

## Democrats, Republicans Push Racist War on Immigrants— Full Citizenship Rights for All!

# Vile Cop Beating of Mexican Immigrants

LOS ANGELES, April 7—Millions of television viewers watched in horror as, yet again, a videotape showed Southern California cops brutally, methodically, repeatedly bringing their nightsticks down on their defenseless victims. "It's like Rodney King all over again," was the common response. Once again, the cops got caught on videotape doing what they always do for their racist capitalist masters. This time the victims were not black but a Mexican immigrant couple who had come north in a desperate attempt to earn enough for themselves and their children to survive. It almost cost them their lives. "I thought they were going to kill me," recalled a shaken Alicia Sotero Vásquez of the beating she and Enrique Funes Flores suffered at the hands of two Riverside County sheriff's deputies on April 1.

Coming after the 1991 beating of black motorist Rodney King and the fascist ravings of former LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman last year, the televised images of this sadistic cop attack threw a spotlight on the whole system of racist cop terror and, more particularly, on the bipartisan war on immigrants. Haunted by the spectre of another explosion like the 1992 multiracial upheaval that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of King's tormentors, bourgeois spokesmen from Clinton down to the local sheriff's department rushed to issue hypocritical condemnations of the latest cop beating. But murderous anti-immigrant racism is endemic to this system. Only five days later, seven immigrants were killed and 18 injured when the Border Patrol pursued their truck until it crashed near Temecula. And the same weekend in San Francisco, 41-year-old Mark Garcia was killed by cops who beat and pepper-sprayed him.

Sotero and Funes were among some 20 undocumented immigrants who found themselves in the middle of a terrifying 80-mile car chase after the pickup truck they were in came under pursuit near an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) checkpoint near Temecula. The others fled when the truck pulled over on a freeway in South El Monte, but were later captured. Sotero was still trying to get out when the cops arrived and immediately began crashing their batons down on her, pulling her to the ground by her hair and throwing her against the side of the truck. When her companion Funes came to her side, he was also beaten to the ground with repeated baton assaults. The TV footage also showed a third Mexican migrant worker, José Pedroza Cortés, being beaten by a deputy.

The vile beatings provoked outrage internationally, particularly in

### California Videotape Shows What Happens All the Time



KCAL-TV

Los Angeles, April 6: Upwards of 10,000 people took to the streets in outrage over videotaped police beating of Mexican migrant workers Alicia Sotero Vásquez and Enrique Funes Flores (above).



Reuters

Southern California and Mexico. Angry protesters have taken to the streets almost every day in Los Angeles, culminating in an April 6 march on L.A. City Hall by upwards of 10,000 people. Among the overwhelmingly Latino marchers

were union contingents from various SEIU (Service Employees) locals, including Local 399 Justice for Janitors, H.E.R.E. Local 11 hotel workers and the Garment Workers Justice Center.

As a speaker defiantly declared, "We

are not illegal," thousands chanted in unison in Spanish. "We want justice, we want justice!" But while the demonstration organizers lambasted Republican governor Pete Wilson, architect of the 1994 anti-immigrant Proposition 187, they provided a platform for an array of local Democratic Party politicians. Yet no less than the Republicans, Clinton's Democrats are in the forefront of the war against immigrants, from militarization of the Mexican border to coast-to-coast dragnets by the hated *migra* (INS) against "illegal" immigrant workers. Even fascist Republican Pat Buchanan praises Clinton's anti-immigrant operation for being "on the right track."

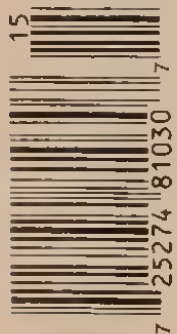
The Spartacist League and L.A. Spartacus Youth Club joined in the April 6 rally and earlier protests including an SYC-initiated speakout at UCLA on April 5, to win workers and youth to a class-struggle fight against anti-immigrant racism. SL and SYC signs called for "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!" and "For Labor/Minority Mobilizations Against Racist Anti-Immigrant Terror!" Against pervasive illusions in the Democrats, the SL/SYC raised the call, "Break with the Democrats/

continued on page 9



WV Photo

Spartacist/Labor Black League contingent at April 5 protest in San Francisco. Mobilizing labor power is key to defending immigrant rights.





### Suit Filed Against NPR Censorship of Mumia Abu-Jamal

On March 28, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Prison Radio Project, a project of the Quixote Center, filed a lawsuit in a Washington, D.C. federal court against National Public Radio (NPR), charging it with violation of Jamal's First Amendment right

to speech free from government censorship. The Prison Radio Project had recorded a series of powerful commentaries by Mumia about life on death row and oppressive prison conditions in the U.S. which he had prepared especially for NPR. Before his imprisonment,

Jamal, a former Black Panther leader and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, was an award-winning radio journalist.

In May 1994, the announcement by NPR of its plans to broadcast Mumia's commentaries on its premier show, *All Things Considered*, was met immediately with vicious hostility by the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.) and other reactionary forces. Senate majority leader Robert Dole joined the F.O.P. campaign, railing on the Senate floor against NPR's plans to air the commentaries and threatening to cut off its federal funding. NPR capitulated within two days to the F.O.P.-organized protest against the broadcasts, canceling Mumia's commentaries.

NPR's cancellation was a dangerous blow against Jamal's struggle to overturn his frame-up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. Nevertheless, the controversy over the banning of the broadcasts served to put a national spotlight on Jamal's case, and led to widespread recognition of Jamal as a gifted and courageous journalist. At the same time, the F.O.P. extended its campaign for Mumia's execution, in Philadelphia and nationally.

The lawsuit focuses on the fact that NPR had initially made an editorial decision to use the commentaries. After hearing a sample of Jamal's commentaries, Ellen Weiss, the executive producer of *All Things Considered*, had told Noelle Hanrahan of the Prison Radio Project that they offered a "unique perspective" that "my audience needs to hear." NPR's subsequent cancellation of the broadcasts in response to political pressure was an act of self-censorship that constituted, according to the suit, a "viewpoint discrimination in violation of the First and Fifth Amendments." The suit demands \$2 million in damages and that the tapes, which NPR now wrongfully holds, be aired. NPR has consistently suppressed the tapes, refusing to let other radio stations play them.

Significantly, a year after the NPR incident and shortly after a death warrant had been signed against Mumia—which was later stayed following a wave of international protests—Republican Dole delivered a sinister speech on the Senate floor claiming credit for himself and other members of Congress for NPR's abrupt canceling of Jamal's commentaries. Meanwhile, the Democrats are trying to outdo the Republicans in carrying out the racist "law and order" drive, with Clinton pushing Congress to adopt a "counterterrorism" bill drastically restricting the right to appeal death sentences in the federal courts. Last May, Clinton ostentatiously addressed a mass F.O.P. rally, held during its convention in Washington, which was attended by the widow of the policeman Jamal was falsely convicted of killing.

At the time of NPR's reversal, the Partisan Defense Committee made clear the danger presented by NPR's capitulation to the cop campaign to silence Mumia.

At a June 1994 New York City speakout protesting the ban, which was hosted by actor Ossie Davis and organized by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, a PDC spokesman noted: "They are trying to silence Mumia today to make it easier to execute him tomorrow."

Those same reactionary forces who sought then to gag Mumia are still trying to silence this impassioned and articulate voice on behalf of the oppressed. The lawsuit against NPR is an opportunity to further publicize Mumia's fight. While every available legal measure must be exploited in the effort to overturn the frame-up of this innocent man, we look to the unleashed power of the multiracial working class to win Mumia's freedom and that of all class-war prisoners. Free Mumia now! Aholish the racist death penalty!

### Ramona Africa Suit Against Philadelphia for MOVE Bombing

On April 9, a trial finally began in federal court in Philadelphia over the civil suit for damages filed nine years ago by MOVE member Ramona Africa against the city of Philadelphia (and the police and fire chiefs at the time) over



Wilson/Washington Post

Ramona Africa

the bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue commune on Mother's Day, 13 May 1985. Ramona Africa is the sole adult survivor of the firebombing of the MOVE home. The deliberate incineration of eleven people, including five children by Philly cops—with the aid of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and FBI—was given the go-ahead by former black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Sixty houses burned in the West Philadelphia black neighborhood that day, leaving hundreds homeless. The civil suit will refocus public attention on the bombing of MOVE at a time when Philadelphia police are reeling from revelations of deep corruption and brutality.

While Ramona Africa spent over

continued on page 9

### Kronstadt 1921 and Counterrevolution

In March 1921, after Soviet Russia had been bled white by three years of Civil War, imperialist intervention, embargo and famine, the Bolshevik government was confronted by a rebellion of the Kronstadt naval garrison. In the 75 years since, anarchists, social democrats and bourgeois reactionaries have all seized on the Bolsheviks' suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny in order to equate the communism of Lenin and Trotsky



TROTSKY

with the bureaucratic Stalinist regime which usurped political power and ultimately paved the way for capitalist restoration. In fact, the revolt by Kronstadt sailors (largely of peasant origin) was a counterrevolutionary rising—supported by open White Guardists like Milinkov—whose suppression was a matter of life or death for the workers state. Trotsky made this clear in responding to a "hue and cry" over Kronstadt in the 1930s by anarchists and social democrats—who were themselves aiding the Stalinists in betraying the Spanish Revolution.

Unless we are to deceive ourselves with pretentious slogans, false labels, etc., we shall see that the Kronstadt uprising was nothing but an armed reaction of the petty bourgeoisie against the hardships of social revolution and the severity of the proletarian dictatorship.

That was exactly the significance of the Kronstadt slogan, "Soviets without Communists," which was immediately seized upon, not only by the SRs but by the bourgeois liberals as well. As a rather farsighted representative of capital, Professor Miliukov understood that to free the soviets from the leadership of the Bolsheviks would have meant within a short time to demolish the soviets themselves. The experience of the Russian soviets during the period of Menshevik and SR domination and, even more clearly, the experience of the German and Austrian soviets under the domination of the Social Democrats, proved this. Social Revolutionary-Anarchist soviets could serve only as a bridge from the proletarian dictatorship to capitalist restoration. They could play no other role, regardless of the "ideas" of their participants. The Kronstadt uprising thus had a counterrevolutionary character.

From the class point of view, which—without offense to the honorable eclectics—remains the basic criterion not only for politics but for history, it is extremely important to contrast the behavior of Kronstadt to that of Petrograd in those critical days. The whole leading stratum of the workers had also been drawn out of Petrograd. Hunger and cold reigned in the deserted capital, perhaps even more fiercely than in Moscow.... The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades—and they supported the Soviet power. The political isolation of Kronstadt was the cause of its internal uncertainty and its military defeat....

A revolution has its own laws. Long ago we formulated those "lessons of October" which have not only a Russian but an international significance. No one else has even tried to suggest any other "lessons." The Spanish revolution is negative confirmation of the "lessons of October." And the severe critics are silent or equivocal. The Spanish government of the "People's Front" stifles the socialist revolution and shoots revolutionists. The Anarchists participate in this government, or, when they are driven out, continue to support the executioners. And their foreign allies and lawyers occupy themselves meanwhile with a defense...of the Kronstadt mutiny against the harsh Bolsheviks. A shameful travesty!

—Leon Trotsky, "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt" (January 1938)

### WORKERS VANGUARD



Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

EDITOR, YOUNG SPARTACUS PAGES: Carla Wilson

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Slamberg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

*Workers Vanguard* (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Spartacist Publishing Company has 3rd class privileges, imprint #4167.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is April 9.

