

“National Unity” Jingoism: Bosses Profit, Workers Pay

Repression, Recession and War

SEPTEMBER 25—The hijacked airliners that slammed into the World Trade Center on September 11 have changed not simply the landscape of lower Manhattan but the political landscape of the world. Upwards of 6,000 people are dead, most buried in the still smoldering ashes of the rubble. The New York Stock Exchange took its biggest weekly drop since the Great Depression of the 1930s, losing over a *trillion dollars*. A wounded, dangerous and nuclear-armed U.S. imperialism has dispatched four aircraft carriers, 30 warships, at least one nuclear submarine, 15,000 troops and hundreds of warplanes to the Persian Gulf. And that is only the beginning. The most immediate target is Afghanistan’s Taliban government. Yet these same Islamic fundamentalist forces were armed and bankrolled by the U.S. to fight the Soviet Army, whose intervention into Afghanistan in 1979 offered the prospect of bringing progress to that hideously backward country. At home, the rulers have seized the opportunity to tighten the screws of state repression on the working people, the ghetto masses, desperate and increasingly besieged immigrants and anyone else they perceive as getting in their way.

The attack on the World Trade Center took place a decade, almost to the day, after the ascendancy of the forces of counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union, who were also backed by U.S. imperialism. However bureaucratically deformed and undermined by the nationalist rule of a privileged, parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union was a workers state; as such it stood as a counterweight to the boundless ambitions of the American empire. With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR, the U.S. rulers boasted of being the “world’s only superpower” as they ran roughshod over the rest of the world, leaving a trail of untold misery, devastation and death in their wake—from Iraq to Sudan to the Balkans. The intensity of hatred, humiliation and desperation the American imperialists have inspired among tens if not hundreds of millions of people around the globe was brought home in blood and fire as two airplanes full of civilian passengers crashed into the Twin

- **U.S. Hands Off Afghanistan, Iraq!**
- **Defend Immigrants Against Racist Witchhunt!**
- **Unchain Labor/Black Power!**
- For Class Struggle! For a Workers Party!**



AP
Lower Manhattan, September 12. U.S. rulers have seized on World Trade Center attack to push through sweeping repressive measures targeting immigrants, blacks and all perceived opponents.

Towers, while a third hit the Pentagon and another went down while headed toward the Washington, D.C. area.

In a 12 September statement by the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. titled “The World Trade Center Attack” (WV No. 764, 14 September), we wrote: “Those who perpetrated this horrific attack (and there is no evidence at all as to who that was) *embrace the same mentality as the racist rulers of America—identifying the working masses with their capitalist exploiters and oppressors!*” But this attack, however criminal from the vantage point of the working class and oppressed, doesn’t hold a candle to what the U.S. imperialists are now preparing to perpetrate against their enemies—internationally and *at home*.

In a 13 September statement, Radio Havana condemned “the most astonishing act of terrorism in history against what has been for Cuba an implacable enemy for 40 years.” The 1959 Cuban Revolution overthrew the Batista regime of henchmen for U.S. imperialism, leading in 1960-61 to the expropriation of the capitalists and the establishment of a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed and nationally limited by its own Stalinist-style bureaucracy. Ever since, Cuba has been the target of the CIA’s own terrorist network. Counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* have perpetrated countless bombings, acts of sabotage and airline hijackings. This terror, the U.S. military bastion at Guantánamo Bay and the 40-year-long starva-

tion blockade are all aimed at recapturing Cuba for imperialist exploitation. As the Radio Havana statement warned:

“The most powerful nation on earth has been put on a war footing and history has taught us all what to expect when Washington starts waving the cudgel self-righteously. The families of almost a million Japanese, four million Koreans, three million Vietnamese, and thousands of Iraqis and Yugoslavians can all attest to what occurs when the Oval Office scrambles its bombers.”

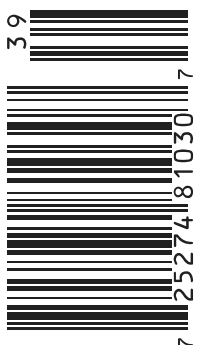
The ruling parties—Republicans and Democrats—with the fawning assistance of their media lackeys are fanning the flames of a patriotic fervor not seen since the bombing of Pearl Harbor. They seek to line up the population behind their military aims abroad and to further chain the working class at home to the interests of the capitalist exploiters. From the halls of Congress to the talking heads on television, they rail against the barbarity of Islamic fundamentalism, fomenting a wave of chauvinist terror against Muslims, people of Near Eastern descent, as well as Sikhs, other South Asians and dark-skinned Latinos. Not so long ago, the American bourgeoisie heralded the Islamic reactionaries as “freedom fighters” in the war against the Soviet “evil empire.”

When Soviet troops first moved into Afghanistan, we wrote in an article headlined “Hail Red Army!” (WV No. 247, 11 January 1980):

“The imperialist media pulled out the stops to build sympathy for ‘freedom fighters’ battling sophisticated tanks and planes with sticks, stones and chants of ‘allah akbar.’ But in the military confrontation pitting the Soviet soldiers, backing the nationalist People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) against feudal and pre-feudal forces aided by imperialism, Marxists side with the Russian tanks.”

When the Kremlin Stalinists criminally withdrew Soviet military forces in 1989, the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense organization associated with the SL/U.S., wrote to the PDPA government offering “to organize an international brigade to fight to the death” against the forces of Islamic

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New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

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Trotskyists Hailed Red Army Intervention

ISO Cheered CIA's "Holy Warriors" in Afghanistan

The intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan in 1979 was seized on by the American imperialist rulers under Democratic president Jimmy Carter to launch a renewed Cold War offensive to realize their longstanding aim of reversing the 1917 Russian Revolution. Washington mobilized the biggest covert CIA operation in history to aid the Islamic "holy warriors" fighting to maintain the enslavement of women and other barbaric practices. As Trotskyists who fought for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union,

we said: "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Extend gains of the October Revolution to Afghan peoples!" In contrast, virtually every other self-proclaimed Marxist organization howled along with the imperialist wolves against the Soviet intervention.

Foremost among them was the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Today, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (14 September) declaims that Osama bin Laden and the Taliban "are products of the 10-year-long, U.S.-backed war against the ex-USSR occupation of Afghan-

istan.... Back then, President Ronald Reagan liked to call bin Laden and his cohorts "freedom fighters." But back then, *so did the ISO!*

For the ISO's then-mentor, the Cliffite British Socialist Workers Party (SWP), screaming "Troops Out of Afghanistan!" was not enough. Leading SWPer Paul Foot used his weekly columns in the bourgeois *Daily Mirror* to denounce then-prime minister Margaret Thatcher, known as the "Iron Lady" of anti-Communism, for allowing exports of "our beef" to the USSR. Foot's "exposés" succeeded in provoking an anti-Communist clamor in Parliament for an all-out trade embargo of the Soviet Union.

When the Kremlin Stalinists began withdrawing Soviet troops in order to placate the imperialists, the ISO's *Socialist Worker* (May 1988) cheered: "We welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs." Indeed it did "give heart" to the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that in the next few years succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. The ISO could have scripted the lines for crazed anti-Communist Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Carter, when he ranted: "What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?"

The withdrawal of the Red Army from Afghanistan flowed from the whole nationalist outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to defense of its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the planned, collectivized economy. As the last Soviet troops were pulled out, we declared: "The

Afghanistan Today

Stinger missiles supplied by U.S. were used by mujahedin to shoot down civilian airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren, March 1987.



TROTSKY

Pacifism, Imperialism and War

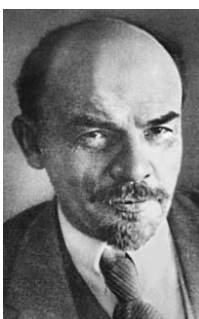
Having embraced the anti-Sovietism of the imperialist rulers during the Cold War, much of the reformist left beat the drums for the war aims of the U.S.-led NATO attack on Serbia two years ago. Today, many of these groups capitulate to the patriotic "anti-terrorism" war hysteria, pleading only for a "peaceful" alternative. In a 1932 statement, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky stressed that such pacifist illusions are an obstacle to mobilizing the proletariat in the revolution-

ary overthrow of the bourgeois order, the only way to end the threat of imperialist war.

To condemn war is easy; to overcome it is difficult. The struggle against war is a struggle against the classes which rule society and which hold in their hands both its productive forces and its destructive weapons. It is not possible to prevent war by moral indignation, by meetings, by resolutions, by newspaper articles, and by congresses. As long as the bourgeoisie has at its command the banks, the factories, the land, the press, and the state apparatus, it will always be able to drive the people to war when its interests demand it. But the propertied classes never cede power without a struggle....

The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors. Idealistic pacifism confronts war with moral indignation the way the lamb confronts the butcher's knife with plaintive bleatings.

—Leon Trotsky, "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (July 1932)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is September 25.

No. 765

28 September 2001

Socialist Worker

Troops out of Afghanistan!

12 January 1980 (British SWP)

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

May 1988 (U.S. ISO)

But Taliban's success comes from popular disenchantment with the leaders who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week.

Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country either.

5 October 1996 (British SWP)

Cliffites of British SWP and U.S. ISO embraced imperialist anti-Soviet crusade in Afghanistan, "welcomed" victory of anti-woman Islamic fundamentalists.

Red Army withdrawal from Afghanistan is a coldblooded betrayal of the Afghan and Soviet peoples" ("War to the Death Against CIA's Mullah Cutthroats! Battle for Afghanistan," WV No. 471, 17 February 1989). A year later, in the first issue of our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* we wrote: "Far better to have fought imperialism through an honorable fight in Afghanistan than to have to now fight it within the borders of the Soviet Union!" (see *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91).

The capitalist counterrevolution welcomed by the imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys brought the working people of the former Soviet Union massive misery, unemployment and homelessness, an unprecedented drop in lifespan, as well as ethnic slaughter. As opposed to the ISO, which cheered the CIA's reactionary "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and now begs the U.S. imperialists to be peaceful in their "war against terrorism," we fight for new October Revolutions to liberate the working people and the oppressed masses of the world. ■

Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

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Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism



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Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.

For a Workers Party That Fights for a Workers Government!

For Socialist Revolution in the Bastion of World Imperialism!

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Opponents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Workers Movement

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Imperialism, the "Global Economy" and Labor Reformism

\$2 (32 pages)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

Join the *SYC*!

The attack on the World Trade Center that killed thousands of innocent people was a crime from the perspective of those who fight in the interests of the working class and the oppressed. It is serving only to reinforce the might of the American imperialist rulers as they mobilize their warships abroad while cracking the whip of state repression at home. While they threaten to “end states” that harbor “terrorists,” the capitalist rulers are already waging a war to dramatically further suppress the working class, the black population, immigrants, youth and any they perceive as even potential opponents of their rule.

As the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. wrote in a September 12 statement, the ruling parties, Democrats and Republicans, “peddle ‘one nation indivisible’ patriotism to try to direct the burgeoning anger at the bottom of this society away from themselves and toward an indefinable foreign ‘enemy,’ as well as immigrants in the U.S., and to reinforce their arsenal of domestic state repression against all the working people.”

Groups like the International Socialist Organization merely give a pacifist veneer to the rulers’ national unity campaign in their vigils for peace and teach-ins pleading: “War is not the answer.” As Leon Trotsky, a leader together with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Russian Revolution, wrote: “The essence of pacifism is a condemnation, whether hypocritical

or sincere, of the use of force *in general*. By weakening the willpower of the oppressed, it serves the cause of the oppressors.” Our answer is *class war* to end a system that is premised on brutal exploitation, vicious racist repression and war. The Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, fight to win youth

to the perspective of building the revolutionary workers party that can do just that.

The myth preached by the organizers of anti-globalization protests that the bloody imperialist rulers can be pressured to bring “democracy” and “human rights” to the oppressed masses of the world is a deadly lie. Youth repelled by

this embrace of the capitalist rulers have looked to anarchism as an alternative. But anarchism, which is based on moral suasion and individual actions against the symbols of imperialism, has no program or strategy to prevail against capitalist class rule.

The killing of Carlo Giuliani and the mass cop terror in Genoa, Italy provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organized and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state which are now going into even higher gear. To prevail against that might requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate mankind from oppression. The purpose of the revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding.

Armed with the revolutionary program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the SYCs seek to build a youth movement that intervenes on the side of the working class against the capitalist exploiters, fighting for the rights of black people, immigrants and all the oppressed. We fight to build the Leninist vanguard party that will lead these defensive struggles into an offensive battle for socialist revolution and workers power, laying the basis for a world free of capitalist exploitation and imperialist slaughter. Join us!



WV Photo

SYC Ten Point Program

1 Mobilize students behind the social power of the multiracial working class! Picket lines mean don’t cross! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Down with union-busting “workfare” schemes! Jobs for all at union wages! Organize the unorganized—unionize the South! Down with multi-tier wages, which pit younger and older workers against each other! Cops, prison guards, security guards out of the unions! Keep the bosses’ government and courts out of the unions!

