

Down With Neo-Apartheid Capitalism! For a Black-Centered Workers Government!

South African Workers Battle ANC Union-Busting, Austerity

Up to 100,000 or more workers took to the streets of Johannesburg on May 10 as part of a one-day general strike called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to protest massive job cuts. Reporting on the impact of the walk-out, the London Independent (11 May) headlined its article, "Mass Strike Brings South Africa to a Halt." This action is part of a rising level of working-class opposition to the economic austerity and union-busting policies of the African National Congress (ANC) government, including huge strikes by public sector workers last summer and fall and a militant wildcat in January at Volkswagen's Uitenhage plant near Port Elizabeth.

The May 10 general strike was a measure of the pressure being exerted by the ranks on the COSATU leadership, which binds the unions to the capitalist government through the so-called "tripartite alliance," a nationalist popular front composed of the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and its junior partner, the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), along with COSATU. There was widespread sentiment among the workers to break with the "tripartite alliance." Reporting on the Johannesburg strike rally, a comrade of Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, observed:

"We found the demonstration to be very polarized over the question of for or against the ANC and the alliance. In general workers hated the ANC and wanted to break the alliance or they defended the ANC and were hostile to us. In the part of the demonstration that we sold to, *Workers Vanguard* was a noticeable political feature—at least every tenth person had a paper. When one comrade was taking a photo of a contingent with the banner, "Socialism—For Workers Empowerment!", a worker shouted to her, "Hi, *Workers Vanguard*!" He and the workers around him were all holding the paper."

Our comrades seek to win working-class militants to the fight to forge the Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party needed to lead the South African proletariat, standing at the head of all the oppressed, to power through a socialist revolution which smashes the bourgeois state, expropriates the white capitalist class and erects a black-centered workers government. We publish below an edited presentation given in Chicago last month by Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour, who visited South Africa earlier this year to work with our section there.

* * *

In the ghetto neighborhood in the San Francisco Bay Area where I have a part-time job, one of my co-workers has in his office a famous photograph from the



AP

1994 elections in South Africa in which Nelson Mandela became the country's first black president. The photo shows an old man who's crippled and can't walk. He's being carried to the voting booth by a young man, probably one of his relatives. That photo captures the intensity of the belief that, after decades of heroic struggle and great sacrifice, finally the black South African people were going to get social justice—not only democratic rights, but the equitable distribution of the wealth of the country to all its inhabitants.

In fact, the ANC government initially promised all kinds of good things. They had something called the Reconstruction and Development Programme. It promised a million housing units in five years, ten years of compulsory public education for all children, free socialized medicine. Thirty percent of the agricultural land would be distributed to black farmers. But these were all empty promises. And in fact, today the Reconstruction and Development Programme is an embarrassing memory for the government. The offices which administered it have long since been closed. Six years later, the conditions of the black masses in South



Reuters

South African labor struggle: Johannesburg rally during May 10 nationwide general strike (left); public sector workers' protest last summer.

Africa are no better, and in some ways worse—for example, the level of unemployment—than they were under the old apartheid, white-supremacist regime.

The ANC government is just as ruthless in defending the so-called right to private property as its predecessors. Last fall, some black squatters in a township near Johannesburg tried to erect a shantytown, and the local ANC authorities brought in the police to expel them and demolish the shantytown. And when the squatters initially refused the police orders, the police and security guards just opened up on them with gunfire, seriously wounding scores. A few months later, the workers at the big Volkswagen plant in Port Elizabeth went on strike to protest the firing of some militant shop stewards. The company responded by firing 1,300 workers, one-quarter of the entire labor force. The cops were brought in en masse to intimidate the workers. They not only surrounded and patrolled the factory, they occupied the adjacent black townships.

During the Volkswagen strike, ANC president Thabo Mbeki, Mandela's successor, gave what they call the "Throne Speech"—the name is a carry-over from

the old days of British colonialism. The main theme of this speech was the need to attract foreign investors, to build a black capitalist class and consequently to break the power of the black trade-union movement. He declared: "Our standing in the eyes of the investor community cannot be held hostage by elements pursuing selfish and anti-social purposes," namely, militant workers. (The "investor community"—what a nice way to describe the heirs of J. P. Morgan and the men who bankrolled Adolf Hitler, who incidentally helped found Volkswagen!)

But if things have not changed for the black masses, they have certainly changed for their putative leaders. Last year, there was an emergency trade-union conference and the government sent as its spokesman the defense minister, Patrick Lekota, the guy in charge of the military—a significant choice for spokesman. He presented a hardline defense of the government's economic austerity policies. One of the delegates at the conference had worked closely with Lekota in the 1980s and went up to him and said, "Patrick, we used to be comrades. What has happened to you?" Lekota replied,

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T.J. Lennon

Striking nurses in 1995 denounce bourgeois ANC leaders for being on "gravy train." ANC's Thabo Mbeki with Al Gore last year.



Reuters



Former Black Panther Served 27 Years in Prison Hell Geronimo Wins Court Settlement Over LAPD/FBI Frame-Up

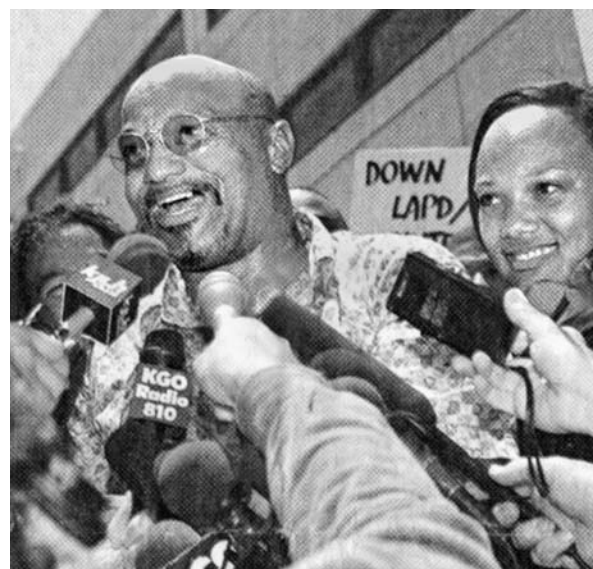
Former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has won a settlement for some \$4.5 million in his wrongful imprisonment and civil rights lawsuit against the Los Angeles Police Department and the FBI. Geronimo spent 27 years in California's prison hell before his release in 1997, framed up for a murder the government knew he could not and did not commit. Attorney Stuart Hanlon, who has represented Geronimo since 1974, said the settlement was "vindication for me and Geronimo." Geronimo deserves every penny he can wrench from the racist frame-up machine known as the "American justice system," but as Hanlon said, "It doesn't prove that justice works. To me, if it takes 27 years and this kind of legal struggle to get someone out, it doesn't prove anything about justice."

Unbowed in his militant opposition to racist injustice, Geronimo finally walked

out of jail three years ago after an Orange County judge overturned his conviction on the grounds that prosecutors had concealed that their star "witness" was a longtime paid police informer. His frame-up was part and parcel of a concerted government effort to destroy the Black Panthers, the best of a generation of black militants who wanted to fight the oppression of racist American capitalism. FBI agents *knew* Geronimo was innocent because their own wiretap records—which conveniently "disappeared"—proved he was at a Panther meeting in the San Francisco Bay Area at the time the murder was committed 400 miles away in Los Angeles.

Geronimo told the *Los Angeles Times* (27 April) that he had wanted to use the lawsuit to expose the "evil scheme, that secret war that was waged" by the FBI and other police agencies against the Panthers and other black militants and

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) greets supporters upon his release from prison in 1997.



Susie Ming Hwa Chu

leftists, centrally through the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover made clear COINTELPRO's aim: "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." In the late 1960s and early '70s, hundreds of Panthers were railroaded to prison and 38 assassinated outright, including Chicago party members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, who were gunned down in their beds by a police death squad in 1969. Many others, including death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, were subsequently framed up.

As part of our fight to sweep away the

entire apparatus of capitalist state terror, we demand freedom for all the many class-war prisoners who remain in the clutches of this criminal "justice" system. As we wrote 15 years ago in "Class-Struggle Defense Needed: FBI/LAPD Framed Geronimo Pratt" (WV No. 372, 8 February 1985):

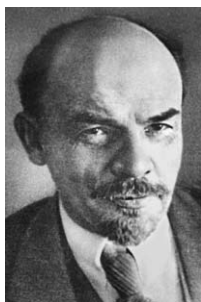
"The full counterrevolutionary scope of COINTELPRO and its massive crimes against the Panthers and other black militants will be unearthed when the working class, led by a multiracial Trotskyist vanguard party, takes power by smashing the decrepit capitalist system through socialist revolution. The working class will not forget and surely will not forgive such bestial crimes."■



TROTSKY

Honor John Brown, Anti-Slavery Fighter!

May 9 marked the 200th anniversary of the birth of John Brown, the militant abolitionist who led the heroic 1859 attack on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia which was a prelude to the Civil War. Writing in defense of Brown shortly before his execution later that year, abolitionist spokesman and ex-slave Frederick Douglass hailed Brown for his insistence that the slavery could be uprooted only through a



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bloody military struggle. As part of our struggle for a proletarian revolution which will complete the task of black liberation, we honor the memory of these revolutionary anti-slavery fighters.