No. 643

12 April 1996

### Spartacist Events

#### BOSTON

##### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, April 16: *How the Soviet Workers State was Strangled*; April 23: *We Need an International, Revolutionary, Workers Party*; Boston College, Devlin Hall, Room 221 For more information: (617) 666-9453

#### CHICAGO

##### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Thursdays, 6 p.m. Next classes, April 18: *Defend Abortion Clinics! Smash Anti-Abortion Terrorists! Marxism and the Struggle Against Women's Oppression*; May 9: *The Struggle for Worker's Power: Lessons of the Paris Commune and the Bolshevik Revolution*; University of Chicago, 106 Cobb Hall For more information: (312) 454-4930

#### CHICAGO

##### Spartacist League Forum

Saturday, 7 p.m., April 27: *Black Separatism and "Black Capitalism" Are A Dead End! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*; University of Chicago, Ida Noyes, West Lounge, 2nd Floor For more information: (312) 454-4930

#### NEW YORK CITY

##### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

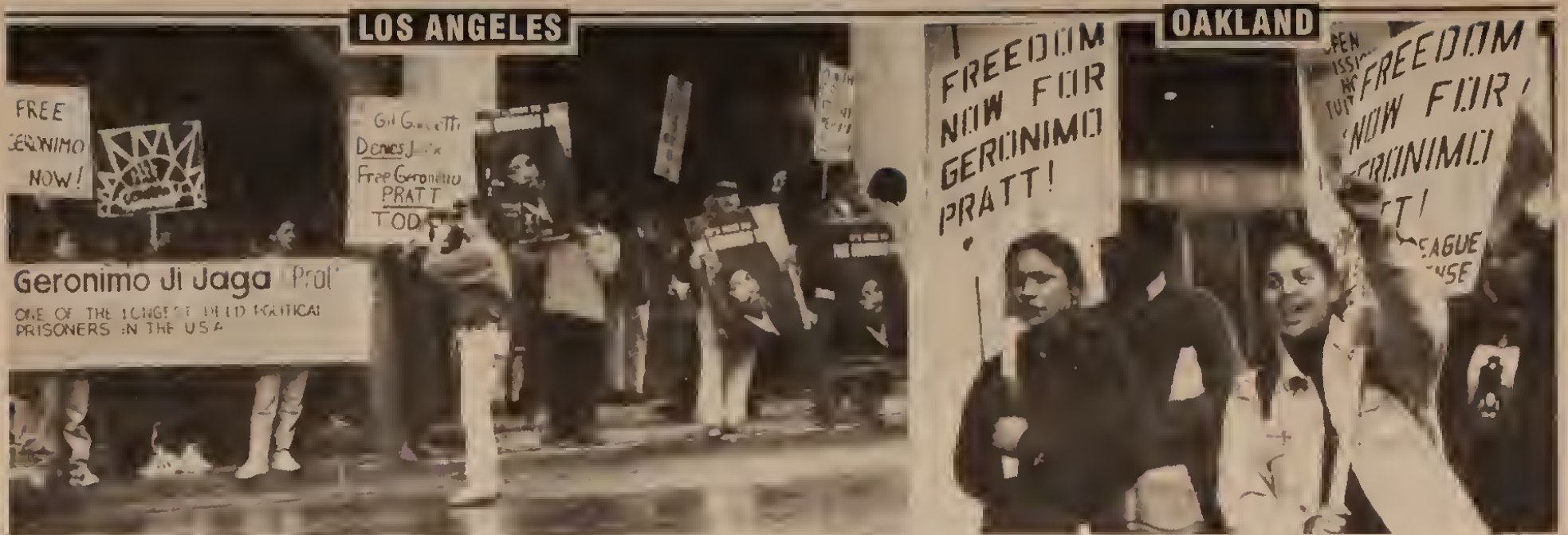
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, April 13: *The Permanent Revolution*; April 27: *The Popular Front: Roadblock to Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street, near Church Street) For more information: (212) 267-1025

#### WASHINGTON, D.C.

##### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Mondays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, April 15: *Race and Class in Capitalist America*; April 22: *The Fight for Women's Rights*; University of Maryland, College Park, Hornbake Library, Non-Print Media Section, Room P For more information: (202) 872-8240





Demonstrations on March 28 to support imprisoned former Black Panther leader: Geronimo Defense Committee called protest outside L.A. court (left), Partisan Defense Committee and Labor Black League organized united-front rally in Oakland.

# D.A. Attempts to Obstruct Geronimo's Right to Appeal

## Protests Demand: Freedom for Geronimo Now!

**All Out for  
Next Court Date,  
April 17!**

Government forces have once again sought to deny Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) an opportunity to reverse the frame-up that has kept this former leader of the Black Panther Party in prison for a quarter of a century. There is no doubt of his innocence. It is because of his refusal to renounce his political views that the Los Angeles district attorney's office—which orchestrated the LAPD and FBI's attempts to "neutralize" Geronimo as part of their "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) to destroy the Panthers—wants to keep him behind bars. Geronimo told FOX TV in an interview last week, "I feel proud that I stood up and fought for my people, and I'm going to continue to do that."

On March 28, Geronimo appeared in court on his own behalf for the first time in eleven years in the latest phase of his decades-long fight to overturn his conviction. Geronimo's supporters packed the Los Angeles courtroom to show solidarity with this black militant, framed up for a 1968 murder that the government knows he did not commit: the FBI's own wiretaps (which have since "disappeared") showed that at the time of the murder, Geronimo was at a Panther meeting 400 miles away. Recently, a detailed account of the state's frame-up of Geronimo was featured in a cover article in the magazine section of the London *Independent* (11 March).

Both outside the courthouse and in Oakland, demonstrators demanded freedom for Geronimo and an end to the COINTELPRO frame-up. Dozens of Black Panthers and other radicals were killed in FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's bloody COINTELPRO campaign, while others like Geronimo were framed up and sent to rot in prison.

At the hearing, Judge Michael Cowell set a date of April 17 for argument on the District Attorney's motion that Geronimo's petition to overturn his con-

viction be dismissed or transferred to the California Supreme Court. The judge acknowledged that Geronimo has raised "some very substantial issues" and that his petition "has a lot of merit," but stated that the D.A.'s "late challenge" to the jurisdiction issue—filed only the day before—must be resolved first.

On February 26, Geronimo's attorneys, Johnnie Cochran and Stuart Hanlon, filed for a writ of *habeas corpus* aiming to overturn Geronimo's conviction, on the basis of substantial new evidence of his innocence. This includes information revealing the likely real killers in the case, testimony that FBI wiretap transcripts prove that Geronimo was in Oakland at the time of the Santa Monica killing, and evidence that the state's prosecutor knowingly hid the fact that the main witness against Geronimo was an FBI informant. Under court order to respond by March 27, D.A. Gil Garcetti's office requested a three-month extension to respond to evidence that they have already been "investigating" for almost three years.

Angered by the D.A.'s hypocritical claim of diligently pursuing this investigation, Cochran responded, "We are not going to sit here and listen to people who have had this case for three years

talk about truth and justice." Hanlon added that the D.A. "only wants to hide the evidence.... In the guise of claiming to put the case forward, they are actually delaying it further."

Geronimo's attorneys also insisted that the Superior Court is the proper place to hear this case and pointed out that the Supreme Court does not hear new evidence. The D.A.'s jurisdictional maneuver is a blatant attempt to keep Geronimo locked away; they know full well that the Supreme Court, the majority appointed by pro-death penalty, anti-immigrant governor Wilson, is not likely to permit any court to hear further documentation of the government's racist conspiracy to destroy the Panthers, in which Geronimo was framed up.

The judge denied Geronimo's request for bail and ordered that he remain in the Los Angeles County jail until the April 17 hearing. Continuing the prison authorities' longstanding policy of punitive treatment, local jailers had attempted to deny Geronimo access to his legal team and refused visits from his family. In response to protests from Geronimo's attorneys, the judge directed the sheriff to accord Geronimo the same rights as any other prisoner. Despite this order, Geronimo is still being subjected to



Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)

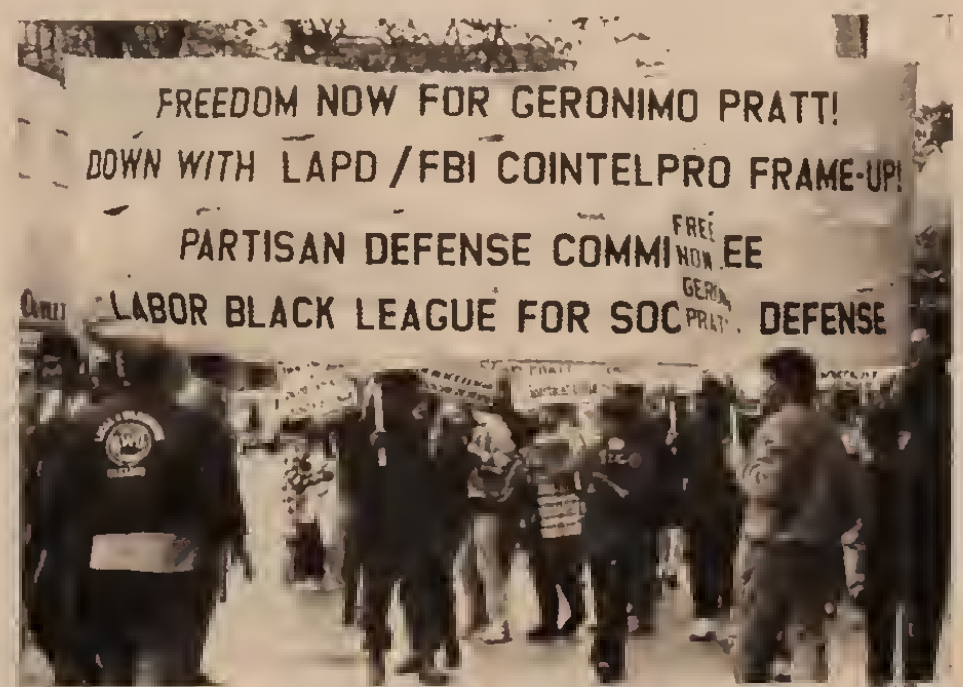
exceptional harassment in prison.

Outside the L.A. court on March 28, a multiracial group of 200 militantly demonstrated their support for Geronimo. Thursday's rally concluded a week of activities called by the Geronimo Defense Committee to publicize his case. Trade unionists from the National Association of Letter Carriers and SEIU 660, and from AFSCME Local 444 who came down from the San Francisco Bay Area, joined with students from UCLA, UC Santa Cruz and Oakland's Laney College, as well as representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, Spartacist League, Refuse & Resist and other leftist and black organizations. The hearing was attended by Geronimo's family and longtime supporters. Also present was Jeanne Hamilton, a juror at Geronimo's 1972 trial who has asserted that the jury was hoodwinked by the D.A., most notably by having the FBI's involvement in the case hidden from them.

An outpouring of protest on Geronimo's behalf followed the filing of new papers last month. Particularly striking is the support this former leader of the Black Panthers has received from California trade unions. New letters have been sent to the District Attorney's office by unions representing tens of thousands of workers, including two American Postal Workers (APWU) locals, AFSCME Local 444 and the Alameda Central Labor Council. The ILWU International wrote to L.A. district attorney Garcetti, "Justice demands that, at least minimally, Mr. Pratt is entitled to a new trial. Ideally, however, that he has been denied due process of law and incarcerated for over two decades as a result is more than sufficient reason for his immediate release."

SEIU Local 1877 in San Jose added

*continued on page 5*



Banner at March 28 Oakland protest. Deadly FBI/COINTELPRO campaign targeted Black Panther activists for "neutralization."



# Defend David Hunter! Drop the Charges!

## Anti-Klan Fighter Rams KKK Storefront

ATLANTA—Since it opened in early March, the "Redneck Shop" in Laurens, South Carolina has been met with outrage by opponents of racism in the area. Billing itself as the "World's Only Klan Museum," the "shop" is in reality a nest of racist terrorists. On March 16, 300 people marched in an integrated protest against this provocation. A week later, David Hunter of West Columbia, South Carolina took matters into his own hands, repeatedly ramming his van into the KKK shop of horrors, scattering Confederate flags and pictures of Klan leaders to the wind. Hunter was arrested while from atop his van he was dislodging the letters "KKK" from the store's marquee.

The Redneck Shop sells Confederate flags, stickers and T-shirts, lamps with ceramic bases shaped like a hooded Klansman, and knives with "KKK" etched on the blades. There are pictures of cross-burnings and a "display" of open coffins with black mannequins with ropes around their necks! This fascist enterprise is the work of one John Howard, a leading South Carolina Klansman. Located on Laurens' main square, near two black churches, the shop is an incitement to KKK lynchings and arson.