2 Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. Finish the Civil War! For black liberation through socialist revolution! For mass labor/black mobilizations to stop the fascists and race terrorists! No to gun control! For the right of armed self-defense! No reliance on the capitalist courts or politicians! Fascist terror is not a question of “free speech.” Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

3 For free, quality, integrated public education for all! Nationalize the private universities! Defeat the racist assaults on affirmative action! For an end to tracking! For open admissions, no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for all students! Abolish the administration—the universities should be run by those who work and study there! Down with police occupation of public schools! Cops off campus!

4 For women’s liberation through socialist revolution! For mass, labor-backed mobilizations to defend abortion clinics! Down with parental consent laws and “squeal rules”! For free abortion on demand! For free, quality 24-hour child-care! For free, quality health care for all! Equal pay for equal work! Down with anti-gay laws! Down with reactionary age of consent laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom! Down with the anti-sex witchhunt! Down with all laws against crimes without victims—prostitution, consensual sex, drugs!

5 Down with racist anti-immigrant laws! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Organize foreign-born workers into the unions! No deportations! No to racist “English only” laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic and all racist bigotry!

6 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all class-war prisoners! There is no justice in the capitalist courts! Defend victims of racist cop terror and police frame-up! No illusions in civilian review boards or “community control” of the police! For labor mobilizations against racist cop terror! Down with the “war on drugs,” a racist war by the ruling class against black and Hispanic youth! The capitalist state—at its core consisting of the cops, courts, prisons—is the executive committee of the ruling class, an instrument of organized violence by the capitalists against the workers and the oppressed. It must be smashed through workers revolution!

7 Defend separation of church and state! Defend science against superstition and mysticism! Keep religion out of the schools! No prayer in the schools! Down with the teaching of creationism! For the teaching of evolution! No government funding for religious, private or “charter” schools!

8 Defeat U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! The UN is a den of imperialist thieves, their victims and their lackeys! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans, East Timor, the Persian Gulf! Down with U.S. terror bombing of Iraq! Down with the UN starvation blockade! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean! U.S. imperialist butchers: hands off the world! No to the draft! Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military! Drive ROTC, CIA and police recruiters off the campuses!

9 For international working-class solidarity! Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! Workers of the world, unite! For unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist counterrevolution and imperialist attack! For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucrats and establish regimes of workers democracy, based on the power of workers councils, and revolutionary internationalism!

10 Break with the racist, war-mongering Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism! For a revolutionary, multiracial workers party that fights for socialist revolution! Look to the example of the heroic, Bolshevik-led workers of 1917 Russia! For new October Revolutions! For the international rule of the working class!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the youth groups of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League of the U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BAY AREA

Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

October 2: **The Marxist View of the State**

October 9: **Imperialism and War**

UC Berkeley, 155 Kroeber Hall
Information and readings: (510) 839-0851

BOSTON

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.

October 4: **Imperialism Is the Highest Stage of Capitalism**

Boston University
Back Court Lounge, GSU Cafeteria
Information and readings: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Alternate Thursdays, 6 p.m.

October 4: **U.S. Imperialism—World’s Biggest Exploiter, World’s Biggest Terrorist!**

University of Illinois at Chicago
215 Behavioral Sciences Building
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

LOS ANGELES

Thursday, 7 p.m.

October 4: **Historical Materialism**

UCLA, Ackerman Union 3516
Information and readings: (213) 380-8239

MADISON

Saturday, 10:30 a.m.

September 29: **Basic Marxism and the Fight for a Workers State**

University of Wisconsin, Memorial Union
(see “Today in the Union” for room)
Information and readings: (312) 563-0441

NEW YORK CITY

Tuesday, 7:30 p.m.

October 2: **Imperialism Means War Abroad, Repression at Home—For Workers Revolution!**

Columbia University, SIPA, Room 405
(118th and Amsterdam)
Information: nysl-syc@yahoo.com

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.

October 3: **Marxism and the State**

York University Student Ctr, Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

October 3: **Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism**

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353

New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Is an Innocent Man!

We reprint below the introduction to a pamphlet published by the Partisan Defense Committee earlier this month.

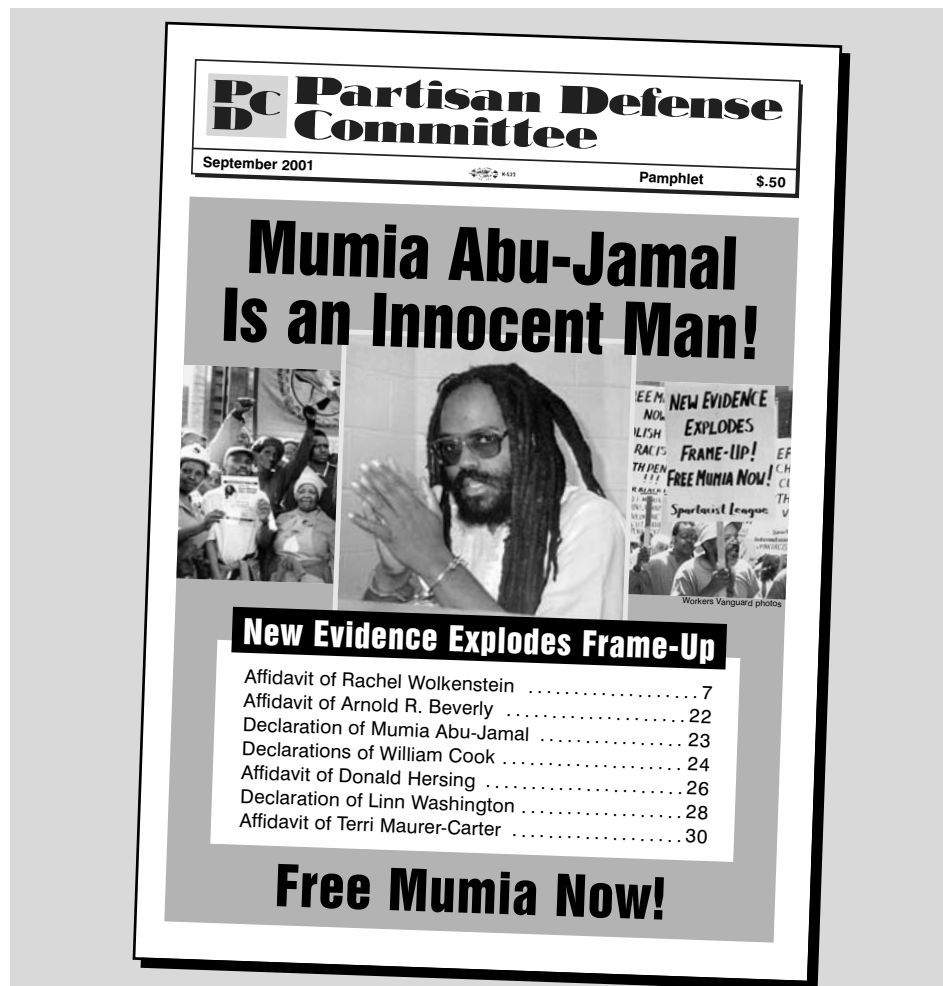
"I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent."

With these words in a sworn statement, Mumia Abu-Jamal reaffirmed once again that he is an innocent man. A prize-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman in his youth, supporter of the MOVE organization and defiant opponent of racist state terror, in 1982 he was railroaded to death row at the hands of Philadelphia's notorious cop and court frame-up machine on false charges of killing Philly policeman Daniel Faulkner.

In 1995, as Jamal pursued his Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) fought to bring the case for his innocence to national and international attention. In a pamphlet titled *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal* (reprinted in the Spartacist League's *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"), we exposed the prosecution's case as completely manufactured: "eyewitness" testimony coerced through police manipulation and outright terror; a purported confession by Jamal as he lay near death the night of the shooting, which was manufactured *two months later* under the tutelage of Philadelphia's District Attorney; ballistics "evidence" concocted by the cops, who had no proof that Jamal's gun was even fired the night of Faulkner's killing, let alone by Jamal. As we wrote:

"The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state. The cops, the courts and the entire 'criminal justice' system colluded and conspired to bring down this man whose only crime was that he was an eloquent and effective critic of the racist oppression they perpetrate and promote."

In this PDC pamphlet, we publish the *sworn confession* of the man who did kill Faulkner, Arnold Beverly. Beverly testifies: "I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.... I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer who arrived on the scene." Beverly's account is affirmed in the accompanying declarations of Jamal and



JUST OUT! Partisan Defense Committee pamphlet, \$50 (32 pages). Order from/pay to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

his brother Billy Cook, who was at the scene of the shooting.

The affidavit by Donald Hersing, a former informant in an FBI investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia, provides ample evidence that the cops were more than concerned about possible informants for the Feds. This is reinforced in the affidavit by journalist and Temple University professor Linn Washington. Washington testifies to the remarkable fact that the morning after the shooting, the scene of what in the eyes of the cops is the ultimate crime—the killing of one of "their own"—was left completely unprotected by the police. These affidavits not only confirm Jamal's innocence but are completely corroborated by eyewitness reports the night of Faulkner's killing, *including by cops on the scene!*

All of this testimony was barred from being presented in court by U.S. district judge William Yohn, who in a July 19 "memorandum and order" ruled in effect that a court of law is no place for evidence of Jamal's innocence. But this view

is not one held just by the cops, courts and prosecutors who are committed to Jamal's state-sanctioned murder. *Former lead defense attorney Leonard Weinglass and central legal strategist Daniel Williams also worked overtime to ensure that this evidence was never introduced in court.*

The affidavit by PDC counsel Rachel Wolkenstein, who was a member of Jamal's defense team from 1995 to 1999, compellingly marshals the evidence of his innocence and powerfully documents the struggle waged against Weinglass and Williams' efforts to bury Beverly's confession and the volumes of evidence corroborating it. As Wolkenstein testifies:

"Attorney Weinglass' refusal to proceed with the Beverly and Cook statements was also my final realization that Attorney Weinglass would not carry out the defense demanded by our innocent client, that he would not pursue the necessary attack on the massive prosecutorial misconduct permeating this case, and that he would not pursue discovery, scientific testing of the physical evidence and an evidentiary hearing in federal court. With the final realization that, no matter what the evidence, lead counsel Weinglass would preclude the necessary steps from being taken to provide a defense for an innocent man and fight to overturn Jamal's unjust conviction, it was no longer possible for me to function ethically on his legal team."

Wolkenstein and Jonathan Piper, another attorney associated with the PDC, resigned from Jamal's legal team in July 1999 rather than be complicit in Weinglass and Williams' monumental betrayal. It wasn't until this May 4 that Beverly's confession, which had been secured by Wolkenstein *two years earlier*, was submitted, together with other affidavits, by Jamal's new legal team of Marlene Kamish, Eliot Grossman, J. Michael Farrell and British barrister Nick Brown.

In papers calling for a new state Post-Conviction Relief Appeal hearing based on this evidence, they note: "Attorney

Weinglass and attorney Williams were not paid by the District Attorney's Office, but they might just as well have been. They have been able to accomplish a far more effective job of trying to undermine the Petitioner's case than the Commonwealth District Attorney's office could ever aspire to." In particular, the papers cite the publication of a wantonly malicious and unauthorized book by Williams, assisted by Weinglass, purporting to be an "inside account" of Jamal's case, appropriately titled *Executing Justice*.

Williams' Brief for the Prosecution

With the clock ticking on his life, and most legal appeals close to being exhausted, Jamal was forced to fire Williams and Weinglass when he learned of the lying contents of Williams' book. As we wrote in a PDC statement solidarizing with Jamal's decision and his efforts to assemble a new legal team: "Williams' unconscionable act of using his position as a central lawyer for Jamal in his own interests is now serving as a ticket for the two longstanding lead attorneys on the defense team to bail out." But more than that, Williams' book was a pre-emptive strike aimed at trying to kill the evidence presented in the new affidavits. This is acknowledged by Weinglass himself in a February 22 letter to Jamal, which is appended to the new PCRA papers. Referring to Beverly's confession, Weinglass wrote that Williams "unbelievably, goes into the witness who we blocked from coming forward (*I really* objected to this since it has not surfaced; Dan thinks it will and this is a pre-emptive strike)."

In a chapter of his book titled "Fighting Ideology," Williams derides the Beverly confession as "insane," dismissing any suggestion that the cops knowingly framed up Jamal as the supposed deranged invention of the "ideological zeal" of the PDC:

"In the spring of 1999, over seventeen years after the killing and nearly four years after the lengthy hearings before Sabo, Rachel and Jon announced that they had discovered yet another 'explosive new witness.' According to them, this new witness would testify that he and another unidentified individual received money from the mob to kill Officer Faulkner. The killing, however, was not to be a mob hit; rather, the mob was merely some sort of conduit for a killing which was sought out by high-level officials within the Philadelphia police department....