Posterity will owe everlasting thanks to John Brown for lifting up once more to the gaze of a nation grown fat and flabby on the garbage of lust and oppression, a true standard of heroic philanthropy, and each coming generation will pay its installment of the debt. No wonder that the aiders and abettors of the huge, overshadowing and many-armed tyranny, which he grappled with in its own infernal den, should call him a mad man; but for those who profess a regard for him, and for human freedom, to join in the cruel slander, "is the unkindest cut of all."...

Not only is it true that Brown's whole movement proves him perfectly sane and free from merely revengeful passion, but he has struck the bottom line of the philosophy which underlies the abolition movement. He has attacked slavery with the weapons precisely adapted to bring it to the death. Moral considerations have long since been exhausted upon slaveholders. It is in vain to reason with them. One might as well hunt bears with ethics and political economy for weapons, as to seek to "pluck the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor" by the mere force of moral law. Slavery is a system of brute force. It shields itself behind *might*, rather than right. It must be met with its own weapons. Capt. Brown has initiated a new mode of carrying on the crusade of freedom, and his blow has sent dread and terror throughout the entire ranks of the piratical army of slavery. His daring deeds may cost him his life, but priceless as is the value of that life, the blow he has struck, will, in the end, prove to be worth its mighty cost. Like Samson, he has laid his hands upon the pillars of this great national temple of cruelty and blood, and when he falls, that temple will speedily crumble to its final doom, burying its denizens in its ruins.

—Frederick Douglass, "Capt. John Brown Not Insane," *Douglass' Monthly*, November 1859, reprinted in *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, Vol. 2 (1950)

NYC, Latin America "Operation Condor" Death Squads

"Operation Condor," the NYPD "anti-drug" operation that gunned down Patrick Dorismond on a Manhattan street on March 16 and killed black teenagers Andre Fields and Tysheen Bourne in Brooklyn two weeks later, bears a name with a chilling history, harking back to the infamous Condor Legion of fascist leader General Franco during the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s.

A victorious workers revolution in Spain would almost certainly have prevented World War II. Both Mussolini's Fascist regime in Italy and Nazi Germany intervened to provide military assistance to Franco's military forces and his fascist Falangists in order to crush a workers revolution. The forces sent in by Hitler beginning in 1936, including bomber and fighter groups and tank companies, were organized as the Condor Legion. One of the most infamous deeds of the Condor Legion was the brutal air raid that utterly destroyed the Basque city of Guernica on 26 April 1937, immortalized by Picasso in his painting *Guernica*.

In Latin America, the original "Operation Condor" was undertaken shortly after General Pinochet's bloody 1973 coup in Chile which overthrew the popular-front Allende government. Under the aegis of the U.S., six Latin American countries—Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay—set up a special operations task force coordinated by the secret service of Pinochet's Chile, DINA, as part

of the "dirty war" against working-class and leftist militants.

This "Operation Condor" carried out the murders of thousands of Latin American leftist political refugees and the kidnapping and torture of many thousands more. The 1976 car-bomb assassination of former Allende cabinet minister Orlando Letelier and his aide, Ronni Moffitt, in Washington, D.C. was committed by anti-communist Cuban terrorists in the pay of Operation Condor and the CIA. Later, Argentinean veterans of "Operation Condor" were used in El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua as "instructors" to implement and extend this wave of counterrevolutionary terror.

Additionally, there have been several lesser "Operation Condors" run by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency, one in Peru in 1985 and another in Mexico from 1975 to 1985. Both of those involved the CIA as well, and both claimed to be "drug eradication" efforts.

The Nazi lineage of the "Operation Condor" name is not in question, nor is the ongoing fascination of fascists and extreme rightists with the giant Andean vulture. How grotesquely appropriate that six decades later the vicious little would-be dictator Mayor Giuliani should use this name that conjures up images of fascist killers for one of the notorious undercover cop operations that he uses to terrorize the black and Latino inhabitants of New York City. ■



"Operation Condor" in action: Argentine soldiers hunt down leftists in 1976.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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19 May 2000

Mary Van De Water-Quirk



Quirk Family



1954-2000

On May 9, one day before her 46th birthday, Mary Van De Water-Quirk, organizer of the Chicago local of the Spartacist League for 13 years, died after a four-year battle with bile duct cancer. The length of her tenure as party organizer in a city where the cruel contradictions of racist American capitalist rule are most acutely concentrated, and of her struggle against this form of the disease which normally results in a rapid demise, speak to her tenacity and will.

Mary was recruited to the SL in the Bay Area in 1979, receiving her early training from Martha Phillips. Martha, who was murdered while on duty in Moscow after Yeltsin came to power, specialized in turning youth into cadre and, specifically, in imbuing them with the proletarian traditions of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism. Mary was a more than able learner. Only three months after joining the Spartacus Youth League, she became its Bay Area organizer. She arrived in Chicago in 1981 and, after a stint as youth organizer, became the SL local organizer in 1983, remaining in that post until forced to leave by the debilitating treatment process.

Her stewardship took place during the difficult political years of Ronald Reagan and of the bourgeoisie's later "death of communism" triumphalism. Yet the Chicago local recruited youth with regularity, shaped them into cadres and transferred them elsewhere where, not unusually,

they were able to play important and often leading roles. There is hardly a section of the International Communist League where comrades who apprenticed under her leadership have not served and served well. And all those she trained instantly responded, upon learning of her death, to express their grief and to acknowledge their debt to her.

Mary's talents were at the party's disposal. If needed, she quickly responded, playing a major role in many of the campaigns undertaken by the SL throughout the U.S. She was one of the main organizers of the November 1988 anti-Klan demonstration in Philadelphia and of the Springfield, Illinois anti-Klan demonstration on Martin Luther King Day in 1994. She served essentially as the SL's Midwest organizer and spurred the Chicago local to expand its political terrain through forays that ranged from Texas to Pittsburgh.

Politically, her focus was on the black question and its importance to the American socialist revolution. To this she brought no small amount of compassion and humanity. The apartment she shared with her husband Kevin Quirk, a member of Local 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU), was a center for political and social interaction with scores of black transit workers and other trade unionists, a singular experience in America's most segregated city. Among those was Cassandra Seay, an ATU member successfully defended by Local 241 and the Partisan Defense

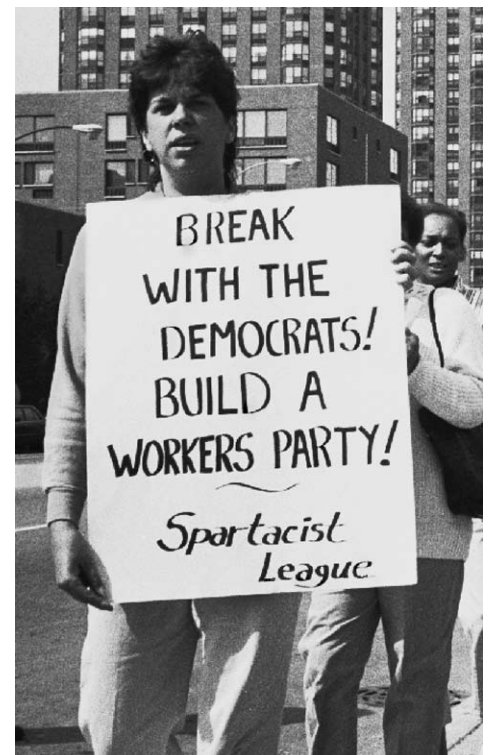
Committee against felony charges in the aftermath of a 1987 attack by Chicago cops on her and her family. Cassandra recently told Kevin that after being initially contacted by the PDC, she was heavily pressured to have nothing to do with such communists who purportedly only wanted to "use" her, but that after talking to Mary for only five minutes, she knew we were for real.

Mary tended to cede the role of political spokesman to others, but her instincts were almost invariably correct. As Leon Trotsky said of Yakov Sverdlov, the quintessential Bolshevik organizer:

"All questions of the revolution he approached not from above, that is, not from the standpoint of general theoretical considerations, but rather from below, through the direct impulses of life itself as transmitted by the party organism. When new political questions were under discussion, it might have seemed sometimes that Sverdlov—especially if he kept silent, which was not infrequently the case—was wavering or had not yet been able to make up his mind. In reality, in the course of the discussion he was engaged in mentally working out the problem along parallel lines, which might be sketched out as follows: Who is available? Where should he be assigned? How shall we broach the problem and bring it into harmony with our other tasks? And no sooner had the joint political decision been reached, no sooner was it necessary to turn to the organizational side of the problem and the question of personnel than it almost invariably turned out that Sverdlov was already prepared with far-reaching practical proposals, based on his encyclopedic memory and personal knowledge of individuals."