For his admirable stand against the racist marauders, Hunter faces two felony counts of malicious damage to property which could result in 20 years' imprisonment. At a March 25 bond hearing, Hunter, a white 43-year-old carpetlayer, mounted a powerful defense of his actions. He told the Laurens County court, "I think it's better to do this than, six months from now, to have to look at the face of an anguished black woman on television whose son has been hung from a tree and tortured." Protest leaders and friends helped Hunter make his \$20,000 bail. He will reappear in court on May 20. We demand: Drop the charges against this courageous anti-racist fighter!

In a phone interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Hunter told of receiving letters from black people commending him for his action. Family members are vigorously supporting him, saying his deed "will become family legend." Hunter acknowledges a debt to his mother, who was an early activist for civil rights, joining the NAACP in 1949 and marching on Washington in the '60s. Hunter was

fired after his arrest, but has since been rehired. A former employer provided him with a truck because, Hunter said, "Bessie, my freedom-fighting Ford, is still locked up." Hunter's act particularly res-

extent of Klan and Nazi sympathies within the armed forces nevertheless admits that "there have long been suspicions of ties between soldiers at Fort Bragg and white supremacist groups."



Dave Ekren/Greenville News

Laurens, South Carolina: 300 people joined in integrated protest against KKK "Redneck Shop" on March 16. One week later, David Hunter rammed his van into the racist terrorist "shop."



Thomas S. England

onates in South Carolina, where the Confederate battle flag of slavery flying over the state capitol has prompted a series of large, mainly black protests.

The backdrop to Hunter's actions is a recent rise in incidents of racist terror across the South. Last December, a black couple in Fayetteville, North Carolina was killed by white-supremacist soldiers from Fort Bragg. A recently released Army report attempting to whitewash the

said that there is "no evidence to indicate there is a conspiracy against black churches" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 3 March). In fact, the BATF and other agencies of the capitalist state are closely intertwined with the racist terrorists in white sheets: at least 12 BATF agents assigned to the church bombing investigations were participants in the vile, racist "Good Ol' Boys Roundups" in Tennessee.

The Treasury Department has just issued new "rules" forbidding BATF agents and other Treasury officers from engaging in "off-duty manifestations of racial and other forms of bias." On duty, Justice and Treasury agents have worked hand in glove with the Klan, from Birmingham church bombings in the 1960s to the murder of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. With the government itself reinstituting prison chain gangs—a practice associated with the era of Jim Crow segregation—examples continue to mount giving the lie to the myth of the "New South." Last month, a Baptist church in Georgia attempted to disinter an infant whose father was black from a "whites only" cemetery. Only because of a national outpouring of indignation over this ghoulish act of racism did the church agree to drop its plan to exhume the infant, although church officials continue to bar the interracial couple from joining the congregation.

One thing that has changed in recent years is the development of an industrial belt along Interstates 26 and 85, lured by low-wage labor in the historically "open shop" South. Laurens itself is less than an hour from Spartanburg, one of the new centers of industrial production. The growth of these facilities is strengthening the raw numbers of the multiracial working class, which is the Achilles' heel of the racist capitalist system. The struggle to unionize these Southern plants will have to take on the task of dispersing the KKK, since the Klan has always been in the front lines of the union-busting forces.

A concerted effort by the labor movement to organize the South would deal a huge blow to the Klan's nests in the area. By the same token, key to reviving the trade unions as a whole is to mobilize labor in the struggle against racial oppression. Examples of this kind of class-struggle action were the series of labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee beginning in 1980 which stopped Klan/Nazi/skinhead provocations in cities throughout the country. These actions point to the type of leadership that must be forged: a multiracial revolutionary workers party championing the cause of labor, minorities and all the oppressed against the racist capitalist rulers and their fascist dogs of war.

\* \* \*

David Hunter is up against the racist "justice" system—he needs your support! The Partisan Defense Committee has made a contribution to his legal defense. Messages of solidarity may be sent to: David Hunter, P.O. Box 11803, Columbia, SC 29211. ■

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

**Atlanta**  
Box 397  
Decatur, GA 30031  
(404) 521-9338

**Boston**  
Box 390840, Central Sta.  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 666-9453

**Chicago**  
Box 6441, Main PO  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 454-4930

**Eugene**  
Box 3392  
Eugene, OR 97403

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

**New York**  
Box 3381, Church St. Sta.  
New York, NY 10008  
(212) 267-1025

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

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

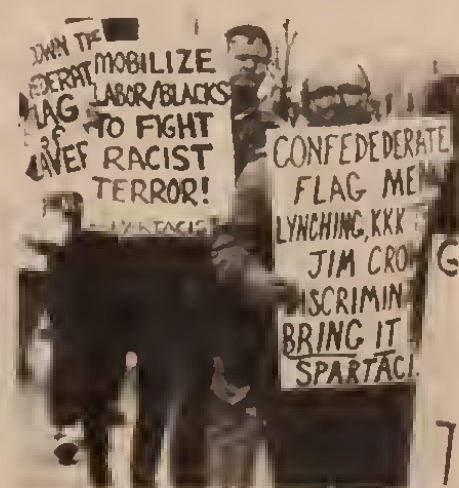
**Washington, D.C.**  
Box 75073  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(202) 872-8240

### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

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

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

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



WV Photo

January 1994 protest in Atlanta against flying Confederate flag of slavery over Super Bowl.

### Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

#### Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)  
Oakland, California Phone (510) 839-0851

#### Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.  
328 S. Jefferson St., Suite 904  
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 454-4930

#### New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St. (one block below  
Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025



# Protest Brazilian Police Assault on Volta Redonda Union

## From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

### Police: Part of, or Enemies of, Labor?

"Authority is never without hate."  
—Euripides



In the large nation-state of Brazil, the lion's share of South America, the question of the function of the police is at the heart of the labor struggle for the power to better the life of working people.

In Volta Redonda, an industrial center near Rio de Janeiro, that question has emerged as a central one in the middle of an internal power struggle among leading municipal workers.

On March 13, 1996, a meeting of the Municipal Workers Union was invaded by the globally infamous and murderous Military Police, who, heavily armed, attempted to "settle" a workers dispute with shotguns. People at the scene reported their surprise response came only moments after a premeditated physical assault on MWU president Geraldo Ribeiro, a militant trade unionist, by MWU secretary Arthur Bonizetti Fernandes' key operative, known as "Motorzinho."

What is dangerous and unprecedented here, is the calling in of the cops: Who did it? and, why?

What is clear, from all reports, is union president Ribeiro didn't call them, and upon their arrival, informed them that everything was under control. Later, some workers heard plainclothes police say Arthur (union secretary) owed them 10 reais (\$11 U.S.) apiece, but feared they might not be paid, as they were "late" (late for what, one wonders?).

At any rate, the invitation of police, and more ominously, *this* police force, into the heart of an internal union dispute, is a truly dire development. *This* force, the Military Police, is known as a death squad, who have practiced their murderous expertise on the black, brown and poor slum children of the *favelas* and streets of Rio. They (like the Philadelphia police) are experts in babykilling.

Central to the Luta Metalúrgica (LM—Metal-workers Struggle) and Municipal Workers Union conflict is a question that now has global implications—what is the role of the police? Are they simply workers, like glass blowers, garbage collectors, or clerks? Or are they agents of the wealthy and propertied classes—those who rule?

It is tempting to go with the former question. For do they not work, like others, for pay?

Only when one looks at the nature of that work, from the standpoint of history and current events, does the latter point score.

Throughout history, police have protected the *status quo*, even when that "status" has been evil and repressive. During the civil rights era, it was the police who beat, bloodied and arrested those who fought—peacefully!—for civil rights. Federal police followed, phone-tapped, sabotaged and, in the words of the FBI, "neutralized" those who today are honored veterans of that struggle, like Reverend Martin Luther King (Jr. & Sr.), nationalist Malcolm X, and Black

Panther founder Dr. Huey P. Newton. Police aided white-supremacists in many of their racist campaigns.

Similarly, police in Brazil have been engineers of repression, from the crushing of popular and labor unions in the past, to the ruthless, shopkeeper-contracted slaughter of Brazilian street children. If the *status quo* is unjust, inequitable and repressive, how can anyone protect it?

It is in this context that one must truly "see" the introduction of the nefarious Military Police into the affairs of a union for the bad omen that it is, and once seeing this, condemn and protest it forcefully.

Presidente Ribeiro and his Luta Metalúrgica (Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil) ally, Alexandre Honorato "Cerezo," are calling for protests against police presence and provocations in union affairs.

Protests should be directed to: Marcello Alencar, Governor, Rio de Janeiro State, Palácio Guanabara, Rua Pinheiro Machado s/n, Laranjeiras, CEP 22238-900, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Fax No. (55-21) 553-6090.

Solidarity statements can be sent to: Geraldo Ribeiro, Rua União No. 147, Bairro Santo Agostinho, CEP 27290-000, Volta Redonda, RJ, Brazil.

The central principle: police hands off the unions!

31 March 1996

©1996 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM 8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

## Geronimo...

(continued from page 3)

its support to that of other SEIU locals in California. SEIU Local 399's "Justice for Janitors" campaign, which has successfully organized largely Hispanic and Asian workers in Los Angeles, led a militant protest for Geronimo in front of Garcetti's office in 1994.

In Oakland, where many have long been active in Geronimo's defense, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense called a March 28 demonstration to coincide with the L.A. hearing. The rally was endorsed by several trade unions, including the Oakland APWU, Teamsters Local 921 and SEIU Local 616, as well as by a number of prominent individuals such as Miguel Angel, a professor of Chicano/Latino studies at Laney College; Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*; and Congressman Ron Dellums. Dellums also wrote to Garcetti to urge him

to "withdraw any opposition" to overturning Geronimo's conviction.

Chanting "Free Geronimo, this is the hour, labor and blacks have got the power!" protesters marched to the Oakland Federal Building. Bay Area unionists and college and high-school students heard speakers from the Oakland Education Association, the Bay Area Typographical Union, AFSCME Local 444 and SEIU Local 1877, as well as local activists and friends of Geronimo. To build for the Oakland rally, the Spartacus Youth Club held a speakout at San Francisco State University on March 26, bringing Geronimo's cause to a new generation of youth.

Speaking for the Labor Black League at the Oakland protest, Don Alexander provided a perspective for struggle: "Geronimo Pratt and the Panthers were enemies of this sick, racist capitalist system, and that's why he's been imprisoned for 25 years—for his political beliefs. Our fundamental objective is to bury capitalism and the repressive apparatus

of the capitalist state. Militant integrated class struggle led by a revolutionary party is the key to liberation."

The March 28 hearing was Geronimo's first legal break in over a decade. But the vicious tactics of the D.A., discriminatory treatment at the hands of his jailers and the 14th parole denial two weeks ago—coupled with a four-year wait until the next parole hearing—all show that we cannot expect justice from the capitalist courts. As in the case of death row prisoner and former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, the key to winning freedom for these political prisoners is the mobilization of the multiracial workers movement, in the U.S. and internationally, together with all opponents of racist state repression. Geronimo has himself spoken out powerfully from prison in support of Mumia's struggle against racist injustice.

As Geronimo said in 1987, "I intend to keep on struggling—not only for my own release—but for the release of all the political prisoners and prisoners of the war of injustice incarcerated in the dungeons of the U.S. All around the world, human beings fight against injustice and for their people and their

nations—in Azania, in Ireland, in El Salvador, in Chile. And all around the world governments lock up and criminalize people who resist oppression, racism and COINTELPRO-type repression. No matter what they do to me, I will always affirm the right to resist, the right to struggle for freedom."

This new legal defense effort must serve as a springboard for mass labor-centered mobilizations to demand freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!

For more information about Geronimo's case and future protest actions, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107, telephone (510) 839-0852; or at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, telephone (212) 406-4252.

Send contributions for Geronimo's legal defense to Prison Litigation Trust Fund, c/o Stuart Hanlon, 214 Duboce Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

Mail or fax letters demanding freedom for Geronimo to Gil Garcetti, L.A. County District Attorney, Criminal Courts Building, Room 18-709, 210 West Temple, Los Angeles, CA 90012, fax (213) 688-2913. ■



Bay Area trade unionists turned out for March 28 protest outside L.A. courthouse.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- ☐ \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (Includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*)  
International rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- ☐ \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- ☐ \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Apt. # \_\_\_\_\_ Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



# Young Spartacus

Parts One to Three of this series (published in Workers Vanguard Nos. 640, 641 and 642) dealt with the origins of anarchism and its leading figures such as Proudhon and Bakunin, up through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Part Five will discuss the revolutionary syndicalists.