"When I heard the story at a defense team meeting at Len's loft, I bit my lip to avoid another unpleasant argument with Rachel. Actually, I was enraged, convinced that bona fide lunacy had set in." (p. 328)

Williams goes on to write that he stayed behind following the meeting to argue that Weinglass suppress this evidence: "Concerned that Mumia would insist upon our presenting this evidence, Len sought out ways to push this witness onto the trash heap." (p. 329)

This section of Williams' book is now the *sole* "evidence" presented in the prosecution's arguments against admitting the Beverly confession and other new evidence of Jamal's innocence. Williams' book has given aid and comfort to the Fraternal Order of Police (F.O.P.), which has waged a nationwide campaign of terror and intimidation against Jamal's supporters with the aim of expediting his legal lynching. Williams is now also the authority for articles in the *Philadelphia*



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Inquirer (6 July 2000), a “respectable” mouthpiece for the F.O.P., where he is quoted denouncing Beverly’s confession as “not credible.”

Outrageously, Williams attempts to make Jamal complicit in his and Weinglass' efforts to bury Beverly's confession, arguing: "An innocent man on death row might grab at anything to get justice; but I should have had faith that Mumia would never get *that* desperate.... It became apparent to me that Mumia is far too honorable to propagate a lie upon which to build a case for his freedom" (p. 330). It was Williams and Weinglass who were perpetrating a lie. The truth of the matter is that for an innocent man on death row, his lead attorney is his lifeline in the fight to win his freedom. As Wolkenstein notes in her affidavit, Weinglass and his acolyte Williams betrayed the trust that Jamal had that they were in fact fighting to demonstrate his innocence:

“Attorney Weinglass deceived Mumia Abu-Jamal, manipulating, cajoling and misleading his death row client about the legal significance of Beverly’s confession.... Attorney Weinglass threatened that he would end his legal representation of Mr. Jamal altogether rather than allow the evidence provided by Arnold Beverly to be presented in court.”

In one of his searing commentaries, Jamal powerfully captured “life” on death row: “Don’t tell me about the valley of the shadow of death. I live there.” He has lived there for the past two decades, and the state executioner was casting an even longer shadow on his life when his two chief lawyers threatened to resign. The decision to fire them was forced on Jamal by their ultimate betrayal, the publication of Williams’ mendacious book, which, as Wolkenstein points out, “has borne its intended fruit as it has become the prosecution’s ‘Exhibit No. 1’ in its efforts to defeat Jamal’s claims of innocence.”

A “True Believer” in Capitalist “Justice”

In the introduction to his book, Williams sneers that statements by prominent figures such as Cornel West unequivocally asserting Jamal's innocence can only be "an ideological stance" or "expression of faith" (p. 14). Throughout the book, he equates those who have rallied to Jamal's defense with the howling mob of cops screaming for his blood, claiming to "marvel at just how much the hard-line anti-Mumia forces and the hard-line pro-Mumia forces have in common." He sympathetically embraces Faulkner's widow, Maureen—who has spearheaded the F.O.P. drive for Jamal's death—as a maligned victim. In the "Acknowledgements" at the end of his book, Williams expresses his debt to one Gerald Nicosia, who "helped to clarify my own thinking," *Nicosia is currently working on a book asserting that Jamal killed Faulkner!* This spring, Nicosia hosted a press conference featuring Maureen Faulkner as well as the prosecutor at Jamal's 1982 trial, Joseph McGill, and Hugh Burns, a prosecutor at Jamal's appeal hearings beginning in 1995 (*Socialist Action*, April 2001).

A central theme of *Executing Justice* is the supposed “ambiguity” inherent in the Jamal case. Williams’ posture of studied neutrality—of a fictitious “third camp” between Jamal and his would-be lynchers—is not without a heavy dose of self-aggrandizement in portraying himself as the very epitome of “blind justice” evenly weighing the scales.

This is merely an expression of Williams' own "ideological stance," which is premised on absolute faith in the inherent justice of the capitalist courts. He asserts: "The interesting question, to me, is not whether I or any lawyer or celebrity believes in Mumia's innocence. It is the proclamation itself that intrigues me. After all, people proclaim Mumia's innocence at the same time that they (rightly, in my view) denounce his trial as a farce and demand a new one. But without a genuinely fair trial where *all* of the evidence is presented *and* tested, what substance is there to a proclamation of innocence—or of guilt, for that matter?" (p. 13)

Williams' entire book is an articulation



At May 12 Jamal rally in San Francisco, Revolutionary Contingent fought for mobilization of labor/black power in counterposition to reformists' reliance on capitalist "justice" system.

of the idea that the capitalist state is some kind of neutral arbiter, expressing and defending the interests of all the people. But the state is not neutral. It is the instrumentality for organized violence by one class, the capitalist rulers, against the working class and all those at the bottom of this society. In the U.S., this is expressed in the terror and frame-ups carried out by viciously racist, brutal and corrupt police. As for Williams' posture of neutrality, this is not only an abomination for a criminal defense attorney, it is a manifest fraud. As the PCRA petition filed by Jamal's new legal team asserts: "In reality, by suppressing the evidence of the Petitioner's innocence together with numerous decisive claims for relief on his part, attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams have assumed the mantle of prosecutor in this case."

Arguing that the “prosecution had a compelling case” (p. 29), Williams tries to breathe new life into the D.A.’s thoroughly discredited frame-up. Not only does he trash Beverly’s confession as a “lie,” he also denounces William Singletary, an eyewitness who asserted that someone other than Jamal had shot Faulkner and had then run from the scene—just as Arnold Beverly testifies he did. Williams and Weinglass sought to ensure, over Wolkenstein and Piper’s objections, that Singletary did not give his eyewitness account during the PCRA hearings, and Williams gloats in his book: “Hard-line pro-Mumia forces have insisted that William Singletary provides a reliable account of what actually happened on Thirteenth and Locust, even though Len and I have gone on record, in oral statements in court and in court documents, to state exactly the opposite.” (p. 356)

Indeed, Williams repudiates the idea that the cops would ever knowingly accuse and convict an innocent man:

“I was sensitive to the possibility that Mumia’s sympathies with MOVE might have prompted law enforcement to jump to a conclusion about Mumia’s guilt. I even believed that law enforcement was willing to fabricate evidence to help in the effort to convict a man they *believed to be guilty*. Rachel and Jon held more extreme views; they were convinced—

actually, to them, it was sacrilegious to believe otherwise—that law enforcement knew Mumia was innocent, knew that the shooter fled the scene, and relished that a conviction and death sentence would be a terrific coup in the city’s war against MOVE. Their view was an article of faith that grew out of their ideological zeal.” (p. 298)

The Marxist understanding of the capitalist state that PDC attorneys Wolkenstein and Piper brought to Jamal's legal defense was indeed a powerful weapon in ripping apart the frame-up that sent this innocent man to death row. At the same time, it is simply empirically evident that the Philly cops would knowingly frame up innocent people. Hundreds of convictions based on concocted evidence, coerced confessions, police torture and manipulation of prostitutes to serve as "witnesses" have been thrown out in the last several years in Philadelphia alone. And this is hardly the peculiar practice of the Philadelphia police. The whole history of this country is littered with frame-ups of those who have struggled to defend their unions, to fight capitalist injustice or to in any way challenge the rule of capital. In the U.S., where the forcible subjugation of the majority of the black population at the bottom of society is key to maintaining a system based on exploitation, the rulers put their machinery of state repression into high gear if they perceive any potential of the explosive combination of black and red.

The FBI's COINTELPRO operation against the Black Panther Party was a program for extermination, leading to the murder of 38 Panthers and the prosecution of numerous radical black leaders based on their political beliefs. Former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was finally released from prison in 1997, after having been entombed for 27 years for a crime that the FBI's own wiretaps proved he did not commit. Jamal was a target of COINTELPRO since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Panthers. Despite constant surveillance, as evidenced by a 900-page COINTELPRO file, the state could not come up with even one offense to try to pin on him. But the Feds and Philly cops kept



WV Photos

up the vendetta against Jamal because he remained an eloquent and defiant defender of black rights and opponent of racist cop terror.

In the early morning hours of 9 December 1981, the Philly cops found their chance when Jamal was found shot and bleeding at the scene where police officer Daniel Faulkner had been shot. As an article titled “Philly Cops’ Reign of Terror” in the *Black History* pamphlet cited above noted:

“History is not a conspiracy, but there are conspiracies in history. We are not saying that the cops who were at the scene of 13th and Locust Streets the night of 9 December 1981 knew Jamal was going to be there. But they were there and had the chance they had long awaited to catch Mumia in their racist frame-up machine. This was the culmination of a political vendetta, extending back more than a decade, against a man whose impassioned defense of the victims of Philly cop brutality had earned him a special animus among these thugs in blue and their masters in the city and federal government.”

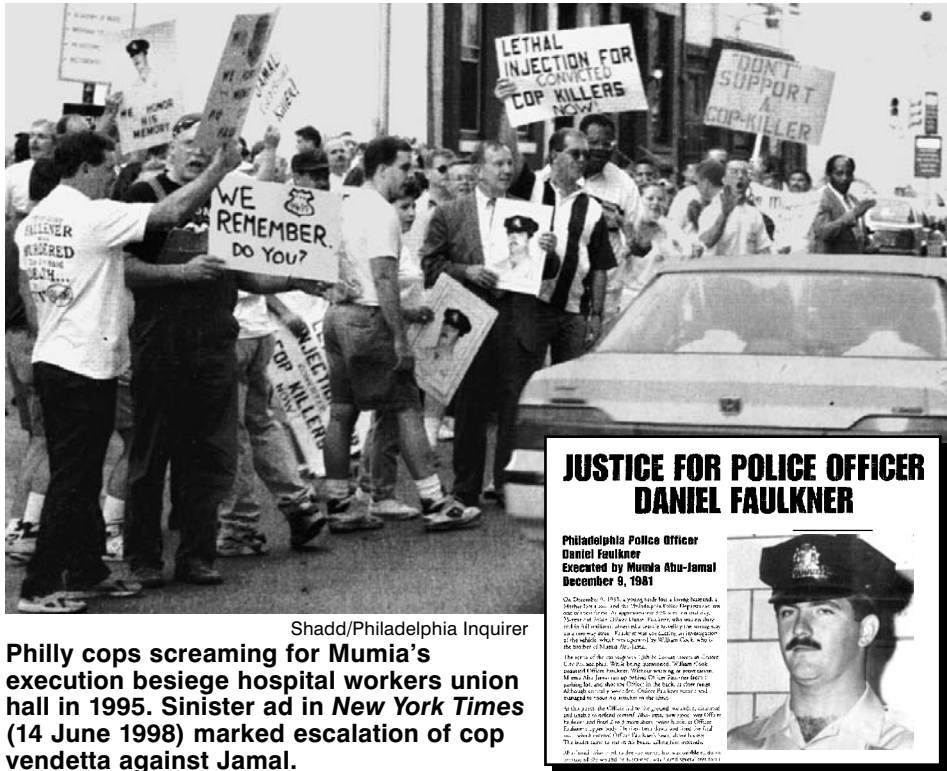
The Propagation of a Lie

Williams pays passing lip service to the PDC's "ardent advocacy for Mumia," saying it "reminded me of the communists in the United States who trumpeted the Scottsboro Boys case in the 1930s" (p. 299). This is damning with faint praise, as Williams' whole purpose is to portray Wolkenstein and Piper's fight to demonstrate Jamal's innocence as an example of Marxist "zealotry." But even lawyers who don't have a Marxist worldview are supposed to fight zealously on behalf of their clients. Samuel S. Leibowitz, a prominent criminal defense lawyer in the 1930s, was a bitter anti-Communist who agreed only reluctantly to become lead counsel in the Scottsboro case. But once he did, he threw himself into assembling a powerful case proving that the nine black youth were innocent. When that evidence was simply tossed aside by a Jim Crow court, Leibowitz was so deeply outraged that he continued to campaign for freedom for the Scottsboro Nine—even sharing platforms with Communist Party spokesmen—and vowed, "I will fight to my last breath to send these boys back to their parents and to their loved ones."

As for Weinglass, when he became Jamal's lead counsel in 1991, he had a reputation as a radical lawyer who would fight against "the system." But those who knew him knew better. In *The Sea Will Tell*, Vincent Bugliosi, who served as prosecutor against psychopathic mass murderer Charles Manson and went on to become a defense lawyer, recounted the case in which Weinglass served as his co-counsel. Bugliosi described his shock at this putative "radical" arguing *against* fighting to demonstrate their client's innocence and seeking to manipulate her not to testify on her own behalf.

