

British Colonialist Rulers Leave, Finally Beijing Stalinists Embrace Hong Kong Financiers

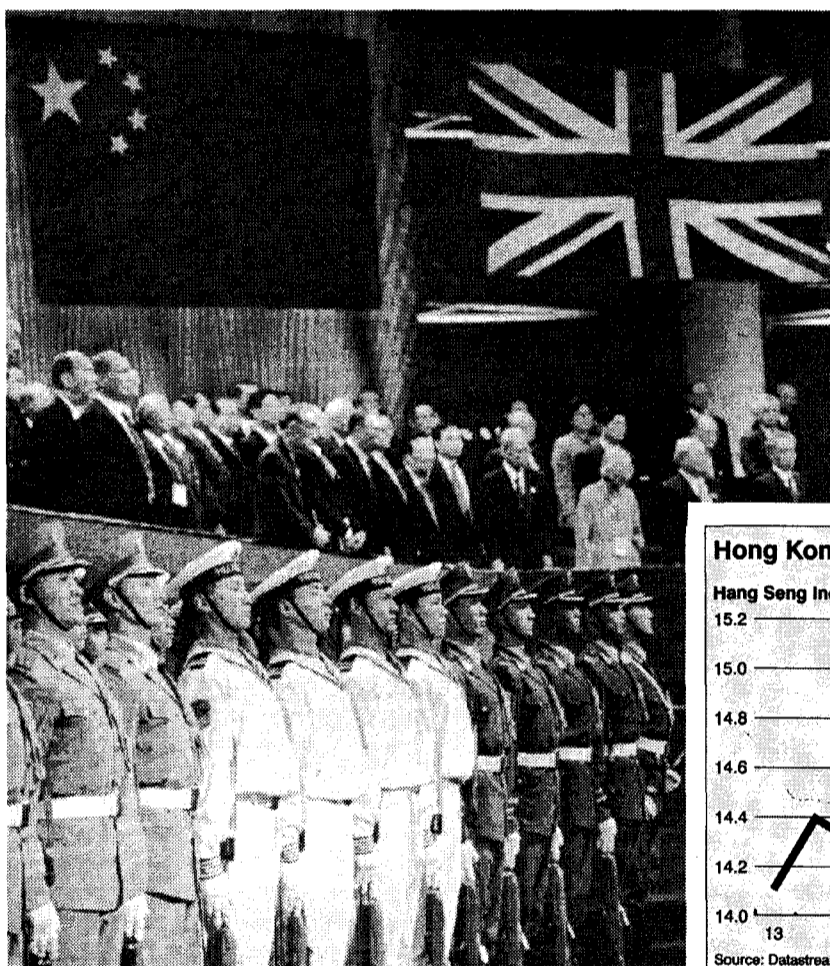
As the clock struck 12 on the night of June 30, thousands of villagers in Hong Kong's New Territories area cheered as 4,000 troops of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) crossed the border from Guangdong province. The departure of Hong Kong's last British governor, accompanied by Prince Charles, on the royal yacht *Britannia*, was greeted with parades and celebrations throughout the mainland, Hong Kong and overseas, with slogans proclaiming: "Wash clean 100 years of national humiliation!"

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) joined in cheering as the rotted British Empire finally lost its last major colonial holding with the lowering of the bloody Union Jack and the raising of the five-starred red flag of the People's Republic. But we warn that in the hands of the venal Stalinist bureaucracy, which has pledged to maintain Hong Kong's capitalist system, the takeover of the territory is a dagger aimed at the remaining gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution. The heightened danger posed to the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state was amply manifest in the record high hit by Hong Kong's Hang Seng stock index on the eve of the takeover, and by the all-night parties hosted by local tycoons. *Business Week* (9 June) gloated: "Our hunch is that the takeover does not mean an end to Hong Kong, but rather the beginning of the endgame for what will eventually be seen as the relatively short-lived (for China) Chinese Communist era."

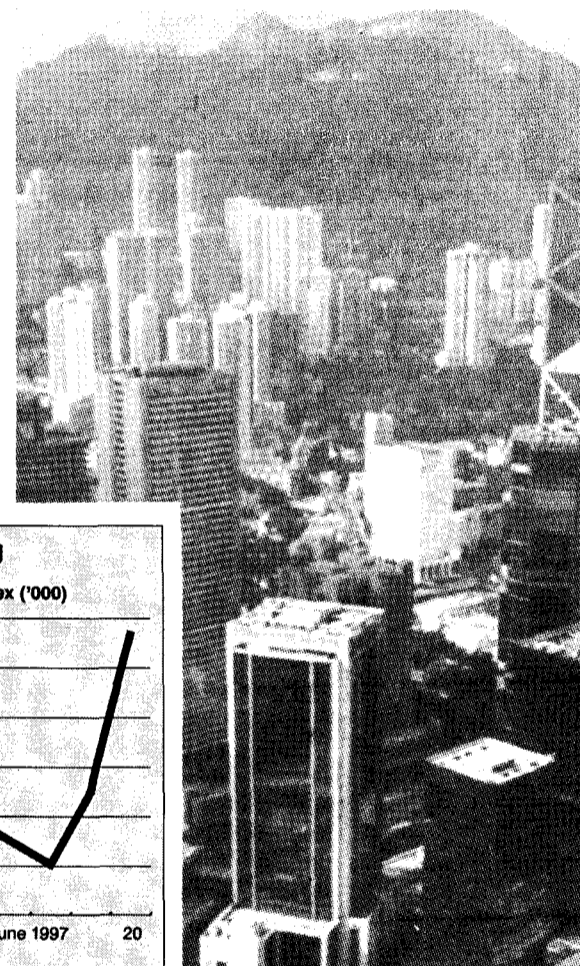
On July 1, Chinese president Jiang Zemin assured a meeting of financiers, foreign "dignitaries" and members of the territory's new, handpicked government that "Hong Kong will continue to practice the capitalist system." This was in keeping with the "one country, two systems" formula advanced by the late Deng Xiaoping at the time of the 1984 accord with Britain outlining the terms of the handover. But two systems cannot long coexist within China's borders. The takeover of Hong Kong poses ever more starkly the choice faced by the Chinese proletariat: either proletarian political revolution sweeps away the treacherous Stalinist bureaucracy and stops the galloping danger of capitalist restoration, or bloody counterrevolution will engulf all of China and again subject the worker and peasant masses to brutal exploitation and misery.

The smashing of capitalist rule and the construction of a planned economy following the 1949 Revolution, when Mao Zedong's Communist Party (CCP)/PLA peasant-guerrilla forces defeated Chiang Kai-shek's hated Guomindang (Kuomintang) regime, brought enormous social gains for China's workers and peasants.

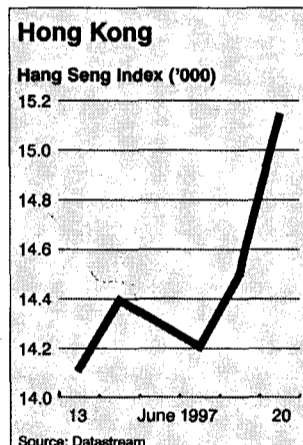
China: For Proletarian Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Restoration!



Reuters



Financial Times



Financial Times graph

Ceremony marks end of British rule in Hong Kong. Stock prices shot up on eve of Beijing's takeover: Stalinist bureaucracy's pledge to maintain capitalism there poses sharply escalated danger of counterrevolution in China.

But that social revolution was deformed from its inception by the political rule of a nationalist bureaucratic caste, which has steadily undermined the collectivized foundations of the Chinese workers state. The introduction and deepening of capitalist market measures by the Beijing regime have already significantly cracked and threaten the complete destruction of the "iron rice bowl" system of lifelong guaranteed jobs, housing and social insurance. In response, there have been sharp struggles by the workers in defense of their livelihood.

However, the elemental and atomized resistance of the Chinese proletariat to growing immiseration and social chaos cannot in itself defeat the powerful

forces—both within China and outside it—pushing toward capitalist counterrevolution. As we recently wrote in "China on the Brink: Workers Political Revolution or Capitalist Enslavement?" (*Spartacist* No. 53, Summer 1997):

"The program of political revolution is needed in China today if the workers and impoverished peasant masses are to emerge victorious in the class battles that lie ahead. As part of our fight to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International, the International Communist League seeks to build an egalitarian-communist party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks and the early Chinese Communist Party. Such a party would link the struggle against the corrupt Stalinist bureaucracy in China with the class struggles of the militant Indonesian and

South Korean workers against their capitalist rulers, and with those in the imperialist centers such as Japan. Only through extending socialist revolution to these countries will the threat of capitalist re-enslavement be eliminated once and for all and the basis laid for the development of China in a socialist Asia."

Britain's Vile Colonial Police State

The outpourings of Chinese people around the world on June 30 spoke to the deep hatred of the British colonialists who lorded it over Hong Kong as their privileged preserve for over 150 years. Britain seized Hong Kong, then a sleepy fishing village, in the 1842 Treaty of

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Militarization of the Border Means Racist Terror

Marines Gun Down Hispanic Youth in Texas

On May 20, four Marines killed 18-year-old Esequiel "Junior" Hernandez, a Texas high school sophomore, in cold blood near the Mexican border. Hernandez was the first U.S. citizen killed by American troops on U.S. soil since four Kent State University students protesting the Vietnam War were shot down by the National Guard in 1970. Hernandez was herding his goats, carrying a World War I-vintage .22 rifle to chase wild animals away. The camouflaged and heavily armed Marines, who claimed Hernandez fired at them from over 200 yards away, stalked the youth for 20 minutes from bush to bush, and then shot him. They let him bleed for 20 minutes before they finally called for medical help. Hernandez bled to death.

Hernandez' killing is a direct product of the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border area, which began under Republican president Ronald Reagan and has been escalated by the Clinton White House. The four Marines, deployed on a "covert" drugs reconnaissance mission, were part of "Joint Task Force 6," which includes members of all four branches of the military, the Border Patrol and other federal police agencies. No one in the

nearby village of Redford knew that there were armed troops in the area.

The killing was the second shooting along the border by troops this year. In January near Brownsville, Texas, an "illegal" immigrant, Cesaro Vazquez, tripped over a Green Beret hiding in a bush. Fearing he was about to be robbed, Vazquez fired off his .38 calibre gun. The Green Beret then shot Vazquez, who was subsequently sentenced to a six-year prison term.

Although only 90 people live in Hernandez' town, an estimated 800 mourners attended his funeral. Some 200 also turned out for a protest in El Paso. Following Hernandez' killing, the Border Patrol announced that military operations had been suspended. Meanwhile, state prosecutors complained that the Marines have impeded their investigation into the incident. Marine commanders have defended the brutal slaying as in line with their "rules of engagement" for their border activities. In 1989, shortly before "Joint Task Force 6" was set up, U.S. Army Lieutenant General Thomas Kelley, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, outlined these deadly "rules" to the House Armed

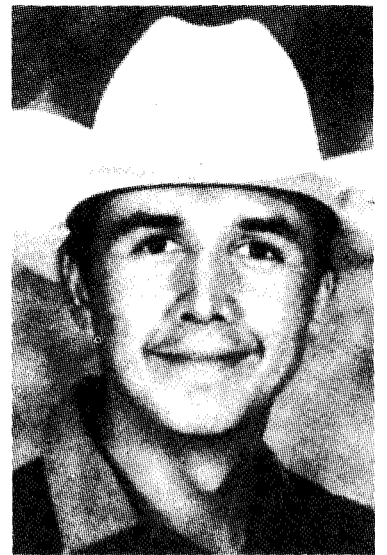
Services Committee:

"When you deal with police officers, they think in terms of going to court and we don't. We're sort of like the special operations soldier who is taught to clear a room by killing the bad guys and not touch the hostages, a regular old infantry soldier just flips a grenade through the door. We're sort of like the infantry soldier right now."