—Leon Trotsky, *Portraits, Political and Personal* (Pathfinder Press, 1977)

Precisely because of Mary's aversion to cant and her commitment to truth, she was invariably sought out for her impressions in the aftermath of contentious party conferences. She was capable of fighting fiercely to assure that the local remained on track, especially when the question of the fight against racist oppression was engaged. However intense the fights and however wrongheaded the opposition, comrades were comrades in the Chicago local. In trying times, she was the social and



WV Photo

August 1987: Mary at Chicago protest against cop killing of young black man.



WV Photo

Mary with husband Kevin and Cassandra Seay at January 1988 victory party celebrating successful campaign to defend Seay against cop frame-up.

political glue that held the local together.

Even in the last months of her illness, Mary continued to push forward the party's perspectives, most importantly training young comrades and assisting in their committing themselves fully to the cause of world proletarian revolution. She essentially assigned herself the task of overseeing an important addition to the Chicago local's office capacity, a task that is now near completion. Attention to such details was characteristic of Mary, as it was of Cannon. Mary will be greatly missed, most acutely by her sister Karen (also a member of the SL/U.S.), her husband and her father, but by all those who knew her inside the party and out. But more, she will be remembered. She was one hell of a communist, a fighter and a friend.

A memorial meeting for Mary will be held in the Chicago area. Call (312) 454-4930 for more information.

Gangsterism in the Service of the PRD

We publish below the translation of a statement issued on May 1 by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM), section of the International Communist League.

Today, during the May Day march, a group of gangsters from the Militante group, a pseudo-Trotskyist organization buried inside the bourgeois PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), physically attacked supporters of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. During a discussion between supporters of both tendencies, when the Militante leadership was incapable of defending its politics, Ruben Rivera, a Militante *caudillo*, tried to substitute his fist for politics and cut short the political discussion by attacking one of our supporters with a punch. Several supporters of the GEM who went to the aid of their comrade were thrown to the ground by other Militante members and suffered injuries. Faced with this attack, we Spartacists defended ourselves. This brutal attack was witnessed by union militants and members of other leftist organ-

izations who solidarized with us. We call on all organizations in the workers movement and student movement to condemn Militante's gangsterist attack.

In accordance with its reformist program, the Militante group showed up at the march on May Day, an international proletarian holiday, to proselytize electorally for its party: the bourgeois-nationalist PRD. They attack the GEM because our revolutionary-internationalist program represents the only class opposition to the PRD, crystallized in our call, "No illusions in the bourgeois-nationalist PRD! Forge a Trotskyist party to fight for socialist revolution!" In contrast, on the front page of issue number 92 of Militante's newspaper which they had been selling to the march, one reads the headline, "PRD: A Sure Triumph Only Through Authentically Leftist and Combative Politics," together with a photograph of [PRD Mexico City mayoral candidate] Lopez Obrador. What these reformists do is openly advise nothing

less than the class enemy of the proletariat on how to obtain a "sure triumph"! It isn't unusual that these types—whose party comrades rule the [Mexico City] Federal District (Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Rosario Robles and others) and led attacks on the students such as last August 4, October 14 and December 11—should see nothing wrong with police in the workers movement and even brag about fighting to organize cops. After their comrades unleashed the riot cops against the student strikers, Militante disappeared from public view.

At the international level, the Militante group is part of a reformist tendency led by Ted Grant, which is characterized everywhere by its appetite for permanent entrism in all mass formations which it presents as "leftist," but always within the framework of respect for the bourgeois order. Thus, internationally the Militante tendency can brag of counting among its party comrades types like Javier Solana of the Spanish

Socialist Party which fronted for the imperialist NATO assassins in their massacre of the Serbian people last year, or Benazir Bhutto, leader of the anti-woman, anti-worker bourgeois party in Pakistan, which the Militante tendency is also in up to its neck. They've also been firmly on the side of their "own" bourgeoisie in celebrating capitalist restoration in the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe.

It was precisely when Spartacist supporters were discussing these questions with young supporters of Militante that their leaders, incapable of offering any political explanation to their own members, resorted to gangsterist violence. This resembles more the methods of PRI *charros* [union bureaucrats connected to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party] than any self-proclaimed Trotskyists, and is an attempt to silence the only communists who presented a proletarian pole on May Day. ■

Workers World Goons for the Democrats U.S. Out of Vieques!

On May 4, hundreds of FBI and other federal agents, backed by a thousand Marines aboard two U.S. warships anchored offshore, stormed the tiny Puerto Rican island of Vieques, ending a yearlong occupation of the Navy base there and dragging off more than 200 anti-military protesters. Demonstrators vowing to re-occupy the Vieques base are threatened with up to 10 years imprisonment or a \$250,000 fine.

The U.S. action touched off protests throughout Puerto Rico, including at the Army's Fort Allen in Juana Diaz. In the capital of San Juan, students shut down the University of Puerto Rico's main campus while some 800 demonstrators elsewhere in the city faced down riot cops on horseback. On May 13, 55 protesters were arrested after moving onto Navy training grounds on Vieques. The Navy presence in Vieques since 1941 exemplifies American imperialist arrogance and contempt for the masses of Puerto Rico, the last remaining significant U.S. colony. Two-thirds of Vieques is off-limits to its 9,600 inhabitants, and nearly three-quarters of the population lives in abject poverty.

U.S. bases in Puerto Rico occupy fully 13 percent of the island colony. They have repeatedly been used as launching pads for imperialist terror throughout Latin America and the Caribbean and are a dagger aimed in particular at the Cuban deformed workers state. The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, says: *U.S. hands off Vieques! All U.S. troops, bases out of Puerto Rico! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! Defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution!*

As the American warships steamed toward Vieques, these slogans and others were raised at a campus protest organized by the New York Spartacus Youth Club on May 3 at Borough of Manhattan Community College, where speakers included a representative of the Vieques Support Campaign (VSC). Two days



May 5: Spartacist contingent at NYC protest against arrest of Vieques anti-military protesters.

later, the SL/SYC joined in a protest of nearly 1,000 people in Midtown Manhattan called by the VSC and heavily built by the Workers World Party (WWP) and its International Action Center (IAC). Our placards included: "For Unconditional Military Defense of Cuba Against Imperialism and Internal Counterrevolution!" and "Castro Bureaucracy Undermines Gains of Cuban Revolution—For Workers Political Revolution!"

The aim of the VSC and WWP on May 5 was to appeal to Democratic Party politicians who have cynically taken up the cause of the Vieques protesters in order to rope in Puerto Rican voters in New York. Typically, the organizers provided a platform for leading NYC Democrat Mark Green. As Green began speaking, the SL/SYC chanted, "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

Particularly with elections coming up in the fall, our forthright opposition to the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war drove the nationalist and reformist

organizers into a frenzy. They hated our chant, "Smash U.S. imperialism through workers revolution!" A handful of nationalists and WWP honchos instigated a series of provocations aimed at silencing our contingent, zeroing in on our slogans raising defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution, with WWPers screaming that our proletarian opposition to the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy was "racist"! Egged on by the WWP, one Puerto Rican nationalist, aided by a couple of thugs and some anti-communists from the SLAM outfit at Hunter College, lunged at one of our comrades to rip up our signs on Cuba before other comrades moved in to stop the provocation.

While adulating the Castro regime, the WWP simultaneously acts as waterboys for the capitalist Democrats. Currently, the WWP is head over heels over calls by some sectors of the U.S. ruling class to end the embargo against Cuba and vague talk by the Clinton administration of "constructive engagement" with Havana. Following the FBI raid on the home of

Elián González' *gusano* abductors, the IAC co-signed a call to "Send or fax a note of support to Attorney General Janet Reno, to thank her for finally doing what we've been pleading with her to do for so long"! This grotesque statement of support to America's top cop, the butcher of Waco, is an expression of the lash-up WWP seeks with imperialist forces who see increased economic penetration as one means to *destroy* the Cuban deformed workers state.

Defense of Cuba against Washington's counterrevolutionary drive is key to the proletarian-internationalist perspective needed to throw off the yoke of U.S. imperialist subjugation throughout the Caribbean and Latin America. This is starkly clear in Puerto Rico, where the working class is exploited as a low-wage labor pool by American corporations and more than half the population lives below the U.S. poverty line. At the same time, 2.7 million Puerto Ricans live and work on the mainland, forming a critical component of the multiracial U.S. proletariat and a living bridge to their combative class brothers and sisters on the island. As a Spartacist League speaker emphasized at a recent NYC forum:

"We demand the right of independence for Puerto Rico. At the same time, we stress that the only solution to the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico is the overthrow of capitalist rule from the island to right here in the U.S. The Puerto Rican proletariat showed its potential with the general strike in the summer of 1998. But the Puerto Rican nationalists seek to derail proletarian struggle through false and dangerous unity between Puerto Rican labor and the local bourgeoisie. At most, they call for some form of neocolonial 'independence.'

"We are for the revolutionary unity of the working people of Puerto Rico and the mainland against colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation."