Both the Marxist and anarchist movements originated in the mid-19th century when the emergence of industrial capitalism was radically altering the social, economic, political and national structure of continental Europe. The overwhelming majority of wage laborers were still artisans working in small shops, many with realistic aspirations to become petty proprietors. The five French representatives to the founding conference of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) in 1864 were a cabinet maker, a hookbinder, an engraver, a maker of musical instruments and a machinist in a lace factory.

At the political level, the new bourgeois order in much of Europe was still enmeshed in monarchical regimes derived from the feudal past. Bakunin's first anarchist followers were former Italian radical nationalists who had recently fought arms in hand against Habsburg Austria and the local Italian principalities such as the Bourbon Kingdom of the Two

by Joseph Seymour

Sicilies. When a Marxist-led workers party was first formed in Germany in the late 1860s, King (soon to be Kaiser) Wilhelm I and his minister Otto von Bismarck ruled the country with an iron hand. Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel and their comrades did not know from one day to the next whether they would be thrown into prison.

Over the next decades industrial capitalism, propelled by its enormous leap in productivity, spread throughout West and Central Europe. Cities like Berlin, Vienna and Milan, which had numbered fewer than 100,000 inhabitants during the Revolutions of 1848, grew into large metropolises with extensive working-class districts. A rapidly growing factory proletariat became the social basis for mass trade unions and workers parties. Parliamentary hodies with large socialist fractions claiming to speak for the working class became a key element in the European bourgeois political order. These developments necessarily had a profound effect on both the Marxist and anarchist movements. What scientific socialism and anarchism meant to leftist militants in the period of the First International (1864-72) was quite different from the way these terms would come to be understood by the time of the Second International (1889-1914).

Anarchism originated in Latin Europe as a radical protest movement of impoverished artisans and downtrodden rural laborers (the latter in southern Italy and Spain) against the devastating effects of nascent industrial capitalism on these social classes. However, with the development of a large factory proletariat in this region, a section of the anarchist movement and various dissident socialists developed a distinct political doctrine and movement called syndicalism. By the turn of the century, syndicalism had become the dominant current in the trade-union movement in France and Spain and an important tendency in the Italian trade unions. An indigenous American version of syndicalism, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also emerged in the decade before the

## MARXISM —VS.— ANARCHISM

### From 1848 to the Bolshevik Revolution

First World War.

The 1906 Charter of Amiens of the French Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor—CGT), which was regarded as a basic declaration of syndicalist principles, stated: "The trade union, which is today a fighting organization, will in the future be an organization for production and distribution, and the basis of social reorganization." The latter-day British anarchist George Woodcock defined the syndicalist program as "the industrial manifestation of anarchism," ascribing to economic collectives the role in future society which Proudhon had attributed to individual producers (or cooperatives) and Bakunin to autonomous communes:

in the French CGT's Charter of Amiens is often called "anarcho-syndicalism" in both leftist and bourgeois literature. This term has validity in the sense that syndicalism was influenced by the anarchist movement and shared a number of its basic ideological premises. Many, though by no means all, syndicalists considered themselves anarchists. Nonetheless, anarchism and syndicalism were different and, to a certain degree, rival movements. Errico Malatesta, one of the original Italian Bakuninists, saw "syndicalism becoming a new doctrine" and "threatening the very existence of anarchism." From the other side, Pierre Monatte, a leading French syndicalist, commented sharply in 1907: "As to the

#### Part 4

### Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Pre-World War I Era

"The syndicate, on the other hand, is based on the organization of the workers by industry at the place of work. The workers of each factory or depot or farm are an autonomous unit, who govern their own affairs and who make all the decisions as to the work they will do. These units are joined federally in a syndicate which serves to coordinate the actions of the workers in each industry. The federal organization has no authority over the workers in any branch, and cannot impose a veto on action like a trade union executive."

—George Woodcock, *Railways and Society* (1943), excerpted in Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* (1977)

The doctrine and movement expressed

anarchists, their revolutionism has taken superb retreat in the ivory tower of philosophic speculation."

#### From Marx's Communism to Kautsky's Social Democracy

Just as the French CGT of Monatte and Léon Jouhaux was very different from Bakunin's International Alliance for Socialist Democracy, so the German Social Democracy of Bebel and Karl Kautsky in the early years of this century was very different from the movement inspired and led by Marx and Engels in the 1870s. During Marx's lifetime, no one identified him with parliamentary

reformism. Becoming for the first time a well-known public figure in the aftermath of the 1871 Paris Commune, he was branded by European governments and the bourgeois press as the "red terrorist Doctor." But in opposition to the adventurism of Bakunin's Italian and Spanish followers, Marx did insist that the working class had to *prepare* for a successful revolution through struggles for democratic rights, economic gains and social reforms.

As against the anarchists, Marx argued that, where possible, revolutionary socialists should utilize parliamentary elections and representation to agitate for their program. An excellent example of this was the conduct of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel in the Reichstag of the North German Confederation during the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian War. They refused to vote for war credits and subsequently defended the Paris Commune and led the opposition to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine by the newly formed German Second Reich. For their defiance of Kaiser Wilhelm's state, the Marxist leaders of the nascent German workers movement were indicted and imprisoned for high treason.

As against the followers of Proudhon and Bakunin, Marx maintained that the workers movement should demand and support measures by capitalist governments beneficial to their interests, such as abolition of child labor. Marx and Engels never put forward the notion that *socialism* could be brought about through incremental reforms of the capitalist economy, and no one would have thought at the time of attributing such a conception to them. Of course, all kinds of positions were later put forward as "Marxism" by reformists habituated to the prosperity and apparent stability of West European bourgeois society.

In projecting a Europe-wide socialist revolution, Marx and Engels thought in terms of *years*, not *decades*. For example, in the late 1870s the Russian autocracy was shaken by the emergence of a revolutionary populist movement mobilizing a large section of educated youth. There was a widespread expectation throughout Europe that Russia was on the verge of a radical democratic revolution, fueled by a mass peasant revolt, analogous to the Great French Revolution of 1789. Marx and Engels believed that the overthrow of tsarist autocracy—the gendarme of European reaction—could be the beginning of a Europe-wide socialist revolution. The 1882 preface to a new Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—Marx and Engels' last joint work before the former's death the following year—stated that the Russian Revolution might become "the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West."

However, the assassination of Tsar Alexander II by revolutionary populists



Assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 by Russian populist Narodniks.

Radio Times Hulton



in 1881 was followed by the reactionary restabilization of Russian absolutism for the rest of the decade. This in turn strengthened the bourgeois order in the Europe of the Second German Reich, Third French Republic and late Victorian England. Under these conditions, the prospect of proletarian revolution became increasingly abstract and projected ever further into the future for many socialists, including those who considered themselves adherents of Marxist doctrines.

This development was reflected by the change in the conventional designation of the Marxist movement from Communist to Social Democratic. Late 19th century Social Democracy was characterized by the concept of a *minimum* program of democratic rights and social and economic reforms sharply separated in time from the *maximum* program, i.e., the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system. The foremost exponent of this theoretical schema was Karl Kautsky, the recognized spokesman for "orthodox" Marxism following Engels' death in 1895. As Trotsky later wrote in an obituary when Kautsky died in 1938:

"The revolutionary side of Marxism had changed into an indefinite, in any case, a distant perspective. The struggle for reforms and propaganda was on the order of the day. Kautsky occupied himself with commenting upon and justifying the policy of reform from the point of view of the revolutionary perspective. It was taken for granted that with the change of the objective conditions, Kautsky would know how to arm the party with other methods. That was not the case. The appearance of an epoch of great crises and of great shocks revealed the fundamentally reformist character of the [German] Social Democracy and of its theoretician Kautsky."

—Leon Trotsky, "Karl Kautsky" in *Writings* (1938-39)

The terms of debate between anarchists and those claiming to stand in the Marxist tradition were quite different in the earlier period. Bakunin had denounced German Communists for aspiring to a revolutionary dictatorship; his successors denounced German Social Democrats for parliamentary reformism. The French revolutionary syndicalist Pierre Monatte dismissed the "orthodox" Marxist leader Jules Guesde (who was, ironically, a former Bakuninist) for espousing a "revolutionism" that was "no more than verbal or, even worse, electoral and parliamentary."

There was, however, an increasingly important exception to the identification of pre-1914 Social Democracy with parliamentary reformism: the Marxist movement in the Russian empire, including Poland. All Russian radicals—both populists and Marxists—recognized that the *overthrow of the tsarist autocracy* was a necessary precondition for democratic freedoms, representative government and social progress. The various populist and Marxist factions in the Russian empire differed sharply over the course of the coming revolution and what would happen afterward, but not that a revolution was coming.

The 1903 founding program of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party—supported by both future Bolsheviks and future Mensheviks—declared "as its immediate political task the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy and its replacement by a democratic republic." Even more significantly, the Russian party was the *only Social Democratic party in the world* to incorporate the "dictatorship of the proletariat" into its official maximum program as necessary "to suppress any resistance on the part of the exploiters." Thus, in the early years of the 20th century Marxism meant something quite different in Russia and Poland than in Germany or France.

A quarter century after Bakunin's death in 1876, the movement he had launched was divided between anarchists and syndicalists. And the anarchists themselves were a heterogeneous

lot, ranging from pure propagandists like Kropotkin to terrorist practitioners of the "propaganda of the deed." At the same time, the "Marxist" Social Democratic parties were increasingly rent into right, center and left factions, with the revolutionary Marxists concentrated in the Russian empire and the Balkans. It would take an imperialist world war and a workers revolution in Russia to overcome false lines of division (and clarify

intellectuals, rural laborers and lumpen elements for whom anarchism meant insurrectionary violence against their hated rulers in the here and now.

When Kropotkin returned to Russia, he threw himself into the burgeoning revolutionary populist movement among the young intelligentsia. Like most of his comrades, he was imprisoned but two years later managed to escape abroad with the aid of friends in the upper



A. Mondadori

**Workers leaving Paris factory, 1870. Rapid growth of industrial proletariat in late 19th century created social basis for mass Social Democratic and syndicalist movements in Europe.**

real ones) in the left and proletarian movements internationally.

## Kropotkin: A Left "Social Darwinist"

We have emphasized that the basic premise of classic anarchism was the supposed existence of a natural moral order prescribing social solidarity among all people. This concept found its purest expression in the writings of Peter Kropotkin, the foremost spokesman for anarchism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Kropotkin's best-known work was titled *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, with the first two chapters devoted to "Mutual Aid Among Animals."

Peter Kropotkin was born in 1842 into the upper level of the Russian aristocracy and as a youth was a member of the Corps of Pages directly attached to the tsar. This particular tsarist page was distinguished by his intellectual curiosity and social conscience. When, like all young Russian noblemen, he had to serve as a junior officer in the army, he chose an obscure Cossack regiment in Siberia far removed from the luxurious life of a courtier. The reports he wrote of his travels in this wild region were later published and secured for Kropotkin a scholarly reputation as an expert on the geography of eastern Siberia. Increasingly alienated from the social and political order of the Russian absolutist state, Kropotkin quit the army in his mid-20s and entered St. Petersburg University to study the sciences.

In 1872, Kropotkin visited West Europe for the first time and there encountered the Bakuninist movement in Switzerland. The disaffected young Russian nobleman was immediately won to anarchism, a cause and movement to which he would devote the rest of his life. To understand Kropotkin's anarchism, it is important to distinguish the Swiss Bakuninists, who influenced him, from the Italian and Spanish Bakuninists. The Swiss were educated, skilled craftsmen—mainly watchmakers—who thought the anarchist program offered a means of preserving the traditional artisan community against the predations of industrial capitalism. For them, social revolution was to be brought about primarily through enlightening propaganda. The Italian and Spanish Bakuninist movement consisted largely of declassed

echelons of the Russian bureaucracy. Kropotkin soon became a leading figure in the anarchist movement in Switzerland and France. As a result of his involvement in a militant strike of silk workers in Lyon, in the early 1880s the French government sentenced him to three years in prison.