—Timothy J. Dunn, *The Militarization of the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1978-1992: Low Intensity Conflict Comes Home* (1996)

In the 1980s, the Posse Comitatus law—which bars the military from engaging in domestic police activities—was weakened specifically to allow the use of troops in the "war on drugs." Enacted in 1878 to prevent Union soldiers from enforcing the right of blacks to vote in the post-Civil War South, the Posse Comitatus law has been repeatedly ignored by the government in order to dispatch troops to quell "civil disturbances." Congress recently voted to authorize another 10,000 troops for use along the border. However, Clinton is reportedly seeking to phase out such operations—while more than *tripling* the number of Border Patrol thugs (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 June)!

While the "anti-drug" campaign has always been aimed especially at the black and Hispanic inner cities, it now increasingly intersects the anti-immigrant hysteria being whipped up by the capitalist rulers. The "war on drugs" has also served as a cover for increasing U.S. imperialist military intervention in Latin America, including shipments of



Esequiel Hernandez Jr., killed by U.S. Marines.

arms and equipment to blood-drenched neocolonial regimes like the Fujimori dictatorship in Peru, to suppress peasant insurgencies.

The government's claims to the contrary, major drug shipments are not brought into the U.S. by backpack in remote border areas. Washington's militarization of the border is aimed at terrorizing immigrants fleeing starvation conditions and stringent austerity measures in Mexico and Central America dictated by Wall Street. It will take a socialist revolution to sweep away the racist capitalist rulers and their murderous apparatus of repression. ■

Letter

On the "Global Economy"

New South Wales, Australia
15 February 1997

Dear Editor,

Part II of your series "The 'Global Economy' and Labor Reformism" is one-sided (WV No. 661 [7 February]). Though you mention Lenin's work, *Imperialism*, you barely touch on its contents. More than in Part I, you play down globalisation. This tends to the view of capitalism as a series of national economies, a traditional bourgeois way of thinking. (This view is the other side of the coin to the view you combat: a denial of reality leads to hysteria when reality is discovered.) You should then conclude not only that North is wrong but also Lenin was wrong. If investment by advanced countries in the rest of the world is only 3 or 5 cents in the dollar (your figures), was Lenin right to describe this era as one of finance imperialism?

You argue that a government, the "committee for managing the common affairs for the whole bourgeoisie," will preserve for itself key industries in the imperialist heartland. This comes close to saying the state can reconcile capitalism's contradictions, making the possibility of revolutionary situations remote. On the contrary, Lenin indicates that core industries can be shed by top imperialist countries. He observes a decline in the number of workers in basic industries in Britain and that more and more land is "used for sport, for the diversion of the rich." He quotes the liberal Hobson for the *tendency* of Europe to become "little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a large body of personal servants and workers in

the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods." This predicts the growth of the service sector in the developed countries, a phenomenon claimed to disprove Marxism. Of course, this is only one of a number of conflicting tendencies.

It is this contradictory situation which you ignore in your attack on North's misconceptions.

Yours sincerely,
Niall C.

WV Replies

Niall C. expresses genuine differences with us but also a number of false conceptions of our analysis and views which may in part stem from having written a critical letter before he read Parts Three and Four (WV Nos. 662 and 664, 21 February and 21 March) of the completed series.

Niall C.'s letter attributes to us "the view of capitalism as a series of national economies." This is false. Part Four states: "From its inception, capitalism has been a global system marked by conflicts among competing nation-states." However, the global character of the world capitalist system does *not* generate a tendency to equalize economic conditions in

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August. Our next issue will be dated August 8.

On Trotsky's Red Army



TROTSKY

Like the capitalist system it defends, the bourgeois army is rife with race, sex and class oppression. In contrast, the Red Army organized by Leon Trotsky following the 1917 Russian Revolution was committed to the defense of the proletarian revolution and was conceived as an internationalist instrument for the liberation of all humanity. Reflecting its tasks and goals, the revolutionary Red Army under the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky sharply com-

bated all manifestations of racial, sexual and nationalist prejudices within its ranks.

In the bourgeois democratic State, the army is used to keep down the workers and to defend the capitalists' money-bags. The proletarian army, the Red Army of the Soviet Republic, is used for the class purposes of the proletariat and for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. Consequently, in respect of the conditions of service and in respect of political rights, there is a vast difference between a bourgeois army and a proletarian army. The bourgeoisie finds it expedient to pretend that its army is "above politics." In reality, it uses the army as a means for promoting its predatory and counterrevolutionary policy under the flag of the defence of "national interests." It does everything in its power to sow division between the army and the people. By a thousand subterfuges, it deprives soldiers of the possibility of utilising their political rights. Things are very different in the Soviet Republic. In the first place, the proletariat frankly declares that the Red Army is an instrument for use in the political class struggle against the bourgeoisie. In the second place, the Soviet Power uses all possible means to bring about an intimate union between the army and the people. The workers are solidarised in the soviets with the soldiers of the Red Army; these soviets are known as "Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates." The workers and the soldiers study in the same schools, and attend the same courses of lectures, they mingle at public meetings; they rub shoulders in demonstrations....

The Red Army is not something distinct from the people; it consists of the working class and the poor peasants; and it marches under the leadership of the working class.

—Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1922)



LENIN

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No. 671

11 July 1997

Karl Michalak, a longtime supporter of the Spartacist League, died suddenly June 30 at his New York City home from cardiac arrhythmia. He was 39 years old.

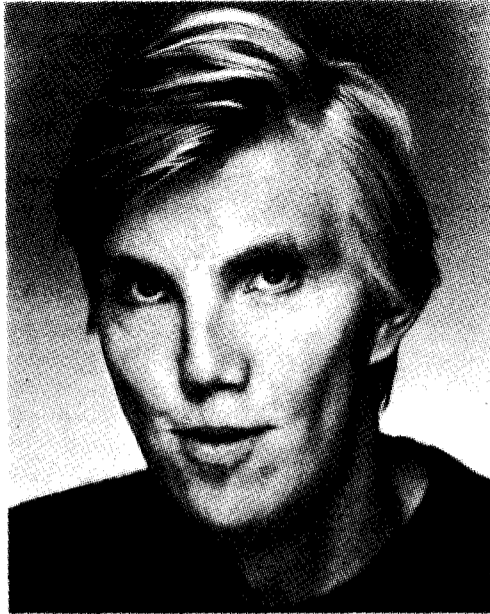
Throughout his life, Karl battled daunting medical problems to achieve his personal and political goals. After traveling throughout Europe, Mexico and Central America in the late 1970s and early '80s, Karl worked his way through Columbia University film school, supporting himself by conducting pre-arrestment interviews with Spanish-speaking prisoners in New York City's hellish prison system. The glaring contrast between the privileged circles of Columbia and the netherworld of Central Booking made a deep impression on Karl and honed his acerbic wit. While his firsthand knowledge of the racist American injustice system and the horrors of medicine for profit initially motivated him to study revolutionary politics, surely his determination in the face of great odds was evident in his decision to join the Spartacist League in 1993, long after he had been diagnosed as HIV-positive.

Karl had many passions and talents: writing screenplays, poems, songs, movie reviews and articles for film journals; drawing cartoons and painting; and acting. In his writings and artwork, he often skewered the hypocrisy of religious bigotry and the increasing interpenetration of church and state, women's oppression and the mediocrity of contemporary bourgeois culture with pointed satire. The arrogant medical establishment was also a target of Karl's pen. In an autobiographical poem entitled "Face Value," one wry stanza warns:

"I learned one thing right away
and that is:
Never trust an ugly plastic surgeon"

In his 1993 application for membership, among the factors Karl cited which impelled him toward Trotskyism were his own "exposure to the staggering inequities of a health care system geared entirely toward the generation of profit" as well as "the devastating consequences of health care (or rather, the

Karl Michalak



1958-1997

lack thereof) as it is fomented under capitalism, especially in Latin America." Having recently returned from distributing Spartacist literature at a Washington, D.C. march protesting the ban on gays in the military, he added:

"As a simple democratic demand, I have no argument with the current campaign by gay men and lesbians for 'fair' treatment by the American military establishment. What is needed, however, and so far sorely lacking, is a revolutionary class perspective and a fundamental opposition to militarism.

"I am neither a lifestyleist nor a sectoralist; I believe implicitly that for gays and lesbians and all other subgroups of the oppressed, the key to genuine liberation lies not in each group pursuing its own particular cause, but in genuine class struggle across racial lines and the joining together of all the oppressed in opposition to the capitalist system and its racist, homophobic and misogynistic underpinnings.

"Especially in light of the AIDS crisis and an ominous upsurge in police-sanctioned gay-bashing, I find it extremely disheartening that thousands of gay men and lesbians have made a fetish out of bourgeois acceptability and, for lack of any sense of class perspective, have offered themselves up as potential cannon fodder in defense of the capitalist system."

In 1995 Karl's battle with PCP pneumonia, one of the opportunistic infections associated with the AIDS virus, caused him to feel unable to sustain his membership in the Spartacist League, but he remained a loyal sympathizer. As always, he continued to work creatively and write compellingly. In a letter published in the *New York Times Magazine* (1 December 1996) in response to a piece entitled "When Plagues End," about new AIDS drug therapies which have increased the rate of survival, Karl noted:

"The prospect of health regained and life extended may be exhilarating for some, but for others it is genuinely confusing, even terrifying. For those of us who have tested positive for 10 years or more and who are now in our late 30's or older, the temptation to celebrate is undercut by the sheer difficulty of starting life over from scratch.

"The new developments are deeply gratifying, but for many of us, a persistent air of skepticism remains. It's hard to dance in the streets when your feet have gone numb."

We extend our condolences to his family and many friends, and especially to Karl's companion, Michael, who worked very hard to make sure Karl got the best medical care possible. It was also Mike who first encouraged Karl to study Trotskyism, and who supported his decision to become a revolutionary. Karl will be keenly missed by all who had the fortune to know and work with him. In continuing the struggle for world socialist revolution we honor his memory. A memorial meeting is planned for the end of July.



Left: Karl at 1993 New York City Spartacist protest against mass arrest of Chinese immigrants. Right: Painting by Karl, a talented writer and artist.



the different regions of the globe, as proponents of the "global economy" theory argue. India was a British colony for almost 200 years and Algeria a French colony for over 100 years. Yet during this period the economic gap between Britain and India and between France and Algeria widened rather than narrowed.

We do not believe that capitalist imperialism in the late 20th century has changed in this regard. We maintain that for both political and economic reasons the present advanced capitalist (i.e., imperialist) countries will preserve the core of their industrial base. To use conventional terminology, countries that are now part of the "First World" will not descend into the "Third World." And countries now in the Third World will not ascend into the First World. Thus we fundamentally disagree with the view of the prominent American liberal economist Paul Samuelson, whom we quoted in Part One, that "the billions of people who live in East Asia and Latin America" will "qualify for good, modern jobs."

Niall C. cites Lenin's observation in *Imperialism* that the number of industrial workers in Britain had declined in the

decade or so before World War I. The main reason for that decline was the rapid growth (which we noted in Part Two) of new, competing imperialist powers: Germany, the United States and, to a lesser extent, Japan. In fact, Chapter 1 of Lenin's *Imperialism*, on "Concentration of Production and Monopolies," focuses precisely on the rapid industrial growth of Germany and the United States in the pre-1914 period.

However, Brazil and South Korea cannot now replicate the experience of the U.S. and Japan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in this regard and achieve a comparable level of overall economic development and political-military strength. To maintain otherwise *logically leads to the conclusion that imperialism is historically progressive*, at least in the form of industrial investment in backward countries. Such a view is implicit in the Northite view of "globalization." Hence the Northites take an *abstentionist* position on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which institutionalizes and intensifies the exploitation of Mexico by Wall Street financiers and U.S. industrialists.