In Jamal's case, when Beverly underwent a lie detector test that affirmed his confession, Weinglass even rejected that, as expert polygrapher Charles R. Honts testified in an affidavit to the recent PCRA filing. In an earlier affidavit, Honts stated that he had administered two lie detector tests in 1999 and concluded that Beverly was being truthful each time. The

continued on page 11



Down With Imperialism— For Class Struggle at Home!

Like hot ash from the World Trade Center itself, war rhetoric has been strewn all across Europe. Every newspaper front page, television programs and radio shows are devoted to readying the population for war. But war against whom? Apart from Tony Blair, who eagerly saddled up like some kind of Wild West frontier deputy to George Bush playing John Wayne, Europe's capitalist rulers are uneasy about riding herd with the American-led posse. But while they express concerns derived from their own imperialist interests and heightened inter-imperialist rivalries over what the Americans are planning militarily, on the home front they are as thrilled as Bush with this chance to forge "national unity" behind their policies of austerity, racism and repression. Without exception, every state power in Europe and elsewhere has turned the indefensible indiscriminate attack on the World Trade Center and hijacking of civilian airliners into an opportunity to put the forces of state repression into overdrive to wage war against the working people at home, especially oppressed racial minorities and immigrants.

In the immediate aftermath of the attack, the French *Le Monde*, speaking for the most anti-American bourgeoisie in Europe, ran a front-page editorial screaming, "We Are All Americans!" while the German chancellor vowed to stand by Clause 5 of the NATO constitution calling for joint military action. But within days, both a Blair aide in Britain and leaders of the German Green Party, part of the ruling Social Democratic-led coalition, issued statements declaring their governments were not issuing the U.S. a "blank cheque" (*Financial Times* [London], 14 September). Bush's Cold War rhetoric about the "free world" notwithstanding, the major imperialist powers are no longer constrained to subordinate their rivalries to their shared fear and hatred of the former Soviet Union and the "spectre of communism." The governments of Europe and Japan, and behind them the "leftists" who tail their own rulers, are united with the United States only to the extent this serves the interests of their own ruling classes.

Sections of the International Communist League published the 12 September declaration by the Spartacist League/U.S. in six languages and introduced it with statements exposing the machinations of their "own" capitalist rulers, particularly emphasizing the need for the workers movement to rally to the defense of the besieged Arab and Asian minorities. Comrades made a special effort to break the reactionary "national front" pushed in each country by trade-union bureaucrats, mass reformist parties and the bourgeoisies. Recalling the words of Kaiser Wilhelm on the eve of World War I, "I no longer know parties, I know only Germans," the German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) joined with every major political party including the right-wing Christian Democratic Union in a social-chauvinist mass rally for unity of the German people with the United States on September 14. Italian trade-union tops called reactionary strikes declaring the United States "a free country with a great history of freedom and democracy."

Across Europe, workers were told to down tools and assembly lines were stopped for three minutes of silence on September 14. Church bells tolled and television screens showed Europe's rulers wiping their eyes in their pews. It looked a little different inside the factories and

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

workplaces, particularly those with large, integrated workforces. Our supporters took coffee breaks with co-workers to talk about how the imperialists armed, trained and masterminded Osama bin Laden and other anti-communist and woman-hating Islamic fundamentalists and why we supported the intervention of the Soviet Red Army in Afghanistan in 1979. Our supporters talked about why the plant closings, layoffs and attacks on pensions, health care and education are not the result of an indefensible terrorist

the rights of oppressed minorities in meeting after meeting at the Communist Party's huge *L'Humanité* fête last weekend was enthusiastically applauded even by CP members who can't stomach their own party's shameful capitulation to police-state repression.

The French CP bears direct responsibility for the implementation of "Vigipirate" through their participation in the popular-front government which presently administers French capitalist class rule. Their partners in government, the



Soldier and riot cop patrol Paris airport. Jospin government has unleashed thousands of cops to terrorize immigrant, minority neighborhoods.

act, but of an irrational capitalist system's drive to increase profits through increased exploitation of labor.

Large numbers of immigrants have been integrated into the workforces of Europe, albeit at the bottom. They represent a crucial component of the proletariat which must be defended as the bourgeoisie tries to divide the workers along ethnic and religious lines, while binding the white Christian majority to the bosses through reactionary patriotism. Many North African and Pakistani workers have been among the most politically conscious, recognizing that all this talk by the politicians and union leaders of "freedom and democracy" could only mean "restricted democracy and freedom at home," as one worker in Italy said.

Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in Europe

In Europe, Britain's Blair government understands that the demonizing of Muslims is a gift to his regime to further isolate and subdue Asian youth (many of the country's Asians are Muslims of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent) who sought to repel fascist attacks and cop invasions of their communities in industrially devastated Midlands cities like Bradford and Oldham just a few months ago. In France, the popular-front government launched a full-scale "Vigipirate" plan, unleashing thousands of sadistic riot cops in the train stations, airports and ghettos. Our comrades in the Ligue Trotskyiste de France were the *only* leftists in France to demand, "Down with Vigipirate!" Our leaflets have been eagerly snatched up and our emphatic defense of

Socialist Party (SP), are pushing the deadly equation that "Arab = terrorist." Covering their crimes with fine words about "multiculturalism" and "tolerance," French SP mayors in the heavily immigrant districts of Paris are unilaterally refusing residency papers (required for all aspects of public life, from work to banking) to all Arabs for no reason except that their countries of origin are now on the U.S. and NATO target list of states suspected of "harboring terrorists."

Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which has recently postured to the left, opposing a vote to the popular front in the municipal elections in March, took a running leap back into the arms of the French ruling class with a disgusting editorial implicating every Arab all over the world as a guilty suspect. *Lutte Ouvrière* (14 September) declared that the attacks in the United States were carried out "without a doubt with the moral support of the majority of the Palestinian population, and perhaps beyond that, with the support of the population of all the Arab states." This is nothing less than a justification for slamming missiles into the Near East! Correspondingly, LO manages to say *not one word* about the terrible augmentation of police-state repression against Arabs in France, which is so hard to ignore that this can only be read as a tacit endorsement of Vigipirate.

Alain Krivine's Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) at least noticed the full-scale Vigipirate plan (*Rouge*, 20 September), yet nowhere does the LCR raise the elementary call, "Down with Vigipirate!" In sprinkling in a few words against anti-Arab racism, the LCR ex-

presses its liberal discomfort with overt cop terror but can't bring itself to forthrightly oppose it. Indeed, the preceding week (*Rouge*, 14 September) the LCR declared that the problem with the government's "security" campaign is that the cops don't go after the "real criminals," whining: "What means are in place to fight against the most important crimes...?"

The far right has taken huge advantage of the ruling social democrats' mobilization against oppressed minorities. In Italy, Umberto Bossi's Northern League plastered cities with posters screaming: "Illegal immigrants = Terrorists" as the ultraright Berlusconi government rams through new legislation drastically restricting the right to asylum, work or residency for anyone in Europe who is not a citizen of the European Union. French fascist Le Pen is trying to catch the wind in his sails to propel his electoral bid for the upcoming French presidential elections. The fascist National Front and its breakaway MNR (National Republican Movement) denounce the government for bowing to U.S. diktats and push an agenda of French national chauvinism, particularly an anti-American foreign policy and murderous anti-Arab racism at home. Gangs of young Le Pen supporters terrorize heavily immigrant neighborhoods, slapping on stickers reading "Stop Immigration! Stop Americanization!" Swastikas have proliferated. But it's not just the far right: the "mainstream" bourgeois parties and the social democrats alike are jumping at the chance to rid themselves of "surplus" workers. The stage is being set for mass deportations of immigrants and refugees, bringing starvation not only to the affected workers but to their whole families.

In Germany, Arab students fear for their lives as the bourgeois press whips up a climate of hysteria: the *Hamburger Morgenpost* published the addresses of mosques where Islamic fundamentalists supposedly are "trained." Draconian new legislation is proposed which could result in the banning of all Islamic fundamentalist groups, the fingerprinting of all immigrants and an accelerated machinery for deportations out of Germany. The European Union met in Brussels on September 20 to adopt new joint measures "to combat terrorism" which include the creation of new international task forces for surveillance, police intervention and legal action, including summary deportation of anyone deemed a "terrorist"; the establishment of a new "terrorism" group by Europol for international intervention; and an intensification in the production and stockpiling of arms and explosives. The cops' murder of Carlo Giuliani in Genoa during the huge "anti-globalization" protests against the G8 is clearly just a hint of what Europe's rulers have in store for immigrants, leftists and ultimately the workers who mobilize in defense of their own class interests against social-democratic "law and order."

Anti-Americanism: Counterfeit Currency of European Left

Social chauvinism and class collaborationism go hand in hand for the reactionary trade-union tops who have called off strikes at home to rally 'round the flag for war abroad. Our answer to this is to bring workers and youth to the consciousness of the need to wage *class war* against our "own" bourgeoisies—anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! In Europe

this has entailed combatting the anti-Americanism which is the dirt-cheap camouflage donned by reformists and centrists to cover their support to their own capitalist rulers. Thus the French CP and the German PDS make much ado about not following U.S. diktats and arguing instead for more powers for their own capitalist rulers, or for a war directly administered by that giant condom for U.S. imperialism, the United Nations. It was under UN wrapping that Iraq, Sudan, the Balkans and Haiti were all devastated. The declaration by the Spartacist League/U.S. has been a powerful political tool to educate workers and youth that U.S. imperialism must be brought down through class struggle of American workers in solidarity with the proletarian struggle internationally.

There are frictions between the United States and its European allies, and among the European states, as each jockeys for positions of influence and scrambles to protect its plunging economy. The anti-Americanism of the European left is a direct reflection of the appetites of the European rulers. Germany is the most powerful economy in Europe and a new post-World War II generation of Germans represented by Social Democrat Schröder complain they are tired of apologizing for the Holocaust and kowtowing to U.S. imperialism. The German PDS, political heir to the Stalinists who sold out East Germany to the West German bankers, now postures as the “peace” party, which means only that they resist following American-led war moves and seek a more forward and direct role for Germany. PDS leader Gregor Gysi calls for “limited military action” and a new “Marshall Plan” (the Marshall Plan poured money into devastated Europe as part of U.S. efforts to stabilize capitalist rule immediately following the end of World War II) for the “Third World.”

Though the situation is very different, the posture of the European “left” is quite similar to that taken during the 1999 Balkans War, when they served as a cover for their own bourgeoisies’ appetites for greater independence from the U.S. They fully subscribed to NATO’s war aims of smashing Serbia and Milosevic, but looked for instrumentalities separate from the American-dominated NATO, such as the UN or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Today the French Communist Party is complaining about a “unipolar world” dominated by the Americans, while Bertinotti, leader of Rifondazione Comunista in Italy, declares that while he subscribes to the goal of smashing “terrorism,” this needs to be implemented by the UN.

In Germany, the PDS advocates of a “new antiwar movement” similarly lend their support to the ideological basis for a war to destroy “terrorism,” so long as it’s sanctioned by the UN and not run unilaterally by the U.S. While German pseudo-Trotskyists cling to the PDS’ coattails and



Spartakist

Spartakist placards at September 22 Berlin antiwar rally read: “Against Repression at Home, Against Imperialist ‘Retaliation’!”, “No Vote to SPD/PDS/Green Imperialist Warmongers!”

seek to build a German national “antiwar” movement, our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party (SpAD) spoke out against illusions in the PDS at an antiwar coalition meeting in Berlin on September 15:

“Right now the PDS is standing at the Reichstag, at the government demo, to whip up nationalism and chauvinism in order to prepare the population for war. We stated in the Balkans War that the PDS’ opposition to war is not directed against German imperialism, but against the U.S. leadership of the war. The PDS was simply for an alternative strategy for German imperialism.”

Our comrade went on to respond to a certain “Mr. Kimpel,” a former supporter of the Mandelite “United Secretariat” and now around the PDS, who “expressed great fear that someone might call him a traitor to the fatherland. Indeed, that would be a totally new experience for him! We can comfort Mr. Kimpel; we will defend him energetically against any such accusations. He is really not in opposition to German imperialism. For us Spartacists the accusation of traitor to the fatherland, coming out of the mouths of chauvinists, is an honor. Yes, the proletariat has no fatherland, and we have none. The main enemy is at home!”

Elsewhere too, the anti-American rhetoric of the “left” serves as an alibi for the appetites of their own imperialist rulers. Nowhere is this clearer than in Japan, where in response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Japanese military ships have stepped up their patrols in the seas around Japan and have threatened to conduct onboard inspections of all “unidentified ships”—a dangerous provocation ultimately directed against the Chinese, Vietnamese and North Korean deformed workers states. The reformist left, preaching that it is possible for Japan to pursue a “peaceful” foreign policy, denounces the reactionary Japan-U.S. “security” treaty while presenting Japan as a helpless pawn of American power. The Communist Party, for example, howls in its electoral propaganda that “Japan is completely

under the thumb of America,” while the “New Left” Kakumaru group has written that the U.S. “is pressing its military claims on the Japanese government one after another” (“Appeal for 39th International Antiwar Assembly in Japan”). Such appeals are congruent with the aims of the openly revanchist wing of the Japanese bourgeoisie, which chafes at the military alliance with the U.S. and calls for a stronger military to be wielded independently to pursue Japan’s own imperialist goals. As the Spartacist Group/Japan said in our statement, “It is Japanese imperialism...that is the main oppressor of workers in Japan and throughout Asia.”

