes

If some enchanted evening you should meet a stranger under the Florida palms, keep your eyes peeled for peeping Toms with camcorders. One summer night recently, a couple got together in Tampa, went to his place and made love in the privacy of the home, or so they thought. Next thing they knew, they were forced to spend a night in jail, after being arrested by the Hillsborough County sheriff's office for allegedly performing "a lewd and lascivious act in the presence of a child under 12" (*New York Times*, 20 July). They were later released on \$15,000 bail.

It all began, according to the *Times*, when a snooping kid linked to his parents that he could see the couple in the guy's hot tub. Then somebody called the sheriff's office. Then another neighbor went out with a videotape to catch the couple in the act, after he said he heard neighbors talking about it. "I shot right through the blinds," said Lee Adler. To

add insult to injury, Adler is trying to peddle his home video to the "Oprah Winfrey Show," the "CBS Morning Show," and "Current Affair," all of whom

have reportedly expressed interest. The man has now been kicked out of his condo by the manager, who sounds like he was practically charging admission.



Columbia Pictures

Cold War era movie promo for George Orwell's 1984. Who's looking through your window?

This is sick, and it's part of a whole repressive climate. Anti-abortion bigotry kills women. Health fascists are trying to take away cigarettes and other smokes, booze and recreational chemicals. The Supreme Court just outlawed evening entertainment such as nude dancing at the Kitty Kat lounge, and Moral Majorityites have been busy cleaning up the local Seven-Elevens so it's hard to even get a *Penthouse* anymore. The forces of law and order have been even going after cable channels offering spicy viewing. From the 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* Supreme Court decision upholding reactionary state "sodomy" laws to this Florida "lewd and lascivious" regulation, this country's patchwork of sex laws is cruel and absurd—abolish them all!

At least the couple has the dubious honor of having a country and western tune written in their honor by Tom Downs, a friend of the woman. Under the title "Sex Behind the Minihlinds," the song says it all:

"One minute you're makin' magic, then you're makin' license plates, because priorities are twisted, here in these United States." ■

Jersey Teamster Heavies Scab

Victory to White Rose Teamster Strike!

JULY 24—Chants of "Fight, fight, fight!" and "Shut the country down!" echoed on Wall Street today, as 400 striking members of New York Teamsters Local 138 gathered outside Bankers Trust. Since February 1, when the White Rose grocery drivers and warehousemen voted by 407 to 2 to strike, the local has been solid. Two thousand members and supporters marched and rallied outside the White Rose warehouse in Farmingdale, Long Island in April. They are defending their union against junk bond dealer and takeover artist Arthur Goldberg, who acquired White Rose's parent company, DiGiorgio Corporation.

Goldberg, labeled "a small-time green-mailer" by *Forbes* magazine, is demanding scores of givebacks. A striker at the Wall Street rally told *Workers Vanguard* that besides striking against cuts in days off, medical benefits and pensions, they are determined to fight Goldberg's full-scale assault on seniority rights. And the local is taking an all-too-rare principled stand against Goldberg's "insulting" demand to "fire a worker who honors a sister union's sanctioned picket line!"

But after almost six months their strike against the White Rose Foods grocery wholesaler is in trouble, misled into "corporate campaign"-style boycotts and appeals to consumers, bowing before judges' injunctions against pickets, and knifed in the back by Teamster union bureaucrats who are sending other Teamster members across Local 138's picket lines. A black Teamster veteran of 26 years bitterly told WV that the last big strike in 1974 "was different than this. We set up a picket line—nothing went in, nothing went out."

Striking warehousemen and drivers of Teamsters Local 138 rally on Wall Street: caught in vise between gangster-ridden bureaucracy and government-linked "reformers."



Goldberg also owns Federated, another grocery warehouse near the Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks which is supplying groceries to White Rose's 2,000 customers in New York City. And the drivers and warehousemen at Federated, who are crossing Local 138's picket lines every day, are members of Teamsters Local 641 and Local 97, both part of Jersey's Joint Council 63. The gangster sellouts in the Jersey council especially have it in for Local 138, which is seen as an "upstart" local after it elected members of a slate from the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) "opposition."

This scabbing must be stopped! Local 138 should appeal to Teamster locals across the New York area—from Metro-North track workers to UPS workers to Newark brewery workers—as well as

ILA longshoremen and machinists from nearby Newark airport, to join them in a massive demonstration of union power at the Federated warehouse: set up picket lines that scabs won't dare cross!

But at the Wall Street rally only one speaker, Teamster Local 843 president Gene Giacumbo from the Newark Anheuser-Busch brewery, even mentioned the IBT bureaucrats' scabbing! Instead Local 138 tops are directing strikers into leafletting the 2,000 individual grocery stores, pleading with customers to shop elsewhere and begging the likes of Bankers Trust to pressure the company. This is playing by the bosses' rules, a loser's game.

At the rally, workers roared approval at speeches calling for a "one-day strike" or a "national general strike." But whether coming from the mouths of Workers World Party supporters in United Labor Action, or "progressive" local Teamster officials (like Dan Kane of Local 111), this is all hot air aimed at roping the workers into begging the Democratic Party to "outlaw" scabbing. These fakers would have you believe you can get class struggle from Congress—they sure as hell don't want to anger their Democratic Party friends by building solid picket lines that stop scabs. Only a couple of months ago, the Democrats in Congress forced rail workers back to work under their anti-labor laws.

It is no accident that all this hot air is coming from the TDU and other support-

ers of "reform" candidate Ron Carey, head of the giant UPS Teamsters local in New York. In two articles in *Convoy-Dispatch*, the TDU barely mentions Local 97 and never condemns the scabbing. No surprise, since the paper is filled with praise for the feds' takeover of the union and running the recent convention! The TDU crows that the Teamster tops "had to dance to the tune of the rank and file." Bullshit! The tune was called by the feds, who approved the literature, the candidates, the procedures, the voting and even sat on the dais to instruct Teamster chiefs what to say (see WV No. 530, July 5, "Feds Hands Off Teamsters!").

Those who bring the capitalist state into the labor movement are the enemies of class struggle. How can these "reformers" rip up a judge's anti-labor injunction or bring thousands of workers out to sweep away the scabs if they're tied hand and foot to the Labor Department and the bosses' courts? They can't and they won't. The White Rose strike is in danger because it is caught in a vise between a gangster-ridden union bureaucracy and government-linked "reformers": both are pro-capitalist.

Teamster strike militants must fight to build mass picket lines that shut down Goldberg's Federated operation, stop the scab trucks and win the strike! Above all, a class-struggle leadership is needed that will sweep clean the Teamsters of the thugs and feds who are throttling the union. ■

Spartacist  Forum

East Germany: From Political Revolution to Capitalist Counterrevolution

Speaker from Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

Saturday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.

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Trotskyists Speak at Moscow Workers Conference

On July 20, a conference of Moscow workers was held in the Soviet capital. The gathering was called by representatives of the Moscow Workers Club and the Moscow Workers Council. The meeting brought together 700 participants, with 561 delegates from 400 of the major plants in the area. According to one organizer, this represented perhaps half a million workers. Among the initiators were Communist Initiative, the United Front of Toilers (OFT), and various groupings in and around the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). The conference took place in the meeting hall of the Vladimir Ilyich Factory under a medallion of Lenin.

The conference participants, with varying political impulses, agreed on the need to organize plant committees to establish workers control and management as immediate steps to stop and reverse all privatization and layoffs. Another resolution called for workers committees to stop price rises and control prices. They called for factory-based elections to "resurrect workers soviets" as the basis to disband the capitalist-restorationist Gorbachev government. "Let's call perestroika by its right name," said a featured speaker, "capitalist counterrevolution!"

Out of the meeting came the call for an all-Moscow union of workers and the election of a citywide council. The party question was strongly debated, between a weaker tendency rejecting the

CPSU outright as an alien formation and the more dominant desire to "take over the party by driving out the anti-Communist traitors and make it into a genuine workers party!" But it is not Gorbachev but Stalin who transformed the CPSU into an anti-working-class

bureaucratic apparatus.

The conference came during the week before a CPSU Central Committee plenum, as so-called "patriots" and other Stalinist hardliners were reportedly gearing up for a showdown with Gorbachev that never came. Among the organizers

of the meeting, groups like the OFT have a history of covering for Great Russian chauvinism and conciliating outright fascists and anti-Semites like Pamyat.

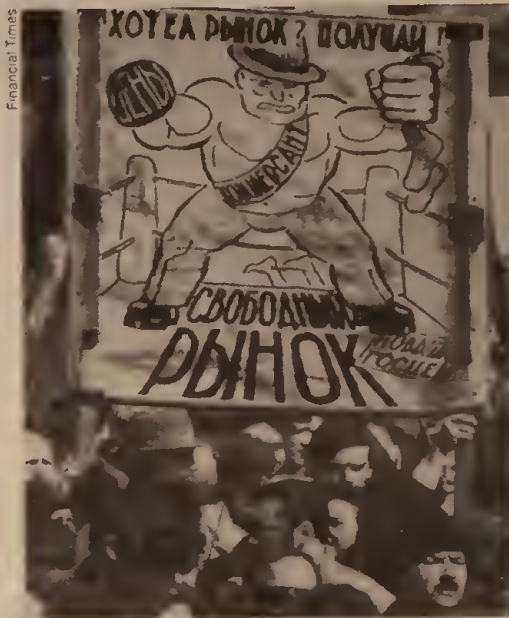
But while the initiative for the workers conference came from the "patriots" milieu, it was far from homogeneous. The best example of this was the meeting's ready acceptance of greetings on behalf of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). While there was some anti-Trotskyist muttering in the corridors, the reception in the hall was enthusiastic. The official press release of the conference noted the greetings of the Trotskyists of the ICL (FI).

We print below notes by our reporter of some interventions at the conference as well as the greetings of the ICL.

Gubanov (economist, leading member of OFT): We can see where things are sliding. No conscious worker can allow things to go any further. There is a renewal of the workers movement not just in Moscow. There are those who want to come out for the liquidation of Soviet power. Obviously we must address power, property and economic policy. Let's call perestroika by its right name—capitalist counterrevolution!