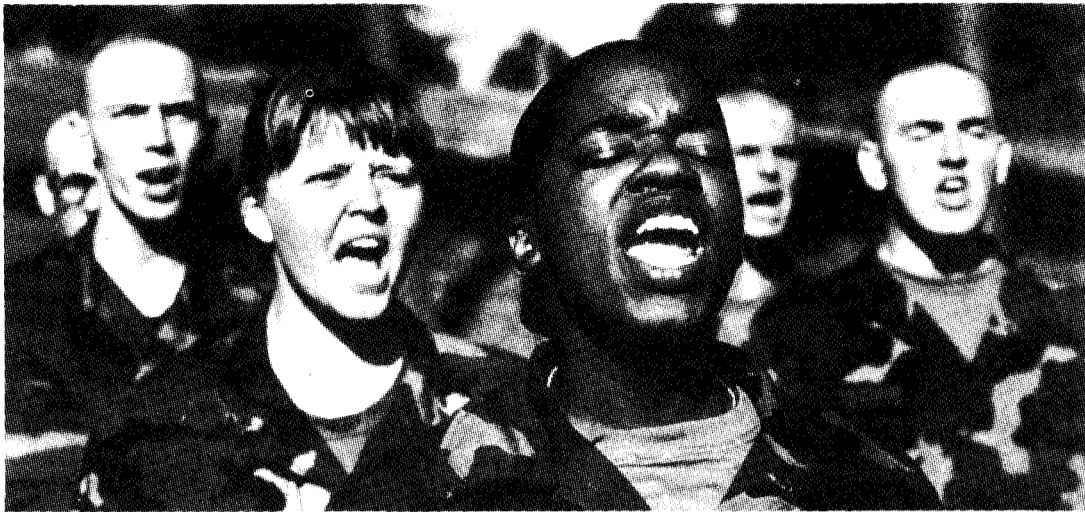
It is quite possible that at the core of our differences with Niall C. is the relationship between the market and the state in the world capitalist system. Classic bourgeois economic doctrine, best represented by Adam Smith, held that economic conditions should be governed by market relations among private entities. State intervention which prevented profit-maximization by private entrepreneurs (e.g., the laws prohibiting American colonists from trading with any country other than Britain) was deemed to be an arbitrary and harmful violation of "natural" economic law. Classic bourgeois economists restricted the role of the state to protecting private property from the lower classes at home and foreign rivals abroad.

The doctrine of "laissez faire," in which the state is restricted to the role of enforcing the rules of the game of private entrepreneurs, never remotely conformed to the realities of world capitalism. The important conflicts of economic interest generated by capitalist relations of production are ultimately resolved at *the political level*, in the final analysis by war and revolution.

Two interimperialist world wars this century are testament to that. Imagine that Germany had won either of those wars. The subsequent geographical distribution of industrial production, the ownership of strategically key natural resources, the structure of financial flows throughout the world, international monetary arrangements, etc. would be *radically different* today. Take, for example, the world oil market. Saudi Arabia has two-thirds or more of the world's easily accessible reserves of crude oil. Saudi oil is extracted and marketed by four U.S. companies (the ARAMCO consortium). Had Germany won World War I, German rather than American oil companies would almost certainly have gained control of the Persian Gulf oil fields in the 1920s and '30s.

A central theme of Lenin's *Imperialism* is the qualitative increase in the militarization of the advanced capitalist countries. This militarization would be regarded as irrational and wasteful by bankers and industrialists unless it was vital to their interests—as, indeed, it is. To paraphrase Karl von Clausewitz, war is economic competition by other means. ■

Sex, Race and the Military



Stone/Sygma

For 20 years, cops, courts, clergy and Congress have waged a war on privacy which seemingly knows no bounds. They have driven gay teachers out of the schools, threatened teenage mothers with getting thrown off welfare for engaging in "illicit sex," sent childcare workers to prison for years on the basis of concocted tales of satanic abuse, and constricted the right to abortion from the day it was granted in 1973. But the latest sex witch-hunt has reached into that holy preserve, the top command of the U.S. imperialist armed forces, as an escalating series of sex scandals has rocked the military.

The Pentagon has moved quickly to implement damage control. No doubt the number of high-ranking career officers affected by this nasty and vindictive prying will be minimized, while the victimization and harassment of the lower ranks of the military—especially women enlistees, black non-commissioned officers and "nondesirables" like gays—will be intensified.

Day after day over the last few months, the media have been filled with lurid tales of coerced sex, sodomy, lies, official corruption and malfeasance in the armed forces. Amid tearful confessions and ill-conceived investigations gone wildly awry, the military has reeled from allegations of serious crimes like rape at Aberdeen Proving Ground to the witch-hunt against female B-52 pilot Kelly Flinn on trivial charges of adultery. The latest case to emerge is that of a 27-year-old Air Force second lieutenant who faces a court-martial for "fraternizing" with his wife because she was an airman at the time they fell in love. And while the Pentagon pushes self-promoting lies that the armed forces are the place where blacks can "get ahead," reports of official discrimination against blacks and the growth of fascist white-supremacist groups in armed forces units are also on the rise.

As socialists fighting for the abolition of the capitalist system of exploitation, we stand in the tradition of militant Marxist opposition to the imperialist war machine. In the words of German revolutionary socialist Karl Liebknecht, who was imprisoned for organizing proletarian opposition to World War I, the attitude of communists toward the bourgeois army is: "Not one man, not one penny!" The purpose of the U.S. armed forces—which, along with the police, courts and prison system make up the core of the capitalist state—is to defend the interests of Wall Street around the world. Millions of dark-skinned "Third World" people have suffered and died at the hands of the Pentagon. From the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in World War II to the terror-bombing of Vietnam in the 1960s and '70s and the vicious war against Iraq in 1991, U.S. imperialism and its war machine are the enemy of

workers and the oppressed everywhere.

But just as we fight racial and sexual oppression in society as a whole, so we oppose it in the armed forces. We oppose the witchhunting of military personnel for consensual sexual acts. Gays and lesbians should have the simple democratic right to be in the military, free of the systematic harassment—including vindictive and terrifying interrogations, jail time and dishonorable discharges denying them veterans benefits—to which they have been subjected for decades (see Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* [1993]). Kelly Flinn's personal life is not the Air Force's business, and should have no bearing on her position as a pilot. Effective consent should determine sexual relations in all areas of society—not the age, sex or military rank of the people involved.

Armed Forces Mirror Capitalist Bigotry

Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V. I. Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and founder of the Red Army, noted in his *History of the Russian Revolution* (1930): "An army is always a copy of the society it serves—with this difference, that it gives social relations a concentrated character, carrying both their positive and negative features to an extreme." Mirroring their oppression in society as a whole, women are second-class citizens in the military. For example, military hospitals have long been banned from carrying out abortions. Fostered by the capitalist government, racist terror, gay-bashing and anti-woman attacks are on the rise throughout American society. The bourgeoisie's reactionary "family values" crusade to reinforce the subjugation of women finds its reflection, not surprisingly, within the military.

The bourgeoisie's anti-sex witchhunt

and the increased emphasis on religion is in large part aimed at social regimentation of the population as the ruling class prepares for increased interimperialist rivalry. Likewise, the Pentagon has been cracking down with the intent of maintaining order and discipline over an increasingly minority and female rank and file. The Pentagon brass have always made it clear they would prefer an all-male army and, until the late 1940s, the military was rigidly segregated, with blacks by and large excluded from combat duty because of the bourgeoisie's overriding fear of "Negroes with guns." This changed with the Korean War of 1950-53, and particularly since the abolition of the draft in 1974 in the wake of widespread opposition to Washington's dirty imperialist war in Vietnam, the military has become increasingly dependent on the enlistment of women and blacks.

In this era of union-busting and wage cuts, women, blacks and Hispanics join the military because they need a job and to get some skills training. The armed forces are 27 percent black, double the proportion of blacks in the population overall, while women now make up some 20 percent of recruits. And nearly half of all women in the armed forces are black. While the enlisted ranks are drawn from the working class, poor and minorities, the officer corps is carefully groomed at prestigious academies like The Citadel and West Point. The purpose of military regulations against "fraternization" is to preserve the class divide between the working-class enlistees and noncoms and the elite, petty-bourgeois officer corps. In the course of a revolutionary upsurge, Marxists would seek to split the army along class lines, winning the ranks of the military to the side of the proletariat.

The hallmark of American capitalism is the profound, systematic oppression of black people. As we noted in our pam-



WV Photo

Marchers protest against ban on gays in U.S. military, Washington, D.C., 1993. While opposing bigotry and discrimination in all arenas of society, including the military, communists say: Not one man, not one penny for capitalist state's armed forces!

phlet "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 4, February 1987): "From colonial times up through the end of formal Jim Crow segregation, the capitalist rulers of America had recourse to black troops only in case of dire necessity." While the armed forces are today no longer officially segregated, the virulent racism which permeates this society continues to riddle the military. In recent years, there has been a dramatic decrease in minority participation in combat units like infantry, armor and artillery. This has especially been the case in the elite Special Operations forces, which have been a particular target for recruitment by white-supremacist groups.

The December 1995 murder of a black couple, Michael James and Jackie Burden, in Fayetteville, North Carolina by three soldiers who were part of a nest of Nazi skinheads at Fort Bragg threw a spotlight on racist terrorists within the Army. A recent report on CBS's *48 Hours* (26 June) made it clear that both the Army and the FBI knew long before that the killers were open fascists, who paraded provocatively with swastikas and skinhead regalia, and that one of them was building a bomb in preparation for a "racial holy war." An article in *Covert Action* (June 1996), reporting on a U.S. Army "Task Force on Extremist Activities" set up after the Fayetteville murder, noted that "far-right outreach among GIs is not isolated to a few cases."

The intersection of racist terror and anti-woman bigotry in the armed forces is



Blankish/KRT

Discharged B-52 pilot Kelly Flinn.

symbolized by The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, one of the two remaining state-supported military institutions in the South dating from before the Civil War. The Confederate flag of chattel slavery is prominently flown, yearbooks depict cadets in KKK robes, attending mock lynchings or posing with swastikas. In 1992, a black cadet was shot and almost killed by a racist cadet after the school administration agreed to no longer fly the Confederate flag at sporting events. More recently, Jeanie Mentavlos, a woman cadet who was driven out of The Citadel last year by a campaign of sadistic attacks, described how she was hounded by cadets who had an "obsession for the K.K.K." (*New York Times*, 8 June).

The Tailhook scandal a few years back, where drunken Navy pilots at a convention mauled any woman around, was unique only in that it got into the papers. In a case that made headlines all over the world, last year two Marines and a sailor were convicted of the abduction and rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan schoolgirl. The incident escalated imperialist tensions between the U.S. and Japan, and uneasiness in Washington peaked as a series of mass demonstrations culminated in a rally of 85,000 Okinawans calling for the withdrawal of U.S. bases there.

Aberdeen and Military "Justice"

When over 50 female trainees charged drill sergeants and instructors at the

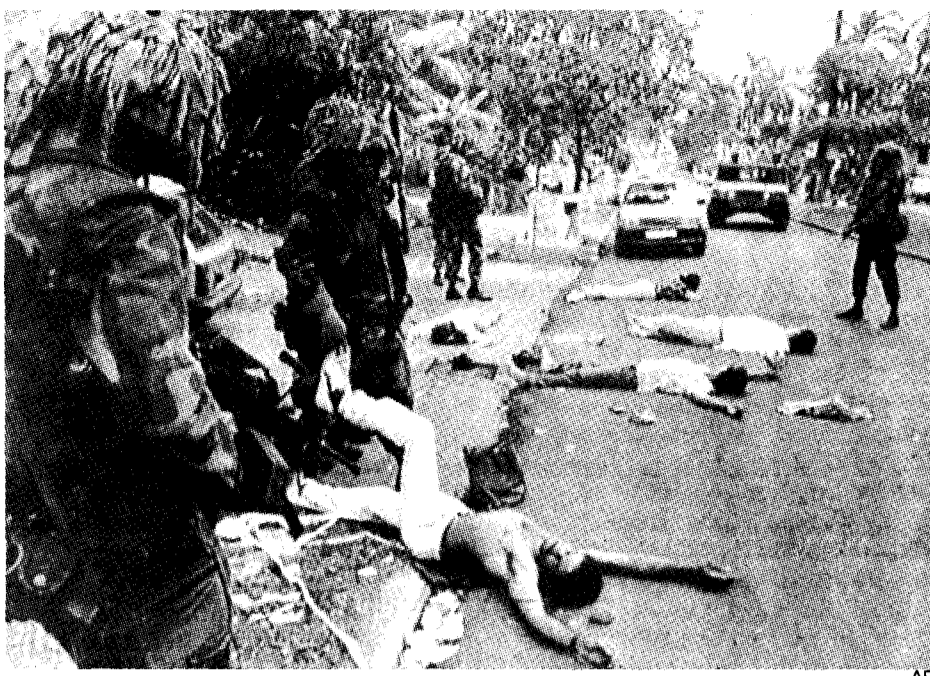
Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland with systematic sexual abuse, harassment and even rape, it became national news last November. In a survey conducted by the Pentagon in 1996, more than half of the 47,000 women recruits who responded said they had been subjected to some form of sexual harassment over the last year, from offensive remarks to rape. Many said they had been too afraid of retaliation to report the abuse.