We fight to build Trotskyist parties in Puerto Rico and the U.S., to link the struggle of the Puerto Rican working people to the fight to smash U.S. imperialism from within through socialist revolution. ■

Smash U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Japanese Trotskyists Fight Resurgent Nationalism, Racism

We publish below an abridged translation of a May 1 leaflet by the Spartacist Group Japan, section of the International Communist League, distributed at rallies in Tokyo on May Day, the international workers holiday.

[Tokyo governor] Ishihara Shintaro’s April 9 instructions to the Ground Self-Defense Forces [army] to “maintain public security” in the event of a disastrous earthquake and his disgusting racist slur targeting minorities for repression, in particular people of Korean and Chinese descent, has stirred controversy from just about every sector of society—the trade unions, leftists, minorities and even his fellow capitalist politicians. Opposition to Ishihara ranges from those who call him a fascist to those who believe his racist chauvinism violates the Japanese constitution and the United Nations Human Rights Charter. What unites these various opinions is the illusion that Ishihara is an aberration standing outside the spectrum of bourgeois politics, and that capitalism can be reformed to work in the interests of the working class and minorities.

Ishihara Shintaro is an ultra-nationalist racist demagogue standing on the far right of the bourgeois political spectrum. His instructions to the military understandably invoked comparisons with the massacre of 6,000 Koreans in the wake of the Kanto earthquake of 1923, which was also used to target militant labor struggles, a radicalized burakumin [Japan’s low-caste “untouchables”] organization and the embryonic but rapidly growing Communist movement inspired by the workers’ seizure of power in the 1917 Russian Revolution. In fact, Ishihara’s provocative instructions to the army are simply a call to carry out legislation set in motion by the popular-front government of Social Democratic Party (SDP) leader Murayama after the [1995] Kobe earthquake.

As minorities and immigrants already know, Japan is a racist hellhole, exemplified by the brutal racist and anti-Communist torture and murder of Ra Hun, leader of the [pro-North Korean]

May Day Leaflet



Spartacist Japan

May Day rally in Tokyo called by Zenrokyo labor federation.

Chosen Soren organization, in 1998. It is routine for immigrants to be rounded up and deported or tortured and murdered in immigration detention cells and local police stations. Ethnic Korean children have been the victims of so many racist assaults that they can no longer wear their school uniforms in public. *The Spartacist Group Japan fights for full citizenship rights for all minorities and immigrant workers.*

Increased racist demagoguery and attacks against minorities come in the context of the collapse of the “economic bubble” in the wake of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The differences between national government politicians and Ishihara are only tactical. And the bourgeois politicians who denounce Ishihara for his explicit and disgusting racism are hypocrites and liars who have no problem with the official racist policies of the Japanese capitalist state. They

all have the same goal: resurgent Japanese imperialism. National government politicians are concerned that their plans for greater imperialist investment and increased military deployment in Asia will be thwarted and that “the good image of Japan” will be tarnished by Ishihara’s more crass approach. This is the same position as that of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), which yearns to be part of the capitalist government. The JCP can only whine that “The Tokyo Metropolitan Government is mandated to play an important part in international exchanges” and, therefore, “Ishihara is not an acceptable person to represent Japan’s capital” (*Akahata*, 12 April).

[The left group] Chukaku-ha has labeled Ishihara a fascist (*Zenshin*, 24 April) and the Japan Revolutionary Communist League writes that he “resembles Hitler who said that behind the Jews stands a danger to Germany” (*Kakehashi*, 24 April). Ishihara is an extreme xenophobic reactionary, but reactionary views alone do not define fascism. As Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Party, wrote in 1936: “Finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers.... The historic function of fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.” Ishihara does not command that type of movement and the Japanese ruling class does not now need to place the fascists in power, but holds them in reserve to be unleashed against the proletariat if necessary to preserve its class dictatorship.

Indiscriminate use of the term “fascist” is the perfect excuse for these groups to push for a “more humane” capitalism. This can be clearly seen in their “solution”: Ishihara should resign. Replacing Ishihara with a different bourgeois politician—be it Liberal Democratic Party or Democratic Party—or with a JCP or SDP politician administering the capitalist state will change nothing. As Lenin wrote in *The State and Revolution*: “To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and crush the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary-constitutional monarchies, but also in the most democratic republics.” What is needed is a fight to bring down this racist capitalist system through workers revolution.

There is no such thing as the “healthy capitalism” that the JCP preaches. To maintain and increase their rate of profit, *all* capitalists must constantly attack the workers’ standard of living. For the working class to free itself from the chains of wage slavery, the capitalist class as a whole must be expropriated and a new state created in which the working class is the ruling class. To break the proletariat from its existing pro-capitalist “leadership” and win it to revolutionary consciousness requires the building of a revolutionary party in political struggle against the reformists, whose program ties the workers to capitalism.

Just days after Ishihara branded Chinese and Koreans living and working in this country as “dangerous,” he called China “Japan’s biggest threat” and said that Japan should “vigorously promote the disintegration of China” (*Daily Yomiuri*, 16 April). This is a direct call for capitalist counterrevolution in China overseen by Japanese imperialism, harking back to the Japanese occupation of China [before and during World War II] during which untold atrocities, including the Nanjing Massacre and the enslavement of the *ianfu* [“comfort women”], were carried out.

Kakumaru, a leftist group which has a tendency to label everything it doesn’t like—from other left organizations to bourgeois politicians—as fascist, calls to “denounce” the “extreme reactionary” Ishihara. It is soft on Ishihara in part because it has the same position on China, as can be seen in its call: “No to the TMD [U.S.-sponsored plan for a “theater missile defense”] missile system! No to China’s military build-ups to counter the TMD!” (*Kaiho*, 3 April). We stand for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states—China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. We call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which is leading the drive toward capitalist restoration.

Kakumaru calls to “denounce” Ishihara because he pushes revision of the constitution. Korean and burakumin groups are calling on the United Nations to condemn Ishihara. The Japanese constitution serves the purposes of the bourgeois state, not the working class. The façade of democracy is designed to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, military, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits through

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Chosen Soren



Spartacist Japan

Osaka cops attack headquarters of Korean organization Chosen Soren in 1994. Spartacist Group Japan at 1993 protest in defense of Iranian immigrants demands “Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!”



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Liberals, Democratic Party: Lawyers for KKK Racist Killers

Speaking on behalf of his nightriding clients, New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) head Norman Siegel told the *New York Times* (2 May) that the American Knights of the Ku Klux Klan plans another attempt to rally in Manhattan this fall. When these Klansmen tried to stage a rally for genocide in New York City last October 23, they were sent scurrying back into their holes by the thousands-strong labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. What makes the Klan think they could try coming back to this overwhelmingly working-class, black, Hispanic and immigrant city?

It's not simply a reflection of the Klan's stupidity or racist arrogance. The KKK is looking to the same cabal that tried to ensure a free ride for them last October—from Mayor Giuliani's cops and the courts to Siegel and Al Sharpton and his fellow Democrats. Serving as the KKK's lawyer, Siegel literally acted as spokesman for the Klan killers both in court and in the media. Spearheading the Democrats' efforts, Sharpton campaigned on radio and TV to try to get the black populace to "ignore" the lynchers and then went so far as to file a "friend of the court" brief (in league with the black establishment *Amsterdam News*) on behalf of the KKK. Sharpton joined with the rest of the state Demo-



Reuters

NYCLU lawyer Norman Siegel with KKK clients on October 23. Al Sharpton spearheaded failed Democratic Party effort to spike labor/black mobilization that drove out KKK.



AP

Patrick Dorismond to teenagers Andre Fields and Tysheen Bourne. But just as he sought to prevent black people from stopping the Klan, Sharpton has worked overtime trying to *contain* the seething anger over racist cop terror and channel it into Democratic Party electoralism, trading in the blood of Amadou Diallo and other victims of the NYPD to garner black votes for Hillary Clinton's Senate bid. We expose self-appointed black "leaders" like Sharpton in order to chart a clear course of struggle for the rights of labor and black people, whose allegiance to the Democratic Party—promoted in the unions by the labor bureaucracy and in the ghettos by the black Democrats—

the anti-Klan mobilization because the last thing this capitalist party wanted to see was an independent mobilization of labor's social power. But they were defeated! At least 8,000 working people, minorities, students and others—with a solid core of disciplined contingents of trade unionists—came out in response to the PDC's call for a united-front mobilization and in defiance of the efforts of the Giuliani administration, its cops and the courts to deny their right to mobilize to stop the Klan.

Now again taking up the Klan's cause in court, Siegel asserts in the *Times*: "The Klan intends to come back and exercise their right to wear the hood and the mask.... The Klan issue is a test case with regard to anonymous speech." Last October, the *New York Times* joined in campaigning for the KKK's "free speech" and, after they were routed, continued depicting these racist killers as a handful of harmless small-town eccentrics. The purpose of the liberals and Democrats is to try to keep the working people of New York from mobilizing to stop the Klan if they rear their heads in this city again.

Whether they wear their hoods and robes or not, KKK rallies have nothing to do with free speech; they are an incitement to and recruiting pitch for racist terror. The KKK hood is the symbol of the defeated Confederate slave-owners who sought to terrorize the black freedmen after the Civil War. Then as now, the Klan uses their hoods and masks to perpetrate their lynch mob murders in anonymity, in the dead of night.