Upon his release, Kropotkin—now in his mid-40s—settled in Britain where he would live for the next three decades, writing his major works on anarchism, most of them in English. Despite and partly because of his stature as the leading theoretician of anarchism, Kropotkin gained acceptance into "respectable" British intellectual circles. Thus, he contributed the section on anarchism for the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He frequently attended meetings of the Royal Geographical Society where he conspicuously refused to rise and drink to the health of Queen Victoria. Yet Kropotkin's friendly relations with liberal British intellectuals would over time have an effect on the emigré Russian radical. With the outbreak of World War I, Kropotkin became an ardent champion of His Royal Majesty's government, and its ally tsarist Russia, against Germany.

Kropotkin's immersion in British bourgeois intellectual circles also shaped the development—or rather, evolution—of his own anarchist doctrines. The most

"advanced," fashionable school of triumphalist bourgeois ideology in late Victorian England was Social Darwinism. T. H. Huxley, Herbert Spencer and their reactionary cothinkers vulgarized and distorted Darwin's theory of evolution through natural selection to *justify* capitalist competition and imperialist conquest. The "survival of the fittest" was held up as the prime law of evolutionary progress whether among insects, rodents or the human inhabitants of contemporary Europe. The bankruptcy of small, family-owned businesses or farms was likened to the extinction of species of birds or mammals which had failed to adapt to a changing natural environment. For Huxley and Spencer, a worker who became a foreman—or especially a successful industrialist—was analogous to a strong male tiger besting a weaker rival in fighting to mate with a tigress.

Kropotkin accepted the basic premise of Social Darwinism but gave the doctrine a leftward twist. He, too, believed that human society was governed by immutable laws applicable to all living creatures and that all individual members of mankind should act to further the interests of the *homo sapiens* species. However, Kropotkin maintained that cooperation, not competition between individuals and groups, was the main mechanism for evolutionary progress. Whereas Huxley, Spencer & Co. argued that the lower classes had to accept their lot for the future progress of the human race, Kropotkin appealed to wealthy capitalists to make sacrifices for the general well-being.

In the early 1890s, Kropotkin wrote a series of polemical articles against T.H. Huxley in a scientific journal, which were later published as the book *Mutual Aid* (1902), the main conclusion being:

"In the animal world we have seen that the vast majority of species live in societies, and that they find in association the best arms for the struggle for life; understood, of course, in its wide Darwinian sense—not as a struggle for the sheer means of existence, but as a struggle against all natural conditions unfavourable to the species. The animal species in which individual struggle has been reduced to its narrowest limits, and the practice of mutual aid has attained the greatest development are invariably the most numerous, the most prosperous and the most open to further progress.... "In the practice of mutual aid, which we can retrace to the earliest beginnings of evolution, we thus find the positive and undoubted origin of our ethical conceptions; and we can affirm that in the ethical progress of man, mutual support—not mutual struggle, has had the leading part. In its wide extension, even at the present time, we also see the best guarantee of a still loftier evolution of our race."

The views here expressed were by no means peculiar to Kropotkin but were a *central element* of anarchist doctrine at the time. Thus Errico Malatesta's 1891 pamphlet, *Anarchy*, written as a basic exposition of this social and political philosophy, states: "The principle of *each for himself*, which is the war of all against all, arose in the course of history to complicate, to sidetrack and paralyse the war of all against nature for the greatest wellbeing of mankind which can be completely successful only by being based on the principle of *all for one and one for all*" [emphasis in original].

We have emphasized that anarchism as an ideology is intrinsically *class collaborationist* because it posits that all people have common interests and values based on the natural order of things. In *Mutual Aid*, Kropotkin explicitly appeals to wealthy capitalists not to alienate themselves from the rest of the human community:

"Men who have acquired wealth very often do not find in it the expected satisfaction.... The conscience of human solidarity begins to tell; and, although society life is so arranged as to stifle that feeling by thousands of artful means, it



Houghton Mifflin Company

Peter Kropotkin

continued on page 8



## Anarchism...

(continued from page 7)

often gets the upper hand; and then they try to find an outcome for that deeply human need by giving their fortune, or their forces, to something which, in their opinion, will promote general welfare."

Here anarchism degenerates into the promotion of bourgeois philanthropy.

Kropotkin's Social Darwinist version of anarchism would today be a historical curiosity except that in recent years a substantially similar doctrine and movement has emerged in the form of "green" radicalism. From a "green" standpoint, the directors of the World Bank, steel workers in the German Ruhr and landless peasants in India are considered co-equal members of the human race whose behavior should be guided by the future well-being of the human (and other) species.

The ideological affinity between classical anarchism and eco-radicalism is personified by the American academic Murray Bookchin. During the heyday of New Left radicalism in the 1960s-early '70s, he was an exponent of "post-scarcity anarchism," who fashionably appealed to youth "whose lives are frustrated by consumerism, suburbia, the mass media, the family, school, the super-market and the prevailing system of repressed sexuality." In recent years, Bookchin has become a guru of "green" radicalism espousing a "philosophy of social ecology," which is essentially identical to Kropotkin's "mutual aid" anarchism:

"I speak of humanity's ability to reason, to foresee, to will and to act insightfully on behalf of directiveness within nature and enhance nature's own development. It is also an insult to nature to separate these subjective attributes from nature, to deal with them as though they did not emerge out of evolutionary development and are not implicitly part of nature in a deeper sense than the 'law of fang and claw' that we so flippantly impute to natural evolution as a metaphor for the 'cruelty' and 'harshness' of that evolutionary process...."

"Social ecology, by definition, takes on the responsibility of evoking, elaborating, and giving an ethical content to the natural core of society and humanity."

—Murray Bookchin, *The Philosophy of Social Ecology* (1990)

Since the members of the American FBI, the French riot police and the Salvadoran death squads are also part of humanity, they can presumably be converted to the "philosophy of social ecology" as readily as other members of our species. So ironically, anarchism—which presents itself as uncompromisingly hostile to any and all states—is consistent with notions that the cadres of the capitalist state can be won to the cause of social liberation.

### Anarcho-Terrorism: "Propaganda of the Deed"

Elsewhere, anarchists had other forms of consciousness-raising in mind. The original Bakuninist movement in the early 1870s appealed to the impatience of leftist militants who wanted to fight the final battle against the ruling powers then and there. The movement was strongest in Spain and southern Italy, where there existed opportunities for insurrectionary activity not available elsewhere in Europe. Spain was wracked by a series of low-level civil wars between various republican and monarchist factions of the bourgeoisie and landowners. And despite their "anti-political" and "anti-state" stance, the Spanish Bakuninists often ended up in local republican councils together with bourgeois liberals. In Italy, the propertied classes had not yet cohered a strong, centralized state apparatus in the aftermath of the wars of the Risorgimento which unified the country. Italian Bakuninists, prominent among them the young Errico Malatesta,

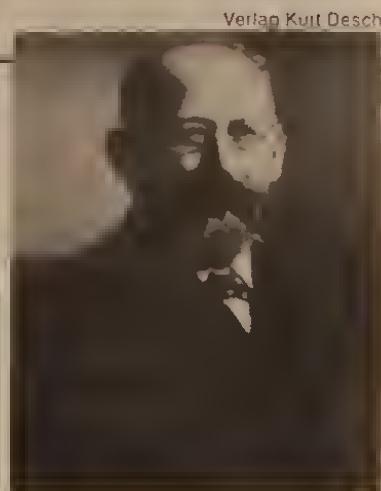
were thus able to engage for a time in rural guerrilla warfare in the peasant villages of Calabria.

With the increasing stabilization of the European bourgeois order in the last decades of the 19th century, Bakuninist insurrectionism gave way to anarcho-terrorism, a desperate ideology consistent with individual violent acts which were supposed to inspire the downtrodden masses. In the 1880s-'90s, anarchists assassinated a president of France, a president of the United States, a king of Italy, a prime minister of Spain, an empress of Austro-Hungary and a number of lesser personages. In 1886, one Charles Gallo threw a bottle of sulfuric acid from the gallery of the Paris Bourse onto a group of stockbrokers and their clerks. He followed this up with three revolver shots without, however, hitting anyone. At his trial Gallo shouted: "Long live revolution! Long live anarchism! Death to the bourgeois judiciary! Bunch of idiots!" He explained to the jury that in throwing acid onto the floor of the stock exchange, he was carrying out "an act of propaganda by the deed for anarchist doctrine" (quoted in James Joll, *The Anarchists* [1964]).

Malatesta's pamphlet *Anarchy* asserts that "in the present state of mankind, when the vast majority of people, oppressed by poverty and stupefied by superstition, stagnate in a state of humiliation, the fate of humanity depends on the action of a relatively small number of individuals." The "propaganda of the deed" was an extreme form of the basic anarchist tenet that the actions of a small number of individuals were necessary to inspire and encourage the spirit of revolt among the stagnant majority. The assassination of a French president or Spanish prime minister was viewed as an exemplary insurrection, supposedly demonstrating the vulnerability of the state to revolutionary violence.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie did not appreciate this at all. The wild-eyed, bomb-throwing anarchist became a stereotypical figure in popular political culture and was used to justify bourgeois repression. The British social-democratic historian G.D.H. Cole has argued: "Such persons tended, in the 1880s and 1890s, to profess Anarchist opinions, though their Anarchism had only a little in common with that of such men as Kropotkin" (*Socialist Thought: Marxism and Anarchism, 1850-1890* [1954]). While Kropotkin and Malatesta in their later years did not encourage terrorism, they never repudiated it nor did they denounce its practitioners. With their confusion of the system with its symbols and agents, of the disease with the symptoms, and their belief in flamboyant minority "action," the anarchist propagandists appeal to impressionist political impulses which are far from a thing of the remote past. For instance, elements of the New Left of the 1960s partook deeply of the

Amsterdam Congress of the Second (Socialist) International, 1904, passed resolution condemning participation in bourgeois governments. But reformist currents exemplified by German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein (right) continued to grow in influence.



Verlag Kuit Desch



Frederick A. Praeger, Inc.

spirit of symbolic terrorism although practiced more vicariously and even "non-violently."

What exactly did "the propaganda of the deed" mean? How were such deeds supposed to further the anarchist cause? In 1879, the first issue of *Le Révolté*, edited by Kropotkin, called for: "Permanent revolt by word of mouth, in writing, by the dagger, the rifle, dynamite.... Everything is good for us which falls outside legality." For the anarchists, the main enemy was the state, followed by the church. Here it's important to keep in mind that the movement originated and was centered in Latin Europe, where the Roman Catholic church was still the state religion. The anarchists saw their main task as one of overcoming, by any and all means, the masses' traditional respect for authority—government officials, police, judges, priests and bishops.

During the Spanish Revolution and Civil War of the mid-1930s, large numbers of churches were burned and many priests and other clerics were killed (estimates range from several hundred to several thousand). An anarchist youth manifesto exulted: "For the Revolution to be a fact, we must demolish the three pillars of reaction: the church, the army, and capitalism. The church has already been brought to account. The temples have been destroyed by fire and the ecclesi-

astical crows who were unable to escape have been taken care of by the people" (*Tierra y Libertad* [Barcelona], 13 August 1936). At the same time, there are a number of reports of columns of the anarchist militia stopping the burning of churches. While revolutions, particularly against semi-feudal conditions, are often marked by an explosion of rage at the oppressors, the effect of the attacks on churches in Spain was to outrage Catholic believers and accordingly strengthen the forces of Francoist reaction.

The struggle against religion is not primarily one of dispelling superstitions but of getting rid of a social system which drives people to despair. As the young Marx wrote when he was developing a materialist understanding of society:

"Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people."

"To abolish religion as the illusory happiness of the people is to demand their real happiness. The demand to give up illusions about the existing state of affairs is the demand to give up a state of affairs which needs illusions." [emphasis in original]

—Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" (1843-44)

We communists seek to eliminate the conditions of impoverishment, oppression and social degradation which cause men and women to kneel before priests and pray to shrines.