But what actually happened at Aberdeen is not very clear. Most of the men under suspicion are black, while their alleged victims are primarily white. The NAACP has called for an "independent" probe of the Army's investigation. Appearing at an NAACP press conference, five of the women trainees said that investigators had tried to bully them into making accusations of rape over acts that actually involved consensual sex. Kathryn Leming, a private who has since left the Army, said, "They pushed me and pushed me until basically they tried to make me say 'rape.'" So far, only one staff sergeant has been convicted on the rape charge, and several of the women he was convicted of raping "testified that they did not resist his advances and did not tell him to stop" (*Washington Post*, 28 May)! That blacks are being singled out for investigation at Aberdeen is highly suspicious. The only fact that is certain here is that the military cannot conduct a fair trial.

Drill sergeants are inhuman and brutal, as anyone who has ever been to boot camp knows. As liberal satirist Russell Baker noted in his column in the *New York Times* (7 June): "The military is not a Boy Scout Camporee. It is teaching young people to kill other young people, a work that does not prosper when men are expected to behave like gentlemen and women like ladies." That enlisted women would be subject to demeaning sexual abuse and coercion in the armed forces, where the power of superiors over their subordinates is far more pronounced than in the civilian workplace, is a direct outcome of the nature of the institution. In the words of a former Pentagon official: "You can't cultivate the necessary commitment to physical violence and fully protect against the risk of harassment. Military life may correctly foster the attitudes that tend toward rape" (*New York Times Magazine*, 22 June).

Under military law, which is even harsher, more arbitrary and less subject to review than the bourgeoisie's civilian court system, even consensual sex between officers and enlisted personnel is considered a crime. We don't know what actually happened at the Aberdeen Proving Ground and, more generally, as we wrote in "The 'Date Rape' Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt" (*Women and Revolution* No. 43, Winter 1993-Spring 1994):

"Because it's the circumstances of a sexual encounter that determine whether it is a crime or an act of voluntary sexual intercourse, ambiguities about consensuality do and must occur, particularly when the people know each other. Consent is *always* colored by the society we live in.... And given the tangle of race,



U.S. troops terrorize people of Panama during 1989 imperialist invasion.

sex and class in this bigoted society, relationships can often be emotionally exploitative and unequal."

Down With the Anti-Sex Witchhunt!

Mingled with these ambiguous scandals are stories of persecution by the "pajama police" of men and women of all ranks for clearly consensual sexual acts. The most prominent case was the drumming out of the Air Force of Lt. Kelly Flinn, the first woman B-52 pilot, on

commander of the Navy's supply system for allegedly repeatedly propositioning a subordinate and creating a "hostile working environment." The commander at Aberdeen, Major General John E. Longhouser, was forced into retirement at reduced rank because of a past "adulterous" affair. Another who came under scrutiny was the Army's top legal authority, William Coleman III, who allegedly "told offensive sexual jokes in public, listened to rap music with offensive lyrics and on one occasion touched a



Keystone

charges including adultery, fraternization and "conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman." Facing up to nine and a half years in prison if convicted by a court-martial, Flinn was effectively forced to resign and to accept a less than honorable discharge from the Air Force. She has to repay some \$18,000 in fees for her education at the Air Force Academy—all because she got caught having an affair with a married man.

Testifying at a Senate hearing, Air Force Chief of Staff General Ronald Fogleman complained, to widespread disbelief, that "the adultery thing" was not the big issue; rather, he said, "This is an issue about an officer entrusted to fly nuclear weapons who disobeyed an order, who lied." So Kelly Flinn can't drop bombs on innocent civilians, murdering hundreds of thousands on command for U.S. imperialism, because she disobeyed an order—to stay 100 feet away from her boyfriend—and lied about having an affair!

Flinn was made an example of in part by the "old boys" in certain inner circles of the Pentagon who don't like women, gays and blacks in the military. But it backfired on them. Anonymous tipsters started turning in colonels, captains—goodness, even admirals!—for past peccadilloes. By the end of May, officers under investigation included Admiral R.M. Mitchell Jr., relieved of duty as



Marxists joined courageous fighters for democratic rights like writer Emile Zola in defense of French army officer Alfred Dreyfus, victim of anti-Semitic frame-up in late 19th century.

subordinate in an offensive manner at an office luncheon" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 May).

When news reports of an affair 13 years ago ended the career of General Joseph W. Ralston, Clinton's nominee to head the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the embarrassment permeated all the way to the White House. Newspaper cartoonists had a field day, Russell Baker conducted an imaginary interview chastising Julius Caesar for his extramarital affairs, and howls of laughter echoed around the world. The U.S.'s puritanical prurience

was seriously out of control. As one French soldier quipped to a *New York Times* (7 June) reporter, "If we delved into sexual habits, there would be no more French Army!" Indeed, by the standards invoked under the present anti-sex witchhunt, such World War II icons as Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur—who were both well known to have had mistresses—would have been drummed out of the service.

Democratic Rights and the Imperialist Military

Behind the country's anti-sex social climate is the aim of regimenting the population behind the "traditional" bourgeois values of women in the kitchen, obedient children praying in school, hard-working dads sacrificing for the family. The institution of the family, after all, is the main source of the oppression of women under capitalism. And these retrograde "values" are hypocritically exaggerated in the military. While "adultery" remains a misdemeanor and even a felony in many states, prosecutions are rare. The Air Force, however, has court-martialed more than 70 people for adultery since 1996, while hundreds more were forced out, stripped of their duties, fined or otherwise penalized. A 41-year-old lieutenant colonel, Karen Tew, committed suicide in March after pleading guilty to having an affair with an enlisted man.

After initially promising to reverse the military's ban against gays and lesbians during his 1992 election campaign, Clinton quickly backed down and proclaimed a "don't ask, don't tell" policy. In fact, military investigators are now officially directed to interview family members, close friends, doctors and psychologists about servicemen under investigation for homosexuality! Aggressive harassment of gays has escalated, and dismissals for homosexuality have climbed 42 percent. In 1996 alone, there were more than 800 discharges for homosexuality. The Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, a gay rights group, has documented that a disproportionately large number of those discharged for homosexual activity—29 percent—are women, noting that "women frequently are accused of being lesbian in retaliation for rebuffing sexual advances by men or reporting sexual abuse" (*Washington Post*, 14 May).

The stench of hypocrisy from the military brass is stifling. For years, boxes of condoms were left on the quarterdecks for sailors, married or not, on shore leave. Brothels ring military bases around the world; soldiers and sailors—many of whom are teenagers under the sway of adolescent hormones—are separated for months and by continents from their families and friends. Minot, North Dakota, where Kelly Flinn was stationed, is in the middle of nowhere. There is little there besides the air base and a train station, where prostitutes traveling up from Minneapolis regularly disembark.

Flinn's case was so outrageous that many congressmen openly called on the Air Force to grant her an honorable discharge. These bourgeois politicians want to "clean up" the military's image, in

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Heroic Soviet women pilots known as "Night Witches" flew more than 24,000 sorties against Nazi targets in World War II.

Hong Kong...

(continued from page 1)

Nanjing (Nanking), the first of a number of "unequal treaties" ceding huge swaths of China, including imperialist-controlled "concessions" in major cities, to foreign rule. The treaty concluded the first Opium War between Britain and China, which had been touched off when a Qing Dynasty official burned hundreds of tons of opium imported into the country by Britain from its Indian colony. Untold numbers of Chinese wasted away as "perfidious Albion" created a demand for the product as a means of paying for Chinese exports like tea and silks.

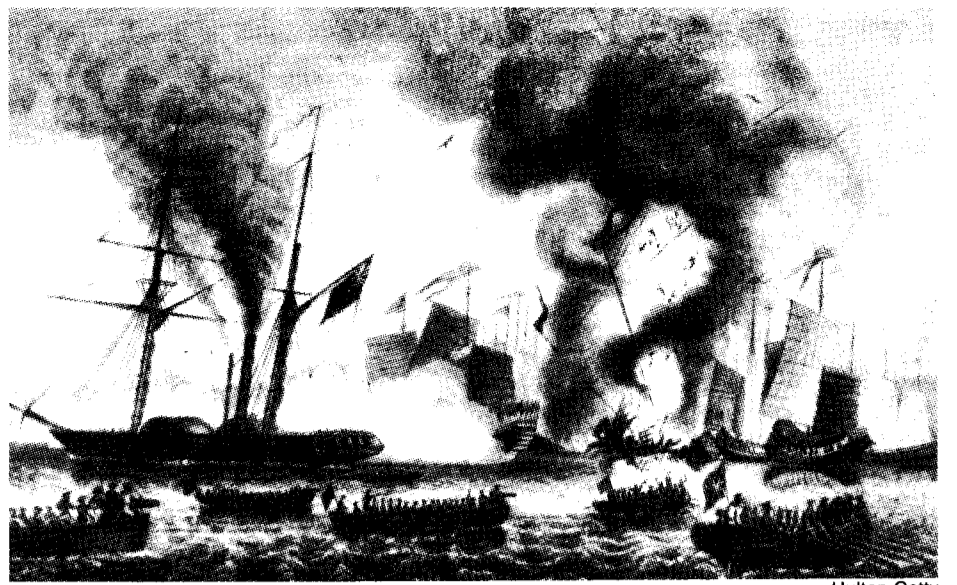
When China began to resist this deadly triangle trade, the British sailed their gunboats into the country, defeating the weak Qing state. Britain later forced China to cede other areas which are now part of Hong Kong. While British trading firms like Jardine Matheson made their killing in opium trafficking, American capitalist profiteers like Warren Delano, grandfather of future Democratic "New Deal" president Franklin Delano Roosevelt, also grew rich.

A series of peasant revolts broke out following China's defeat by Britain, most notably the Taiping Rebellion beginning in 1851 which held power in parts of central and southern China for over a decade. The Taipings challenged China's Confucian heritage as part of a general radical-egalitarian program outlawing private property and calling for land to be equally divided among men and women. In an 1853 *New York Daily Tribune* article titled "Revolution in China and in Europe,"

Chinese Communist Party in 1921. The following year, a Communist-led seamen's strike crippled Hong Kong's economic life. Three years later, when British troops gunned down anti-imperialist protesters in Shanghai, the Hong Kong-Canton strike committee, also led by Communists, responded with a general strike in the colony—supported by a boycott of British goods—that lasted over a year.

These events were part of a revolutionary upheaval against imperialist and warlord rule in China. But the opportunity for workers revolution was betrayed by Stalin's Communist International, which ordered the young CCP to liquidate into Chiang's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang, which was labeled a "bloc of four classes." The Chinese workers paid for this policy with their blood in the April 1927 Shanghai massacre, as Chiang's forces, in league with criminal gangs, slaughtered tens of thousands of Communists there and in other cities.

Mao took leadership of the CCP in the years following this debacle, as the party broke from its proletarian base and undertook peasant-guerrilla warfare, while making repeated overtures to Chiang for a coalition government. In the civil war which followed Japan's defeat in World War II, Mao's PLA swept aside the disintegrating Guomindang forces, marching into key cities in 1949. But Mao ordered his forces to stop just short of the Shenzhen River separating Hong Kong from the mainland. In return, Britain was one of the first countries to recognize the People's Republic of China. In 1959, Mao declared: "It is better to keep Hong Kong the way it is.... Its present status is still



Hulton Getty

British "gunboat diplomacy" in 1839. War to defend opium trade forced decrepit Qing Dynasty to cede Hong Kong to colonial rule.

class and maintaining family connections back home. In recent years, Chinese capital has displaced Japanese as the largest investor in East Asia, with Hong Kong and Singapore serving as banking, trading and shipping hubs. Hong Kong has the busiest container port in the world and holds some \$60 billion in foreign currency reserves. The development of Hong Kong into one of the world's leading ports stems from its position as the key trading link between the Stalinists' "socialist market economy" and the capitalist world.