What have the workers gotten from perestroika? Foreign debt is up three times, capitalism is flourishing. The capitalists are going to come and save us? They are counting on us to save them! There is a severe depression facing

May Day demonstrators in Moscow protest drive toward capitalist restoration. Placard says: "You wanted the market? You got it!"



Greetings by the International Communist League

Comrades, we bring you greetings on behalf of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)! We stand before you today as internationalists, as communists! [Applause]

Comrades, I am a longtime union member. I have worked many years in U.S. factories and I know from first hand that what the comrade earlier said about America and imperialism is true!

The imperialists want to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union. They want to do what Hitler tried and failed to do. [Applause]

Now is our chance, we must address in time the greatest danger that the Soviet Union has ever faced. Today the imperialists gloat, especially the American imperialists after their massacre of the Iraqis and Kurds. The imperialists think that it is their time. They underestimate the strength of the working people of the Soviet Union—once again! [Applause]

It is our honor to address representatives of the Moscow proletariat whose history includes the 1905 Revolution, the October Revolution, and the heroic defense of this city against German imperialism in World War II

But the greatest battle lies before us. We agree with those comrades who say now is the time to create genuine workers soviets in Moscow, today! We say, "Drive the speculators, parasites, exploiters and their ideologies out of the soviets!" so that they become genuine workers soviets! [Applause]

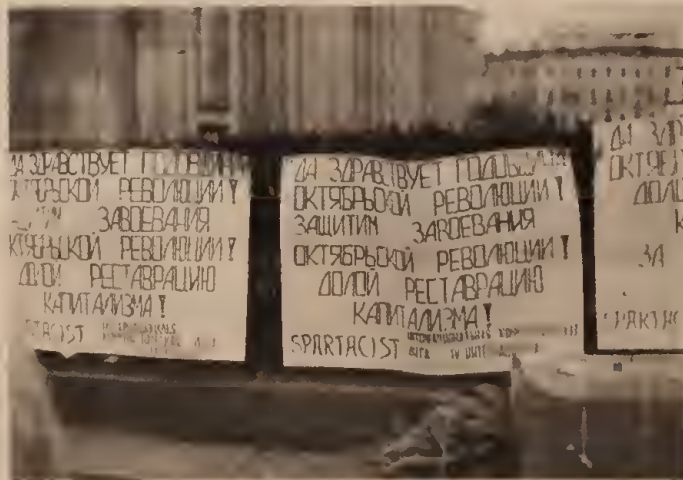
Comrades, let us tell you about the realities of what capitalist restoration has meant. In the former DDR [East Germany] by many accounts suicide rates have doubled. Many of the child-care centers are closed. Abortion is to be a crime. Unemployment is now close to 50 percent, the level it reached in

1932 on the eve of Hitler's coming to power.

Today, the neo-fascists are on the rise and feel free to attack foreign-born workers with impunity.

Our comrades of the German and Polish sections of the International Communist League ask us to pass along to you their warning: now is the time to fight in the Soviet Union. Because it is much harder, it is much worse to have

and swam against the stream, in their unconditional opposition to capitalist reunification of Germany. We are proud to say that it was our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party who initiated the call for the tremendous workers united-front demonstration in defense of the Berlin Treptow Park monument to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the battle to smash fascism. This monument was defaced by neo-fascists. This was



Banner of Trotskyism is raised in Leningrad on Revolution Day, 7 November 1990. Signs call for defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution against capitalist restoration. For power to soviets of the working people!

to fight the capitalists after they have gained state power—it is necessary to organize defense against their attacks! [Applause]

We are proud to say that it was our German comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party who were the one party which at the time mobilized, warned

a demonstration together with the SED [East German CP] of 250,000 workers, communists, a genuine workers united front that mobilized in the defense of the Soviet soldiers who smashed fascism. [Applause]

To be a Trotskyist means above all to stand for unconditional mil-

itary defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

Today the imperialists and the native restorationists strive to dismember the USSR by splitting, paralyzing the Soviet proletariat with nationalism. This is their greatest weapon. But the proletariat has its own weapon—internationalism. We need to forge a party that mobilizes against all forms of discrimination, nationalism and anti-Semitism!

Comrades here today have posed the question of the need for a party. Indeed, we need the kind of party that Lenin built. [Applause] A party that will be a genuine tribune of the people to fight all forms of discrimination. Look to the women workers and the youth!

Comrades, the Soviet proletariat has suffered more than any other in this century. But, comrades, you are not alone. It is a lie that the workers in the West will not fight. Now, once again, all eyes are turned to the East—waiting to see if the Soviet proletariat will defend the gains of the October Revolution! The gains of 1917 do not belong to the Soviet working people alone. They are the common legacy of the international workers movement! The imperialists are waiting to see if the Soviet working people will passively swallow counterrevolution.

We say no! It is time to take back what is ours! Form factory committees to stop privatizations! Form soviets—genuine soviets based on factory elections! [Applause]

All power to the workers soviets!

Stop capitalist counterrevolution!

Long live the international socialist revolution! [Applause]

Long live the Soviet Union! [Applause]

the capitalist West. They want to steal our raw materials at bargain prices. When they are through gouging us, workers will have no power.

The question today is a question of power. The Supreme Soviet is 5 percent workers. We need a restoration of real soviet power based on factory elections. Do the workers need a new party? Of course, the capitalists are all forming their own parties. They know perfectly well they can't get political power without a party.

Do we need a new party? Many people say this. And many people say that this party is no longer communist. Indeed if we are speaking of the leadership, then we must say that it is not only non-communist, but anti-communist. We have a party, but we need to purge it.

Speaker: Unity is our strength. We must take a position on privatization, against the price rises, addressing unemployment. I want to speak particularly to the problem of women. The women work twice as hard; they have the hardest jobs and then they have to wait in long lines, to serve us, to feed us, to stay sweet and kind, to put us to bed like children.

Communist Party members demonstrate in Leningrad. Signs read: "No to the Dictatorship of Shopkeepers" and "Private Owners: Get Out of the Party."



Speaker: People denounce the planned economy, but this isn't a real planned economy. First they sabotaged it and then they held it up as a terrible example. Under market relations production is being geared to those who have money to buy, not for what is needed.

Woman childcare worker: The daycare center that was previously free is now being told to pay exorbitant rent. On the second floor of our building there is now a fancy cooperative restaurant, and on the first floor there is a commission

store [charging speculators prices]. And we have to look at these people's faces every day while we turn away children of workers who cannot pay the new fees!

We have been robbed of our children's center. I dread September when the children come to school only to find the doors closed. I appeal to you workers not to let this happen, not just in words, but in deeds.

Older man: I am a janitor, and if you don't believe me, you only have to smell

the way I just came off work! For decades we built, serviced the buildings of this very region of Moscow. During the war, we spilled the blood of our families to defend these buildings that they now tell us that we must "buy"! "BUY" these apartments! What prices are we to pay to buy these apartments?

I remember World War II, how we moved all of industry, how we changed the face of Europe, how we rebuilt this country. And now when I hear about the closing of the childcare center from the earlier speaker, I think back on how we related to each other during the war, how this scene of speculators driving out children would have been impossible. We must act so that this case is not lost. For our children, it makes me so angry.

They say that all that we did in the history of the Soviet economy was for naught. But when we were attacked by the mightiest armies of the world, we were able to organize the transfer of industry out of this very area of Moscow and over to Siberia—was that not an economic achievement? When we had to, we changed the face of Europe. Now we are supposed to be powerless in the face of children put on the street. ■

Gorbachev...

(continued from page 1)

Fruit. Bush told Yeltsin during his recent visit to Washington that "it wouldn't hurt my feelings a bit if they cut off all foreign aid to Cuba."

Gorbachev's ultimate plea for extracting money from the capitalist powers is to threaten that he will be overthrown, plunging the Soviet Union into anarchy, civil war and bloody national strife. His personal aide Yevgeni Primakov told reporters in London that if the G-7 didn't come through with "grants, debt relief, investment," there would be "a risk of social uprising, of civil war." One White House official derided the latest Gorbachev line as "telling us we have to help save the system they've got or they're going to lose control of their nukes."

The U.S. rulers' answer is to tell Soviet leaders to scrap their nuclear arsenal, so that in the future the Pentagon war machine could do to the Soviet Union what it just did to Iraq! Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (9 July), Martin Feldstein, a former chief economic adviser under Reagan, maintained: "Although the vision of a capitalist Soviet Union is certainly appealing, the West's real interest lies in reducing the Soviet Union's offensive military capacity rather than in strengthening the Soviet economy."

U.S. Demands Counterrevolution Now, Money Later... Maybe

Another Harvard guru, Marshall Goldman, argues that the prospect of a "grand bargain" is illusory: "But even if we could come up with our part of the deal, there's no guarantee the Soviets can do theirs. I'm not sure anyone is in control in Moscow. Goldman is right on this score."

The Soviet Union is in a state of political and economic chaos beset by conflicting laws and policies issued by the central government, various national republics, autonomous regions and localities. The nationalist regimes in the republics are refusing to pay taxes to the central government, which is flooding the country with worthless rubles to meet its expenses. The economy is in a free fall with total output plummeting 15 percent in the past year and a half. Economic chaos and misery have fueled the rise of bloody nationalist strife from the Baltics to the Caucasus to Soviet Central Asia.

But the most fundamental obstacle to a "grand bargain" between Gorbachev and world imperialism is the deep hostility among Soviet working people to capitalist exploitation. Speaking of the new

privatization law, Fyodor Burlatsky, "free market" ideologue, noted: "Simple people, workers, worry very much that the property that formerly belonged to everyone will be purchased by a small group of rich people." That's exactly what privatization will mean. First up

worker at a tractor (formerly tank) factory in Leningrad exclaimed to a British journalist: "We lived better before *perestroika*, now all the working people are poor" (*Independent* [London], 16 July). Last spring *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party



Lohr/NT Times

To sell perestroika to workers, Gorbachev talked of "self-management," Soviet press hailed VAZ auto workers (above) as model. Now VAZ, which produces Lada cars, is to be sold off to Fiat.

for sale is the giant VAZ auto factory—the buyer won't be the workers but an multinational.