In Australia, where the ruling Tories and the “opposition” Labor Party (ALP) vied with each other in bellicose rhetoric following the destruction of the World Trade Center, the “left” responded with impotent pacifist appeals. An undated statement of the Socialist Alliance—an electoral lash-up of the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), International Socialist Organization (ISO) and others—frankly promotes the notion that imperialism is merely a bad “policy” which can be transformed into its opposite by the intervention of well-meaning people: “The most fitting memorial to those who died or suffered in New York and Washington would be the complete reversal of Washington’s policies of exploitation of the Third World, and their replacement by policies that promote peace, democracy, co-operation and sustainable and egalitarian economic development.”

At a September 20 meeting of the same cast of characters, now organized as a new “antiwar” coalition, a comrade of the Spartacist League of Australia intervened to denounce the indefensible attack on the World Trade Center and expose the ALP’s attacks on refugees and immigrants. She noted that the ISO had supported the Taliban against the Soviet Union, and the DSP hailed Gorbachev’s withdrawal from Afghanistan, while more recently the DSP had marched for Australian imperialist intervention in East Timor.

“Third World” Rulers: Stooges for Imperialism, Enemies of Their Own People

In the “Third World,” the mass perception and responses to “attacks on America” are very different. But there is no difference in the eagerness of the capitalist governments to use the so-called “war on terrorism” to go after perceived sectors of discontent and opposition at home. In Mexico, for months the “national security” forces have been on a campaign against people from Near Eastern countries, as well as Basques from Spain. On September 11 the Mexican state seized dozens of Iraqis in Tijuana. Now the government of Vicente Fox is seeking to use the WTC atrocity to ratchet up its attacks on indigenous people and rebellious peasants like the Zapatistas, as well as its vindictive witchhunting of activist students at Mexico City’s National Autonomous University (UNAM), already targeted by the government and the media as “subversives” and “terrorists” after last year’s long, militant strike in defense of public education.

It is not surprising that many ordinary people in countries where mass poverty prevails as a result of the economic and military depredations of U.S. imperialism over the years may feel satisfaction even as they worry about the impending mass-murdering “retaliation” from the American rulers. But for supposed “leftists” to pander to such sentiments or paint the slaughter of thousands of innocent civilians as an act of “anti-imperialism” is not merely deplorable; it is a gift to the venal and brutal rulers of their own countries, for whom nationalism—the lie that all Americans or all Mexicans have the same fundamental interests—is key to keeping the oppressed masses in line.

As our comrades of Spartacist South Africa wrote in their declaration introducing the SL/U.S. 12 September statement:

“Pockets of South Africans wrongly view the bombings in America as ‘just deserts’ in a ‘one super-power world’ dominated by U.S. warplanes and dollars. This Third World nationalist perspective writes off the American working class as hopelessly bribed by the riches of their own bourgeoisie.... In contrast to variants of nationalism, we Trotskyist internationalists draw a *class line*: against the capitalist rulers at home, and in solidarity with our class brothers and sisters abroad in the fight for world socialist revolution.”

And the Grupo Espartaquista de México wrote:

“The utmost in bloodthirsty stupidity is the nationalist Mexican group Machearte. While ‘feeling sorry’ for the innocent victims of the attack, in an Internet posting of 11 September they say that ‘the Middle Eastern “terrorists” mercilessly attacked the *gringo* imperialists’ and that ‘the *gringo* economy and its military system have received a very good blow.’ This is absurdly false. In fact, the American imperialists are using this attack to rally the population to prop up their rule and in support for war. The identification Machetearte makes of the imperialist rulers with the American workers and population in general echoes not only the lies of the imperialists themselves, but also of a nationalist wing of the Mexican bourgeoisie that seeks to fuel nationalism as a means of keeping the working class under its control.”

Anti-Anarchist Witchhunt Paved the Warpath

In Europe as in the U.S., the draconian legislation curtailing civil liberties and attacking immigrants is in fact an attack on the working class as a whole and on the proletariat’s capacity to organize and defend itself against the capitalists. It must be recalled that before the hijackings and attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, the imperialist powers had already shifted into high gear to enact new repressive legislation in the aftermath of the Genoa G8 mobilization in July. And it must also be recalled that the European rulers were assisted in their dirty work by the reformist and centrist “left,” which joined the chorus screaming for more repression of the anarchist victims of murderous state repression in Genoa, and in particular for repression of the so-called “Black Bloc.” Today, the baiting of anarchist youth as “violent” by the “respectable” organizers of “anti-globalization” protests is even more pernicious as it sets anarchist youth up to be among the first targets of the bourgeoisie’s “war on terrorism.” The International Communist League, uniquely among those claiming to be Marxists, made a principled defense of the anarchist victims of bourgeois state repression, despite our political differences with their worldview and strategy.

So-called leftists who line up with their own rulers in repressing other leftists and ignore police-state terror against minorities lack the basic gut impulse to oppose capitalist injustice. Far from fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of this racist system of exploitation, these reformists embrace the capitalist state as their own. Our comrades’ interventions in a forum on Genoa at the French CP’s *L’Humanité* fête literally split apart the room on this basic question of “which side are you on?” Young anarchists were outraged that in the one and a half hours of drivel from

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Repression...

(continued from page 1)

reaction. When the Afghan government instead appealed for financial aid, the PDC launched an international fund drive to aid Afghanistan’s beleaguered women, workers and leftists. Today we call on the working class to fight in opposition to the war moves of U.S. imperialism, which only strengthen a state that has perpetrated untold terror and war and a ruling class loading its arsenal of state repression with ammunition aimed directly at you.

The huge war mobilization supposedly aimed at taking out a “terror network” based in one of the most backward countries on earth is both dangerous and absurd. As one bourgeois pundit cynically put it: “You hear people saying we should bomb Afghanistan back to the Stone Age. You have to realize it’s not that far from the Stone Age as it is.” The number one “suspect” in this deranged “war against terrorism,” Osama bin Laden, is himself the bought-and-paid-for creature of U.S. imperialism. Pentagon deputy director Paul Wolfowitz raves about “ending states” that harbor terrorists, saber-rattling for an all-out assault on Iraq. Much of Iraq has already been reduced to rubble by the endless, almost daily, bombing raids in the ten years since the end of the Gulf War, while over one and a half million people have been killed by the starvation blockade. *U.S. hands off Afghanistan! Defend Iraq against imperialist attack—Down with the starvation blockade!*

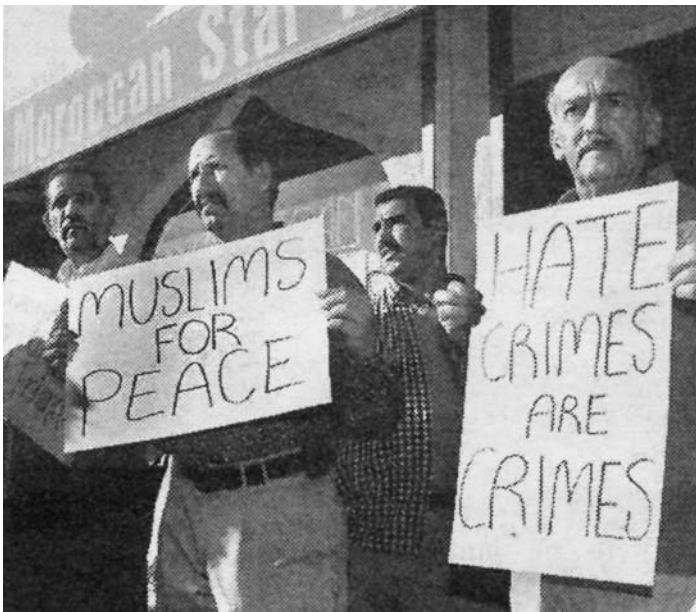
Patriotic Hoopla—Profits for Bosses, Terror for Immigrants, Blacks

While the “foreign enemy” of the U.S. imperialist buildup is as vague as it is seemingly ubiquitous, the domestic targets are *clear*. Ruling under a declared state of “national emergency,” the Bush administration with bipartisan support is pushing through a wholesale assault on civil liberties. More than 350 people have already been rounded up as “suspected Islamic terrorists,” and many more immigrants of all nationalities are threatened with instant deportation or “preventive detention.” While Bush intones about the need for “religious tolerance” (mainly because the countries with most of the world’s oil wealth are overwhelmingly populated by Muslims), on the streets pogromist mobs surround and attack mosques and Muslim community centers. At least four people of Near Eastern or South Asian origin have been murdered.

“Flying while Arab” may be the new expression for harassment, intimidation and terror at the hands of the state, but the racial profiling which is now the order of the day will overwhelmingly target black people. Two years ago, New York City erupted in sustained and massive protest following the killing of black African immigrant Amadou Diallo, who was cut down in a hail of 41 bullets by a band of cops. Now, in an article titled “Diallo, Terrorism and Safety vs. Liberty” (*New York Times*, 13 September), columnist Clyde Haberman opines: “In the name of

As politicians, press whip up chauvinist hysteria, people of Near Eastern descent and other dark-skinned immigrants fear for their lives.

Sam Costanza



law and order, how much license do we give the police to stop and question citizens whose sole ‘crime’ is to have been standing on the street or, as in the Diallo case, in the vestibules of their apartment buildings?... It is quite possible that America will have to decide, and fairly soon, how much license it wants to give law enforcement.” That question is already being decided by the powers that be, who are ratcheting up state repression while the media boosts the murderous and viciously racist NYPD as “heroes.”

The purpose of the patriotic hoopla being whipped up by the bourgeoisie is to convince the working class that it must sacrifice its wages, living and working conditions, jobs and rights for the “defense of the nation.” Before the hijacked airliners were ever commandeered to destroy the World Trade Center, the economy was already on a nosedive into recession. In some ways, the attack was its own “gift from god” for the American bourgeoisie, which is using it to bolster its profits and imperialist interests.

The population was encouraged to invest in the stock market as a demonstration of patriotism. But as Paul Krugman noted in an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (23 September): “Anyone who patriotically purchased stocks got caught up in a market plunge that wiped out more than \$1 trillion in wealth, while short-selling hedge fund managers who didn’t let sentimentality get in the way of business did very well, thank you.” And we’re not talking about Osama bin Laden selling short, but the American bourgeoisie, whose only “patriotic” commitment is to its bottom line.

Airline companies got bailed out to the tune of \$15 billion (with Delta Airlines realizing four times the amount it had lost). Over 100,000 airline workers are being handed pink slips. Evidently thinking it unseemly, the Bush administration has temporarily shelved its proposal to cut capital gains taxes for the rich as a way to “jump-start” the economy. But they have milked some \$40 billion from Social Security to get Wall Street up and running—and the warships and bombers moving. In New York City, transit workers and other public employees were outraged to learn that, in addition, some \$800 million of their pension funds were being dumped into the collapsing stock

market “to help shore up the economy” (*Daily News*, 21 September).

As V.I. Lenin, whose Bolshevik Party led the working class of the former tsarist empire to power in the first and only successful workers revolution in history, wrote in explaining the revolutionary program and strategy of Marxism:

“People have always been the foolish victims of deception and self-deception in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the *interests* of some class or other behind all moral, religious, political and social phrases, declarations and promises. Champions of reforms and improvements will always be fooled by the defenders of the old order until they realize that every old institution, however barbarous and rotten it may appear to be, is kept going by the forces of certain ruling classes. And there is *only one* way of smashing the resistance of those classes, and that is to find, in the very society which surrounds us, the forces which can—and, owing to their social position, *must*—constitute the power capable of sweeping away the old and creating the new, and to enlighten and organise those forces for the struggle.”

—“The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism” (March, 1913)

Hundreds of workers from New York City and beyond volunteered their labor, skills and lives in the monumental effort to rescue anyone they could from the burning ruins of the World Trade Center. In this one could see not only the spirit of self-sacrifice but the collective social power and organization of the working class. The parasitic rulers who live off the exploitation of this labor did not and could not have displayed such sacrifice and skill. For them the central purpose was simply to clear away enough rubble to reopen the stock exchange, using patriotism to rouse working people to rebuild the citadel of American imperialist exploitation. At the same time, star-spangled jingoism is used to divide and weaken the proletariat, directing anger against Arab and Muslim immigrants.