Since the inception of Deng's "market reforms" in 1978, Chinese capital has flowed into the mainland's capitalist "special economic zones" (SEZs). Hong Kong accounts for 60 percent of all foreign investment in China, some of it originating in Taiwan, which until recently was barred from direct investment in China. The Hong Kong bourgeoisie has now transferred the bulk of its manufacturing operations to the mainland, paying a fraction of the wages they formerly did. Concentrated in the Pearl River delta region around Guangzhou (Canton)—which is closely linked to Hong Kong by language and culture—some five million workers today slave away in these plants.

"Communist" state and military officials have also used Hong Kong as a conduit for enriching themselves. Many state agencies have established dummy corporations in Hong Kong, through which they process looted state assets, funneling the proceeds back into the mainland to set up factories run on a capitalist basis. The PLA, which runs a mammoth network of profit-making hotels and other businesses on the mainland, is reputed to be the largest single investor in Hong Kong, while China's State Council controls the \$10 billion Citic conglomerate.

All of this points to the looming danger of a counterrevolutionary breakup of China and the re-emergence of regional warlordism. The Jiang Zemin regime promotes reactionary Chinese nationalism and even backward Confucian values as a means to provide some ideological glue in an increasingly fractured society. Jiang has recently talked of accelerating the liquidation of "unprofitable" state-owned firms. The upcoming 15th National Congress of the CCP may be an arena for a final struggle between the sclerotic "old guard" and those representing younger,

openly pro-capitalist elements derisively known as *taizi* (princes).

The utterly venal Beijing bureaucracy has shed any pretense of upholding egalitarian socialist ideals. The heirs of Mao and Deng may dream of "peacefully" transforming themselves into a new capitalist class. But the restoration of capitalism in China would require the shattering of the current state apparatus and the consolidation of a new, counterrevolutionary bourgeois regime, which would be dominated by the Chinese bourgeoisie now based offshore. It would also unleash heightened competition among the imperialist powers, centrally the U.S. and Japan, for dominance of the region.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

China has gone pretty far down the road toward capitalist restoration. To defeat the forces of capitalist counterrevolution requires the mobilization of the Chinese masses in a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy. Even the Western bourgeois press reports widespread opposition among Chinese working people to the ravages of "market reforms." If the Chinese proletariat is not to succumb to a catastrophic fate even worse than that which has befallen the working masses of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, what is urgently needed is to forge a Trotskyist party firmly based on a program of proletarian internationalism to lead the Chinese workers, and behind them the peasant masses, in struggle.

The numerous reformist and centrist groups throughout the world falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism either support the forces of counterrevolution in the name of "democracy" and/or take a defeatist position that capitalist restoration is inevitable in China or even that it has already taken place. For example, the Hong Kong group around *October Review*, which is linked to the United Secretariat (USec), condemns the Beijing Stalinists for excluding "independents and Democratic parties" from the new Hong Kong government. Just as the USec backed counterrevolutionary forces from Solidarność in Poland to Boris Yeltsin in Russia, in Hong Kong they embrace "Democratic" parties which are openly bourgeois, anti-communist mouthpieces for imperialism. More generally, *October Review* has hailed all manner of Chinese "dissidents" including openly



Labor Defender

Demonstration in support of 1922 Hong Kong seamen's strike against despised British colonial rulers.

Karl Marx hailed the revolt's potential to "throw the spark into the overloaded mine [bomb] of the present industrial system" and touch off political revolutions in Europe (see "China: 'Free Market' Misery Targets Women," *Women and Revolution* No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996). Britain and other Western imperialists supplied arms to the Qing rulers to subdue the rebels, who were finally overcome in 1864.

Colonial rule in Hong Kong as elsewhere was marked by extreme exploitation and brutal, racist subjugation of the native population. This was typified by a sign in Shanghai's British concession which read, "No dogs or Chinese allowed." Even wealthy Hong Kong Chinese were barred from the colony's social clubs, while the mass of the population lived in squalid slums and slaved away as dirt-poor laborers under the whip of Sikh policemen recruited from the British-controlled Punjab.

Hong Kong featured prominently in the struggles of the nascent Chinese proletariat. While there had been previous instances of "coolie" strikes and other protests, the first serious challenge to British rule came after the founding of the

useful to us." In subsequent years, Hong Kong went on to become a key base for the re-emergence of the Chinese bourgeoisie as a power in East Asia, including the Chinese mainland.

End of the Road for Chinese Stalinism

From the outset, Maoist rule was modeled on the Soviet Stalinist bureaucratic regime which issued out of the 1923-24 political counterrevolution that destroyed Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party and replaced the program of world socialist revolution with the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." The bankruptcy of this anti-Marxist schema was proved once and for all with the final undoing of the October Revolution in 1991-92, after decades of Stalinist misrule. Reactionary and utopian under Russian conditions, this nationalist schema was all the more so when applied to an even more backward China, with its huge peasant hinterland.

The Chinese bourgeoisie was not really crushed by the 1949 Revolution but was expelled to Taiwan, Hong Kong and elsewhere, keeping its cohesion as a

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pro-capitalist elements.

Typical of those pseudo-Trotskyists who push a *defeatist*, and therefore implicitly pro-imperialist, perspective in China is the British Workers Power group and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International, whose *Trotskyist International* (July-December 1997) claims that "in China, as in Eastern Europe, there are no grounds for expecting workers to mobilise in defence of what remains of post-capitalist property relations that were created and imposed on them by an essentially rural-based Stalinist bureaucracy." Indeed, throughout the upheavals in East Europe and the USSR in 1989-92, Workers Power either openly backed the forces of counterrevolution—as in Poland and Russia—or preached this defeatist line.

When the Stalinist regime in East Germany (DDR) collapsed in 1989-90, Workers Power responded by calling for the removal of the Soviet Army—a demand directly echoing the NATO imperialists—and for a "constituent assembly for the two Germanys," i.e., a *capitalist* government which would necessarily have subordinated the DDR to the West German Fourth Reich. In contrast, we mobilized our forces internationally to intervene in the DDR in the struggle for a political revolution to stop the capitalist annexation of East Germany and for socialist revolution in the West—for a "Red Germany of Workers Councils!" In January 1990, a quarter million working people turned out in East Berlin's Trep-tow Park to protest the fascist desecration of a Soviet war memorial. This united-front demonstration was initiated by our comrades and taken up by the SED, the then-ruling Stalinist party.

Counterrevolution in East Europe and



Laborers from countryside at Guangzhou (Canton) railway station. Fleeing rural poverty, masses of peasants seek work in capitalist enterprises such as Shanghai Volkswagen plant (right).



Argus

the former Soviet Union was conditioned by widespread illusions that capitalist restoration would quickly bring about a rise in living standards comparable to that of West Europe and North America. But Chinese working people have already experienced the "magic of the marketplace" and know that they will not be among its winners. The SEZs have seen the rise of a young proletariat recently displaced from the countryside, who labor under hellish conditions reminiscent of early 19th-century West European capitalism.

And the past few years have seen fierce battles, particularly by workers in state industry, who are increasingly on the firing line. An article in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (26 June) reported

on a recent example which occurred in March in the city of Nanchong, located in impoverished Sichuan province, thousands of miles from the booming southeast coastal regions. Employees of the city's largest silk factory took the plant manager hostage and paraded him through the streets to demand six months' back pay. Fearing the potential for wider unrest with the Hong Kong handover looming, the central government quickly intervened to pay the workers and arrest the manager for "economic crimes."

There have also been repeated demonstrations and strikes by workers in money-losing state plants in China's aging northeastern industrial belt (the old Manchuria). Many of these workers express nostalgia for the time of Mao Zedong, when the CCP stood, at least on paper, for some sort of "socialism." One, a worker in an electrical machinery plant in the northeastern city of Shenyang—who moonlights as a cab driver since his plant hasn't paid him regularly in three years—told *Time* magazine (30 June), that before Deng "we would work hard because the factory would take care of us. Now if they do not pay us, we have nothing at all." He added that under Mao "social welfare came first. Now, as long as you make money, that's all that counts."

This type of sentiment was evident during the tumultuous events centered in Tiananmen Square in May-June 1989. Students and workers massed in Tiananmen to protest the rampant corruption

of the ruling circles and their families and the denial of basic democratic rights. The mass protests, which spread throughout China, provoked a near-terminal crisis for the Stalinist regime. While students repeatedly broke out singing the socialist workers' anthem, the *Internationale*, workers marched into Tiananmen holding pictures of Mao and Zhou Enlai.

The idea that Mao represented any kind of communism is an illusion. Mao's messianic nationalism was no more capable of charting the road to a socialist society of abundance than was Deng's "socialist market economy." Both denied the need for overthrowing capitalist rule in Japan and other industrial centers, which is necessary to provide the means to modernize and develop China. The struggle to build an authentically communist vanguard party in China today requires a struggle against the nostalgic idealization of the Mao era and the Stalinists' nationalist perversion of communism.

Purely economic struggles cannot defeat the growing forces of counterrevolution. What is needed is a political struggle to sweep away the hated Stalinist bureaucracy and create a China ruled by workers, soldiers and peasants councils and guided by a perspective of international socialist revolution. With China rapidly approaching the brink of counterrevolution, this makes all the more urgent the struggle to forge the Leninist-Trotskyist party necessary to lead China's workers and poor peasant masses to a socialist future. ■



Women workers at state-owned shoe factory in Tianjin. "Iron rice bowl" of guaranteed jobs, housing and benefits faces imminent destruction as Stalinists deepen pro-capitalist "market reforms."

Sex, Race and the Military...

(continued from page 5)

order to preserve it as an efficient fighting force for U.S. imperialism.

Many feminist groups have protested the abuse of women soldiers and demanded that women be accepted into combat posts alongside men and other areas of the military from which women are currently excluded. But far from seeking to fight hypocrisy and discrimination, the feminists' only quarrel with capitalist society is that it denies them full access to the old boys' club of ruling-class power, particularly at the very top, like the Pentagon War Room. Bourgeois feminists were among the loudest in screaming for imperialist military intervention on the side of the U.S.-sponsored Bosnian Muslims in the communist civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, grotesquely appealing to the Pentagon to "save" Bosnian women from reported mass rapes and other atrocities. The National Organization for Women (NOW) has also called for economic sanctions by the International Monetary Fund against Serbia. In the U.S., NOW actively supports the anti-sex witchhunt by, for example, pushing for censorship of pornography, thus bolstering the capitalist rulers' assault on civil liberties and the "family values" anti-

woman crusade.

It takes a Marxist understanding of capitalist class society to address the complexities of race, sex and class in the bourgeois military. Communists oppose the bourgeoisie's armed forces as the core of the capitalist state—while defending even high-ranking military officers from state persecution for private sexual acts. We protest all attempts by the bourgeois state to legislate private sexual norms. Even officers like General Ralston, who flew over 100 terror-bombing missions in Vietnam, deserve the right to conduct their personal lives without the sex cops' supervision.

The "Dreyfus Affair" of the 1890s in France became a key test for socialists on the question of democratic rights. We stand with those who defended Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish career officer who was framed up on espionage charges and sent to Devil's Island in a frenzy of vindictive anti-Semitism. The Dreyfus Affair brought France to the brink of civil war between the bourgeois right—spearheaded by the officer caste and Catholic hierarchy—and the radical bourgeoisie, and it split the socialist-led workers movement between those who would not defend him because he was an officer and those who saw democratic rights as indivisible.

The proletarian vanguard party strives to act as a tribune of the people. As part of the struggle to sweep away this

oppressive class society and the machinery of mass murder which is aimed at bloodily suppressing any challenge to bourgeois rule, we seek to mobilize the working class in opposition to all manifestations of racial, sexual and national discrimination.