For now, multinationals do not want to invest in the USSR until they're sure the workers can be kept in their place, namely, down. The international vice president of Tambrands, which runs a tampon factory in the Ukraine, stated, "we can't risk shareholders' money expanding into chaos." A Polaroid executive in charge of Soviet operations warned: "Don't put in a hundred million dollars if you're not willing to walk away from it some day." But capitalists don't put in \$100 million if there's a good chance they'll have to walk away from it. Thus Wall Street and Washington are demanding capitalist counterrevolution now.

But capitalist counterrevolution must break the resistance of Soviet workers who have already experienced the miseries of Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" dubbed *perestroika*. A woman

youth and now a mouthpiece for aspiring Soviet yuppies, wrote:

"I began to be interested not so much by the machinations of the nomenklatura [old bureaucratic elite] as by the workers' movement, which is gaining momentum spontaneously, and by the radicalization of the population's sentiments due to the price hikes."

For a Government of Workers Soviets

However, the workers movement remains trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy and the intelligentsia. Last winter and early spring striking coal miners lined up with Yeltsin's anti-Communist campaign against Gorbachev. Many miners then felt betrayed when in April Yeltsin and Gorbachev agreed to an "anti-crisis" program which demanded an end to political strikes as a condition for hoped-for Western economic support.

Other sections of the working class,

such as those organized in the United Front of Toilers, are under the sway of old-line Russian-nationalist Stalinists who now call themselves "patriots." While claiming to stand above all for the unity and preservation of the multinational USSR, such "patriotic" organizations as the United Front of Toilers, the Russian Communist Party and Soyuz embrace Great Russian chauvinists, tsarists and vile anti-Semites whose program can only fuel nationalist and communalist bloodletting. Both the pro-Western "democrats" and the Stalinist "patriots" are enemies and oppressors of the Soviet working people. Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alknis declares, "My model is the market first and democracy later." This is generally known as the "Chilean model." Significantly, Yeltsin, Gorbachev and the hardline Stalinist Soyuz group all stand for banning workers strikes.

It is only through strikes, the fight for workers control in the factories and political mobilization against Pamyat and other fascist groups that the drive toward capitalist restoration can be defeated. Strike committees and factory committees can become the basis for genuine soviets (councils), drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists. But the key is a revolutionary leadership, otherwise such committees can easily be sucked in behind one or another counterrevolutionary faction, as happened in Poland in 1981 and with Soviet miners this spring. The Soviet working class must reforge a Bolshevik party on the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky, to oust Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the other traitors, and establish a government based on workers' soviets such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917.

There can be no socialism in one country. The regeneration of the Soviet economy under workers democracy must be linked to the perspective of socialist revolutions worldwide. As we wrote a few months ago in "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (WV No. 522, 15 March):

"Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replacement of the imperialist-dominated world market by an internationally planned socialist economy. A planned economy, implemented on the scale of the world productive forces and under the control of democratic workers soviets, would have spared mankind the wars, Holocaust, misery, hunger and threat of nuclear annihilation of the last half century." ■

New World Order "Socialists" on South Africa

Uproar Over Winnie Mandela Trial, ANC/SWAPO Prisoners

After a trial lasting 14 weeks, in May Winnie Mandela was found guilty by a Johannesburg court of kidnapping and an accessory charge in the brutal beating of four youths, one of whom was subsequently murdered, who were held in her home in Soweto in December 1988. The wife of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela was sentenced to six years, and is appealing her conviction. The trial and conviction of Winnie Mandela was high political drama which reverberated among those around the world who solidarize with the struggle against the apartheid state. In South Africa, the "Winnie trial" became a focus for the swirling political currents in the country.

At the heart of the maelstrom is the ugly killing of 14-year-old "Stompie" Seipei. Obviously, we are not in a position to know really what happened in the house at 8115 Orlando West in Soweto. All evidence indicates that, owing to a feud among rival ANC factions, Stompie Seipei and three companions were forcibly taken from a Methodist church home in Soweto to the Mandela



Winnie Mandela with "Mandela Football Club" bodyguard, February 1989.

with the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of Communism" and Bush's "New World Order." The trial has become the point of demarcation for South African white liberals around the *Weekly Mail* and the liberal anti-apartheid

in Angola, Tanzania and elsewhere. And the pseudo-Trotskyist British Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter trumpeted the cause of former detainees of the South West African People's Organization in Namibia, accusing SWAPO of being "infected" with Stalinist "violence" and guilty of torture and murder of thousands of its own members. It has now been revealed that in this affair they were caught up in a major disinformation campaign orchestrated by the South African security forces.

With South Africa in flux, people are visualizing what the outcome will be. Much of the furor over the "Winnie trial" reflects fears, especially among whites, that a black-nationalist victory would usher in a brutal regime, as well as illusions that De Klerk will junk apartheid. But what's now being "negotiated" is a "reformed" capitalist regime in which entrenched white domination (commanding enormous military and economic resources) is masked by the presence of ANC leaders in cabinet seats. But whatever the direction it goes, so long as the working class does not take power, the result will be the continued exploitation of the black African, Indian and coloured masses.

As Trotskyists, we fight for a communist leadership to unchain black labor from its petty-bourgeois (would-be bourgeois) nationalist leaders and to mobilize its tremendous power in struggle for a black-centered workers revolution, which could enroll those from all racial and ethnic groups in this divided land who want to work for a society of genuine program is the fight for a revolutionary proletarian morality against a climate of

wanton political violence orchestrated by the apartheid regime and endemic to the competing nationalist cliques.

Murder Among the "Comrades"

Winnie Mandela really rose to prominence in 1985 when, with her husband a prisoner on Robben Island, she defied the apartheid rulers' "banning orders" and returned to her Soweto home from the Orange Free State. But the liberals (black and white) were infuriated over her public defense of "necklacing," the township youths' method of dealing with apartheid collaborators and spies by placing burning tires around their necks:

"In 1986 it was over her appalling statement that blacks would be liberated by 'our boxes of matches and our necklaces,' an implicit endorsement of the murders that did so much to damage the liberation struggle of the mid-1980s..."
—*Guardian* (London), 14 May

Two years later, Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards were throwing their weight around in Soweto. There was a turf war going on between Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, a president of the ANC-related United Democratic Front (UDF) and wife of Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela's most senior prison colleague on Robben Island. While Mrs. Mandela would parade in fatigues with the young "comrades," Mrs. Sisulu had a base among church people and homeowners in the Orlando district. But Winnie Mandela is no less interested in ingratiating herself with Western imperialist leaders than "moderates" like Mrs. Sisulu. Just a year ago the Mandelas were hobnobbing with George and Barbara Bush in the White House.

In 1988 the rivalry between Winnie Mandela and Mrs. Sisulu led to a gangland-style settling of accounts. One of the most repulsive aspects of this whole sordid business was the claim by Winnie Mandela and her housekeeper that they were "rescuing" children from a Methodist home because the white pastor, associated with Mrs. Sisulu, was supposedly engaging in "homosexual abuse" of teenagers. In addition to the murder of Stompie Seipei, one of the members of the Mandela "football club" was killed by the son of an associate of Mrs. Sisulu. Later a doctor associated with AZAPO (African People's Organisation, an ANC rival) was found dead in his office.

This affair reminds us of a case in the Black Panther Party in the U.S., the New Haven, Connecticut. The Panthers

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Black demonstrators flee police "hippos" (armored cars) in Sebokeng, during 1984 township rebellion.

residence. Here they were brutalized by the heavies who constituted Mrs. Mandela's bodyguard, known as the "Mandela Football Club." Stompie was later found with his throat slit in a nearby field. This torture and murder were a heinous crime.

Beyond the question of Winnie Mandela's responsibility in this murky and grisly affair, the murder and trial crystallized discontent of upwardly mobile middle-class forces in the ANC who are upset about the "young comrades" in Soweto and elsewhere. When they talk about "Winnie's boys," they are referring to the plebeian youth who fought the army and police during the 1984-86 township revolt, who crudely enforced the many boycotts and were the shock troops of the ANC's campaign to "make the townships ungovernable." Most never went to school (a product of the years-long anti-apartheid school boycott) and have never had a job. In the "new South Africa" of the "reformed" apartheid regime, this combative but lumpenized layer is an embarrassment for the newly respectable ANC.

From Johannesburg to London, the furor over the "Winnie trial" coincides

milieu in London, who have responded to the daily barrage of "ANC atrocities" in the rabidly anti-Communist yuppie *Independent* to distance themselves from one-time allies.

On the "left," the exile grouping around the London-based journal *Searchlight* has launched a violent campaign to heavy-handed repression by the ANC security apparatus in its guerrilla camps

—23 September 1989

Wren/NY Times

WorkersPress
LEADERS MURDER SWAPO FIGHTERS
Support docks lobby: Oct 1

Cliff Slaughter's Workers Press retailed Pretoria disinformation during 1989 Namibia elections (far left), recently exposed by army intelligence major Niclo Basson (left), then claimed to have been "duped" in another apartheid scam (right).

WorkersPress
25 September 1989

WE FALL VICTIM TO 'DIRTY TRICKS'

The image is a black and white photograph of a man, identified as Niclo Basson, a major in the South African army intelligence. He is wearing a military uniform and a beret. The text next to him discusses the exposure of disinformation during the 1989 Namibia elections.

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

produce fabulous riches from the mines, fields and factories until they wrest power from their oppressors. Talk of a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa is simply a cover for the continued extraction of superprofits from black labor held in check by a massive police force and military armed to the teeth. To smash white-supremacy it is necessary to fight for a black-centered workers government, in which those who labor shall rule and those who have expropriated the fruits of that labor will themselves be expropriated.