In the U.S., the raw exploitation of those who labor has always been furthered through playing on racial and ethnic divisions. If the social power of the proletariat is to be organized to create a new world—a society in which the tremendous wealth of this country is deployed for the benefit of those who created it—it must be mobilized in defense of immigrant rights, for the cause of black freedom and to champion the rights of all the oppressed against this *entire* capitalist system. But that is a question of leadership.

The day after the World Trade Center attack, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney intoned: “America is a democratic and open society built upon universal values of freedom and human dignity. No act of terror will undermine those values. No sacrifice is too great for Americans to defend those values.” And so the union bureaucrats play their designated role as the labor lieutenants of the capitalist rulers, policing the unions to ensure the flow of profits to the bosses. To maintain the ties through which they shackle the working people to their exploiters, the trade-union tops have long boosted the Democratic Party as the “friend of labor” alternative to the Republicans. But the

reality that the Democrats and Republicans are simply the twin faces of the *one property party* in this country was put baldly by Democratic Senate leader Tom Daschle. In a statement eerily reminiscent of that of Kaiser Wilhelm on the eve of World War I—“I no longer know parties, I know only Germans”—Daschle declared, “There is no difference in our aim. We are resolved to work together, not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans.”

The only road forward for the proletariat is the road of *class war* against the capitalist class. In the course of class struggle, it is our purpose to train, educate and steel the cadres of the multiracial workers party that, in the words of Leon Trotsky, can lead “a great revolutionary mass movement...that will leave no remnant of the entire structure of class exploitation, national oppression, and racial persecution.”

Tightening the Screws of Repression

Among the cynical calculations of the American bourgeoisie is to use the attack on the World Trade Center to bury the “Vietnam syndrome”—the popular opposition to American soldiers dying in foreign military adventures—which grew out of the massive defeat of U.S. imperialism by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants. While raving about the “sanctity of American life,” the government is looking to see some American troops bloodied in combat. “Winning this war,” declared an editorial in the *New York Times* (16 September), “will require discipline, stamina and sacrifice.” It continued:

“America may have to give up the post-Vietnam illusion that it is possible to fight wars with few casualties. Our success in the Persian Gulf and even our limited achievements in the Balkans created the illusion that American military technology is sophisticated enough to be used in combat without putting soldiers in harm’s way. But what we have actually been enjoying is an extended string of luck. Last week, the message came through loud and clear that luck can run out.”

To regiment the population behind the defense of imperialist interests, the rulers are tightening the screws of state repression. Attorney General John Ashcroft, an open defender of the Confederate slavocracy and Civil War “Southern patriots like Lee, Jackson and Davis,” is aiming to push a package of sweeping assaults on civil liberties through a pliant Congress in the coming days.

The proposed new laws would extend practices currently widely used in foreign intelligence surveillance—largely carried out in secrecy and without court warrants—to domestic “terrorism” cases and *all* criminal investigations. The government’s ability to conduct secret searches would be vastly expanded. Restrictions on wiretapping and Internet monitoring would be virtually eliminated, and the government wants access to all private computer encryption keys. Evoking the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps, Ashcroft has sought the power to hold non-citizens (including permanent residents) deemed a possible “danger to national security” in indefinite detention.

Last week, the New York State legislature rushed through a law making membership and even financial support to any organization deemed “terrorist” a felony. Under Ashcroft’s proposal, non-citizens could be deported for providing financial support for the lawful activities of a “terrorist” organization—including retroactively! For example, a permanent resident of the U.S. who gave money to the African National Congress—which currently heads the South African capitalist government—when it was fighting apartheid in the 1980s could be rounded up and deported.

As German Communist playwright Bertolt Brecht once quipped: “Would it not be easier in that case for the government to dissolve the people and elect another?” The proposed legislation aimed at the civil rights of the population is the



Reuters

May 1999: Serbian city of Nis devastated by U.S. terror bombing.

expression of the fear and loathing the U.S. government has for “the people.” The Constitution of this country was originally meant to apply to white male Protestant freeholders—that was what was behind the definition of a “citizen.” As that definition was expanded to include broader layers of the population, the rights of the citizen were correspondingly diminished. The extension of the right to bear arms, for example, has led to its increasing erosion through gun control measures. Against the liberal proponents of gun control, we would point out that had some of the passengers or crew on those airliners been armed, there might not have been any (successful) hijackings.

Don’t hold your breath waiting for the pusillanimous liberals of the American Civil Liberties Union, who only seem to get animated over defending the fascist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan, to come to your defense. In a 20 September press release, the ACLU declared: “We pledge to work with our national leaders in their fight to bring those responsible for this tragedy to justice. And we believe that our nation can, as it has during other times of national emergency, reconcile the requirements of security with the demands of liberty.”

The only rights to which the bourgeoisie is unalterably committed are those which enforce its class rule—the right to hold private property, to own the means of production, to employ wage labor. For the working people and oppressed, even those democratic rights nominally guaranteed under the Constitution can only be secured through social struggle and are eminently reversible under capitalism.

Immigrant Rights, Black Rights Go Hand in Hand

As always in this deeply racist society, attacks on civil liberties strike hardest against black people. Thirty-eight Black Panther Party activists were murdered and hundreds more imprisoned under the FBI’s COINTELPRO terror operation—which was originally set up during the 1950s anti-Communist witchhunt. Now, the new “czar” of the “Office of Homeland Security,” which brings in the CIA, the military and other agencies nominally banned from operating domestically, is Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. Among the credentials qualifying him for this post is his ardent support for the death penalty. Ridge has signed two death warrants for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the eloquent journalist, MOVE supporter and former Black Panther who was framed up and railroaded to death row for his political beliefs.

The frenzy of anti-Arab and anti-immigrant chauvinism is a deadly danger to all racial minorities, especially the black population whose forcible concentration at the bottom of this society is rooted in the very foundations of the American capitalist system. Speaking about the racist mob that laid siege to a mosque outside Chicago, black radio commentator Cliff Kelley warned, “When those white youths were protesting against Arab Americans in Bridgeview, they were not just aiming their attacks against Arabs. They were also carrying Confederate flags. They’re against us, too. This is becoming a race war and Bush is helping to push it” (*Chicago Defender*, 18 September).

But it’s not just Bush. For years, black Democratic politicians and pseudo-nationalist “community leaders” have played into the capitalists’ schemes to pit one sector of the oppressed against another, fomenting chauvinism against Arab, Latino and Korean immigrants in a competition for scarce jobs and government programs. Jesse Jackson, who often waxes rhetorical about the multiethnic American “rainbow,” lauded the “anti-terrorist” roundups that help fuel the chauvinist hysteria, praising the Feds for “being able to penetrate the intelligence network” and prevent “further bombings to this date” (*Chicago Defender*, 17 September). Jackson’s self-defined role is

to serve as a “soft cop” for racist U.S. imperialism; thus he now urges Bush to “use intelligence, not war.” It’s precisely in the name of “intelligence” that the government is gearing up a vast machinery of repression against immigrants, blacks and all its perceived opponents.

To her credit, black Oakland Congresswoman Barbara Lee, a protégé of former liberal Congressman Ron Dellums, registered the sole vote against the resolution giving Bush a blank check for war. For his part, Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, calling America “the greatest nation on this earth,” rushed to “agree with President Bush that there must be an appropriate response to this wicked attack, but anger and wounded pride should not and must not determine what that appropriate response should be” (*Chicago Defender*, 19 September). Two days earlier, the *Defender* ran the headline, “Victory Abroad and Victory at Home,” evoking the “Double V for Victory” line pushed by the NAACP during World War II to enlist black people in the interimperialist slaughter. But victory



Young Spartacus

As Democrat Carter seized on Red Army intervention in Afghanistan to launch renewed Cold War offensive, Trotskyists fought to defend gains of Russian Revolution.

abroad meant the U.S. boot on the neo-colonial peoples and the maintenance of Jim Crow terror at home.

While the petty-bourgeois black misleaders rally ’round the flag, many of those at the bottom don’t buy into the patriotic mobilization, knowing that they will be among its targets. But they are far from powerless. Black workers are a strategic component of the U.S. proletariat. Nor are immigrants, who have been increasingly prominent in union struggles, simply defenseless victims. But to wield the power that labor has as the producers of the wealth of society requires, above all, a break with the Democratic Party and the forging of a revolutionary workers party that fights for all the oppressed. The road to black freedom lies in the overthrow of racist American capitalism through socialist revolution. ***For class-struggle defense of immigrant rights—No deportations! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Black liberation through socialist revolution!***

Economic Recession, Imperialist Rivalry

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the former Soviet Union was an unparalleled defeat for working people all over the world, leading to intensified rivalry—and the heightened danger of war—among the imperialist powers. In the wake of the World Trade Center attack, the European Union (EU) leaders immediately pledged their full support to the U.S., for the first time invoking Article Five of NATO’s Atlantic Charter calling for collective military action against any act of aggression on a member state. The European imperialists have their own reasons for promoting an “anti-terrorist” hysteria, both to fuel their own military buildups and to impose even tighter border controls and broader repression against immigrants and asylum-seekers (see “ICL Sections Say: Down With Imperialism—For Class Struggle at

Home!”, page 6). But with the notable exception of Blair’s Britain, which is again acting as Washington’s salesman in Europe, EU leaders, especially French and German, soon made clear that they were not about to hand Washington a blank check for military action.

The current international crisis directly intersects a long-standing source of conflict between American and European capitalists: the economics of world oil. The world oil cartel is dominated by giant American companies like Exxon-Mobil. Although the Netherlands and Britain (Royal Dutch Shell, British Petroleum) are also major players, this is not the case for Germany and France, the core EU powers. Hence every dollar increase in the world market price of oil not only enriches an important sector of corporate America but also increases the energy costs of French and German capitalists. This is what lay behind the clash between the EU and U.S. over the defunct Kyoto “global warming” agreement, whose (nominal) caps on energy use would have affected the U.S. most directly.

Biter Bitten

“The religions of the East are deeply rooted and have many precious values. Their spiritual beliefs cannot be reconciled with Communist atheism and materialism. That creates a common bond between us.”

—John Foster Dulles, 1950
(U.S. Secretary of State, 1953-59)

To buy the compliance of Pakistan, the Taliban’s chief patron, the U.S. pushed through a \$2.5 billion IMF loan this week and dropped sanctions imposed after a nuclear weapons test three years ago. Similar sanctions against India were also dropped. With Pakistan erupting in fundamentalist mobilizations, a *New York Times* (15 September) editorial worried, “Any American victories in Afghanistan would quickly turn into a catastrophic defeat if the war there turned Pakistan, with its 142 million people and nuclear weapons, into an Islamic fundamentalist state.” The American bourgeoisie thinks it can rule the roost in any part of the world with a big stick and a bit of carrot. But far from imposing a stable “New World Order,” from the Near East to the Balkans to South Asia, U.S. intervention serves only to stoke national antagonisms and regional wars.

Whatever countries Washington chooses to target in the coming months, its strategic goal remains the smashing of those remaining countries where capitalism was overthrown, the bureaucratically deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea. Trotskyists fight for the unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies that undermine the defense of those states and the collectivized economy on which they are based must be ousted through proletarian political revolutions.

Unlike Cuba, China has offered its support to the U.S. “war against terrorism,” urging only that Washington not act unilaterally but under the auspices of the UN. The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy is intent on encouraging imperialist investment as it forges ahead with pro-capitalist “market reforms.” Meanwhile, Beijing has its own version of bin Laden’s Islamic fundamentalists to deal with, as well as the CIA-sponsored “Free Tibet” rabble under the “god-king” Dalai Lama. While the Bush administration currently seeks to enlist Beijing’s diplomatic support, it is moving full steam ahead with plans for a “national missile defense”—with a green light last week from Congressional Democrats. The chief aim, ultimately, of this “Star Wars II” project is to facilitate a nuclear first strike against China.

Reformists Plead for “Peaceful” Imperialism

Writing as the imperialist powers geared up for World War II, communist leader Leon Trotsky stated in “War and the Fourth International” (June 1934):

“The exposure of the thoroughly reactionary, putrefied and robber nature of modern capitalism, the destruction of democracy, reformism and pacifism, the urgent and burning need of the proletariat to find a safe path away from imminent disaster put the international revolution on the agenda with renewed force....

“Not to bind itself to the national state in time of war, to follow not the war map but the map of the class struggle, is possible only for that party that has already declared irreconcilable war on the national state in time of peace.... A real break with the ideology and policy of ‘national defense’ is possible only from the standpoint of the *international proletarian revolution*.”

Wedded to the illusion that the capitalist nation-state can be reformed to

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Repression...

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serve the interests of workers and the oppressed, the reformist left adapts to the bourgeoisies of their respective countries. In West Europe, this takes the predominant form of anti-Americanism and support for the social democrats who today administer many of the imperialist states. In the U.S., groups like the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) and the Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) capitulate to the prevailing climate of “national unity,” throwing themselves into vigils aimed at appealing to the government to adopt “peaceful” means to combat “terrorism.”