The existence of state and church does not derive from nor depend on the subjective attitudes of the masses. These are central institutions in all societies based on the extraction of surplus labor from the direct producers by a property-owning class. We communists seek to educate the working people—through struggle as well as propaganda and agitation—that the state apparatus (the army, police, judiciary, etc.) in capitalist countries is an agency enforcing their exploitation by the bankers, industrialists, landowners, etc. To the extent that the exploited classes understand the real nature of the bourgeois state, what is posed is not the assassination of government officials but proletarian revolution.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD



Radio Times/Hulton

Errico Malatesta, one of the original Italian Bakuninists and lifelong anarchist, was an honorable fighter for the downtrodden.



# Immigration...

(continued from page 1)

Republicans! For a Multiracial Class-Struggle Workers Party!"

## Down with U.S. "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico!

Alicia Sotero Vásquez decided to make the dangerous and difficult trip to the U.S. when the clothing factory she worked in Michoacán closed, leaving her with no way to support her two young daughters. Her story was echoed by the others traveling in the truck: unemployed farmworkers and tradesmen, hoping to save themselves and their families from starvation by finding low-paying, backbreaking work in the fields and cities of California. Wall Street's NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) rape of Mexico has driven huge layers of the already impoverished Mexican working class to desperation.

The racist assault endured by Sotero and Funes is but one example of the living hell facing anyone in the Southwest who fits the cops' description of an "illegal," which in the L.A. area includes most of the population. The onslaught of *migra* and cop terror was massively intensified by the passage of California Prop 187, which sought to deny welfare, education and health care to undocumented workers and their children. As we wrote at the time, Prop 187 was "the electoral spearhead of a xenophobic offensive against *all* immigrants, inciting a climate of racist hostility particularly against Latinos and Asians" (see "Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" WV No. 608, 14 October 1994). Now, in the lead-up to the November presidential ballot, the partner parties of U.S. capitalism are trying to outdo each other in immigrant-bashing.

It's no coincidence that this year's Republican national convention is being held in San Diego, an epicenter of the bipartisan anti-Mexican hysteria. While Republican Dole pushes vile "English Only" racism (a measure endorsed by Clinton when he was governor of Arkansas), the Democratic administration has been pouring money and cops and troops into the Southern border region, turning it into a militarized zone bristling with high-tech weaponry (see "Lahor: Defend and Organize Immigrant Workers!" WV No. 639, 16 February). Under the new policy of arresting repeat border crossers, the prisons have been packed to overflowing with undocumented workers, some of whom have been thrown into military facilities. A prison revolt two weeks ago highlighted the inhumane con-

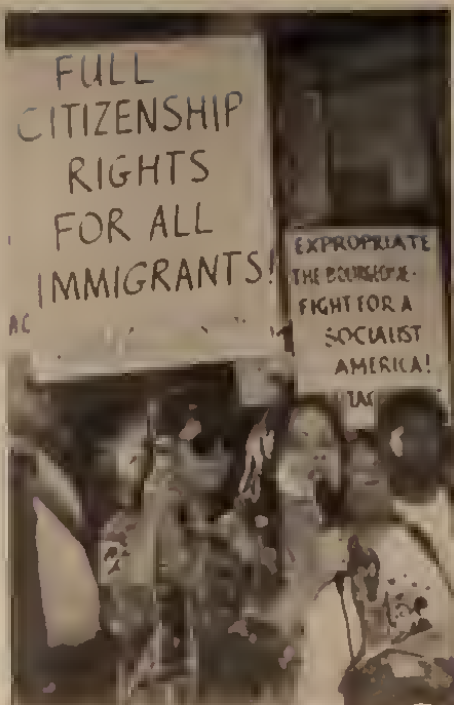
ditions in which over 200 immigrants were being held in the brig at Miramar Naval Air Station near San Diego.

The courts have struck down key provisions of Prop 187, but as was shown in El Monte, it is being implemented on the ground by local cops and the *migra* and Border Patrol. Last month alone, five Mexicans and Mexican Americans were killed by cops in Los Angeles County. As L.A. activist lawyer Luis Carrillo put it, "Southern California has become the 'Deep South' for Mexicans and Latinos." The Riverside County Sheriff's Department is especially notorious for racist attacks and harassment of Latinos, routinely stopping teenagers on the streets and holding guns against their groins. In the fall of 1994, Riverside cops carried out a brutal attack with batons and pepper spray against students protesting Prop 187.

Typical of this racist strike force are the two cops who beat up Sotero and Funes. Riverside cop Kurt Franklin has a reputation in the Latino neighborhood he patrols for "roughing up Mexican Americans and harassing the hell out of them," in the words of a Latino community activist. His sidekick Tracy Watson was investigated last July after shooting a "suspected car thief" in Corona (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 April). Now both are enjoying paid leave after their latest near-deadly attack. Not surprisingly, both their lawyers were involved in defending the cops who beat Rodney King to within an inch of his life. Meanwhile, Sotero and Funes, who have filed a \$10 million lawsuit against the county, have been subjected to repeated death threats.

Increasingly, Asians have also been targeted for racist cop terror in Southern California. On Valentine's Day, Orange County cops shot dead Korean immigrant Hong Il Kim after a car chase triggered by an illegal turn! His son-in-law spoke at the April 6 demonstration, making a powerful appeal for solidarity between Asian and Latino immigrants. This is particularly notable in the face of a concerted campaign to divide Asian Americans from other minorities over the racist rollback of affirmative action programs in education.

In the same way, the capitalist rulers—aided by various black nationalist demagogues—have sought to set black people against Latino and Asian immigrants by scapegoating them for the astronomical unemployment rates in the ghettos. Against the bourgeoisie's divide-and-rule ploy, Spartacist protesters at the April 6 march carried signs calling "For Lahor/Student Mobilizations to Defend Affirmative Action!" and drawing the link to other instances of racist cop terror: "Rodney King Beating. MOVE



Spartacist speaker at April 5 protest in San Francisco.

Massacre. Waco Holocaust—There Is No Justice in Capitalist America!"

## For Internationalist Workers' Struggle!

Clinton's initiation of a Justice Department investigation has fostered certain illusions: protesters at an April 3 rally in L.A. carried a banner proclaiming, "Thank you Janet Reno!" Yet Reno not only supervised the 1993 massacre of 86 people outside Waco, Texas, but is currently overseeing the ominous military buildup along the Mexican border. A recent study by the University of Houston's Center for Immigration Research revealed that over 300 undocumented immigrants are killed each year by drowning or in highway accidents while trying to cross the border into Texas, and "tighter border controls" will only increase that number (*Wall Street Journal*, 15 March). Meanwhile, Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein alibied the Riverside cop assault, disgustingly claiming, "If anything fanned this incident, it was the people who were driving recklessly!"

Liberal groups like the ACLU have sought to mask the anti-immigrant witchhunt which is behind the beating of the Mexican workers. The ACLU and the liberal media, while professing outrage at the cop assault, have ludicrously tried to blame it on the sick joke they call "high speed pursuit syndrome," in which cops are supposedly driven to beat and torture people by the adrenaline rush they get during a car chase. Racist cop syndrome is more like it—the bourgeoisie's thugs in blue are *paid* to terrorize and kill minorities, immigrants and

working people to defend capitalist "law and order." And the stepped up attack on immigrants is part of the broader racist offensive by the bourgeoisie particularly targeting the black ghetto poor.

There has been tremendous outrage against the Riverside County beating in Mexico (as well as across Latin America and around the world), coming as it does after the crudely racist Mexican-hashing by fascist Republican Pat Buchanan. The Mexican government protested the cop beating and the consul general in L.A. intervened to secure the release of the detained immigrants, who have been granted permission to stay for six months while the cop attack is investigated. But this viciously anti-working-class PRI regime which postures as defenders of Mexican immigrants is responsible for imposing—at gunpoint—NAFTA austerity on the workers and peasants. Meanwhile, Mexican military officials are involved in training exercises for "anti-drug operations" with the Pentagon's sinister anti-immigrant "Joint Task Force 6" along the border in Southern California's Imperial Valley (*La Jornada*, 30 March).

What is urgently needed is an internationalist struggle that mobilizes workers on both sides of the border against all their exploiters and oppressors. The treatment meted out to Sotero, Funes and Pedroza as part of the war on immigrants is all too familiar to residents of the ghettos and barrios as well as to striking Teamsters who were maced and beaten on the picket line by Riverside County cops during the 1994 truckers strike. As a Spartacist speaker said at an April 5 protest in San Francisco:

"The sickening racist beating of Alicia Sotero Vásquez and Enrique Funes Flores gave the whole world a glimpse of daily life for the poor in Clinton's New World Order. This beating was no aberration. It is part of a war that the rulers of this country wage against the poor people of the world. The passage of Proposition 187 was the cue that it's open season on immigrants. The Democrats and Republicans are not divided on this question. If anything they only compete for which wing of the capitalist class can be more savagely racist, more hysterically anti-immigrant, can push racist 'law and order' and the death penalty more effectively.

"We need our own party, a party composed of blacks, Latinos, Asians, gays, women, youth, which mobilizes the social power of the working class to fight for the interests of all—for full citizenship rights for all immigrants! One that will mobilize on both sides of the border to defeat NAFTA, the bourgeoisie's rape of Mexico. One that would fight for the interests of blacks, for women's right to abortion, and to defend affirmative action and more—to fight for open admissions for all youth to gain an education. Our aim is to eradicate poverty and racism by destroying capitalism, the barbaric system that breeds it." ■

# PDC...

(continued from page 2)

seven years in prison on trumped-up charges of riot and conspiracy, no city official has faced criminal charges for this calculated, cold-blooded murder. A federal judge has *already* granted immunity to Goode and to the current mayor, Ed Rendell, who was district attorney at the time of the bombing and issued the arrest warrants which were used as pretext to begin the assault on the MOVE house.

Ramona Africa told the *New York Times* (2 April), "I was bombed, almost burnt alive, had my family murdered." She went on to explain, "The system charged me with everything they did. But I didn't file this suit for money. We intend to instill in people the motivation to stand up for themselves." From the time of the MOVE bombing, the PDC has sought to sear the memory of this racist atrocity into the consciousness of the working class. We will report on the trial as it proceeds. While Ramona should certainly get every penny requested in the suit, the continued imprisonment of nine MOVE members victimized in the racist cop vendetta against

that organization shows that there is no justice in the capitalist courts.

## Let Markus Wolf Into the U.S.!

The Partisan Defense Committee sent the following letter to the U.S. State Department, protesting its exclusion of the former head of East German intelligence, Markus Wolf, who recently sought to visit his literary agent in the U.S. Wolf is appealing the visa denial.

7 April 1996

U.S. State Department

The Partisan Defense Committee condemns the State Department's McCarthyite exclusion of Markus Wolf from the United States.

Your accusation of terrorism against Markus Wolf for his work during the Cold War period as head of the former East German (DDR) intelligence service aims to exclude him on nakedly ideological grounds. For the U.S. State Department, it rankles that Markus Wolf did his job with considerable success. He continually frustrated the West German intelligence service (BND—which



Markus Wolf

was built up on the remnants of Hitler's anti-Soviet spy apparatus), whose principal aim was to undermine the workers state that Wolf was defending.

The accusation of terrorism against Markus Wolf is a rewriting of history, and the denial of his visa is punitive. The State Department has lined itself up with the reunited German Fourth Reich, which seeks revenge "justice" through their "legal" witchhunt of Markus Wolf and others who served in responsible positions in the former DDR.

The State Department's hypocrisy is further highlighted by its condemnation of the former DDR's border patrols while shootings and death are routinely meted out to immigrants at the U.S./Mexican border by INS and other police agents.

Markus Wolf, the son of a family of Jewish emigrés who sought refuge in the Soviet Union from deportation and death in Hitler's Germany during World War II, once again finds himself persecuted. The denial of a visa to this man is the same type of anti-Communist witchhunting which was historically carried out under the infamous McCarran-Walter Act. Since the ideological exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act have ostensibly been lifted, the State Department has resorted to other means to exclude or deport individuals they do not want. The State Department's "legal" justification for political exclusion may have changed, but the denial of a visa to Markus Wolf proves once more that its practices clearly have not.