As Marxist partisans of the interests of the working class, we know better than anyone the value of free speech. That is why we forthrightly oppose any appeals

to the agencies of the capitalist state to "ban the Klan." The capitalist state is organized *against* workers and the oppressed. Just look at what happened in December when Giuliani and Democratic state attorney general Eliot Spitzer—with the support of leading Democrats from Hillary Clinton on down—banned transit workers from even saying the word "strike" as part of a strikebreaking offensive against the Transport Workers Union. While Sharpton, who lauds strikebreaker Spitzer as "very accessible to our community" (*Amsterdam News*, 27 January), was everywhere to be seen expressing his solicitude for the KKK's rights, you didn't find him on the courthouse steps or evening news in defense of the largely black and Hispanic transit workers under attack by Spitzer's and Giuliani's police-state injunctions.

The powerful labor/black mobilization that drove the KKK off the streets of New York last October gave organized expression to the outrage over the continuing reign of NYPD terror and galvanized the anger among the city's working people who are fed up with being pushed around in the capitalists' class war against workers and the poor. October 23 showed that to mobilize labor's social power in defense of its interests and the interests of all the oppressed, labor has to be organized independent of the class enemy—the capitalists, their government and their political parties, both the Democrats and Republicans. Working people need a party that fights for their interests, a workers party that aims to sweep away this whole system of capitalist exploitation and racist reaction. An example of such a workers party in action was seen on the streets of New York on October 23. ■



WV Photo

Thousands of working people, minorities, students and others came out in response to PDC call to stop the KKK nightriders.

cratic Party machine in trying to organize a rally for "tolerance" for the KKK—even offering to share their sound system with the Klan—the day of the anti-Klan mobilization.

Preaching that the KKK was "irrelevant," Sharpton said the real threat came from the "Klan in blue." The cops are indeed a clear and present danger to black and Hispanic people, as the NYPD's murderous rampage claims one victim after another, from Malcolm Ferguson to

is the main obstacle to successful class struggle in the U.S. In contrast, the fake-leftist International Socialist Organization serves to chain radical youth, blacks and labor to the class enemy by tailing Sharpton and the Democrats, as seen in October when the ISO enrolled as builders of the Democrats' "tolerance" rally.

On October 23, working people got a concrete lesson in who their friends and who their enemies are. The Democratic Party pulled out the stops to try to spike

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South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

“I am no longer your comrade. I am a minister now.”

Ten years ago, the most prominent left-wing workers leader in South Africa was Moses Mayekiso, head of the metal workers union and Central Committee member of the Communist Party. When he was in prison in the late 1980s, there was an international campaign to free him in which we, the International Communist League, participated. In fact, I remember picketing with my comrades in San Francisco with signs reading “Free Moses Mayekiso!” What is Mayekiso doing today? He’s the head of some private financial outfit. He’s a small-time, or maybe a medium-time, finance capitalist. People like Mayekiso and Lekota are said in South Africa to be “on the gravy train.”

We characterize post-1994 South Africa as neo-apartheid. The legal and political structure of the apartheid system has changed quite radically. The social and economic dominance of the white minority has not changed. The superexploitation of black and nonwhite labor by the white capitalists, domestic and foreign, has not changed. Whites still live in the “First World,” blacks in the “Third World.” Average per capita consumption of electricity in the white neighborhoods of South Africa is about the same as in Stockholm, Sweden and Munich, Germany, two of the wealthiest cities in the Western world. One-quarter of all urban blacks live in what they call “informal



Der Spiegel

Rigid segregation of apartheid era was written into law, enforced by brutal terror. Right: 1976 Soweto student uprising was inspired by Cuban defeat of South African forces in Angola.



Peter Magubane

jugation is the case as well in the rest of Africa and, in a different way, in the Near East and Asia. However, the European-derived population in South Africa is far larger and more deeply rooted than elsewhere in the colonial—or rather, now former colonial—world.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, Dutch Calvinists and French Huguenots moved to South Africa in significant numbers and established an agricultural economy. They called themselves Afrikaners, sometimes called Africa’s “white tribe.” In the late 19th century, when gold and also diamonds were discovered, British imperialism took over South Africa, fought a war against the Afrikaners—the Boer War—

stayed home every day of the year, sitting around their swimming pools drinking beer and it would have had absolutely no effect on the actual economy. They were totally parasitic.

In one important respect, the effect of colonial rule in South Africa was very different from the rest of Africa, the Near East and Asia. In general, Western imperialism (and in the Far East, also Japanese imperialism) tended to widen and deepen the class divisions among the indigenous colonized peoples. That is, the colonial administration collaborated with the indigenous, propertied classes and the traditional ruling elite. In some cases, they even created classes where none had existed. For example, among the Ibos in Nigeria, there were no hereditary chieftains. They simply had village councils in which everybody had an equal say. When the British moved into Nigeria, they appointed chieftains to the Ibos. They said, “We tell you what to do. You tell your people what to do. And you will be well rewarded.”

There were wealthy Indian landowners and Indian millionaire factory owners in British India—likewise for Egypt, French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies. But not for South Africa. In South Africa, the class structure of the black—or more generally nonwhite—population was compressed. Blacks couldn’t even own residential land in South Africa, much less agricultural or commercial land. In the 1980s, the only black capitalists in Johannesburg were the guys who owned and ran minivans and minibuses. Incidentally, these were very competitive capitalists—but not in ways that benefited their customers. Every once in a while they would shoot each other up as a way of preventing the oversupply of their services.

In South Africa, you had a complete correspondence between class divisions and national or racial divisions. The capitalists—big, medium and little—were white, the state bureaucracy was white. The working class was nonwhite—mainly black African, some Indian and some “coloured” (or mixed-race). The

urban and rural poor were black. This situation, of course, had a profound effect on the political consciousness and the organization of the black masses.

Communism and Black Nationalism in South Africa

The South African Communist Party has for the past half century been an important constituent part of the African National Congress, which, as its name indicates, claims to stand for the *national* interests of the entire black African population of all social classes. In South Africa, Communism was seen as complementary and not antagonistic to black African nationalism. In a conventional, popular sense, what Communism meant was, you take the wealth from the white ruling class and you distribute it among the impoverished black masses. Communism did not mean expropriating the factories, the mines, the farms owned by black capitalists. Because *there were no black capitalists*.

The identification of Communism and national liberation in South Africa was reinforced during the Cold War era by the international alignments. South Africa was an important strategic ally of the United States, of Western imperialism. It was part of the “free world”—an embarrassing part to be sure, but part of it. The ANC was backed diplomatically and financially by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union provided the arms and training for the ANC’s basically token guerrilla warfare. During the township revolts in the mid-1980s, the young black rebels called themselves “comrades” and waved the red flag with the hammer and sickle as a symbol of defiance.

The same factors and conditions made the South African Communist Party as well as the ANC an incubator for a future black capitalist class. Let’s take a young black intellectual in the 1970s, say, someone with a law degree. He’s ambitious in a bourgeois-careerist sense. He wants money, he wants the good things in life, he wants to be a political mover and shaker in his own country. But how can

continued on page 8



Star

Rural masses continue to live in abject poverty six years after end of white-supremacist rule.

housing”—backyard shacks, garages, shantytowns made of cardboard and plastic. Ninety percent of all rural blacks have no electricity at all.

The leading cause of death among white children in South Africa is swimming pool accidents. Water also plays a significant role in the death of black children, but in a rather different way. They die from diseases like dysentery, which are contracted from drinking polluted water.

When Mandela took over as president, South Africa had the most unequal economic structure of any country in the world. The wealthiest 10 percent got over half of all the national income. The poorest 40 percent got less than 4 percent. That’s still the case. What’s changed is that now the top 10 percent includes several thousand blacks, many of them former leaders of the so-called national liberation movement, which in fact liberated *them*—to drive BMWs, wear Armani suits and move into posh, formerly all-white neighborhoods.

European Colonialism and Apartheid Capitalism

To understand what we call neo-apartheid under the ANC, you have to understand apartheid under the white-supremacist regime. South Africa as it exists today is the product of the European colonial conquest and subjugation of the indigenous black, Bantu-speaking population. This history of colonial sub-

and there was a large influx of immigrants from Britain. Because of the relatively large size and the permanent character of the white European population, the imperialists have been able to exploit the indigenous population in a far more complete and systematic, one might say totalitarian, way than elsewhere in Africa and in other colonial countries.

At the beginning of the 20th century, most blacks in South Africa were self-sufficient agriculturalists. They owned their own land, they lived in traditional tribal societies. The British government then took their land—*all of it*—in the 1913 Land Act, declaring that South Africa was literally a white man’s country. Blacks could only own land in the so-called native reserves (bantustans), amounting to 7 percent of the country; the most arid, desolate part. The main reason that they did this was to provide a large pool of cheap labor to work in the mines, which for many was a death sentence.