So now apartheid is supposed to be history. In a finishing touch, even the ruling apartheid National Party declared itself "non-racial" and has co-opted a near-majority of the "Labour Party," giving the Nats control of the "coloured" house of parliament as well. In the complicated minuet of dismantling apartheid's legal armature, Nelson Mandela was released from jail in February 1990, the African National Congress was "legalized," and last August the ANC signed an agreement to "suspend" "armed actions." In return, the thousands of anti-apartheid political prisoners were supposed to be freed, and 30,000 exiles permitted to return home. In fact, barely 1,000 ANC supporters have been allowed back. Many of those returnees have been subjected to harassment, witchhunts and, increasingly, assassination at the hands of thinly veiled government death squads. In the past 17 months more than 4,000 people have died in the Transvaal in the bloodbath unleashed by the government.

As for political prisoners, the government claims over 1,000 have been released, but Justice Minister H.J. Coetsee says that 90 percent of the 15,434 prisoners who applied do not meet the "guide-



"Inkathagate": Racist government armed and financed Buthelezi's thugs. Police oversee Inkatha killers at April "peace rally," at which six people were killed.

of their citizenship and consigned them to impoverished tribal homelands that only Pretoria considers independent."

Of the estimated 39 million people in South Africa, 30 million are black, and not one black person has the right to vote. "It's the economics of this country that's going to rip the guts out of any constitutional accommodation," said David Welsh, professor at University of Cape Town, quoted by Wren. Now blacks supposedly are free to buy houses with swimming pools in the white suburbs, if they can afford them. But new laws such as the "preservation of norms and standards" acts are cropping up to keep white neighborhoods white. And seven million black people have no housing at all, surviving in squatter shanties which line the major cities.

The "Hidden Hand" Revealed

The euphoria sparked by Nelson Mandela's release from jail and the legalization of the ANC and South African Communist Party has turned to bitter disillusionment and dismay. The ANC/SACP "alliance" has long banked on becoming or joining the government of a "post-apartheid" state—which means becoming the policemen for the Randlords. But the "new South Africa" may look suspiciously like the old South Africa before 1948 when the Afrikaner Nationalists took over: a country dedicated to making a lot of money for a few whites, and where the Boers were on the outs. While the De Klerk regime will not, because it cannot, bend an inch to grant "one person, one vote," the ANC has even backed off virtually all the stated demands outlined in its liberal 1955 Freedom Charter, including nationalization of the mines and a constituent assembly.

In a carefully orchestrated plan, modeled on the operation successfully carried out in Namibia in late 1989, the apartheid masters are seeking to preserve white-supremacist rule behind a "democratic" facade. De Klerk's regime's scheme from blowing up in its face. Spectacular revelations confirm the Pretoria government's "hidden hand" in the massive bloodbath unleashed in the Transvaal against the ANC. This only proves what every leftist and anti-apartheid fighter has known for years, that the Inkatha forces of KwaZulu bantustan chief Buthelezi are apartheid's dogs of war. As De Klerk basks in newfound international respectability, the scandal proves that the man Nelson Mandela called a "man of integrity" was a "man of duplicity" who "negotiated" with the leaders of the ANC while orchestrating a bloodbath of its members.

In leaks to the liberal *Weekly Mail*, it is now confirmed that the government funded Inkatha's March 1990 rallies in

Natal to counter the big ANC rallies greeting Nelson Mandela upon his release after 27 years in jail, and financed Buthelezi's outfit for years beforehand. The Natal rallies were followed by a rash of violence in Natal and the Transvaal. A former sergeant in the South African army's Five Reconnaissance Regiment told the *New Nation* that the commando unit was behind many of the attacks and carried out the hideous massacre aboard the Johannesburg-to-Soweto commuter train on 13 September 1990, in which 27 passengers were hacked to death and 137 others injured. The revelations sparked a wave of anger, throwing the whole timetable for "negotiations" up in the air.

The "militant" nationalist rivals of the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Congress, were buckling under in their half-hearted opposition to "negotiations" with the government. Church and business groups were to host an "All-Party Congress" in the late summer/early fall. "So far Azapo and the entire ANC 'family' of organisations...have announced their attendance," reported the *Johannesburg Star* (15 June), and "the PAC...has also indicated it would attend any summit convened by a neutral body." As laid out by Mandela, this body would endorse an "interim government...broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country," supposedly marking the end of white minority rule, and sanction a new constitution endorsing some kind of electoral system giving preferences or guarantees to whites.

ANC—Tool of Neo-Apartheid

Five years ago South Africa was exploding in black rebellion. The townships were "ungovernable," strikes of black unionists were threatening capitalist rule and, faced with the "instability" of profit-making, the multinationals had fled to safer shores. Now South Africa is no longer a pariah state, and is wel-

comed back into the "community" of capitalist nations under the aegis of the "New World Order." For De Klerk, De Beers and Anglo American, the key to achieving this is to have the anti-apartheid activists lined up through the ANC. That is the importance of the ANC congress which took place July 2-8 in Durban.

This was the first congress held inside South Africa in 30 years, since the ANC was banned and its members driven underground and into exile. The congress opened amid complaints from the rank and file that the government was running circles around the ANC in the 17 months of "negotiations." So at the congress, Mandela referred to negotiations as a "terrain of struggle." The ANC's direction was codified in the election of a layer of "militant pragmatists" to top leadership. "The five most senior officials," noted the *London Financial Times* (8 July) approvingly, "are all moderates in ANC terms." The election of Cyril Ramaphosa as ANC secretary general is significant. Ramaphosa, 38, is an ambitious lawyer who flirted briefly with the black consciousness movement, came to prominence as head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and was a leader of the moderate Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

In the late '70s, Ramaphosa served on the board of directors of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by Oppenheimer (head of the Anglo American mining empire) to promote a black middle class. This investment in Ramaphosa did not go unrewarded. His cooperation in the mass layoffs of 50,000 miners last year earned him kudos from the capitalists. The *Financial Times* (6 July) noted his reputation as a "flexible bargaining partner," commenting: "Praise for Mr Ramaphosa comes not only from his obvious constituency—the miners...but from whites in business and government. Corporate executives who show nothing but disdain for most ANC leaders admit the highest respect for Mr Ramaphosa, even though he is a socialist."

After the ANC congress, the bourgeois press unleashed a red scare, screaming that more than half of those elected to the 90-member National Executive Committee are alleged to be members of the SACP. Ramaphosa issued the requisite denial, reminiscent of the days of McCarthyism: "Categorically I am not at present, nor have I been in the past," a member of the Communist Party. And more perceptive journalists noted that CP influence is not in contradiction to the moderate direction. As David Ottaway wrote in the *Washington Post* (9 July), "The communists, who make up about half of the new National Executive Committee's 56 elected members, proved strong proponents of negotiations, contrary to what analysts expected."

On the other hand, there was a good deal of support for reputed militants, Chris Hani, a CP leader and the chief of staff of ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo scored first and third in the balloting, and headline Stalinist Harry

continued on page 8



Now revealed: the grisly slaughter aboard Johannesburg-Soweto commuter train, 13 September 1990, was carried out by army unit.

lines" for release. Those who were in army barracks to participating in demonstrations where police "hippos" (armored cars) were sabotaged or tear gas canisters hurled back—are not classified as "political prisoners" but as "common criminals." Hundreds are condemned to death by hanging for courageous acts or simply (allegedly) being present when some of the blood-drenched oppressors or their flunkies were killed. In June scores of anti-apartheid prisoners went on extended hunger strikes to bring worldwide attention to their plight.

In a *New York Times* (23 June) article, "Even in 'New South Africa,' Apartheid's Legacy Lives On," Christopher Wren wrote truthfully:

"The Government made blacks sojourners in the land of their birth, stripped more than seven million South Africans

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South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

Gwala came in eighth. And Winnie Mandela, despite her recent trial and conviction for kidnapping in the murky business of the murder of "Stompie" Seipei, held captive in her home in Soweto, and despite being rebuffed by the Women's Committee of the ANC, still won well over half the votes and a seat on the exec.

Meanwhile, Nelson Mandela hastened to announce the ANC was distancing itself from the Communist Party. At the congress he had declared the CP "a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule." But in an interview afterward, he said, "The SACP has declared that its co-operation with us is only up to the point of the overthrow of the apartheid state." Mandela added, "We won't follow socialism. We have got our own programme," and "We perhaps placed too much emphasis on... nationalisation." The ANC president made more specific his earlier remarks that the organization would no longer stand on its historic call for "one person, one vote." Instead, Mandela said, "We are not in favour of black majority rule. We are in favour of majority rule" (*Independent* [London], 19 July). What this amounts to was spelled out earlier by an ANC youth leader, Mrs. Lyndall Shope-Mafole:

"We must make sure that the constitution which comes out of negotiations defends the rights of [fascist terrorist leader] Eugene Terreblanche as well as my rights."

—*Financial Times*, 2 July

Black Labor: Gravedigger of Apartheid Capitalism

The enormous power of the black workers who create the wealth of South Africa is the key to real emancipation. Ever since the Durban strikes of 1973, the black union movement quickly became the backbone of anti-apartheid struggle. South African capitalism is rooted in the *superexploitation* of black labor, keeping profits up by keeping the wages below even the minimal level necessary for reproduction of the labor force. That is why black workers are forced to live in hovels, the labor supply is constantly replenished by mass migration from the rural areas, and the vast non-white majority is denied the most basic democratic rights. The structure of white-supremacy, established under colonialism, permeates the society, long predating the apartheid laws, and is necessary to capitalist rule in South Africa. And thus the organization of black labor can quickly threaten the state's existence.

ANC leaders Thabo Mbeki (below left) and Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa at July congress in Durban. Black miners (right) want socialist fight against apartheid, leaders blind them to Anglo American bosses.