On September 20, thousands of students turned out for rallies at nearly 150 campuses across the country, many of them looking for answers to the government’s war hysteria. In the past few years, large numbers of youth have taken to the streets in protests against “globalization” and the ravages inflicted by American “multinational” corporations on poor people in the “Third World,” especially slave-labor sweatshop conditions. Viewing the working class as just one more oppressed and victimized sector of the population, these youth see no road other than that of trying to pressure the American government—whether through lobbying or “street fighting”—to adopt “kinder, gentler” policies at home and globally. Our comrades have intervened at such protests to win radicalized youth to the Marxist understanding that the threat of war is a direct product of a system based on capitalist/imperialist exploitation, and that the proletariat is the one class in society with the social power and historic interest to bring that *system* down and organize a just, socialist society.

For their part, the reformists pander to the liberal illusions prevalent among such youth. Their message is essentially: “War won’t stop terrorism, give peace a chance.” In New York City, the ISO has

formed “People for Peace,” whose “Mission Statement” appeals for “solidarity as a nation” and calls for “bringing the people responsible for the attacks to legal justice without using violence as a form of punishment.” WWP’s International Action Center is the driving force behind a coalition that calls on “people of conscience” to rally at the White House on September 29 to say that “war is not the answer.”

The ISO is a quintessential weather-vane of liberal “public opinion,” defined by social-democratic anti-Communism from its inception as a tendency during the first Cold War. In the 1980s, the ISO—and virtually every other reformist group—avidly embraced the “human rights” anti-Sovietism of the imperialist rulers, cheering on the CIA’s *muja-hedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. In 1999, the ISO and other fake-socialist groups embraced the cause of “poor little Kosovo,” the banner under which the U.S. led NATO in a war that laid waste to Serbia.

At bottom, groups like the ISO and WWP accept the liberal notion that imperialism is just a policy, and that the capitalists can be pressured to pursue other, more “humane” and “peaceful” policies. Progressive Labor Party (PL) rightly declares: “During imperialist war, communists must lead workers against their ruling class” (*Challenge*, 3 October). But PL capitulates to the imperialist rulers in its own way. PL equates small or semi-colonial capitalist countries—like Serbia or Iraq—with imperialist powers like the U.S. Thus PL spits on the Leninist obligation to defend against imperialist attack those countries exploited by the handful of capitalist countries that control the world economy.

War is the continuation of politics by other means. In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916), Lenin stressed that imperialist capitalism is marked by the concentration and domination of finance capital, the pre-eminence of the export of capital and competition among the advanced capital-

ist countries to control markets and spheres of influence. In opposition to the theory of a peaceful “ultra-imperialism” advanced by German Social Democrat Karl Kautsky, Lenin wrote:

“The only conceivable basis under capitalism for the division of spheres of influence, interests, colonies, etc., is a calculation of the *strength* of those participating, their general economic, financial, military strength, etc. And the strength of these participants in the division does not change to an equal degree, for the *even* development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism....

“Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German ‘Marxist’ Kautsky, ‘inter-imperialist’ or ‘ultra-imperialist’ alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are *inevitably* nothing more than a ‘truce’ in periods between wars.”

Imperialist war is but the concentrated expression of the “normal” brutal workings of the capitalist system, which daily condemns countless numbers of people around the world to death by malnutrition, lack of medical care and industrial “accidents.” The threat to obliterate “rogue states” is of a piece with the use of the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund to impose misery and starvation on the workers of Southeast Asia, Mexico and elsewhere in order to keep interest payments flowing into the coffers of Chase Manhattan and Citicorp.

Socialism or Barbarism

Barely a decade ago, America’s rulers proclaimed victory in the Cold War and promised the population a “peace dividend.” That dividend took the form of one military adventure after another, including the first major conflagration on European soil since the end of World War II, the U.S.-led NATO air war against Serbia in 1999. Its domestic complement was a mushrooming of the prison population—with over one million black men, women

and youth currently behind bars—and a widening chasm between rich and poor. Corporate America has gorged itself on profits extracted through non-union, minimum-wage labor, multi-tier wage contracts, speedup, massive overtime and the wholesale dismantling of social welfare programs. Now you can kiss your pension goodbye as they loot the Social Security “lockbox” to pay for whatever insane military adventure Bush undertakes while the Dow Jones index goes through the floor.

The current war buildup presages full-scale wars in the future, ultimately encompassing all the imperialist powers and posing the spectre of a nuclear conflagration. The men who rule this country are not rational, because the capitalist system they preside over is irrational. *Only world socialist revolution can save mankind from a barbaric outcome.* As we say in the Programmatic Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S.:

“American ‘democracy’ has been purchased through brutal exploitation of the colonial and semicolonial masses around the world, generally through imposition of murderous anti-labor dictatorial regimes. America is ruled by the dictatorship of a single class, the bourgeoisie, alternately administered by the Democrats and Republicans, two wings of the same property party. The façade of democracy is designed simply to obscure the fact that the capitalist state is an instrument of organized force and violence—consisting at its core of the police, army, courts and prisons—for maintaining capitalist property and profits through the suppression of the working class and the oppressed and fending off foreign challenges. The proletariat cannot lay hold of this state machinery and use it for its own purposes, but must smash the bourgeois state and establish a workers state, laying the basis for the abolition of classes in an international communist world. *Our task, in the bastion of world imperialism, is to build the multiracial revolutionary workers party, section of a reformed Fourth International, which will lead the proletariat in the overthrow of the American capitalist order, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class and the establishment of a planned socialist economy.*”■

ICL Sections...

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the podium, the name Carlo Giuliani was barely mentioned, while the police terror in Genoa was whitewashed.

An anarchist group, “Officina 99,” which is calling for an anti-NATO protest in Naples on September 27, has published a statement on the World Trade Center attack which is imbued with a revolutionary internationalist spirit we Marxists find commendable. They note that among the dead were workers, “our potential allies, those we talk to when we speak of a ‘different possible world’.” They condemn the attack for its “indiscriminate character” and go on to note that the attacks against immigrants are the product of the “fall of the Berlin Wall” and the rise of a bipolar world.

But even the best subjective impulses and a clear-sighted view of reality are not sufficient to bring down a capitalist system which again threatens world war, this time with nuclear weapons. A fundamental difference with the best of the anarchists—whose revulsion at the fake left’s fawning loyalty to social democracy and parliamentarism we share, and with whom we are increasingly frequently in a bloc against the reformist apologists for

state repression—is that anarchists have no clue how to bring down the system of exploitation. They reject the centrality of the proletariat for revolutionary change, and especially the need for the working people to create their own class rule, their own state power. Indeed, one of the Italian anarchist statements on the attacks in the United States noted that they opposed the attack as part of their “internationalist opposition to the state.” The *bourgeois* state is an institution of class oppression of the proletariat by the capitalist class. But the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will suppress the inevitable resistance of the bourgeoisie to the rule of the revolutionary working class—is the necessary first step toward the withering away of the state through the creation of a classless communist society.

As the war plans of the imperialist rulers should make clear to everyone, the capitalist class is ruthless; it is never going to cede power without a fight, and will use the same terror against its own working people at home as it employs to plunder the “Third World” and to wage its interimperialist world wars. The crucial bridge to get from the misery of the capitalist present to the promise of a socialist future is the struggle for a *workers state*. It is necessary to bring the workers to power in their own state, a dictatorship of the proletariat, to defend their gains, to fight the capitalist enemy, and to fight for the international extension of their struggle.

Mobilized at the point of production (and uniquely integrated in today’s increasingly segregated racist societies) and creating the wealth of society, the working class uniquely has the social power and compulsion of clear objective interest to liberate mankind from oppression. Having no stake in maintaining the bourgeois order, its power rests in its pro-

ductive role, its numbers and organization. No amount of demonstrating outside G8 or NATO meetings, pressuring the imperialists to put on a more “human face,” can really challenge the system. Only proletarian socialist revolution can bring down the irrational profit-driven capitalist system based on private property and institute a planned, collectivized economy based on production for human needs. This perspective requires international revolutionary struggle to destroy imperialism and unite the workers of the world in a planned socialist economy.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92 and the attendant declarations of the world’s imperialist rulers that “communism is

dead” have sparked a revival of anarchist ideas. As Trotsky said, in reactionary periods “senile thought seems to have become infantile.” It’s our aim to win the best, most self-sacrificing and subjectively revolutionary fighters from the present generation of youth to an understanding of the principles of scientific socialism so that the errors of the past, which have thus far prevented the overthrow of the decrepit imperialist order worldwide, will not be repeated. The ICL struggles to bring the working people to power worldwide in new October Revolutions. Now more than ever, a revolutionary world party is needed to put an end to the system of exploitation, racism and war—join us!■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. Local Directory and Public Offices

Web site: www.icl-fi.org • E-mail address: vanguard@tiac.net

National Office

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

Boston

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

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 563-0441

Los Angeles

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

Public Office:

Sat. 2-5 p.m.
3806 Beverly Blvd., Room 215

New York

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

Oakland

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

Public Office:

Sat. 1-5 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 395-9520

Public Office:

Tues. 6-8 p.m.
564 Market St., Suite 718

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

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

Vancouver

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

NYC NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League’s public office hours have been indefinitely suspended. If you are interested in meeting or picking up literature you can do so between 7:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. every Tuesday on the third floor of the Student Events Center at New York University, 5 Washington Place. Please contact us at nysl_syc@yahoo.com for further information.

Mumia...

(continued from page 5)

only time Beverly was being deceptive was when he *denied* being the one who shot Faulkner. Lie detector tests are certainly not foolproof; indeed, they are routinely used by police and government agencies for their frame-ups and mistakenly are admissible in many courts.

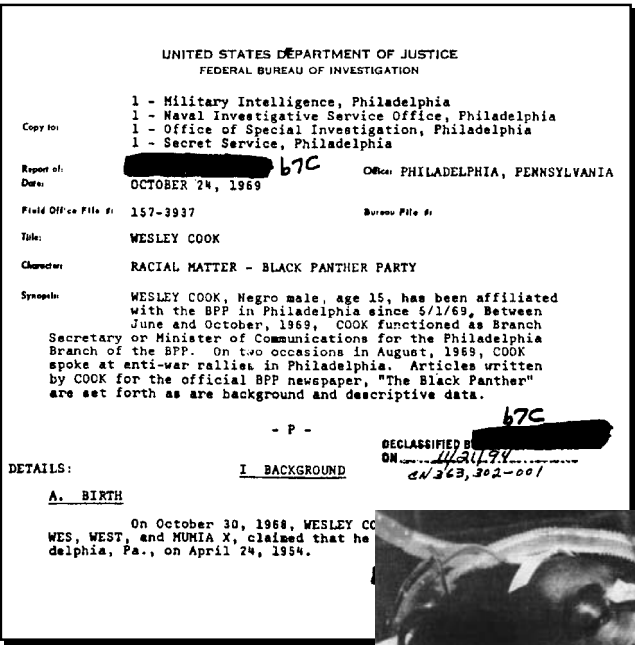
Williams argues that his book was written to make Jamal’s case “more interesting and attractive to a mainstream audience.” But as the PCRA papers counter:

“It was written to make attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams more attractive to a main stream audience. It was written with an eye to their futures after the Petitioner’s case was finished. It was written to portray attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams as wise and responsible lawyers fighting an heroic struggle against insuperable odds in an unfair and flawed criminal justice system. It was written both to preserve and to enhance attorney Weinglass and attorney Williams’ reputations.”

At the same time, the book enhances the authority, reputation and “democratic” credentials of the capitalist state, even at the cost of Jamal’s life.

As the old fighting song of Harlan County coal miners says, “There are no neutrals there.” Williams’ appeals to “be sensitive to how the intensity of interest in Mumia’s case” must hurt Maureen Faulkner, who heads the campaign for his death; his intonations that “it would be wrong to dismiss the evidence against Mumia with a glib reference to racism and police corruption” (p. 356); his bald equation of Jamal’s defenders with the cops and courts who want to kill him are not the expression of some kind of even-handed “justice.” Rather they are a statement that Jamal is guilty or at least should be considered so until “proven innocent.” One of the more obscene examples of this is a photo caption in the book that could have come straight out of an F.O.P. diatribe: “Was killing on [Mumia’s] mind as he raced towards his brother, Billy Cook, who was in a scuffle with Officer Faulkner?”

Appealing to the “mainstream” has also been the clarion call of various liberals, reformists and black nationalists who for years made the call for a “new trial” for Jamal the central demand of their demonstrations. Their aim was to avoid offending those who see Jamal’s case simply as a stain on capitalist “law and order” which must be remedied through a new trial. In a statement to the May 12 “Mobilizations for Mumia” held in Philadelphia and San Francisco this year, Jamal wrote from his death row cell: “Many of you have said that you don’t believe in the system, yet, in your



Right: Jamal in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops, December 1981. Failing to kill him in the streets, the “justice” system railroaded Jamal to death row.



hearts you refuse to let it go.” This was demonstrated in the fact that central organizers and endorsers of these protests were unable to even choke out the new evidence in the case because it is such an indictment of the very “justice” system in which they have sown illusions for years.