After World War II, South Africa was industrialized by the superexploitation of black labor under the white police state. In order to provide the large white European population with a European living standard, every last bit of surplus was squeezed out of the black population. By the 1980s, one-third of the entire white labor force and one-half of the Afrikaners were on the government payroll. And most of these people did *nothing*, they just pushed paper around. Half of the white government employees could have



Radio Times Hulton

Gold miners in the Transvaal, 1888. Mining of diamonds and gold by super-exploited black labor was key to development of South African capitalism.

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

he realize these aspirations? He can't become a corporate executive of Anglo American, the big mining and industrial conglomerate. They don't have black corporate executives. Obviously, he can't join the ruling white-supremacist party. So our ambitious young black intellectual recognizes that if he is going to become part of the ruling elite, then they've got to, one way or another, displace this white-supremacist regime or at least arrange a "power sharing" agreement. So he joins the ANC, maybe he joins the Communist Party, or at least works closely with it.

If you read the recent speeches of Thabo Mbeki, you might think they were written by the public relations department of the International Monetary Fund. For all I know, maybe they were. Mbeki is a former member of the Communist Party and this is generally true of that whole ANC ruling elite. If you sur-

Trotsky stressed, "In a country where the proletariat has power in its hands as the result of the democratic revolution, the subsequent fate of the dictatorship and socialism depends in the last analysis not only and not so much upon the national productive forces as upon the development of the international socialist revolution."

But how does the proletariat become the leader of the subjugated nation? For that it has to be organized and led by a revolutionary vanguard party, such as the Bolshevik Party that Lenin built in tsarist Russia, which politically combats and defeats the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties which also claim to be the leader of the subjugated nation. Historically, the struggle for permanent revolution has been directed against the Stalinists' policy of collaboration with and support to bourgeois nationalists. And this is the main form of opportunism in Third World countries.

But sometimes you get a very different kind, or at least an apparently very different kind, of political tendency within the

Communist red flag flies at funeral of anti-apartheid fighter killed by cops in 1986.



Gubb/JB Pictures

in South Africa in the late 1970s and '80s. They were called the "workerists" and for a time they led a number of quite significant trade unions. Basically, the workerists looked around the rest of Africa, the Near East, Asia, and they saw governments, like in Algeria, which had come to power as the leader of a national liberation movement. But these governments then savagely suppressed the working class. So the workerists in South Africa said, "We're not going to let that happen here." Basically, they projected that sooner or later, by one means or another, the ANC was going to come to power. And they saw their job as building strong trade unions which would defend the workers after the ANC came to power and which would pressure the ANC government into carrying out policies beneficial to the workers.

In the early '80s, one of the leaders of this tendency, Joe Foster, laid out its political doctrine. He begins by describing the ANC as "a great populist liberation movement" and goes on:

"But these movements cannot and have not in themselves been able to deal with the particular and fundamental problem of workers....

"It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle. This organisation is necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will [in the] end have no option but to turn against their worker supporters."

—South African Labour Bulletin, July 1982

In opposition to this current, we wrote at the time:

"The only way to ensure that national liberation movements do not turn against their worker supporters is for the workers movement to place *itself* at the head of the oppressed black people, to combat every manifestation of white racist rule—the disenfranchisement of the black majority, the bantustans, the pass

laws, the enforced separation of urban black workers from their wives and children, the massive use of convict labor."

—WV No. 366, 9 November 1984

A few years later, a number of the most prominent "workerist" leaders, like Mayekiso and Alec Erwin, as well as many rank-and-file activists, joined the ANC and the Communist Party. I was in South Africa about six weeks ago, and I and a comrade met with some veteran trade unionists who had been part of this tendency. They had joined the ANC and SACP but are today very disillusioned. We asked them, "Why did you join the ANC and SACP since you had earlier criticized them from the left?" One of them said, "We were duped by Joe Slovo," who was the CP leader at the time. "Slovo told us that right after Mandela came to power, the Communist Party would mobilize the working class in the struggle for the second stage, proletarian revolution."

But why were they duped? These were not naive, politically raw youth. These were battle-hardened, left-wing workers leaders. They were absolutely familiar with the politics and history of the ANC and SACP. But the real reason is that in their own way, the "workerists," too, had subscribed to the two-stage revolution. They assumed and accepted that the white-supremacist regime was going to be replaced by the ANC and they saw their goal as simply to defend the workers' interests against the inevitable ANC regime. That was the point of intersection between the "workerists" and the SACP. They never understood that the working class could defend its interests only, as Trotsky put it, by placing itself at the head of the subjugated nation through the instrumentality of a revolutionary workers party.

South Africa in the Cold War

Up until now, I've mainly focused on the internal structure and developments in South Africa. But one really can't understand the transition from apartheid rule to ANC rule and neo-apartheid except in the context of world politics. Southern Africa, like much of the rest of the world, was an arena of the Cold War—and in the mid-1970s in Angola, a *hot war*—between Western imperialism, led by the U.S., and the Soviet Union and its allies. South Africa was an important regional ally of the U.S. The Pentagon collaborated closely with the South African military; the CIA collaborated closely with its South African counterpart. For example, in the early 1960s the ANC decided to launch armed struggle against the white-supremacist regime, and its leaders, like Mandela, therefore went underground. It was the CIA which, through one of its informants in the ANC, tracked Mandela down and informed the South African government, which then captured him and put him in prison for the next 30 years.

In the 1950s and '60s, South Africa was one of the very few countries in Africa or Asia with very large American, as well as British, capital investment. The big monopoly, Anglo American, was well named. Half of its stockholders were American and British. And in 1970, the American business magazine *Fortune* wrote:

"The Republic of South Africa has always been regarded by foreign investors as a gold mine, one of those rare and



WV Photo

1983 anti-apartheid protest in New York. Fight for liberation of black masses in South Africa must be linked to struggle for socialist revolution in U.S. bastion of imperialism.

vey maybe the wealthiest 5 percent of black Africans in South Africa, probably over half of them are former members of the SACP. Some of them might even be current members of the SACP, at least nominally.

To oversimplify, one can say that if you wanted to be a capitalist and were a black in South Africa, you had to call yourself a Communist. Because that was the only way in which you could hope to mobilize the black masses, and particularly the black proletariat, in the struggle against the white-supremacist regime.

For Permanent Revolution!

Of course, the Communist Party does not today, nor did it in the past, say, "Our goal is to promote a black capitalist class and a black state bureaucracy." Rather, they justified and continue to justify their policies with reference to the old Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution." This says that in all colonial or semicolonial countries, first we have to have the bourgeois-democratic revolution—in South Africa it's called the "national democratic revolution"—led by a supposedly progressive or "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeoisie. In South Africa this role is assigned to the ANC of Mandela and Mbeki. Then, at some point in the future, they say, we'll have the proletarian socialist revolution.

In opposition to the Stalinist doctrine of two-stage revolution, Leon Trotsky put forward the program and perspective of permanent revolution, which he summarized in this way:

"With regard to countries of a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation."

—The Permanent Revolution (1929)

workers movement, which we would characterize as "militant economism" or syndicalism. This tendency maintains that the workers should exclusively concentrate on building their own organizations at the point of production—trade unions or factory committees—and should turn their backs on the national liberation struggle; they should turn their backs on the struggles of the peasantry and the other oppressed sections of society.

Interestingly, such a tendency emerged



de Blois/AP



Silva/Sygma

Racist state terror and anti-immigrant chauvinism in "new" South Africa: police fire at black township squatters near Johannesburg; Mozambicans await deportation in South African jail.

refreshing places where profits are great and problems are small. Capital is not threatened by political instability or nationalization. Labor is cheap, the market is booming, and the currency hard and convertible.”

—quoted in Martin J. Murray, ed., *South African Capitalism and Black Political Opposition* (1982)

But over the course of the next decade or so, developments took place which very much changed this rosy picture of South Africa in the eyes of the American capitalist class. To begin with, national liberation struggles in neighboring Angola and Mozambique, which were Portuguese colonies when this *Fortune* article came out, not only succeeded in winning independence from Portugal but precipitated a revolutionary upheaval in Portugal itself. In 1975, when the Portuguese colonialists pulled out, a left-nationalist government allied to Moscow was established in Angola, where the ANC was now allowed to set up guerrilla bases.

At that point, the Americans encouraged the South Africans to send in their army and smash this left-nationalist regime—replace Portuguese colonialism with South African colonialism in Angola. In response, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev got the Cuban army to go in and the Cuban army smashed the South African army, inflicting a humiliating defeat on it. Finally, the ANC guerrillas actually got to be on the winning side, fighting alongside the Cubans. By themselves, they couldn’t do very much. Let’s give credit where credit is due—to the Soviets and Cubans.

The war in Angola actually turned out to be a turning point in the history of modern South Africa. The defeat of the white-supremacist South African army by the Cubans, with the ANC in an auxiliary role, inspired and encouraged a new wave of resistance in South Africa itself. Only a few months later came the 1976 Soweto student uprising. More importantly, beginning in the mid-1970s, you got the development of a black trade-union movement which over the next decade

became one of the largest, most combative and most left-wing in the world.