Our aim is the proletarian seizure of state power. Only workers revolution can

open the road to full equality for women, blacks and all the oppressed and exploited. While under capitalist rule "military culture" is synonymous with vile racism and grotesque piggishness, the Red Army of a future revolutionary workers state will be a crucible for instilling egalitarian values and an instrument for the liberation of all humanity. ■

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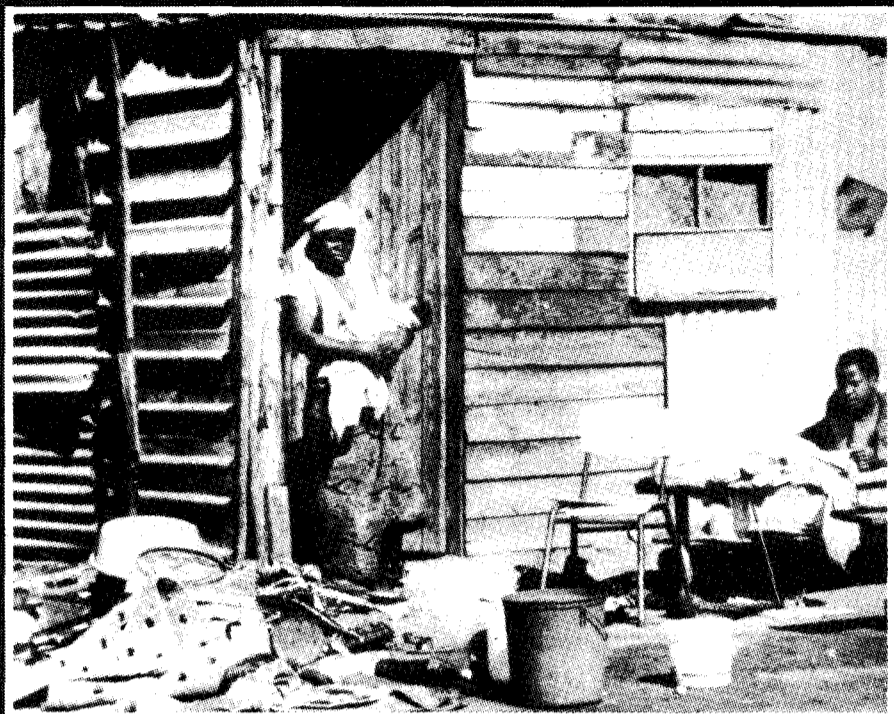
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Eyewitness Report at Spartacist Educational South Africa and Permanent Revolution



William Matlala



Kendridge Mathabathe

ANC-led nationalist popular-front government upholds neo-apartheid capitalism. Left: Trade unionists protest government economic policies benefitting white capitalist exploiters. Right: Squatters in impoverished black shantytown.

We publish below an edited transcript of a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander at an SL West Coast regional educational held in Oakland on May 10.

A few of us from the International Communist League recently visited our comrades in South Africa for two weeks. We also talked to various revolutionary-minded workers and students in Johannesburg and Cape Town. This was my second trip there, and it's even easier now to see why imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is quite satisfied with what's going on there. The bourgeois-nationalist regime of President Nelson Mandela has created what he's called "an investor-friendly environment."

The capitalist government in South Africa is a nationalist popular front. It is based upon a tripartite, a three-cornered, alliance between the bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP), whose cadre occupy key positions within the COSATU union federation and also have a significant base of support among politically advanced black workers. There have been profound changes in the political superstructure.

Rigid apartheid has been eliminated and a black capitalist class is being formed. Radio and TV broadcasting are filled with all the crap about the "rainbow nation," about "we are one people." Even beer commercials are couched in terms of building a "rainbow nation." But what exists is neo-apartheid capitalism, a system of brutal superexploitation of black labor, which of course is an expression of the fact that the real power lies in the hands of the white capitalist class—the mining magnates and the Johannesburg stockbrokers—backed up by their courts and police and army.

Black life is even cheaper in South Africa than it is here. We saw white bosses pushing black workers around, and in some cases, literally trying to run them over with their vehicles. White flight and black misery are pervasive. Previously, blacks could only be in Johannesburg from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Now the city has been abandoned by the mainly English-derived whites, who have either fled the country altogether or to the north of the city, to create new all-white bastions. The stores in Johannesburg have moved to northern suburban

strip malls. All taxis from Johannesburg to black Soweto, which is about a 30-minute drive to the south, stop at 7 p.m., so all political events end early. Everyone takes taxis or minivans, which are packed with black workers. There's a lot of desperate poverty. Even if you could afford to own a car, cars are commonly stolen if left on the street. Also, the only people walking along the roads are blacks. We very rarely saw a uniformed policeman, but there are private security guards everywhere.

Soweto sprawls across rolling hills as far as the eye can see. It is divided into townships, some better than others. There are no stores for miles. Mostly we saw endless stretches of small brick houses with outdoor plumbing, dirt roads, no street signs or street numbers. Interspersed is the so-called informal housing for squatters, corrugated metal and board shacks with no facilities whatsoever. Even the squatters are expected to pay for utilities. There are also workers' barracks.

This regime is a very brutal capitalist regime. While we were there, Mandela's cops were using rubber bullets on students who were protesting against cuts in education subsidies. In the rural areas, blacks, and particularly black women, are steadily being thrown off white-owned land and farms. On one news broadcast, a wealthy white farmer was complaining about these "black spots" that have to be eliminated.

And just before we arrived, there was a revolt in the coloured (mixed-race) El Dorado Park township near Soweto against the attempts of the government to

enforce back payment of rent and utilities. It was crushed by the police. Two people were killed and a number of people injured. Their generally supportable demands, however, were combined with a virulently anti-black thrust. The protest was led by a coloured supporter of Inkatha, Buthelezi's Zulu-based tribalist organization. This points very clearly to the fact that in the absence of a fight for proletarian revolution, things can descend into all-sided ethnic and communal warfare, a legacy of the divide-and-rule schemes of British colonialism.

Our description of the current regime as "neo-apartheid" rubs a lot of South African leftists the wrong way, because, after all, they say, "This is a democracy." But neo-apartheid is no abstraction. The brutal misery of blacks, the mass homelessness, the squalid townships, the continued enormous disparities in incomes and education and health care between whites and blacks is a pervasive reality.

ANC Fronts for Racist Capitalist Rule

When we were riding around town in Johannesburg, I kept seeing signs for a "New Africa Investments." And what is this? It turns out that Cyril Ramaphosa, who used to be the head of the National Union of Mineworkers and of the ANC parliamentary delegation in Cape Town, is a big shot in this New Africa Investments. There has been a steady growth in a layer of black millionaires who are now on what is called the "grave train." And he typifies that layer of former anti-apartheid activists who are now fully

fledged black capitalists. While a lot of black workers see this bourgeoisification going on, they are still wedded to nationalism. They must be broken from the belief that there are common interests between workers and the oppressed and the new class of black exploiters.

The South African bourgeoisie also has regional imperialist ambitions. At the moment, Mandela is working with Clinton for an imperialist-orchestrated "peace" in Zaire. When I got back here, I saw in the papers that Hillary Clinton had been a few steps behind us when we visited Cape Town. One of the places she stopped was the University of Cape Town, whose current vice chancellor was Black Consciousness Movement leader Steve Biko's comrade and companion. Now she rails on and on about the "culture of entitlement" that has to be uprooted in South Africa—you know what that means. So she was praised by Hillary Clinton as being a role model for youth around the world. Bishop Desmond Tutu also welcomed Hillary Clinton while she was there. He took time out from his busy schedule in the so-called Truth and Reconciliation Commission, orchestrating the exoneration of the former apartheid regime's racist cutthroats.

The South African government is the enemy of the oppressed and the exploited at home and abroad. Two years ago, they fired thousands of nurses who went out on strike. Their attacks on the working class are assisted by the bureaucrats of COSATU and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), a second union federation associated with the radical



Nurses during September 1995 strike in Soweto chanted slogans denouncing "grave train" for aspiring black capitalists of Mandela's ANC.

Spartacist

nationalist Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO). The existence of two rival union federations weakens the labor movement. We say that there should be a single industrial union federation in South Africa.

The whole question of how to fight against neo-apartheid capitalism in South Africa is the question of how to build a revolutionary workers party, which would not simply defend the particular interests of the working class but fight to eradicate all forms of national and social oppression. Our perspective for proletarian leadership in the struggle for national and social liberation is encapsulated in the call for a black-centered workers government. Under a black-centered workers government there would be an important role and full democratic rights for coloureds, Indians and those anti-racist whites who accept a government based on the rule of the predominantly black working people.

The party needed to lead this struggle must be based on the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Trotsky explained that in countries of belated capitalist development, the democratic demands associated with the bourgeois revolutions of the past—agrarian revolution, political democracy, national independence, etc.—can only be achieved when the working class smashes capitalism and takes power. In this era of history we live in—this epoch of imperialist decay, of wars and revolutions—there is no such thing as a progressive bourgeoisie. The national bourgeoisies in backward capitalist countries are weak, dependent upon and tied to world imperialism.

The program of international socialist revolution is key to the fight for working-class power. Particularly with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism especially will seek to crush a revolutionary South Africa. Also, proletarian power in South Africa will have to contend with the pressures of the imperialist world market, which can only be conquered through the victory of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries and the institution of worldwide socialist economic planning. A socialist revolution in South Africa cannot remain isolated if it is to succeed and smash imperialist domination. At the same time, a revolution in South Africa would immediately have strategic allies in the imperialist countries, particularly among black workers in the U.S. and the oppressed worldwide. We are fighting to build a world party of socialist revolution and a South African Bolshevik party which is a section of that.

One of the things we had continued debate on in South Africa is the significance of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union. A number of South African leftists said, "Well, that doesn't have anything to do with us." In fact, it has a lot to do with what's going on in South Africa today. It was an enormous defeat for the working class internationally. It showed how the self-serving nationalist lie of "socialism in one country" and decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule had succeeded in politically atomizing the Soviet proletariat and destroying its socialist consciousness to the point where there was no working-class resistance to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary coup in 1991. And with the collapse of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the ANC could no longer maneuver by playing Moscow off against Washington and so on. Instead, the apartheid capitalist rulers and their imperialist backers saw the possibility of using the ANC to defend capitalist rule in South Africa, which was increasingly threatened as a result of the growing power of the black workers movement and mass anti-apartheid struggles.

Today, South Africa is one of the few countries where many working people, many leftists still identify in some way with the struggle for socialism or communism. But reformist prejudices are preva-

lent, and the point for us is to combat them. One of the clearest examples is that the reformists and centrists are deluded by and push the belief that South Africa is a stable bourgeois democracy and that gradual reforms will eliminate the tremendous class and racial inequalities. This is not so. This is a deadly illusion. The nationalist popular front, backed by the fake left, has disoriented and demobilized the working class in South Africa. That's why there was not a single street protest in response to the acquittal last October of former defense minister Magnus Malan, who organized the 1987 slaughter of 13 black people, mainly women and children. Meanwhile, every day we were there we heard about how white fascist terrorists are raiding arms depots all over the country, getting ready for a showdown.

Bolshevism on the National Question

The strategic tasks in South Africa are to break the working class from nationalism and to split the reformist South African Communist Party, in order to win over the subjectively revolutionary elements to the program of genuine communism. Time and again, we had to cut through this "rainbow nation" crap and the idea of "socialist nation-building." I want to concentrate on some basic points



Police fire at squatters being evicted from their homes in Alexandra township outside Johannesburg, May 1996.

we made to militant workers and leftist youth about this.

We emphasized that the program of proletarian internationalism, of world socialist revolution, was key for the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky that led the workers revolution in 1917. It was key to smashing the capitalist system and state, and in defeating the imperialist and counterrevolutionary armies during the Russian Civil War of 1918 to 1921. We made the point that revolutionary Marxism is fundamentally counterposed to nationalism, despite the pious pronouncements of the SACP and centrists such as the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA). Such organizations are obstacles to building a Leninist vanguard party in that country. And we also stressed that the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, which was vindicated by the Russian Revolution, is key to the struggle for socialist revolution in South Africa.