Even now, when most of these organizations are publishing Beverly’s confession and the other affidavits, their appeals are premised on maintaining illusions in capitalist “democracy.” Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler co-signed a statement for an August 18 Jamal rally in San Francisco that argued: “We must fight to make the price of Mumia’s legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system.” An even more chemically pure example of promoting the “democratic” credentials of this blood-drenched “justice” system is a letter by Guerry Hodderson of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee to Judge Yohn, stating: “I do not believe you have anything to lose and much to gain by holding an evidentiary hearing. At the very least you will regain an appearance of fairness in a case that has come to symbolize the racist, anti-radical abuses of America’s court system.”

For Class-Struggle Defense!

From the time the PDC took up Jamal’s case in 1987, we have sought to

ensure that every legal avenue was pursued to free him while fighting against illusions in the capitalist state. In this, we stand in the tradition of the early Communist Party’s International Labor Defense (ILD). In his 1927 article “Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?”—written during the worldwide campaign of labor protest on behalf of those anarchist workers—later pioneer American Trotskyist James P. Cannon, then leader of the ILD, laid out the counterposition between liberal appeals to capitalist politicians and judges and the strategy of class-struggle defense:

“One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale.... “The other policy is the policy of ‘respectability,’ of the ‘soft pedal’ and of ridiculous illusions about ‘justice’ from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle.”

The PDC has publicized Jamal’s case, raised critically important funds for his legal battles and fought particularly to mobilize the social power of the multi-racial labor movement in his defense, including through labor-centered, united-front protests demanding Mumia’s freedom and abolition of the racist death

penalty. Through these and other means, we have brought his case to trade unions representing millions of workers around the world, from the U.S. to South Africa. We have stressed that Jamal’s case throws a spotlight on the barbaric, racist death penalty. A form of institutionalized state terror directly descended in the U.S. from the system of black chattel slavery, the death penalty is the ultimate sanction employed by this repressive system to intimidate—or eliminate—any who would challenge racist American capitalism. While George W. Bush presided over more executions in Texas than any other governor in recent memory, his Democratic predecessor in the White House, Bill Clinton, pushed through a vast expansion of the federal death penalty and enacted measures to speed up executions by gutting the right to federal *habeas corpus* appeals. We are unequivocal opponents of the death penalty—we do not accord the state the right to determine who lives or dies.

The long hidden and suppressed evidence of Mumia’s innocence is the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal’s freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. It is elementary that if labor’s power is to be brought to bear in a mighty blow on Jamal’s behalf, it must be mobilized independently of the very forces of the capitalist state that have worked for years to frame up and kill this innocent man. To that end, it is necessary to expose and combat not only those like Weinglass and Williams who openly betray Jamal’s cause but also the reformists who would subordinate his fight for freedom to appeals to liberal Democratic politicians and the capitalist courts. Above all, it is the trade-union bureaucracy that is an obstacle to labor flexing its muscle in struggle on behalf of all the oppressed; labor must break the chains forged by the union misleaders that have shackled the unions to the political parties and the state agencies of the enemy class.

Our non-sectarian, class-struggle defense work, in accordance with the Marxist political views of the Spartacist League, is based on the perspective of winning the working class to the understanding that this state exists to defend the class rule and profits of the capitalists against those they exploit. It is rooted in the struggle to make the multi-racial proletariat conscious of its historic class interests in the fight against the entire capitalist system, particularly the understanding that in this country the fight for black freedom is central to the struggle for the emancipation of labor itself. *Mobilize labor/black power to fight for Mumia’s freedom! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

the rich to the poor. The latest issue of *Keep Left!* (August 2001) calls for pressuring the union leadership to, in turn, pressure the Mbeki government: “We can help to keep the pressure up by leafleting in favour of the strike and organizing more unionised workers in the Anti-Privatisation Forum.” Telling here is *Keep Left*’s emphasis on unionised workers, ignoring the millions of non-unionised toilers, especially agricultural labourers and the inhabitants of the former bantustans (largely women) who make up the most impoverished and oppressed section of South Africa’s black population. *Keep Left* is too far to the right to even raise a call for an opposition political party in print. The Taaffeites have always held up as their model for a workers party *not* the Russian Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky but the British Labour Party, which currently administers the British imperialist state in the interests of the City of London financiers. The DSM leaders see themselves as potential left

advisors to the bureaucratic tops of a South African version of the British Labour Party. That is what they mean when they “call upon Cosatu to start the process of forming a mass workers party on a socialist programme” (*Izwe Labasebenzi*, September 2001). The question of forming a workers party, centrally based on the COSATU unions, in opposition to the ANC is not at all new. It has been raised periodically by leftists and even some top union officials since the transition from the white-supremacist regime to the ANC government in the early 1990s. We have always emphasised that the decisive question is the nature of such a workers party—reformist or revolutionary. We have raised the call for a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa in a way clearly and sharply *counterposed* to a reformist (i.e., pro-capitalist) party such as the British Labour Party or the Brazilian Workers Party. A revolutionary workers party would not simply defend the particular interests of the working class, especially its unionised sector, but would fight to eradicate *all forms* of social oppression—the lack of modern medical care for the millions infected with AIDS, the

mass homelessness in the black townships, the hideous conditions suffered by the millions of Africans still trapped in the former bantustans, the degradation of women in rural villages where tribal traditions remain strong. The increas-

ing hostility of the working class to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC, dramatically indicated by the August general strike, demonstrates both the possibility and urgency of building such a Bolshevik workers party in South Africa. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Two-Day General Strike in August

Class Struggle in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, September 10 —On August 29-30, South Africa was shaken by a two-day general strike. The “stayaway” strike, which included huge protests in most cities, was one of the largest labour actions since the white-supremacist regime was replaced by the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC) in 1994. Organised by the two-million-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the immediate focus of the action was to protest the plans of the government of ANC president Thabo Mbeki to privatise the state-owned railways and the electricity, telecommunications and waterworks companies. “We did not fight for liberation so that we could sell everything we won to the highest bidder,” read a placard carried at the Jo’burg labour rally.

Underlying this massive mobilisation are years of mounting working-class anger and frustration at the openly pro-business, anti-labour and union-busting policies of the ANC-led “Tripartite Alliance” government, in which the South African Communist Party (SACP) and COSATU are both junior partners. When the minister for public service and administration, SACPer Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, showed up at the August 30 rally in Pretoria, she was booed down and driven off the speaker’s platform. Fraser-Moleketi is especially hated by the workers for her past role as the government’s hard cop against public employee strikes.

COSATU officials claimed that five million people stayed off the job. Predictably, spokesmen for the ANC government and its masters on the Jo’burg stock exchange downplayed the impact of the strike. But the strike seems to have been effective in the key economic sectors. It was reported that the gold mines in the Free State province were brought to a standstill. Particularly hard hit was the auto sector, which has barely recovered from a three-week strike over wages that ended just prior to the stayaway. At DaimlerChrysler, reportedly more than 70



Mass labor rally in Johannesburg, August 29. Two-day strike protesting privatization plans was fueled by mounting anger against neo-apartheid ANC rule.

per cent of the workforce stayed away. Ford SA and Nissan did not operate their assembly lines. Meanwhile, a potential strike by 500,000 public sector employees looms large as the latest round of wage talks have hit a dead end.

It is also quite important that other pro-ANC mass organisations—the “civics” based in the black townships like Soweto and the student organisations—supported the COSATU action against the Mbeki government. Likewise significant was that the rival National Council of Trade Unions—representing 500,000 workers—which is led by a bloc between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Pan Africanist Congress and AZAPO (successor to Steve Biko’s Black Consciousness Movement) also supported the COSATU stay-away strike.

The political significance of the two-day stayaway was punctuated by COSATU’s own role as a component of the governing Tripartite Alliance. Under the intense pressure of their working-class base, the union bureaucrats were forced to take some action—even if only a protest—against the government. Moreover, in the period leading up to the stay-away, COSATU leaders reverted to the leftist rhetoric of years gone by. In mid-August, COSATU president Zwelinzima Vavi told a labour rally in Pretoria:

“The struggle involves the working class and its struggle against a capitalist class and its cohorts. When this happens, militants who fought next to you against apartheid, will now take up the struggle against you while protecting new class benefits.... Some blacks are business leaders, millionaires, director-generals.”

Mbeki was so personally enraged at this that he went after COSATU himself rather than leave the job to one of his henchmen. He issued a vitriolic statement against the union leaders:

“One of the lies they tell is that our government has betrayed policies agreed by the broad democratic movement with regard to the issue of the restructuring of state assets. Thus they argue that, because of this, we have abandoned the pursuit of the objective of a better life for all.”

Mbeki went on to denounce the COSATU leadership for trying to “use workers as cannon fodder to launch an offensive aimed at defeating their own liberation movement!” (ANC Today, 25 August).

By the time of the strike, the COSATU bureaucrats, almost all of them in the SACP, were in a grovelling damage-control mode, offering an olive branch to Mbeki & Co. Addressing a rally of 10,000 in Jo’burg, union officials *minimised* their differences with the government. Their line was not to actually stop the privatisations but rather that they should be included in the negotiations to sell off state assets. They were using the stayaway strike and rallies to let their worker base blow off steam. But on the ground, our comrades selling *Spartacist South Africa* could feel the widespread anger among the workers and others as to what privatisation has in store for them—union-busting, slashing benefits, rate increases in basic services like electricity.

The COSATU stayaway was scheduled in part to embarrass the Mbeki government during the United Nations-sponsored “anti-racist” conference in Durban. Hence the August 30 labor rally in Durban had a quite different character than elsewhere in South Africa. Activists in the Landless People’s Movement took to the streets, joined by Palestinian militants, black activists from Brazil, “untouchables” from India, Aboriginal activists from Australia and many more.

By contrast, the official government “anti-racist” rally a few days later was a total bust. The union tops did not mobilise their ranks. The government was reduced to busing in schoolchildren to pad the crowd and the marchers occupied only the sidewalks to make the march look bigger.

Break with the ANC! For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The general strike exposed and aggravated the tensions within the South African Communist Party between its base in the labour movement and its pro-

capitalist tops ensconced in leading positions in the ANC government. Jeff Radebe, the SACP minister centrally involved in the privatisation drive, remarked that the party was “caught between a hammer and a sickle.” On the one side, the official SACP statement endorsing the strike called it “a conscious offensive against capitalism itself and for the building of a people’s economy.” On the other side, SACP ministers Fraser-Moleketi and Radebe were the first and most aggressive spokesmen for the Mbeki regime *against* the strike. As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to break the black working-class base of the SACP from its reformist misleadership.

The same sentiment that caused workers to drive Fraser-Moleketi from the Pretoria rally has led tens of thousands of workers to drop out of the SACP in the past few years. These workers now look solely to COSATU rather than the SACP to defend themselves against the mounting attacks of the Mbeki government. But the working class cannot defend and further its interests

solely through trade-union struggle and other forms of social protest. It is necessary to sweep away the neo-apartheid capitalist order administered by the ANC government—which is the political agent of South Africa’s white capitalist class and its senior partners in Wall Street and the City of London—and to replace it with a revolutionary workers government centred on the black toilers in which there will be full democratic rights for coloureds (mixed race), Indians and those whites who accept the will of the black majority. To achieve such a government, we seek to build a Leninist vanguard party that champions the cause of all of the exploited and oppressed.

To the left of the SACP are a mélange of groups which falsely claim to be Trotskyist or are conventionally identified with Trotskyism. Among these are the Keep Left group which is affiliated internationally with the British Socialist Workers Party formed by the late Tony Cliff. Another such social-democratic outfit is the Democratic Socialist Movement (DSM), part of the international current led by Peter Taaffe’s Socialist Party, also in Britain. Until quite recently, the South African Cliffites and Taaffeites *openly supported the ANC government* of Mandela and his anointed successor Mbeki, for example, urging workers to vote for it in national and regional elections. The Taaffeites, in fact, were for years buried *inside* the ANC. And, for its part, Keep Left has for the past few years been part of the SACP.

In response to the increasing hostility of the working class to the Mbeki regime, these fake-left groups are now seeking to pressure the COSATU bureaucrats to form a “genuine opposition” to the ANC. Their main vehicle to implement this pressure tactic is a lash-up called the Anti-Privatisation Forum. The Forum does not even pretend to be anti-capitalist nor does it call for socialism. Rather it espouses the usual reformist pablum of redistributing the wealth from

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COSATU
Protester in COSATU general strike. ANC nationalists front for white capitalist exploiters.