Under these conditions, the more farsighted elements of the American ruling class recognized that four million whites in South Africa could not long continue to completely subjugate and exploit 20 million nonwhites simply by the mechanisms of police-state repression. Moreover, the longer the apartheid system lasted, the more radical the black masses



Cuban women troops prepare to leave Angola, 1989. Cuban forces smashed South African apartheid invasion in mid-1970s.

would become; the more hostile they would become not only to the South African ruling class but also to its American great-power ally. In 1981, the Rockefeller Foundation put out a study called *South Africa—Time Running Out*. Here is their assessment: “All the ingredients of a major crisis are present there. The dangers of political instability, large-scale racial conflict, and the growth of Communist influence are real.” Their conclusion: “To promote genuine political power sharing in South Africa.”

A few years later came the black township revolts in which the segregated townships like Soweto were effectively

taken over by militants, generally supportive of the ANC and SACP—the young “comrades” waving the red flag with the hammer and sickle. The white-supremacist regime, true to its nature, responded to this by escalating police-state terror. In 1985, the government of P. W. Botha declared a state of emergency. The police and army killed over a thousand blacks and imprisoned 20,000.

The American ruling class didn’t

approve of this policy. Not on moral grounds, to be sure. They figured that even if it worked in the short run, it was not going to work in the longer run. For every black union activist and township militant who was killed or imprisoned, five more would replace them. And they would be even more fanatically hostile to the white-supremacist regime, even more fanatically hostile to the U.S. and more sympathetic to the Soviet Union and Communism. The American ruling class sent a strong message to its South African junior partner. Wall Street financiers dumped all of the South African stocks and bonds that they could. U.S. banks

refused to roll over their loans to the South African government and South African corporations. The value of the South African currency, the rand, plummeted through the floor. One of the leaders of the white liberal opposition, Helen Sussman, quipped that nobody had to call for foreign divestment anymore, it’s already happened.

Well, the Afrikaner nationalists are pretty hardheaded. But money talks. They got the message. So in 1986 they opened secret negotiations with the ANC leadership, with Mandela in prison and the others who were in exile. But for the next four years these negotiations didn’t go anywhere—the most the ANC was willing to concede was still less than what the white-supremacists and their American senior partners demanded.

This deadlock in the negotiations was broken not by developments in southern Africa but by developments in East Europe and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy collapsed under the regime of Mikhail Gorbachev. Capitalist counterrevolution swept across East Europe with Gorbachev’s toleration and encouragement. And everybody knew, if the Soviets were giving East Europe back to the Western imperialists, they were certainly not interested in a new client state in southern Africa. In fact, Moscow dropped all of its support to the ANC and moved to establish good diplomatic relations with the white-supremacist regime.

In 1990, the South African government legalized the ANC and the Communist Party. A government spokesman explained why to its supporters, many of whom strongly opposed this move:

“Our situation has changed fundamentally by what has happened in the international field, in Eastern Europe, Russia, and in several African states recently. The total effect of all these things puts the threat posed by the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress in an entirely new context.”

—quoted in David Ottaway, *Chained Together: Mandela, De Klerk, and the Struggle to Remake South Africa* (1993)

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Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL, the ICL’s Declaration of Principles is a concrete expression of our purpose: to build national sections of a democratic-centralist international party which can lead the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution.

The Declaration of Principles has now been published in 13 languages including its publication in *Spartacist*.

Chinese	\$1	Greek	\$1	Portuguese	\$1
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French	\$2	Italian	\$1	Spanish	\$1.50
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Free Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

At last year's April 24 "Millions for Mumia" rally, a handful of small-time Bay Area labor fakers like Jack Heyman of ILWU longshore Local 10 and Bob Mandel of the Oakland teachers union, joined by the slimy Bolshevik Tendency, acted to camouflage their appeal to the liberals in defense of the "fairness" of the capitalist courts by tacking "Free Mumia"



Reuters

Mumia Abu-Jamal during his appeal hearings in Philadelphia, 1995.

onto the call for a new trial. This year, even the "left" fig leaf was largely gone; as one protester said to a WV salesman at the rally, "It's an election year, what do you expect?"

The reformists subordinate the issue of Mumia's innocence and freedom to their attempt to make the Democratic Party more palatable by cleaning up its image, in order to better tie the workers to their capitalist exploiters. This was clear at a May 12 "Labor Conference for Mumia" in Oakland organized by the Labor Action Committee, which passed the following motion put forward by Mandel:

"WHEREAS [Philadelphia mayor] Ed Rendell has been appointed the chairman of the Democratic National Committee and will play a leading role in the

Democratic convention in LA in August 2000 and
"WHEREAS Ed Rendell was the Philadelphia District Attorney when Mumia was railroaded and has continued to play an active role in seeking his execution....
"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this conference condemns Rendell's appointment."

Mandel, one-time supporter of the SL, longtime virulent Spartacist-baiter and up-and-coming junior union bureaucrat, is now openly embracing a perspective of putting a better face on the Democratic Party. Exposing these pro-Democratic Party labor fakers, an SL supporter said from the floor of the May 12 conference, "In order for the working class to exercise its power, it must be mobilized politically independently of its class enemies, the Democratic Party."

Join the Revolutionary Contingent!

The notorious frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal symbolizes what the barbaric, racist death penalty is all about in capitalist America. The capitalist forces of "law and order," represented by *both* the Democratic and Republican parties, want Jamal dead because they see in this eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman the threat of black revolution, a symbol of defiant opposition to their system of racist oppression. They want to execute this innocent man as a warning to all those who fight against racism and vicious cop repression in the ghettos, who defend the working class against capitalist exploitation, who oppose imperialist mass murder from the Balkans to Iraq. The Partisan Defense Committee calls on working people, minorities, youth and all opponents of capitalist repression in the U.S. and around the world to demand: ***Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! March with the Spartacus Youth Club in a revolutionary contingent based on these demands on May 13!***

Instead of demanding freedom for Mumia, the liberal and reformist organizers of the May 13 demonstration have watered down their demands in order to attract hypocritical Democratic Party pol-

iticians. They say only: "Stop the execution!" and "New trial for Mumia!" or "Let the evidence be heard!" ***Do not be put off by the watered-down politics of the organizers of this demonstration. Mumia's life depends on the broadest mobilization, particularly by the multiracial working class that has real social power. All out on May 13!***

To wage an effective fight for Jamal's freedom it is vital to understand *what* we are up against: who our enemies are, who our real allies are. Mountains of evidence refuting the frame-up and proving Jamal's innocence have been heard time and again. Obscenely the pro-Democratic Party reformists even tell us to pressure Janet Reno, the mass murderer of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas in 1993, to "investigate" Mumia's frame-up. Bourgeois liberals try to paint the frame-up of Jamal as an exception, a "miscarriage of justice," in the same way they try to pass off the killing by racist cops of African immigrant Amadou Diallo in a hail of 41 bullets as an "aberration" in an otherwise just system of "democracy." Behind the call for a "new trial" is a reformist political program premised on the belief that the brutal racist capitalist state—whose sole purpose is to defend the "right" of the capitalist ruling class to reap profits off the labor of working people—can be pressured and reformed to be "just."

This is a dangerous illusion! Look what happened to Hurricane Carter. Framed up on false murder charges in the mid-1960s because he was an advocate of the right of armed self-defense, Carter finally won a new trial in 1976 after an international protest campaign. But when he was convicted *again*, the liberals fled his cause and Carter spent another ten years in prison. Don't let those who preach reliance on the "neutrality" of the racist, imperialist U.S. state keep you away from demonstrating your determination to free Mumia!

We start with the Marxist understanding that the capitalist state, based on the cops, courts and prisons, is a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed working class. While we must pursue every means of legal redress, the fight to free Jamal must be mobilized ***independently of the racist***

capitalist state which has worked for years to frame him up.

We put all our confidence in the social power of the multiracial working class. Workers unions are the only significant force for integration in the workplace and on the factory floor in racist America. Unlike students, the working class in the trade unions has the social power and potential to become a battalion in the struggle against racial oppression and exploitation and to shake the foundations of decaying world imperialism. The fight to free Mumia, to abolish the racist death penalty, if undertaken with a mobilization of the union movement, would be a first, giant step in that direction. But to undertake this struggle, labor must break the hold of the current pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleadership, which ties the working class hand and foot by preaching reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party. The fight to free Jamal must be mobilized not only against the capitalist state, but against the capitalist parties that run it.

On 23 October 1999 a powerful multiracial labor-centered mobilization of 10,000 initiated by the PDC ran the KKK race-terrorists off the streets of New York City—against the opposition of the Democratic Party that ***defended the "rights" of the KKK murderers***. This was a powerful example on a small scale of a revolutionary workers party in action—mobilizing all the oppressed behind the working class in opposition to the capitalists, their parties and their state—as opposed to the union misleaders who tie workers and blacks to the Democrats.