Reuters



Work in Progress

The South African state initially sought to control it through the 1978 Wiehann Commission, which "recognized" black unions in the hopes of containing them. "Progressive" capitalists led by Anglo American and the "multinationals" sought to arrange private deals with "their" unions. But they wanted control from within. The black labor movement was forged largely in an end run around the ANC, whose leaders were in exile. Belatedly, the ANC moved to bring it under control, through the agency of the South African Communist Party. The "workerist" tendencies which had sprung up in FOSATU and "socialists" such as Metalworkers leader Moses Mayekiso were co-opted into the party, and debate in the unions over a "workers charter" was deflected into demands for protection under a recast "post-apartheid" capitalist state.

The role of the SACP in disciplining black labor was seen in the squashing of the Mercedes-Benz Port Elizabeth strike last September. With a situation close to dual power in the auto plants, where defiant workers controlled the assembly lines wearing mock AK-47s strapped to their backs, CP chief Slovo and Metalworkers leader Mayekiso were brought in by the company to get the workers back to work. While the CP talked of "factory tribalism" in denouncing the demands for wages higher than the industry average, the Mercedes-Benz strikers commented bitterly about the "Wabenzi," the "tribe" of well-to-do blacks who want to make it into the boss class. Here the SACP showed how it was ready and able to break strikes in policing the labor movement for the ANC and in the interest of capitalist stability (see "Sit-Down Strikers Raise Red Flag,

CP Sells Them Out," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990).

This role is now being played out, adjusting workers' expectations and demands in line with the "new reality" of the nascent "post-apartheid state." In April, the NUM's seventh national conference was called around the theme of "restructuring the mining industry." This meant accepting tens of thousands of layoffs, ripping the guts out of the miners' organized power to increase the Randlords' profits. Now Ramaphosa has negotiated a profit-linked pay deal at East Rand Goldfields, and the NUM has launched an initiative for a "tri-partite conference" between the miners unions, the Chamber of Mines and the state to discuss "how a post-apartheid economy can be reorganised" along the lines of "joint economic management" with "worker participation" (*Weekly Mail*, April 26). So despite all the talk about "socialism" at NUM conferences, the workers are to "participate" in their own exploitation!

Meanwhile, voices are being raised in the black unions questioning the alliance with the SACP and ANC. Labor "theoretician" Karl von Holdt writes in the *South Africa Labour Bulletin* (June 1991) that "over the past twelve months there has been increasing concern within COSATU over whether the working class has real influence within the ANC." A COSATU leader is quoted as saying, "The ANC has paralysed COSATU and other MDM organisations politically." However, the "alternative" mooted about by von Holdt is that the unions must break from "the politics of resistance" and "militant abstentionism" to instead "strive for greater productivity and less industrial action" and embrace "a social contract primarily between business and labour, but also involving the state" (*SALB*, March 1991). In other words, a more direct subordination of labor to capital without the medium of the SACP.

Revolutionary Perspective for South Africa

The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance is the contemporary South African version device by which the working masses are tied to the supposedly "progressive" wing of the exploiters. With Nelson Mandela as the linchpin, combative unionists and socialist-minded militants are being coupled to another "triple alliance" of the ANC with De Klerk and the Randlords. And while Anglo American publishes ads in the London *Guardian* promising that South African business will "address the deeply felt and justified grievances as well as the aspirations of those whom apartheid pushed aside," black miners at Anglo are still kept behind barbed wire in all-male hostels and receive one-seventh the pay of white workers! As the black trade-union movement veers right under the pressure of the popular front, those who genuinely seek to break the chains of apartheid slavery must fight to forge a genuinely

communist vanguard party of the working class.

The treacherous SACP, meanwhile, is far from monolithic. Together with the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe has come a cutoff in Soviet aid to the ANC and SACP. And along with handing over East Germany to an expanded imperialist Fourth Reich in the heart of Europe, Gorbachev's Kremlin has been pushing for a negotiated "political solution" in South Africa. This line is welcomed by some right-wing CPers, such as Jeremy Cronin, who specializes in denouncing Trotskyism, i.e., revolutionary Marxism, as an "infantile disorder" in *The African Communist* and *Work in Progress*. Others appear more conflicted. Thus while Moses Mayekiso helped spike the Mercedes-Benz strike, he balked at going along with the new Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (in which Ramaphosa is a leader of the Soweto delegation) which includes the same local councillors of the Pretoria regime that he and his Alexandra comrades rose up against in the township revolt, for which they were sent to jail. "Joint government" with their jailers may be hard to stomach.

The *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) reported that, contrary to expectations, the Communist Party in Soweto has grown more not less popular in the 17 months since the ANC was legalized.

"When Pretoria last February ended its 40-year ban on the South African Communist Party, known as the SACP, it reckoned that the crumbling of communism elsewhere would soon discredit the party here. Instead, Communists have been streaming back from exile and coming out of the closet internally to organize Africa's largest industrialized working class....

"On factory floors, in the mines and throughout the simmering, overcrowded black townships, workers talk of the two-phase revolution: first, black liberation from white domination, and then the creation of a thoroughly socialist state. The view from here is that it is apartheid—and its perceived cohort in racial oppression, capitalism—that has failed, not communism."

The bosses are clearly worried that a "post-apartheid state" could be derailed by workers' anti-imperialist strikes. It makes all too clear that the key in South Africa, as elsewhere, is a revolutionary leadership fighting not for the Stalinist shibboleth of a "two-stage revolution" (democracy now, socialism in the sweet by-and-by), but for revolutionary Trotskyism. As we wrote:

"South Africa today expresses the quintessence of Trotsky's program of *permanent revolution* in which the most basic democratic demands—'one person, one vote,' land to the tiller, ending slave-like oppression in the mining compounds and bantustans—can only be solved when the working class comes to power.... The urgent task is forging a Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for workers' revolution."

—*"South Africa and Permanent Revolution," WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

One South African group which is frequently mistaken for Trotskyist is the

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Mandela Trial...

(continued from page 6)

had allegedly put Rackley up before a kangaroo court on suspicion of being a police agent. In 1970, 14 Black Panthers, including party leaders Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins, were put on trial for the murder of Rackley. Given the tangle of government provocation and lumpen criminality involved, it was impossible for Marxists to make a serious judgment in the case. Certainly with the enormous FBI COINTELPRO conspiracy to disrupt and annihilate the Panthers, just about any scenario was possible: Rackley could have been an informer, the feds could have planted the story he was an agent to set up an internal war and frame Seale and the others. Or it could have been a bloody settling of factional squabbles. It was clear the government utilized the case to discredit and persecute the central leadership of the Panthers.

Murderous feuding is common in outfits based on militaristic organization of the lumpenproletariat, particularly in periods of defeat when they often turn into simple gangs. This phenomenon is also common among defeated guerrilla armies, which after they no longer have the perspective of seizing power tend to degenerate into banditry. In South Africa, some of the same idealistic youth who in '84-86 courageously fought against the apartheid state, a couple of years later had become disillusioned and were using the same methods against each other.

Presently in South Africa, violence is rife in the townships. There are the government-organized death squad assassinations of ANC activists and the attacks on township dwellers by hostel dwellers organized by Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha. In addition to financing Inkatha, the government supplied it with AK-47s, and the army and police often transported

the *impis* (squads) and stood by as they carried out their massacres. At the height of the fighting last fall, this turned into tribal clashes between Zulus and Xhosas. In addition, in recent months there has been a wave of random violence and crime, including by former "comrades" turned into common criminals. This gave rise to the term "comtsotsis," *isotsis* being the petty criminals who are ubiquitous in the downtrodden townships. This all reflects the lack of a *class* axis. For the working class learns a discipline based on the organization of work and a unity of purpose, coming from common struggle against a common capitalist enemy, that can overcome racial, ethnic and sectional differences.

Trial Divides ANC

During the trial, the liberal Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (17 May) reported:

"To the black youth in the streets, the Winnie Mandela mystique lives on, no matter what the verdict of white man's justice....

"Mandela's supporters could argue, quite rationally, that even if she did hold Kgase, Mekgwe, Mono and Stompie, this was far less than the regime itself did at the time by incarcerating thousands under the official cover of the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act....

"Her statements such as those on necklacing articulated what many thousands of alienated black youths in the eye of the township rebellion felt, but were too embarrassingly frank and tactless for the liberation movement."

The trial became the focal point for forces who wanted the township youth brought under control in the interest of "stability" in a "post-apartheid state" presided over by the "verligte" (enlightened) wing of the white ruling class and the "moderate" wing of the ANC. Independent of Winnie Mandela herself, the trial has thus crystallized a growing split in the liberal-radical "anti-apartheid" popular front between those who would make their peace with (and get a piece of) a "post-apartheid" capitalist state in South Africa, and those who don't fit in. However, the split between the ANC



Lopez/NY Times

Nelson and Winnie Mandela welcomed to the White House by George and Barbara Bush, June 1990.

"moderates" and the youthful "comrades" remains a division between two wings of petty-bourgeois nationalism. The key to socialist revolution in South Africa, which alone can bring a decent life to the toiling black masses, is breaking the working class from *all* factions of the ANC and other petty-bourgeois nationalist currents. Over the past decade and a half, a powerful black trade-union movement—embracing millions of African, Indian and coloured (mixed-race) workers—has come into being. For a number of years trade-union militants, called "workerists," counterposed the independence of the proletariat to the pro-ANC "populists." Today, the most prominent "workerists" have gone over to the ANC/Communist Party camp.

But there unquestionably exists an impulse among South Africa's unionized black proletariat to assert their own power and interests against the contending petty-bourgeois nationalist factions. The strategic key is the fight for the creation, however embryonic, of organs of proletarian dual power. Thus we have called for the formation of union-based ethnically integrated workers militias to suppress the violence between the Inkatha Zulu killers and ANC supporters in the townships. In the absence of a proletarian-centered socialist revolution led by a racially integrated communist party, South Africa will experience the same kind of nationalist and tribalist bloodletting characteristic of the rest of neocolonial black Africa.