We demand that Markus Wolf be permitted to come to the United States and that the State Department cease its anti-Communist vendetta against him now.

For the Partisan Defense Committee,  
Janet John



# South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

significantly improve the conditions of the black African, coloured and Indian toilers, much less meet their needs and heightened aspirations. And as we noted in "Mandela Regime Cracks Down on Black Labor" (WV No. 637, 19 January): "The Government of National Unity—ranging from black African union bureaucrats to white bankers—is bound to fracture, and when it does South Africa will be thrown into a period of violent political conflict and turmoil.... If the many-sided tensions and conflicts in South African society are not centered around a class axis, they will be fought along racial, ethnic and tribal lines."

A revolutionary workers party must be built in South Africa to struggle not only for the economic interests of the overwhelmingly black working class, but also to fight against all the many forms of social oppression in the neo-apartheid state: demolition of squatter camps in the townships and the eviction of farm laborers from the land, the deportation of "illegal" immigrants and refugees from neighboring African countries, the degradation of women by, for example, such trihalist patriarchal practices as polygamy and *lobola* (bride price). South Africa conforms in an exceptionally clear way to Trotsky's conception of *permanent revolution*: national liberation, democratic rights and social and economic modernization in backward countries can be achieved only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

## Behind the Battle of Potgietersrus

The explosive contradictions of neo-apartheid South Africa are manifest in the sphere of education, from the pri-



Marinovich/Southlight

**Black students integrating primary school in Potgietersrus faced racist mobs and boycott organized by white parents.**

before such schooling was possible.

Meanwhile, student-teacher ratios in many black areas are 80 to 1 compared to 20 to 1 at white schools. A typical school in a black township or rural area has no electricity and no windows, so children freeze in winter and cannot possibly learn under these conditions. A school library or science laboratory is literally unknown. For every 10,000 black children in South Africa's primary schools, *only one* will be eligible to enter university in science or mathematics! Athletic facilities are a soccer ball or two shared among hundreds of kids who usually play on gravel in bare feet because their parents cannot afford to buy them athletic shoes.

At the same time, the ANC/National Party "power sharing" deal has generated a layer of black government officials, junior executives, businessmen, top union leaders, etc. who have jumped on board the "gravy train." In a letter to a local black paper, one Soweto resident

introduction of "Afrocentric" culture into Laerskool Potgietersrus would destroy the traditional Afrikaner way of life. The entry of the black pupils in February was met by a white boycott led by Nel and the setting up of an "alternative" school in a local Dutch Reformed church.

When the courts ordered that the children must be admitted, school officials decided that the English-speaking (black) pupils would be physically separated, with classes to be held in a migrant workers hostel! In response, the provincial government dissolved the Potgietersrus school governing body, and on April 3 the Constitutional Court ruled against the segregationists.

The Potgietersrus confrontation is only the tip of the iceberg of racist reaction on the educational front. In the Orange Free State, black students marched to the Trompsburg Secondary School, another all-white Model C school, but were chased away by a mob of white parents. Thirty-five black students and their parents had to threaten a sit-in at a school gate blocked by whites to get their children admitted to the previously all-white Ben Viljoen high school in Mpumalanga. In the Northern Cape, police used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse a demonstration of 500 teachers and students fighting to enter the mostly white Laerskool Warrenton. The demonstrators had marched from the Ikhuseng township to the primary school gates, where police blocked the entrance and opened fire.

Racist opposition to school integration took a different tack in the Northwest Province Hoerskool Vryburg, where officials orchestrated a policy of internal segregation. According to a complaint filed by the local ANC organization black pupils had been "dumped in the school hall and left there for three weeks without education" (*Business Day*, 7 March). Of the 100 black students who registered last year, only eight remain. A similar strategy of segregating black students is being employed at Ben Viljoen high school, where school officials have divided white and black students into separate classes and are refusing to let blacks wear the school uniform.

There have also been a number of student protests against tuition hikes and administration entrance requirements that discriminate by economic and educational means against black and other minority students going beyond a matric (high school) education. In the Free State's Technikon campus in Bloemfontein, 400 students demonstrated on February 21 against the school's admissions policy and 137 were arrested for violating a court order prohibiting students from demonstrating in defense of their comrades arrested earlier in the week. At the KwaZulu/Natal Technikon campus, students marched against tuition hikes, and at the University of Zululand, students staged a one-day boycott of classes against tuition increases.

## Free, Quality Education for All!

The Afrikaner right tries to justify racial segregation in "their" schools by arguing that an influx of black students

will turn these into English-speaking institutions, thereby wiping out "Afrikaner culture." To begin with, Afrikaans is hardly the exclusive property of the white descendants of the Dutch and French Huguenot settlers. It is also the native language of most of the coloured population and in many rural areas it is the first European-derived language black Africans learn. Of course, for obvious reasons black parents see education in English as the road to a better future for their children. In 1976, compulsory teaching of Afrikaans sparked the Soweto student rebellion.

English could become the dominant language in South Africa, but that remains to be seen. As Marxists, we are irreconcilably opposed to language restrictions or privileges of any sort and we stand for bilingual and, where appropriate, multilingual education. Schoolchildren in South Africa should receive instruction in Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Urdu, Afrikaans, English or whatever languages are necessary to guarantee *free, quality education for all*.

As communists, we support the right of black children to attend any school they choose, and call for enforcing their rights by mobilizing black proletarian power. However, the struggle for black education, overcoming the legacy of apartheid as well as the present neo-apartheid conditions, cannot focus primarily on integrating the existing white school system. The sheer number of black African children dwarfs by orders of magnitude the white student population. There simply do not exist in white areas enough schools, qualified teachers, textbooks and other facilities to meet the needs of the black African masses. Furthermore, unlike in the United States, urban blacks in South Africa do not live in inner-city ghettos but in huge, segregated "townships" like Soweto and Alexandra, which are often located far from the nearest white areas. Even if all white schools had open admissions and no tuition fees, the millions of black township youth could not be transported to and from classes there every day.

What is needed is a fight to eliminate apartheid in the schools. This entails the massive construction of decent schools as well as providing teacher training, textbooks, modern equipment and athletic facilities for the millions of township youth, for the children in squatter camps and in the "former" bantustans, and for the generation of black youth now in their twenties who never had an education. Such a program obviously requires *expropriating the wealth now monopolized by the white capitalist class*, that is, a proletarian socialist revolution. Thus the struggle for black education is first and foremost a struggle *against* the Government of National Unity which binds the black African, coloured and Indian toilers to their exploiters through the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and the reformist SACP.

The struggle against white supremacy in education has been sharply posed not only in Afrikaner primary schools in rural towns but also at the university level. The University of the Western Cape, a traditionally black school, has been shaken by tuition protests by students. In February, students at the Afrikaans-speaking University of Stellenbosch exploded over attempts to "cut costs" by privatizing the cafeteria. Black students' expectations of quality education are being dashed as state subsidies are drastically curtailed to both technical colleges and universities. As the ANC tries to keep the lid on student turmoil nationwide, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu haughtily lectured students on the need to "rid ourselves of this emergent culture of entitlement" (*New Nation*, 22 March). This recalls the late SACP leader and housing minister Joe Slovo ordering township residents to pay rent and utilities under the watchword of ending the "culture of non-payment."

A flashpoint for student unrest has been the elite English-speaking University of the Witwatersrand, conventionally



Omar Badsha

**Overcrowded and impoverished black township school in KwaZulu, 1982. To provide quality education for all requires sweeping away the racist capitalist Randlords through socialist revolution.**

mary schools of the Northern Transvaal to the University of the Witwatersrand, the so-called "Harvard of South Africa." For decades the educational system was deliberately designed to maintain the whites' monopoly on the technical and administrative skills necessary to operate a modern industrial economy. As a result of the "Bantu education" imposed on them, today an estimated 50 percent of black adults cannot read or write.

In the late 1980s, the government was spending R2,500 annually per capita on schooling for whites, R1,900 for Indians, R1,000 for coloureds and less than R500 for black Africans. And these figures understate the racial inequalities. A key part of South Africa's "public" education system are "Model C" schools which charge a compulsory tuition fee far beyond the financial capacity of almost all blacks. The RDP initially called for ten years of free compulsory education for all children in South Africa. Yet within months, the minister of education reneged on this promise, saying it would take seven or eight years

lashed out at "black yuppies" who are "scurrying away into the comfort and safety of white suburbia." But even these newly affluent blacks are not finding the white suburbs that comfortable or safe for them. When they try to get their children into all-white Model C schools, they encounter a potentially violent racist reaction exemplified by the Afrikaner hardliners of the Potgietersrus school board. A protest began when the children of the black provincial water director were refused admittance, and Northern Province premier Ramathlodi led a march by 21 black would-be pupils on the school.

The black parents who finally got their children registered at the Potgietersrus school had been turned away for over a year because the administration insisted that the children must speak Afrikaans, the language derived from the Dutch settlers who colonized South Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries. But in fact this school has always accepted English-speaking *white* children. School board chairman Koos Nel has made little attempt to hide his racism, arguing the



called Wits. Under the apartheid police state Wits had a reputation as a bastion of liberalism, with university authorities managing to enroll a few black students. No doubt salving the conscience of these liberal academics, this served the plans of the sector of South Africa's capitalist rulers who saw a future need for a small black elite. With the dismantling of the apartheid laws, large numbers of black African, coloured and Indian students entered Wits and now constitute 40 percent of the student body while the faculty remains 85 percent white.

Wits has been the scene of repeated protests by black radical students and workers ever since the "power sharing" coalition took office in 1994. The campus erupted last year after a black cafeteria worker was dismissed for letting a student through the line without paying. Students stormed and occupied the registrar's office. Most recent was the dispute over a black African scholar, William Makgoba, who was appointed as a deputy vice chancellor. A professional immunologist, Makgoba had previously been head of research at London's Royal Post-Graduate Medical School. Nonetheless, some professors, known as the "gang of 13," accused Makgoba of embellishing his credentials and of not being academically qualified for the job. Makgoba retaliated by scouring the gang's personnel records and accusing them of cheating on their income taxes. For this, he was found guilty of violating "university ethics" and suspended from his office.

These events have predictably polarized the campus, mainly along racial lines. The basic fact is that many white professors and administrators are using "academic standards" in the same way that local white school boards are using "Afrikaner culture"—as an ideological cover to preserve their control over education. Robert Thornton, a white American who teaches at Wits, stated quite rightly: "At the moment, it often appears that the demand for 'standards' is no better than naked racism, or no worse than the efforts of a privileged minority to hang on to what it has" (*Washington Post*, 28 December 1995). As the university headed for a showdown over the issue, Makgoba agreed to a private deal with the administration, leading to bitter re-primations from AZAPO (African People's Organisation) and SASCO (South African Students Congress).

As communists, we recognize that the scientific, technical and administrative skills of the white population can be an

enormously valuable resource in the socialist reconstruction of southern Africa which alone can provide a decent life for the black masses. We oppose the liberal "non-racialism" of the ANC, which in practice means upholding the privileges of the white elite, as well as the "Africanist" program of the Azanian Students Movement, which calls for removing white teachers from black schools. The logic of this reactionary black nationalist program is to drive the whites out of South Africa. We fight for a *black-centered workers government* in which there will be a place for whites who accept and respect the democratic rule of the black majority.

### For Labor Mobilizations Against Racist Reaction!

The recent confrontations in Potgietersrus and other towns are part of a broader mobilization of the white, predominantly Afrikaner, right wing against the ANC, Communist Party and black workers movement. Despite Mandela's policy of "reconciliation" with the white capitalist elite, many whites are by no means reconciled to black majority rule. As the *London Independent* (15 January) observed, "whereas many English-speakers are emigrating, Afrikaners are demonstrating." The resistance to school integration in Potgietersrus has been orchestrated by a united front of the white right—the National Party, Conservative Party, Freedom Front and the openly fascist AWB—which has intimate ties to the white officer corps and senior police commanders at the core of South Africa's state apparatus. Many of these reactionaries call for a "volkstaat," i.e., a separate Afrikaner statelet.