The Bolshevik Party was proletarian, revolutionary and internationalist to the core. This was reflected in its program and in the composition of its leadership. It was embodied in its steadfast opposition to all forms of national inequality or privilege and in its support to the right of all nations within the tsarist prison house of peoples, as it was called, to national self-determination—that is, the right to set up independent states. This in no way represented support to bourgeois nationalism. When Lenin argued for support to the Irish Easter Uprising against the British imperialists in 1916, for example, he



William Matlala

Teachers union at May 1995 protest in Johannesburg. ANC government has slashed funding for social services and housing.

stood for military support, not political support to Irish nationalism.

Lenin sharply distinguished between the nationalism of oppressor nations and that of oppressed nations, but at no juncture did he argue that nationalism is progressive. Basing itself upon the sanctity of the nation-state, nationalism is a form of capitalist ideology. Lenin fought

world outlooks in the national question." Under Lenin, the Bolsheviks emphasized the irreconcilability of nationalism and internationalism. Of course, this was to change in 1924 with the political counterrevolution led by Stalin, who proclaimed the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country."

Upholding the democratic right of national self-determination—which required implacable opposition to the chauvinism of one's own bourgeoisie—was the only road to taking the national question off the agenda, to winning the confidence of the oppressed nationalities, to transcending national divisions and bringing about real class unity. Now this was a huge task. The tsarist empire consisted of a vast European and Asian land mass inhabited by a population of extraordinary linguistic and ethnic diversity. This included about 200 more or less distinct peoples and languages; the dominant Great Russian nation made up approximately 43 percent of the population. This agglomeration of diverse peoples was held together by a ruling military and bureaucratic caste, at the head of which stood the "Tsar of all the Russias."

The Bolsheviks' revolutionary internationalism was concretely expressed in the first acts of the revolutionary workers government. A week after the seizure of power, on 15 November 1917 the Bolsheviks issued the Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia. This was followed a few weeks later by a special appeal "To All Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East." The Bolsheviks repudiated the annexationist and Great Russian chauvinist policies pursued by both tsarism and the short-lived bourgeois Provisional Government of Kerensky. They opposed the chauvinist cry for "nation-building" couched in terms of "Russia, one and indivisible." The Bolshevik leadership did *not* maintain that the various nations

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against splitting the working class into separate parties based on nationality. Following Marx and Engels, who wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* that "the workingmen have no country," Lenin argued that "bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism, these are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world and express the two policies, nay the two

Letters and articles presenting the Marxist position on key questions of debate on the South African left: for revolutionary proletarian opposition to the "neo-apartheid" government of the now bourgeois-nationalist ANC; the debate over a "mass workers party"; the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution vs. the doctrine of "nation-building" in colonial and neocolonial countries.

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(Fourth Internationalist)

The Fight For a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left

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South Africa...

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and peoples of the former tsarist empire had to be reorganized within the framework of a *single* federated Soviet workers state. Lenin declared:

"They tell us that Russia will be partitioned, will fall apart into separate republics, but we have no reason to fear this. However many independent republics there may be, we shall not be afraid. What is important for us is not where the state frontier passes, but that the union of workers of all nations shall be preserved for the struggle with the bourgeoisie of whatever nation."

This was a critical factor in achieving victory in the bitter Civil War and extending workers rule beyond the area where it initially held sway, which was mainly limited to the great cities of northern and central Russia.

Lenin opposed every manifestation of Great Russian chauvinism within the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. This was the subject of his last struggle over the national question in the Caucasus. He broke with Stalin over Stalin's arrogant treatment of the Georgian Communists and his attempt to impose a single Transcaucasian republic against their will. Against Stalin, Lenin insisted that the right of self-determination for the constituent workers republics be written into the Soviet constitution. The Bolsheviks recognized the national rights of autonomous republics and regional autonomy for the diverse peoples which were not fully formed nations.

At the same time, the Bolsheviks un-



South African bourgeoisie has regional imperialist ambitions. Mandela (center) was instrumental in "negotiating" deal between former Zaire (Congo) ruler Mobutu and U.S.-sponsored successor Kabila.

divisions in South Africa. Time and again, we were told that to recognize the continuing reality of these divisions put us in the camp of the National Party. It's just the opposite: those who talk about nation-building and "national unity" and "non-racial democracy" are in bed with the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and its white capitalist masters.

Capitalism did not create a single South African nation; nor do the diverse peoples currently constitute nations, since they're all integrated into a single capital-

ism in South Africa will be. But we do know that the creation of a "single nation" cannot be established by administrative decree. Under workers rule, regional autonomy will be extended to groups like the Zulus if they demand it, although to advocate such a thing right now would mean unleashing tribalist communal bloodshed by Inkatha, which would be aided and abetted by the white racist enemies of the proletariat. All of this again underlines why South African revolutionaries must study the history of the Russian Revolution. In a country like South Africa, with various pre-national peoples such as the Zulus, and various tribal and language groups, the Bolshevik program for Central Asia has great relevance.

Forge a Bolshevik Party!

The stark racial and class inequalities in South Africa make it particularly clear that there's no middle ground. The alternative to communalist bloodletting and all-sided oppression is a fight for proletarian power and its international extension. With a revolutionary South Africa as its powerhouse, a socialist federation of southern Africa would begin the task of eliminating the extreme poverty and backwardness promoted by imperialist subjugation of this region. What is needed is to forge the internationalist revolutionary party that can lead the working class to power.

To do this it is necessary, as Lenin and Trotsky pointed out, to politically defeat and expel the opportunist betrayers from the labor movement. There's a lot of talk among South African leftists about "unity." Now there's unity, and there's unity. In 1914, Lenin wrote, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism." Only by sharply drawing a line of ideological demarcation between revolutionaries on the one hand and reformists and centrists on the other can politically advanced workers be broken from the

open and camouflaged opponents of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That's at the root of our perspective of revolutionary regroupment. In South Africa, you've got a real chummy left, where everybody rubs shoulders and the lines are blurred. A group like ours, which insists upon fighting for the political independence of the working class from its class enemies, jars some nerves and gets some people pissed off. But that's how to go forward.

The reformist Communist Party claims to be fighting for socialism, but really they want to cultivate a "refined" nationalism. Recently, in the pages of the *African Communist*—some people now call it the *African Capitalist*—Phillip Dexter, the SACP Western Cape Provincial Secretary and a Member of Parliament for the ANC, revealed that nationalism has a "transhistorical, sacred" character and warned that "the nation is a strategic resource that the working class ignores at its peril." Now, what revolutionary workers in South Africa ignore at their peril is that Mr. Dexter and the reformist SACP and its tripartite alliance are bitter enemies of class struggle and proletarian revolution. I mentioned the nurses strike, thousands of them fired. The SACP is also the party that smashed a strike by Mercedes-Benz workers a few years ago.

But the SACP's role in implementing the dictates of the capitalist rulers has led to a lot of turmoil at the base of the party. We hear a lot of talk about a rumored left-wing faction, the "Chris Hani faction," named after the young SACP leader who was murdered by a right-winger a few years ago. But what really haunts this party which claims to be the continuator of Leninism is the whole question of Trotskyism, of permanent revolution and proletarian internationalism. We're certainly running across members of their youth group who are interested in this program.

Neville Alexander, a WOSA spokesman who's a very prominent leftist in South Africa, recently argued at a conference in the Western Cape that "we are building a nation." And he remarked that "if the nation does not become the primary identity of the people of South Africa, they will imbibe willy-nilly all manner of ethnic and racial allegiances or sub-identities as their ideological lifeblood." A few years ago WOSA organized a Workers List Party to run against the ANC in the elections. We gave them critical support; despite a lot of reformist demands, which we pointed out at the time, they at least posed as some kind of expression of independent working-class politics and drew a crude class line against the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. But now WOSA, tailing behind the nationalist popular front, condemns the struggle for socialist revolution as "unrealistic." They have increasingly expressed opposition to proletarian internationalism and oriented toward petty-bourgeois nationalists.

There is a great danger of heightened racial and ethnic strife born of brutal poverty and capitalist superexploitation. But what the Bolshevik Revolution showed is that the program of *internationalism* can



February 1997: Cops and troops brutally suppress "coloured" township revolts against government. Leaders of protests pushed anti-black racism. A revolutionary proletarian party would seek to transcend racial and ethnic tensions through class struggle against neo-apartheid capitalist rulers.

derstood that national self-determination was a democratic demand subordinate to class considerations. They fought against the counterrevolutionary intrigues of various bourgeois nationalists who, hiding behind the slogan of self-determination, made common cause with domestic and imperialist enemies of Soviet power. This was the case in the Ukraine and Georgia during the Civil War.

Nationalism and the South African Left

We have a new pamphlet on South Africa called *The Fight for a Revolutionary Vanguard Party: Polemics on the South African Left*. In there is a letter we wrote to the New Unity Movement (NUM), which is fairly moribund at this point, where we took up the question of nation-building. Now, it's true that, in part, the support of the NUM and other South African groups to "building a nation" is a reaction to the former white-supremacist apartheid regime and its racist "separate development" schemes, which under the guise of "self-determination" for the various races pushed blacks onto bantustans. This kind of forced retribalization was a key prop to the brutal system of superexploitation of black labor.

But it is impossible to smash imperialist domination with a program that ignores the real ethnic, racial and tribal

ist economy. It is not the slogan of "building a nation" that can raise to their feet the (black) African, coloured and Indian toilers to overthrow the Randlords and the black frontmen presiding over the neo-apartheid capitalist regime. Rather it is the program of a black-centered workers government, which expresses the fact that a proletarian revolution in South Africa will also be, in this colonially derived state, a supreme act of national liberation.

In our discussions in Cape Town with organizations like WOSA and the Workers International Vanguard League (WIVL), we were told that our call for a black-centered workers government—that our emphasis on the centrality of black African labor—is divisive, or backhandedly pro-nationalist. On the contrary, it is groups like the WIVL which tail behind coloured nationalism, which is very prevalent in the coloured community in the Western Cape. Look at the work of this group. In the Cape region, they orient toward a vigilante organization called People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD), which executes drug dealers. This is a largely Muslim fundamentalist group which deliberately mobilizes anti-African sentiment.

The various organizations I mentioned accept the permanence of the "sacred" territorial boundaries established by the imperialist powers. We don't know what the boundaries of a future workers state

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T. Dollaart

Mozambican refugees scramble to get across South African border. Nationalist ANC continues former apartheid regime's deportations of desperate immigrants.

link together diverse peoples for the goal of eradicating national, sexual and class oppression. The fight against all forms of social oppression is one of the defining features of a Leninist vanguard party. The working class must stand at the head of the struggles of all of the downtrodden, fighting for jobs, housing and free quality education for all, for maternity benefits and childcare. You have a lot of nice-sounding resolutions being passed by the ANC. But the government's so-called Reconstruction and Development Programme is a fraud. There's no housing being built—in fact, funding for health care and housing have been halved over the last year.

For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

We fight for a Bolshevik party in South Africa, composed of the most advanced workers, which will act as a tribune of the people in struggle for all of the oppressed. Such a party will fight for the expropriation of urban land to provide desperately needed housing for urban squatters. It will fight for the expropriation of white agribusiness to provide land for agricultural workers. It will fight for union-based workers defense guards to suppress right-wing terror and intercommunalist slaughter. It will fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, who are being scapegoated like crazy right now in South Africa; you've probably heard how the ANC women's league has been running a center for the deportation of immigrants. We seek to build a party that will fight against the special oppression of women and for gay rights, for an end to the bride price (*lobola*) and to the tribalist, patriarchal polygamy system, which the ANC doesn't want to touch with a ten-foot pole.

The fight against the age-old oppression of women is really a critical question in South Africa. We hear a lot about how the African family is a communal-oriented family and so forth and so on. But under capitalism, the family is the main institution in the oppression of women, who are confined to the home or forced to do double shifts—first as workers and then shouldering heavy burdens as domestic slaves. And black women in South Africa really are domestic slaves. Moreover, women workers are relegated to the lowest-paid jobs in the textile, food and service industries and are disproportionately concentrated in what Karl Marx called the industrial reserve army of labor, the unemployed.