Searchlight South Africa Fans Anti-Communist Hysteria

The London-based journal *Searchlight South Africa* has been especially strident in claiming that the ANC perpetrates criminal terrorism in the service of "Sta-

linist totalitarianism." Thus they explained both the violence of the township "comrades" and the imprisonment of ANC dissidents as due to "the deep-seated Stalinist ideological leanings of the ANC leadership." And they deliberately *amalgamate* the 1986 "necklacing" of collaborators with the violence of 1990-91:

"Since 1985—the incubatory period leading to the township slaughter of the 1990s—responsibility for legitimating violence as a primary means of political control 'within ourselves' has lain first of all on the ANC and its supporters, with its leading text in Winnie Mandela's homily on the liberatory authority of necklaces and matches."

—Paul Trehwela, "The Trial of Winnie Mandela," *Searchlight South Africa* (July 1991)

Like Margaret Thatcher at the time, *Searchlight* here reduces the 1984-86 township revolt to the practice of "necklacing." But the revolt centrally consisted of confrontations between youth armed with sticks and stones, and the South African police and army, who slaughtered hundreds at a time. This period also saw massive stayaway strikes organized by the black unions and enforced by the "comrades" in the townships, as well as the school and rent boycotts. "Necklacing" was a subordinate aspect of the revolt, a crude means of getting rid of the police spies and wreaking vengeance on collaborators who were a deadly threat to the population. Later these same methods were used in the feuds between the ANC, PAC and AZAPO, and now are tools for robbery.

For fighters for black liberation and socialism, it is in any case a travesty for the apartheid state, the murderers of tens of thousands and oppressors of millions, to decide upon "justice" in the Winnie

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Township youth with burning car of suspected collaborator.

Cape Town-based Workers Organisation for a Socialist Africa (WOSA), led by Neville Alexander. While the ANC accommodates De Klerk, and the SACP accommodates ANC, WOSA's practice is to accommodate nearly every anti-apartheid group, while talking in the abstract about a class line. Thus while running a long article about the need to smash the capitalist state not enter it, the bulk of WOSA's work and propaganda consists of a campaign for a Constituent Assembly (the "CA") as "synonymous with the demand for unfettered democracy" (*Workers' Voice* No. 2, March 1991). The same issue does a survey rating all left groups on their stand on a constituent assembly, calls for a "united front" for the CA, and puts forward "a platform of 8 points which we believe constitute a minimum basis for a democratic process."

WOSA tries to give their demand a left twist, by saying that the CA "must involve the informed participation of the masses in general and the working class in particular." But what's going on here is that these fake-Trotskyists have sim-

ply picked up what used to be the ANC's main demand and are running with it while Mandela and the SACP have dropped it in favor of the temptations of "participation" in a "reformed" apartheid "interim government." Trotskyists support the demand for a constituent assembly in the South African context where, from the days of colonialism on, the black masses have been denied any semblance of democracy. But we do so as part of a program for *workers' revolution*, understanding that bourgeois democracy under South African capitalism is *impossible*. In his December 1917 "Theses on the Constituent Assembly," Lenin emphasized:

"For the transition from the bourgeois to the socialist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Republic of Soviets (of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies) is not only a higher type of democratic institution...but is the only form capable of securing the most painless transition to socialism."

WOSA's response would be that it doesn't see the struggle for socialism on the agenda. But the objective conditions for revolution in South Africa are more

than ripe—the problem is the crisis of revolutionary leadership, and ostensible socialist groups from the SACP through WOSA who oppose a proletarian struggle for power are the biggest obstacle. Thus *Workers' Voice* (August 1990) writes: "In effect, therefore, the pro-socialism lobby will for the next few years function as a left-wing pressure group within the broad liberation movement, watching over the interests of the urban and rural poor and attempting to wrest the steering wheel of the movement from the grip of the middle-class, pro-democracy leadership." This perspective corresponds to that of the Mensheviks in the 1905 Revolution, who saw themselves "watching over" workers' interests while a bourgeois-liberal government would take power. But in 1905 and 1917 it was not the liberals but tsarist and militarist reaction that was the real alternative to the workers soviets.

Today there are various groups falsely labeled Trotskyist, which however reject Trotsky's perspective. We of the International Communist League are dedicated to the struggle to forge a South African

section of a reformed Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own. This is the key task and the only road to the emancipation of the South African masses from apartheid slavery and, following their lead and with their aid, liberation of the toilers of the entire continent. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Mandela Trial...

(continued from page 9)

Mandela trial. *Searchlight South Africa*, however, has grabbed the "Winnie trial" with both hands as its ticket into the "new South Africa." Thus in their recent issue, they write: "That the trial nevertheless proceeded to its conclusion was a small augury of hope for the future." In fact, their main worry is that, for political reasons, the apartheid courts may not actually put Mrs. Mandela away. They write that if "this woman can go free," then "the future of the country looks even grimmer than we had thought" [emphasis in original].

Searchlight wants to use the "Winnie trial" to enlist in Bush's "New World Order." Thus, in February, in the heart of "Operation Desert Storm," they are horrified because:

"... Mrs. Mandela delivers a passionate implied justification of the occupation of Kuwait by the regime of Saddam Hussein of Iraq.... Not out of character, Saddam's secret police introduce the necklace to the streets of Iraq a month later as a means of control over the revolt of their own citizens."

While ostensibly taking a neutral position in the Persian Gulf War, *Searchlight* emphasized that "there could be no support [to] the Iraqi dictatorship." So in the middle of the U.S. bombing blitz in January 1991, they came out denouncing those leftists who demanded "Hands off Iraq" and the "rationalisation" that the U.S. was conducting an "imperialist venture to keep control of oil." Now an article by leading editor Baruch Hirson has openly repudiated Lenin's position on imperialism, which he blames for "the underlying supposition of most left-ist and nationalist movements that the [Gulf] war was the outcome of imperialist aggression." "This was not an 'imperialist war,'" he adds, "and Iraq was not a 'semi-colonial' state—whatever that meant...."

The War in Angola and the ANC Camps

Searchlight connects the "Winnie trial" and her defense of "necklacing" with the imprisonment of ANC guerrilla fighters who mutinied in the MK military camps in Angola:

"There is a direct line of connection between the ANC reign of terror in the prisons, and the 'necklace killings' exercised by ANC supporters within South Africa.... This is the significance of the 'Winnie issue'."

—*Searchlight South Africa*, July 1990

In the mid-1980s, militants in ANC's guerrilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) became disillusioned and mutinied. A number of them were arrested

by ANC security, imprisoned under the most harsh conditions, some tortured and several reportedly killed. *Searchlight* treats this as an atrocity comparable to the Nazi death camps (referring to the ANC/SACP's "Buchenwald" at Quadro prison). But what, in fact, was the mutiny about?

In early 1984, the mutineers, saying they wished to "go home" to fight in their own country, refused direct orders to fight with the MPLA and Cuban soldiers in Angola against the South African invasion and the puppet Savimbi of UNITA. This was at a crucial turning point in which the concerted South African offensive in Angola almost won. Stopping it was vital. And here were soldiers, anti-apartheid fighters, in Angola where the war was going on, refusing to fight. The *Searchlight* article stated this explicitly:

"The combatants of MK had refused to go into counter-insurgency operations against the forces of the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in the civil war in Angola and defied the security personnel of ANC."

While we are quite prepared to believe that the internal regime in the ANC camps was plenty brutal and arbitrary, revolutionaries can in no way solidarize with mutineers who refused to fight the South African army and called for an end to the war against the CIA-financed UNITA forces of Jonas Savimbi. At bottom, the mutineers' action reflected the nationalist politics to which the ANC recruited them. Instead, we solidarized with the Cuban forces who at this same moment at the battle of Cuvelai inflicted on the South African army significant casualties, forcing it to withdraw from Angola. As we wrote then of the Soviet-backed Cuban forces:

"Every time they give the white supremacists a bloody nose in Angola, it emboldens the brutally oppressed non-white masses of South Africa to fight to throw off their shackles. The stinging defeat of South Africa's 1976 invasion was followed by the Soweto rebellion and a rising of black proletarian militancy and unionization struggles."

—"Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola," *WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984

And the South African army's forced withdrawal from Angola in 1984 ushered in the two-year township revolt at home.

While we recognized that the Cuban forces were on the front line of the fight against the Washington-Pretoria axis in southern Africa, the Stalinophobic *Searchlight* railed against the "KGB in Africa," and argued that the ANC prison camp at "Quadro became worse than any prison than even the apartheid regime... had ever had." This position in fact serves to prettify the De Klerk regime and justify its continuing suppression of the "militant wing" of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Slaughterites Peddle Apartheid Regime Disinformation

Both *Searchlight* and Cliff Slaughter's pseudo-Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party have devoted themselves to a campaign on behalf of dissident former members of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which led the guerrilla struggle against the South African colonial occupation of Namibia. Before World War I, this territory was colonized under the name of South West Africa by the Germans who wiped out the Herero tribe. As a result the numerically dominant tribe was the Ovambo, which became the social base of SWAPO.

In June, a retired South African army major who worked for military intelligence revealed that he was assigned to orchestrate a disinformation campaign in the media to discredit SWAPO over the issue of the detainees in order to deal the nationalist group a blow in the November 1989 Namibian elections. As we go to press, the Pretoria government admitted that it had funded seven anti-SWAPO political parties in that election, including parties of an electoral



Mark Peters

South African invaders in Angola (above) in early 1984 were stopped by heroic Cuban troops.

bloc in which the Namibian Slaughterites participated. So now Cliff Slaughter & Co. have egg all over their face.

The political infighting behind the imprisonment of SWAPO militants by the Nujoma leadership during the prolonged guerrilla struggle is very murky. They claim that they were forced to sign confessions (obtained under torture) that they were "spies," and that many were kept in hideous deep holes in the ground for years in SWAPO camps in Zambia and Angola. After protests were filed through the United Nations High Commission on Refugees and the World Council of Churches, SWAPO in early 1989 began to release these prisoners. In July 1989 the first of these detainees returned to Namibia. They told their story at a press conference in Windhoek that was organized by the "Parents' Committee." Here, a former leader of the SWAPO youth, Erica Beukes, whose brother was murdered in the camps, documented their tale. Beukes and the small group around her had launched the Workers Revolutionary Party and linked up with Cliff Slaughter's British WRP.