When he was granted a stay of execution in August 1995 Mumia wrote, "Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! ***Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!***" Black oppression is an integral part of racist American capitalism. To sweep away the entire apparatus of capitalist repression, to end their whole system of racial oppression, exploitation and war, requires a multiracial revolutionary workers party to lead the fight for a workers government which will take industry away from its capitalist owners and rebuild America on a socialist planned economy. ***Finish the Civil War! Forward to a workers state!*** ■

War Criminal...

(continued from page 12)

has killed over 1.5 million Iraqi men, women and children. It was Albright who spearheaded the mass terror bombing of Serbia which systematically destroyed the civilian infrastructure, doing more damage in ten weeks than Nazi Germany accomplished there in WWII. Recently, the Clinton/Albright regime has allocated one billion dollars to the Colombian bourgeoisie for the "war on drugs," which is in reality blood money for the assassination of peasant guerrilla insurgents. The American military reoccupied the Puerto Rican island of Vieques only a few days before Albright appeared at Berkeley, insisting on its right to use the island for unrestricted target practice. The SYC opposes all attempts to drape colonialism and imperialist butchery in "respectable" academic robes.

The anti-communists of the Muslim Student Union sought to limit protesters to opposing the U.S. imperialist blockade of Iraq as a "bad" American foreign policy decision; in this they were allied with the craven reformists of the ISO. The ISO supported the U.S.-armed Islamic *mujahedin* in Afghanistan against the Soviet Red Army in 1979-89, backing those who skinned schoolteachers alive for teaching girls to read and write. Today the ISO insists that Islamic fundamentalism plays a progressive "anti-imperialist" role around the world. They proclaimed: ***Islamists have now replaced socialists***

and the left in terms of being in the front-line against the state in many countries" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 20 August 1994 [emphasis in original]). The ISOers dutifully limited their protest signs to the tepid call "Albright, War Criminal, Lift the Iraq Sanctions." The SYC chanted, "Down with the veil—For women's liberation through socialist revolution!" while the ISOers said nothing in defense of women's rights. What the Muslim fundamentalists especially couldn't stand was our call for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state against U.S. imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The SYC speaker explained:

"Today China is the main target of imperialist counterrevolution. Pursuing imperialist 'engagement' with Beijing to undermine the economic foundations of the planned economy, and at the same time pushing military encirclement, pressure and provocation, Washington aims for the imperialist reconquest of China."

At this point, the MSU attempted to get the SYC to surrender our bullhorn, which we refused to do. On the question of China the ISO shares the anti-Communism of the Muslim fundamentalists. The ISO's mentor, Tony Cliff, broke from the British Trotskyist movement when he refused to militarily defend North Korea and China against the UN-sanctioned U.S. imperialist onslaught known as the "Korean War."

Ironically, Albright used her UC Berkeley platform to pander to the illusions in "human rights" imperialism which are widespread among the protest-

ers. She praised Berkeley students for fighting for "debt forgiveness" for the neocolonial countries, and for their efforts to reform sweatshop conditions internationally. Both campaigns are attempts to shame the U.S. corporations and government, the most vicious exploiters of labor the world over, into removing the most glaring eyesores of neocolonial exploitation. Rather than take on the capitalist system, itself the origins of this oppression, the liberals and reformists accept the reactionary myth that U.S. imperialism can be pressured to act in the interests of workers and the oppressed. Albright showed real savvy in so lavishly praising the sweatshop campaign, a main focus of the ISO's activity on campuses nationally! As usual, these "leftists" resonate in tune with the line put forward by the American capitalist class and function to keep students who want to oppose war and global poverty from finding their way to communist politics.

Throughout the day of demonstrations and protest marches leading up to Albright's appearance, the Spartacus Youth Club alone told the truth about American class society and put forward a revolutionary program to abolish capitalism. Imperialism is not "a misguided policy," but the era of capitalist decay in which intensifying competition between rival capitalist powers for economic and military dominance leads to ever-greater crises and wars. Against calls by liberal and reformist protesters for a more "progressive" U.S. foreign policy, we

explained that the entire capitalist system is criminal. Only a victorious workers revolution, like the October 1917 Revolution led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, can abolish the dictatorship of profit and private property and lay the economic basis to eliminate class exploitation and oppression once and for all. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the training ground for the revolutionaries who will lead new Octobers. Join us! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/SYC Revolutionary Contingent at Bay Area Rally

Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Young Spartacus

More than 3,000 people rallied in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in San Francisco on May 13, while smaller protests took place in Chicago, Philadelphia and other cities. A week earlier, some 6,000 people packed New York's Madison Square Garden theater for a rally there. Mumia's cause was also featured—through speeches taped from his cell on death row—at commencement ceremonies at Antioch College on April 29 and five days later at a 25th anniversary commemoration at Kent State of the National Guard killing of four student protesters against the Vietnam War.

Many youth have taken up Mumia's cause because they see the fight for his freedom as part of a struggle against social injustice and racist oppression. But the liberal and reformist organizers of the protests consciously formulated the rally slogans to foster illusions in the capitalist injustice system. While a handful of speakers at the SF rally mouthed the words "there is no justice in the courts," none took exception to the huge banner behind them emblazoned with the call "New Trial Now!"—pushing the notion that Jamal *will* get justice in the capitalist courts that framed up this innocent man and sent him to death row.



Young Spartacus

San Francisco, May 13: Revolutionary Contingent called for mobilizing labor's social power to free Mumia. Against liberal appeals for "new trial," we say: "There is no justice in the capitalist courts!"

Many young protesters in San Francisco found what they were looking for in the Revolutionary Contingent built by the Spartacus Youth Club, the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League. Protesters literally tossed away the signs they had been given that appealed to the racist injustice system for a "new trial," leaving

them in a pile on the ground, and joined our contingent of nearly 100 behind the Partisan Defense Committee banner reading "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

As the Bay Area SYC contingent call reprinted below makes clear, the liber-

als and reformists—such as Socialist Action, Workers World Party, International Socialist Organization, Revolutionary Communist Party/Refuse & Resist!—did not organize these protests around the call to "free Mumia" because they seek a bloc with liberal Democrats who won't call for freeing a convicted "cop killer." These liberal capitalist politicians merely want to clean up the more embarrassing aspects of Jamal's 1982 frame-up trial on bogus charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman. Many of the SF protesters joined us when we chanted, "Democrats and Republicans starve the poor! For a workers party to wage class war!" and "Capitalism means racism and war! Socialist revolution is what we're for!"

The liberals and reformists seek to turn Jamal into a poster boy to illustrate that this racist capitalist system is inherently fair. This was captured in a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (7 May) signed by prominent academics, which concluded: "While there are those who believe Mumia is innocent and should be freed now, and others who have no opinion about his innocence, we are all united in viewing Mumia's 1982 trial as a travesty of justice, and affirm that he **MUST** have a new trial!" Likewise, liberal Democratic Party SF Board of Supervisors president Tom Ammann told the crowd that Mumia is "a man who *may* be innocent," for which he was rightly booed.

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UC Berkeley Students Protest War Criminal Madeleine Albright

Young Spartacus

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, architect of foreign policy for the most rapacious and bloody imperialist power on earth, was met by militant protest, boos, and angry attempts to shout her down when she spoke at this year's UC Berkeley commencement on May 10. The Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club took an active part in the demonstration of over 200 that began four hours before Albright was scheduled to speak and culminated in the ejection of protesters from the ceremony as they tried to shout her down.

Albright, although initially scheduled to speak last, was hurriedly pushed to the front of the commencement program and then whisked out immediately after her speech. This was so she wouldn't have to hear the student receiving the University Medal, a child of Palestinian immigrants, attack her horrendous legacy of mass murder in Iraq from the rostrum.

As soon as Albright was announced,

SYC members were the first on their feet, shouting "Down with Madeleine Albright, butcher of the Balkans! For workers revolution to smash U.S. imperialism!" There was a moment of dead silence as the Secret Service roughly pulled out an SYC'er and another student sitting near him and threw them up against cop cars. When dozens of other students then raised their voices in an attempt to shout down this imperialist murderer, they too were summarily ejected—a total of 59. Many more known campus activists had been fingered by university administrators and thrown out even before the ceremony began.

Participating in the Berkeley protest were members of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), Workers World Party (WWP), the International Socialist Organization (ISO), numerous individual anarchists and campus pacifists. Also taking part were many Muslim students organized by American Muslims for Global Peace and Justice as well as the reactionary, woman-hating Muslim Student Union (MSU) at Berkeley. As the demonstrators assem-

SYC speaker addresses May 10 Berkeley protest before joining in attempt to shout down Albright. Secret Service dragged off SYCers and other protesters.



Young Spartacus

bled on Sproul Plaza for the rally earlier in the afternoon, the SYC bullhorned:

"From Iraq to Kosovo, U.S. so-called humanitarianism means military occupation to further its own aims—which boils down to the ruthless pursuit of profit and exploitation and oppression of working people throughout the world. All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans! Down with the starvation blockade of Iraq! All U.S./UN troops out of the

Persian Gulf! Down with the racist Democratic Party of imperialism and war! For workers revolution to defeat U.S. imperialism!"

Both as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and now as Secretary of State, Albright has enthusiastically served as the administration's chief proponent of the genocidal starvation blockade which

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