The hostility of the Afrikaner right to the ANC-led regime has intensified in recent months as a result of the indictment and trial of former "defense" minister Magnus Malan for organizing the murder of ANC supporters by the Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement of Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the late 1980s. The Malan trial is actually a token gesture by Mandela & Co. to assuage the black masses' demand that the criminal leaders of the apartheid state be brought to justice. Everyone knows that the real power behind the "third force" was not Malan but his then boss F.W. De Klerk, now deputy president of the Government of National Unity, whose "unity" is increasingly strained.

At the same time, many poor whites—mostly Afrikaners—feel that they have



Neo-apartheid rule means "gravy train" for tiny layer of black petty bourgeoisie but continued misery for mass of black workers, like Johannesburg nurses seen here during strike last October.

been sold out by their leaders and fear that their privileged position relative to the black masses will be eliminated. This is fertile recruiting ground for fascist/racist forces, but a multiracial communist vanguard could also win many of this layer by appealing to them on a *class* basis, in opposition to the Anglo/Afrikaner masters of industry. It is notable that in recent years some white railway and other workers have joined COSATU, seeking to defend their economic interests within the framework of the predominantly black union movement. A Bolshevik workers party would seek to build on such developments.

The current situation cries out for action by the labor movement to spike any racist attempt to block integration of the schools. The trade unions have the social power to clear school gates of racist mobs. Some black workers may see the fight over school integration as of concern only for newly affluent blacks who have moved into the white suburbs. While understandable, this view is narrow and shortsighted. Every instance of racial discrimination must be fought. Moreover, if fascist thugs can intimidate black students from entering white schools today, they will be encouraged to break strikes and bust up demonstrations of black workers tomorrow. COSATU union bureaucrats have not mobilized their ranks in defense of black schoolchildren because they do not want to disturb the fragile social order of the neo-apartheid arrangement of which they are a key component. Thus the fight against apartheid in the schools is nec-

essarily a fight to split the "tripartite alliance," the nationalist popular front which ties the powerful and combative black union movement to the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC through the reformist Communist Party.

Various smaller, self-proclaimed socialist groups have followed in the wake of the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, and have sought to gently push the Mandela government to the left through various pressure campaigns. The Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO), linked to the British SWP of Tony Cliff and the American ISO, voted for the bourgeois-nationalist ANC in the 1994 elections and called in last year's local elections to "Vote ANC to Boot De Klerk." During non-election periods, the SWO says: "ANC Should Make the Rich Pay for the RDP" (*Socialist Worker*, 16 August 1995). This only builds illusions in the bourgeois-nationalist rulers who embraced De Klerk and are in fact ditching their own hollow "Reconstruction and Development Program" to make the impoverished black masses fill the coffers of the capitalists.

The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) ran a "Workers List Party" (WLP) together with the International Socialist Movement (ISM) in the '94 elections. The International Communist League gave critical support to the WLP candidates, noting that the WLP drew a crude class line but failed to explicitly counterpose itself to the ANC and that its Manifesto was "a standard reformist laundry list of demands." An earlier WOSA pamphlet on "The Education Crisis" called for "an anti-racist, anti-sexist, democratic system of education in a democratic South Africa/Azania." The occasional "anti-capitalist" rhetoric notwithstanding, this is a program for a *bourgeois* "democratic" South Africa. And the WLP's call "For Right to Work to Be Written into Any New Constitution" only misleads workers into thinking there can be full employment under capitalism.

What is needed is a *Bolshevik workers party* capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. Given the country's massive and stark inequalities, so long as the struggle over the redistribution of the country's wealth is defined in national-ethnic terms and limited to a purely South African framework, it could well trigger race war, bloody tribalist conflict and economic collapse. The fight for a black-centered workers government would necessarily transcend the potentially fratricidal conflicts between different ethnic groups, holding out the prospect of decent jobs, education and housing for all working people—black, coloured, Indian and white—on the basis of socialist planning. Only a *proletarian internationalist* perspective, linking the reconstruction of southern Africa to a world socialist revolution, can ensure that a just and egalitarian society will be erected on the ruins of the neo-apartheid state. ■

## South Africa: Cops Out of the Unions!

As we have insisted, the "power sharing" regime headed by Nelson Mandela is administering the capitalist state of the Randlords and the Johannesburg stock exchange. In putting down labor struggles, evicting squatters and cramming privatization down the throats of the working people, the South African "Government of National Unity" (GNU) is based on the army and police forces of the old apartheid regime. This racist security apparatus is still intact, only lightly embellished by the presence of African National Congress "security" ministers at the top and a few officers from the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) guerrilla group.

Meanwhile, the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and other labor federations include "unions" of these enforcers of racist "law and order." COSATU leader Sam Shilowa, a South African Communist Party (SACP) member, worked as a security guard and is the former head of a security guards "union." As for groups to the left of the SACP, in line with their policy of tailing after Mandela's ANC, they have raised not a peep of protest against this dangerous inclusion of the armed fist of the class enemy in the workers movement. Worse

still, many have eagerly embraced the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), representing black cops.

The notion that cops are "workers in uniform" is pushed hardest by various of the fake-Trotskyist groups circling around the Labour Party in Britain, as well as their offshoots elsewhere. In South Africa, the suicidal illusions in the bourgeois state that this policy reveals are particularly blatant. This puts union organizers in the position of bargaining for higher wages and "better conditions" for the "comrade cops"—the "special bodies of armed men," as Engels put it, who serve to repress the working class and the oppressed.

The International Socialist Movement (ISM), a split from the Cliffite SWO which shares its fundamental political outlook, has been particularly energetic in pushing this fatal policy. The February 1995 *Revolutionary Socialist Worker* enthused, "Popercu Takes on Racism," even while saying further down in the article: "once their pay and conditions complaints are dealt with... it will be business as usual. And that means acting as the armed wing of the state against the workers." So the ISM admits that it supports a "job action" by these armed thugs of the

bourgeoisie whose job is to shoot down striking workers. Meanwhile, the ISM's latest paper (March 1996) hails efforts by the TGWU to organize "private" security guards. Yet black cops and security guards have not ceased for one day being part of the apparatus of capitalist state repression!

Meanwhile, POPCRU has been beset by turmoil over the spoils of office, which reached a boiling point in late February when POPCRU "militants" staged an armed raid to depose the "union" leadership as it was conducting a workshop in a Johannesburg hotel. When the ejected officials threatened an armed counterattack, a COSATU leader brokered a deal. In response, ISM leader Terry Bell, in a column in the *Johannesburg Star* (8 March), lamented that the COSATU-affiliated POPCRU is imploding, and that only prison guards might remain while the police gravitate toward the white-dominated South African Police Union (SAPU). Bell's concern that the cops remain within COSATU is obscene.

Police, prison guards, security guards—they're all the bosses' thugs. We say: Cops out of the labor movement! For socialist revolution to sweep away the capitalist state!



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Smash Apartheid in the Schools!

# South Africa: Cracks in the Neo-Apartheid Order

When a handful of black students entered the all-white Laerskool Potgietersrus primary school in the Northern Transvaal in late February, they stepped across a racist color bar that had been in existence for the school's 100-year history. They were met by a mob of khaki-clad racists, and the fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) denounced the court decision to allow black students to enter this school as a "sovietization of South Africa." For older American liberals or radicals, the confrontation in South Africa's "Deep North" might seem like a flashback to Little Rock, Arkansas or Montgomery, Alabama in the late 1950s and early '60s. However, while racial oppression is central to both the United States and South Africa, the two countries have fundamentally different ethnic make-ups, social structures and levels of economic development.

South Africa is a relatively backward country where the white ruling caste—a small minority of the population—has lived well, very well indeed, through the superexploitation of black toilers in the mines, factories and farms. This was the economic bedrock of the apartheid system of legally enforced racial segregation. During the 1980s the revolt in the black townships and, even more importantly, the development of a powerful and combative black trade-union movement undermined police-state rule as the country became increasingly "ungovernable." So South African capital, encouraged and supported by its senior partners in Wall Street and London, moved to co-opt the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), the historic organization of the black liberation struggle, and the closely allied reformist South African Communist Party (SACP). The result was a "power sharing" deal leading to the establishment in 1994 of a "Government of National Unity" between Nelson Mandela's ANC and the former white ruling National Party of F.W. De Klerk.

Mandela & Co. have kept their part of the deal. Due to the pressure of the ANC tops and affiliated union bureaucrats, labor time lost as a result of strikes last year was at the lowest level in almost a decade. At the same time, the social and economic degradation of the black African and coloured (mixed-race) masses continues as before. The official unemployment rate is 33 percent, the highest level ever recorded, and it is generally agreed that one-half of all black adults have no regular, full-time job. Bourgeois economists project that of every hundred black youth who leave school this year, only seven will find jobs in the so-called formal sector of the economy—government bodies, corporations or other white-owned businesses. And even blacks who have jobs are not

### For a Black-Centered Workers Government!



ANC-led "power sharing" regime administers racist capitalist rule. September 1995 demonstration by striking municipal workers in Johannesburg (top) was attacked by cops throwing stun grenades.



doing any better in the "new" South Africa than they did in the old. The most recent government statistics show that black workers in the manufacturing sector earn less than 30 percent of the wages paid to the mainly skilled, white workers—the same wage gap that existed when the apartheid police state was still intact in the late 1980s!

Last September and October, more than 50,000 South African municipal workers struck against the apartheid wage structure. Strikers' marches through the streets of Johannesburg were met with tear gas and stun grenades. Militant nurses angrily denounced the ANC-led government for its claims that there was no more money for health care, carrying signs criticizing the high-living politicians on the "grave train." The nurses were betrayed by the ANC-allied Congress of South African Trade

Unions (COSATU), while some Communist Party bureaucrats branded the nurses' courageous action a "counterrevolutionary" strike. This vile smear has sparked dissent within the SACP itself. And a strike at the Toyota auto plant in Durban in March has dismayed the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance and the business press, as the fight against racist practices keeps erupting despite the COSATU tops' elaborate "codetermination" models for class collaboration.

Meanwhile, there are signs of tension between the ANC-led regime and white South African capital in the sudden collapse of the country's currency, the rand, in mid-February. A headline in the London *Financial Times* (19 February) stated the obvious: "Rand Victim of Political Uncertainty." One explanation for the currency crisis was concern over Mandela's health. This in itself shows how

much the fragile neo-apartheid structure and governing coalition ranging from black Communist Party union leaders to white hankers depends on the personal authority of one 77-year-old man. Another explanation is a campaign by South African and international capitalists to drive down their costs and raise their profits on exports by a brutal devaluation, while intoning about the need to obey the "discipline of the market."

Following the rand's crash, the country's 50 largest companies, represented by the South Africa Foundation, called for an economic "shock treatment" similar to that carried out in many Latin American countries and post-Soviet East Europe: sharply cutting the budget deficit, dismantling all foreign-exchange controls, speeding up the privatization of state-owned enterprises and imposing more "flexible" labor policies. This latter is a code word for layoffs. ANC labor minister Tito Mboweni called this program "a recipe for disaster." "The document they have delivered," he chided the Foundation, "is a request from big business to do something for them, but nothing for the poor." Since when have the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange ever given a damn about the black poor?

In a recent survey of the South African economy, the *Financial Times* (28 March) dismissed Mboweni's protestations as political showboating and pointed out that "the differences between government and business may be narrower than they seem on some issues, and be more about timing than direction." In the latest cabinet reshuffle, Pallo Jordan—a popular "leftist" in the Government of National Unity—was dumped as minister of telecommunications and broadcasting. A new finance minister, Trevor Manuel, has gained the plaudits of the business community. And the government is scrapping the separate ministry for the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), a centerpiece of the ANC's electoral platform which promised—but, of course, hasn't delivered—sweeping economic and social reforms.

The RDP was designed as a sop to COSATU at a time when the collahoration of the union tops was necessary to ensure "stability" under the "power sharing" regime. But today, from the government offices in Pretoria to ANC headquarters in Johannesburg's Shell House, Mandela & Co. feel less dependent on the support of the union movement. While the ANC may occasionally clash with South Africa's business leaders, this former petty-bourgeois black nationalist political movement has become a neo-colonial bourgeois party. The Mandela regime—whether or not in coalition with De Klerk's National Party—cannot

continued on page 10