Slaughter's *Workers Press* (which only a few months earlier was a big booster of SWAPO) erupted with a slew of articles headlining "LEADERS MURDER SWAPO FIGHTERS," and claiming that Nujoma & Co. had "murdered up to 10,000 opponents" (Namibian WRPer Hewat Beukes claimed "up to 20,000" were killed). They linked the SWAPO repression to the "Stalin murder machine," saying it was "reminiscent of the days of the Moscow trials." Supposedly to document SWAPO atrocities, they published a photograph that was in fact of a mass grave of victims of the apartheid army.

The Namibian WRP participated in the November '89 elections in a political bloc called the United Democratic Front. The UDF included several bantustan parties and tribal "chiefs" who were collaborators of the Namibian puppet government of South Africa. Its purpose was to pull votes away from SWAPO in the November 1989 elections. The Slaughterite WRP made only the barest reference to socialism or the pro-capitalist nature of SWAPO. Their entire platform was the "atrocities" of the SWAPO camps.

Now, retired South African army major Nico Basson has come forward with spectacular revelations about the plot to discredit SWAPO and the ANC. He says he posed as a "public relations man" for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA—the second largest party in Namibia). "To fuel fears of Swapo, he said, the plotters exploited reports that the organization had imprisoned dissident members in Angola," reported the *New York Times* (1 July). Basson maintained this smear campaign was quite successful since SWAPO only received 58 percent of the vote, short of the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution imposed by the South African colonial regime. Basson noted: "They used Namibia as a dress rehearsal for what's happening in South Africa." This is

seen in the funding of the Inkatha Zulu forces and the manipulation of the ANC factions.

When he was an agent of South African military intelligence, Nico Basson co-edited the main book on the SWAPO prisoners, *Call Them Spies* (1989). This book was cited repeatedly as a reliable source by *Searchlight South Africa*. So now *Searchlight* and the Slaughterites have been exposed as willing, even eager conduits for lying disinformation by the white-supremacist apartheid regime.

For Workers Revolution

There is nothing new in all this, nor is it unique to southern Africa. From the very beginning Western colonialism has portrayed the dark-skinned peoples it conquered and subjugated as blood-thirsty savages. The Spaniards of the Inquisition conquered Mexico in the name of the Holy Church while denouncing the human sacrifices practiced by the Aztecs. The British in India shouldered the "white man's burden," condemning the hideous backwardness of India's pre-capitalist social institutions. Using such excuses the imperialists carried out the systematic slaughter, starvation and super-exploitation of whole populations.

In the modern era, European imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys have pointed to the crimes of Stalinism and nationalist movements to justify the suppression of national liberation struggles. French Socialists condemned the terrorist tactics of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) while the French army tortured FLN militants and killed a million Algerian Arabs and Berbers. The British Labour Party denounced the terrorism of the Mau Mau to support the "pacification" of Kenya by the British colonial army. Now Cliff Slaughter and the editors of *Searchlight* (who sometimes sound like "socialist" Rudyard Kiplings) have in the same way become "left" apologists for imperialist subjugation and mass murder.

The real crime of the ANC nationalists and Stalinists in South Africa is that they aspire to govern the country as junior partners of Wall Street, the City of London and the Anglo American Corporation. But unlike the neocolonial states of sub-Saharan Africa, there exists in South Africa a powerful black-centered proletariat which can lay the basis for a decent and humane society. The working class under the leadership of a genuinely communist party can smash the efforts to set up a new form of white-supremacist rule, and prevent the descent of South Africa into nationalist and tribalist bloodletting. ■

NOTICE
Workers Vanguard
skips an issue
in August.
Our next issue will be
dated August 30.



Young "comrades" in the townships, 1986.

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 12)

On the evening of July 16, Maximino was helping a friend work on his car along with two other Hispanic men. Eyewitnesses told *Workers Vanguard* that plainclothes cops Chris Henne and John Chiusolo, driving by with a prisoner, pulled over for no apparent reason, rushed up to Cintrón and slapped him with a ticket for "unauthorized repairs." This was based on some racist, anti-working-class city ordinance that forbids people working on their cars, the only place most of them can, on the street. When Maximino ripped up the ticket in disgust, Henne threw him against the wall. As María pleaded in horror that they stop beating her husband, the cops screamed "Bitch!" at her. "Show some respect for my wife," Maximino demanded. Henne responded by shoving a flashlight against his throat. Maximino broke loose, Chiusolo pulled out a 9mm pistol. With both arms at his side and his back against the wall, Cintrón said: "What, are you going to shoot me now?" That's when the cop shot him.

Three hours later, Maximino Cintrón was dead, executed by a bullet through his stomach at ten feet. For nearly an hour after the shooting he lay bleeding to death on the ground. An ambulance arrived after a few minutes, but instead of treating Cintrón, medics were ordered to deal with the cops, who claimed to have been injured. Only much later did a second ambulance arrive to remove the dying Cintrón. The cops lied that Cintrón threatened them with a pipe and that the shot was fired to ward off a "mob" of 20 attackers. These lies were picked up and broadcast by the *Jersey City Journal*, angering the many witnesses to this cold-blooded killing.

This is not cop Chiusolo's first racist attack. At the July 25 protest, Filipino Rodin Rodriguez told the crowd of 400, mostly Puerto Ricans from the community, how the same cop who gunned down Cintrón beat him up three years ago, leading to permanent nerve damage that cost him his job as an illustrator for DC Comics. The cops have gone on a killing spree in recent years, as northern New Jersey has become home to an increasing number of Hispanics and other minorities who work across the river in New York City. A quarter of the population of Jersey City and Newark now is Hispanic, two-fifths of Elizabeth and Paterson. The Filipino and Indian communities have also been expanding considerably and likewise face racist police repression.

Louisiana...

(continued from page 12)

placed it under federal court supervision. Of 5,200 inmates, 85 percent are black, among them Gary Tyler and numerous other victims of racist frame-up.

The executioners have now decided to have their killing table built by outside contractors, but not before the electric chair is used once more, to kill Robert Sawyer on August 22. Now the vindictive prison authorities intend to punish the strikers for their courageous stand. Some will temporarily lose access to the prison store and get job demotions, others will be transferred to the notorious "Camp J," where "prison revolutionaries" are allowed only three hours of sunlight a week.

Aping the Nazi death camp commandants, this barbarous ruling class, which oversees the highest incarceration rate in the world, demands that its victims prepare their own executions. But *this* the denizens of the Angola prison hell refused. Pilgrimage for Life, a New Orleans death penalty abolitionist group, is calling for telegrams to Governor Roemer demanding that the prison protesters not be disciplined. Hands off the anti-execution strikers!

The past few years have seen a series of brutal police murders of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities in northern New Jersey. On July 1, New Brunswick cop Zane Grey gunned down black unemployed truck driver Shaun Potts, a promising semi-pro football player for the New Brunswick Panthers. Three weeks earlier, Newark and Hillside police pumped 43 shots into a stopped van, killing 20-year-old Lamont Russell Jones and 16-year-old Tasha Mayse, who was five months pregnant, and seriously wounding four other unarmed black teenagers. Their names now join the ever-growing roll call of victims of racist cop terror: Efrain Rodriguez in Perth Amboy, Santana Hannah in Plainfield, 16-year-old Phillip Pannell in Teaneck, Arnaldo Ortega in Jersey City, Carmen Coria in Perth Amboy, are only some of those killed in the past three years.

The evening after Maximino Cintrón was gunned down, friends and relatives gathered at a shrine erected at the scene of the murder, where a Puerto Rican flag was hanging with pictures of Maximino pinned to it. His cousin Migdalia Cintrón spoke of the family's distress and wondered aloud how this hideous crime could be perpetrated over a \$20 ticket. His brother Max said simply: "I want justice for my brother." Locking Chiusolo away will certainly get one racist killer off the streets. But justice for the family of Maximino Cintrón and all the victims of cop terror will only come when the integrated working class sweeps away this whole racist system of capitalist injustice.

Chicago

On July 12, 29-year-old Mexican immigrant Miguel Mireles was murdered in cold blood on the streets of Maywood, a working-class suburb of Chicago. Drug Enforcement Administration agent George Ohlin pumped seven bullets through the windshield of the pickup truck Mireles was driving as he and his brother Luis returned from cashing his \$45 paycheck at a nearby store. Ohlin then shot at Luis Mireles, who was saved only when neighbors poured out of their homes and shouted at the cops.

The cops claim that the pickup had been used for transporting drugs the day before and that Mireles tried to run down the nars as they approached to make a bust. But eyewitnesses contacted by WV say the cops' story is nothing but a cover-up. Among those eyewitnesses was Rosa Santamaria, who led a spontaneous pro-

Free Gary Tyler now! Abolish the death penalty!

We print below a telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee:

27 July 1991

To: Charles E. Roemer
Governor, State of Louisiana
P.O. Box 94004
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

The Partisan Defense Committee demands an immediate end to the lockdown of 400 prisoners and disciplinary action against hundreds more at the infamous Angola State Penitentiary. These men were victimized for downing tools to stop construction of a new execution facility, the day after Andrew Lee Jones was executed at the prison.

Ordering prisoners to build a "bed" to be used for administering lethal injections recalls the unspeakable Nazi commandants who forced Jewish prisoners to dig their own mass graves.

We and all opponents of the racist death penalty applaud the Angola prisoners' strike for dignity and humanity which stands in bold contrast to the wanton, racist brutality of the capitalist "justice" system. Abolish the racist death penalty!

Richard Dundy
for the Partisan Defense Committee



Friends and relatives of Maximino Cintrón gather at memorial shrine erected at the site of his murder.

test of more than 60 outraged neighbors against the DEA killers and their Maywood police accomplices.

The murder of Miguel Mireles comes in a context of escalating terror against blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. Two days after Mireles was gunned down, a mob of racists wielding baseball bats stormed the home of a Mexican migrant farm worker in the town of Harvard, north of Chicago.

Miguel Mireles left his hometown of Durango for "El Norte" in search of a better life. Instead of the "American Dream," he found Bush's "New World Order" of racist murder.

Boston

The black community of Boston has been targeted by a wave of police terror this summer. On July 12, black high school student Christopher Rogers was shot dead by Boston cop James Hall. Rogers was a 16-year-old honors student in math and science. His killer had a record of shooting unarmed victims, among them a Hispanic man three years ago.

Hall claimed that his service revolver went off as he looked for someone hiding under a parked car. But the youth had been shot in the chest. Neighbors recalled how Hall, who is black and lives in the same area, had threatened Rogers and other kids on many occasions.

Rogers' funeral was attended by hundreds of angry mourners. Christopher's mother, an AFSCME member at the Fernald school in Waltham, told the *Boston Herald* (14 July): "I hope to see this

police officer stripped of his badge and his uniform and fairly punished for my son's death." But the killer cop is back on the job, after a five-day suspension with pay for being "out of his area."

Two weeks earlier, six cops blew away Herbert Jones of Roxbury. And a month before that, they slew 25-year-old Nathaniel Lackland Logan. Over 250 people turned out for a candlelight vigil to protest what a family friend denounced as "cold-blooded murder."

Sinister forces are trying to silence those who dare to speak out against the murderous cop terror campaign. Black community activist Shakur Ali, who has called for the resignation of Mayor Ray Flynn and Police Commissioner Frances Roache, has been the target of numerous death threats. After four white men in a passing car fired on him, his wife and a member of the Rogers family, Ali got an ominous phone call warning him to "stop talking about the Boston Police Department." But calls for reforming the police, like appeals by black mayoral candidate Graylan Ellis-Hagler for a civilian review board, are a dead end. The cops are



Christopher Rogers, 16-year-old victim of Boston police murder.

the armed fist of the racist capitalist state.

Last March a militant, integrated crowd of 1,500 turned out to protest Klansman David Duke in response to a call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. This showed that it's possible to overcome the racial divisions of this deeply polarized city, the home of the anti-busing backlash, and pointed the way forward to stopping all the racist killers. Workers revolution will avenge Christopher Rogers, Nathaniel Lackland Logan and all the victims of the killers-in-blue. ■

S.F. Cop Candidate's Thugs Menace Socialists

SAN FRANCISCO—"What happened to Huerta could happen to you!" This menacing reference to the near-fatal 1988 cop beating of United Farm Workers leader Dolores Huerta was directed at a young woman Spartacist League supporter selling *Workers Vanguard* at a supermarket here. And the threat came from a campaign worker for former police chief Frank Jordan, now running for SF mayor.

The Jordan-for-mayor crew didn't want people reminded that their boss was top cop when Dolores Huerta had her spleen ruptured and several ribs broken as police savaged protesters against then-vice president Bush. Jordan was police chief when the cops stormed into the gay Castro area, imposing virtual martial law, clubbing and arresting ACT UP protesters (and bystanders). He was police chief when Tony Grohse, a retarded 13-year-old Samoan, was blown away by two cops in broad daylight. To name hut a few of the reported incidents. And as police chief, Jordan stood by his thugs, none

of whom has ever even faced criminal charges.

Now Jordan's running on ominous promises to jail and terrorize the homeless (including an ID system to "track" them) in order to wipe out the "haven" that supposedly "soft" Mayor Agnos has offered them and to generally unleash the cops from Agnos' "restraints." Some restraints! Agnos blithely stood by while the cops bashed his old friend Huerta and now orders them to arrest any homeless person who won't move into an unbearable, overcrowded shelter. But that's not enough for Jordan, who seeks to tap the fear and economic insecurity of the layer that Dan White spoke to—white, racist, anti-immigrant and anti-gay bigots who clamor for "law and order."

No surprise that Jordan's flunkey gloats over Huerta's beating, but it does tell you what his crowd consists of. We wonder how many of them are cops or ex-cops. The working class needs to sweep all this bourgeois garbage out of power.

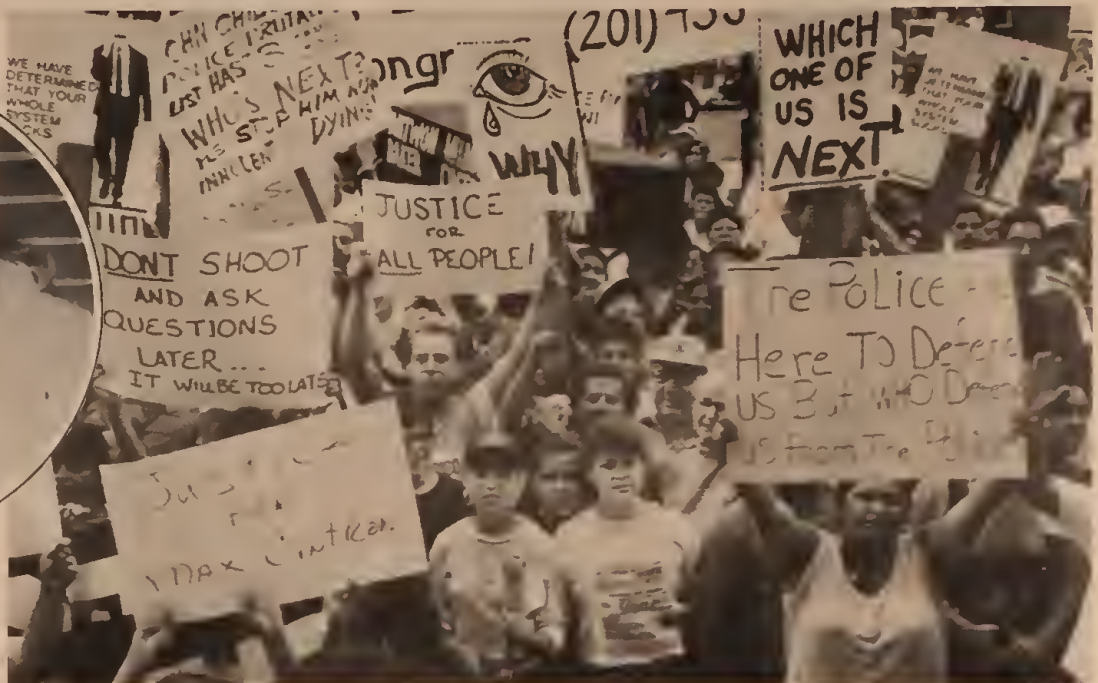
WORKERS VANGUARD

Hispanics and Blacks Under the Gun

Hot Summer of Cop Terror



Courtesy Cintrón Family
Maximino Cintrón (above, with wife Maria and baby son) murdered by racist cops. Outraged Jersey City residents march on City Hall, July 25.



WV Photo

On the heels of his mass murder of 100,000 Iraqis, George Bush called for the same "moral force and national will" to "free America's cities from crime." Now the Democrat-controlled Senate has overwhelmingly approved a draconian new crime bill, as the Supreme Court slashes away at what its capitalist masters regard as "criminals' rights." For this racist ruling class, a "criminal" is anybody—particularly blacks and Hispanics—who comes up against the business end of a police billyclub or hair-trigger pistol. Taking their cue, the cops have been on a rampage of racist murder across the country.

The brutal beating of black motorist Rodney King by a score of California Highway Patrol and Los Angeles cops in March shocked the country when it was captured on videotape and played over the airwaves. A mayoral commission appointed to investigate the LAPD has now "discovered" that racist and sexist slurs are rampant among L.A. cops (including messages typed out on patrol car computers), the police enforced a "code of silence" to discourage any queasy elements, and complaints of racist treatment were at best ignored. But as succeeding weeks showed again, what happened to Rodney King is standard

operating procedure for cops in the ghettos and barrios of America.

Jersey City

Under a sweltering sun, 23-year-old Maximino Cintrón Ortiz was buried on July 22. Nearly 500 predominantly Hispanic mourners wearing black armbands attended the funeral in Jersey City. Some 200 people marched in procession down Jersey Avenue to San Bonifacio's church on First Street, a few blocks away. His

coffin was carried by 16 pallbearers, many of them young men who, like others in the community, could be found out on the street working on their cars on any late afternoon or evening. That's what Maximino was doing on the night he was gunned down by a Jersey City cop. That—and being Puerto Rican—was enough to get the young unemployed meatpacker killed, to make his pregnant wife María a widow, to leave their one-year-old son without a father. In a protest march on city hall three days later, demonstrators' signs asked bitterly "Why?" and "Which One of Us Is Next?"

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Louisiana Prisoners Refuse to Build Execution "Bed"

Strike at Angola Prison

On July 21, the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola carried out the state's 20th legal lynching since 1983, as 35-year-old black inmate Andrew Lee Jones was strapped to the electric chair and murdered. Sneering, "This man deserves what he is about to get," Governor Roemer even rejected a parole board recommendation to delay the execution two months until a supposedly "humane" lethal injection system was installed.

One day later, an organized and integrated protest by prisoners struck a powerful symbolic blow against the

execution bloodbath. Two workers in the metal fabrication shop who were ordered to make a "hospital examination" table refused, understanding that they would in fact be building the "bed" to which future death row victims would be strapped for injections.

The next day, 40 more inmates, including one whose brother had been

executed at Angola, refused to work on the death device. As warden John Whitfield threw the protesters into solitary in the "dungeon," word rapidly spread through the 20,000-acre prison and 400 inmates working in the fields put down their hoes in solidarity. Baton Rouge federal judge Frank Polozola authorized an immediate lockdown. Tactical police

clad in riot gear were called in and, according to one prisoner, so were the National Guard.

Angola prison is notorious for slave labor worse than any chain gang. Its camps were constructed on former plantations, and inmates in the cane fields were regularly worked to death. Despite a series of "reforms" after Angola's horrors were exposed by a brave prison nurse in the 1950s, conditions today are more desperate than they were 40 years ago. So abhorrent and overcrowded is this state prison that a consent decree

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