During the height of the anti-apartheid revolts a decade and more ago, black working women were in the forefront of the anti-pass campaigns, the stayaways, the strikes, the struggles against evictions of squatters and for the freedom of anti-apartheid political prisoners like Nelson Mandela. Today Nelson Mandela could care less about them. The essence of capitalism, the system of private ownership of the means of production, is the extraction of surplus value from the proletariat, and its "democracy" is a democracy for the rich. The new South African constitution is one of the most liberal ones around. The death penalty has been eliminated, laws have been passed for the protection of gay rights and now for the right to abortion.

Before I get into what the right to abortion means in reality, it's necessary to point out that the previous law, the Abortion and Sterilisation Act passed by the white-supremacist regime in 1975, could in actuality be called a population control act. Women factory workers, for instance, were threatened with losing their jobs unless they submitted to contraceptive injections. Soweto schoolgirls were denied the right to sit for matriculation examinations unless they had contraceptive injections. There were many accounts of women being sterilized or fitted with IUDs without their knowledge. The barriers to a legal abortion were formidable; of course, many white women could go to other countries to get one. During a debate on abortion in 1982, the minister of health at the time was constrained to admit that while 20 legal abortions had been allowed during the preceding year—



Scott Braley/Impact Visuals

Waiting room at day hospital in Duncan Village, East London. Miserable social conditions among oppressed masses can only be overcome through socialist revolution. Those who labor must rule!

20, right!—a quarter of a million South African women had been forced to resort to illegal or back-street abortions.

While abortions are now legal, the health clinics are underfunded and understaffed, and doctors and nurses can refuse to provide abortions. After the law passed in February, I read in the papers there that Johannesburg's general hospital was performing only four a day. There's an acute shortage of nurses, a low-paid job in which women are concentrated. There's also pervasive backwardness, fostered by the reformists and nationalists, who at best pay only lip service to the fight against women's oppression—it was reported that 78 percent of ANC supporters don't support abortion. This patriarchal backwardness consigns women to an inferior, subordinate position. *Lobola*, the bride price, makes African women slaves of their husbands and fathers and subject to a lot of violence. There's a searing indictment of this in the book *African Women*. Black women are considered to be minors no matter how old they are and black rural women have even fewer rights. We intend to build a party which will fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

The extreme poverty and oppression shows up in the high cervical cancer rates for black women. Tuberculosis is rampant, as is AIDS. Thousands of children are born to mothers who are HIV-positive. To the extent that occupational health needs are addressed, it's centered on men, who are more likely to be in unions. The vast majority of black women proletarians are domestic or agricultural workers, with no legal protections. But apartheid capitalism's growing dependence on black labor led to the hiring of greater numbers of blacks, including women, in semi-skilled jobs in the 1970s. A 1970 textile industry report announced "the suitability of African women for industrial labor." By 1989, 27 percent of employed black women were in clothing or leather manufacturing, making up more than two-thirds of the industry's labor force. But while there are plenty of "gender commissions" and this and that nice resolution for women's rights, to date COSATU hasn't had a single mobilization to defend abortion. And the union bureaucrats just called off a fake general strike scheduled for May 12, which was supposed to address the crying need for maternity benefits, among other demands.

Fight for New October Revolutions!

This is not surprising. As the labor component of the nationalist popular front, the COSATU bureaucracy's role is to discipline and police the working class. Now they're literally trying to enlist their members in the racist "law and order" hysteria, mobilizing trade unionists to



Der Spiegel

1987 strike at Mercedes-Benz was sold out by "Communist" misleaders.

state. For example, POPCRU, a police "union," is regarded as part of the labor movement. This is a denial of the fact that the capitalist state and its cops are bloody instruments to maintain the rule of the racist capitalist oppressors.

At bottom, the difference between the International Communist League and the rest of the left in South Africa and elsewhere boils down to the fact that we fight for new October Revolutions. We point out that what is of enduring significance about the Russian Revolution is that it proved that the working-class seizure of state power requires building a Leninist vanguard party fighting against all forms of social oppression. We point out that revolutionary internationalism cannot be combined with even the most "refined" nationalism. If you are a nationalist, you're going to want to keep the chains on somebody, because you accept the poisonous divisions within bourgeois society. And to conclude, and to repeat, Trotsky's program of permanent revolution recognizes that though the socialist revolution may occur in backward capitalist countries, it cannot be completed except through the road of international proletarian revolution, because an isolated socialist revolution more than ever confronts inevitable imperialist intervention and strangulation.

It's our task to build Trotskyist vanguard parties in South Africa, the United States and everywhere else as part of the fight to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. And that requires ruthless political combat to expose the reformists and the centrists and to win over and regroup the revolutionary elements who want to fight for authentic communism. That's the kind of programmatic intransigence that the Bolsheviks had and that we have to have, because that's what is needed in order to eliminate the exploitation of the working class by capitalism. ■

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Court Papers Prove They Sued the Union

IG's Brazil Cover-Up: Dirty Hands, Cynical Lies

Six weeks ago, *Workers Vanguard* revealed that the Internationalist Group (IG) of Norden and Negrete and its Brazilian affiliate, the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) were up to their necks in class treason. While these charlatans postured internationally as opponents of bourgeois state intervention in the Brazilian workers movement, we proved that **they had sued the municipal workers union in Volta Redonda in the capitalist courts** (see "Lies, Damned Lies and Anti-Union Lawsuits—IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," *WV* No. 669, 30 May). Finally, on June 29, the IG and LQB responded by posting some 27 single-spaced pages on the IG's "Web page" on the Internet.

We can appreciate why those with IG on their face might want to now hide behind a computer screen; cyberspace is a convenient medium for hustlers in virtual reality. Among the 27 pages of cover-up was a letter dated June 24—in English and gussied up with fancy color graphics—allegedly sent by the LQB to the ICL (but never received by us via post, fax or e-mail). Postings in English on the Internet will surely not reach the workers of Volta Redonda, most of whom do not even have a telephone, much less a computer with a graphics card. But that's precisely the point: the IG/LQB can't peddle their lies to the workers there—because it is common knowledge in that small industrial city that the LQB sued the municipal workers union.

In an attempt to bury the truth of their shameful lawsuits, the IG and LQB repeatedly throw out filthy slanders that the International Communist League is "a willing accomplice of a very dirty operation" in the service of Artur Fernandes, the political boss who runs the cop-infested SFPMMVR municipal workers union, and his centrist advisers, the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista (LBI). Norden & Co. offer no proof—because there is none. With exquisite chutzpah, they label as "anti-communist" our exposure of the LQB's class betrayal in hauling the union into the bosses' courts. They go on to complain that the amount of attention we have devoted to exposing them as centrist defectors from Trotskyism must mean we are allied with the squalid opponents with whom the LQB has been wrestling for control of the Volta Redonda union. While the ICL, in our previous *WV* article, denounced the pro-cop LBI's hypocrisy in attacking the LQB's anti-union court suits, the IG/LQB never answered the LBI—because to do so would have meant acknowledging those lawsuits!

Trotsky exposed the method of desperate liars whose only response to public exposure is to slander the truth-teller as an ally of the class enemy. In his testimony before the Dewey Commission, against the Stalinist slanders that he was secretly an agent of Hitler and the Japanese Mikado while the public record showed that he had devoted his whole life to the cause of the international proletariat, Trotsky remarked: "One gets the impression that I built a skyscraper to 'camouflage' a dead rat. No, it is not convincing!"

Two, Three, Many Anti-Union Lawsuits

More investigation on our part has yielded further irrefutable evidence that the LQB dragged the SFPMMVR union through the bourgeois courts. The lawsuits filed by Geraldo Ribeiro of the

LQB against the union, as well as the lawsuits filed by the Artur Fernandes gang against Geraldo Ribeiro, are available for public review in the municipal courthouse in Volta Redonda. A *Workers Vanguard* reporter read through the foot-thick file of cases.

There were a total of six lawsuits documented in these files. The first one and the last two were initiated by Fernandes & Co. The other three were filed by Ribeiro against the SFPMMVR—case number 30.831, filed on 15 July 1996; case number 30.832, filed on 8 August 1996; and case number 30.833, filed on 26 July 1996.

Yet the IG incredibly asserts: "The LQB and union president Ribeiro have not sued the union." The Nordenites also trot out a 30 January 1997 declaration by Ribeiro that "We reject any interference by the bosses' 'justice' system in the labor movement. The union belongs to the workers, not the bosses! They are the ones who decide!" For all its bluster, the IG in fact acknowledges the existence of

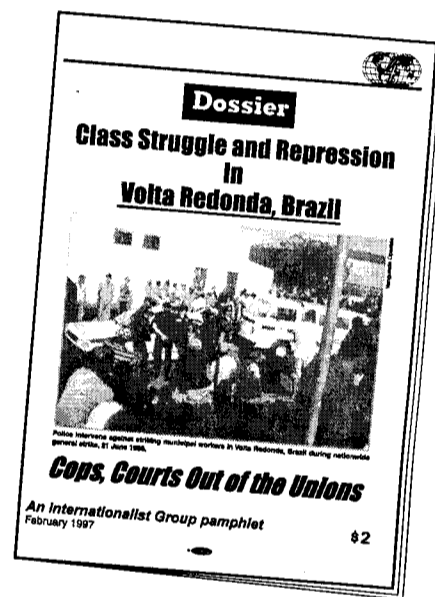
ognize him as the legitimate leader of the municipal workers union, **he submitted union bank statements, account books, statutes and minutes of union meetings to the bourgeois court as "evidence"**! So much for the IG's lame claim that Ribeiro didn't know what his lawyers were doing—how could his lawyers get their hands on the union's financial records and other sensitive internal materials and append them to Ribeiro's lawsuits unless he himself turned them over to the lawyers?

In February 1996, when the ICL had fraternal relations with the LQB (then Luta Metalúrgica—LM), we sent them books and archival material on the American Trotskyists' struggle against state intervention and the frame-up of militants in the Minneapolis Teamsters union in the 1930s. Seeking to convey a political understanding of the Marxist principle of proletarian class independence, an ICL representative in Volta Redonda translated much of this material into Portuguese, including an article from the Min-

call, hold or deliberate in an Assembly, even because the matters dealt with were taken up at the previous [Assembly]."

This lawsuit was filed on 8 August 1996—some **two weeks after** Ribeiro allegedly wrote a 26 July 1996 unpublished letter, filled with fine words against government intervention in the union movement, to the Volta Redonda paper *Diário do Vale*. This "letter" is the "evidence" with which the IG/LQB "refutes" our exposé! When our comrades spoke to LQB leader Cerezo in person in Volta Redonda on May 3 this year, he told us that Ribeiro had written such a letter but Cerezo "couldn't find it." Neither the IG nor the LQB has ever published this letter to *Diário do Vale*. More importantly, neither has the LQB issued **any** propaganda directed to the working class in Volta Redonda in response to the many articles in the bourgeois press in July and August 1996 reporting on Ribeiro's lawsuits against the union.

The silence of the LQB in Volta Redonda speaks loudly to their guilt,



IG/LQB claim 19 June 1996 Volta Redonda union meeting was called to oust cops from union. But public call for meeting, signed by LQB's Geraldo Ribeiro, lists only four agenda points: "resolutions of the 1st seminary" and "election of the campaign commission," "wage campaign," "guarantee fund for time worked" and "campaign for the reintegration of Regina Célia." Nothing about cops! IG "Dossier" lies about "victory" against cops, conceals class betrayal by LQB in suing the union in capitalist courts.

the two lawsuits by Ribeiro we exposed in our earlier article—while **concealing the third** we just uncovered. Straining credulity beyond the breaking point, the IG ludicrously "explains" that the two lawsuits they acknowledge had been a "mistake," claiming: "Without his knowledge, they had been filed with the union listed as the defendant, something Ribeiro never would have permitted. When he learned of this, Ribeiro immediately gave instructions that these cases be withdrawn, which they were, despite the vociferous objections of the lawyers, who do not share the LQB's views."

The files in the courthouse prove the IG and LQB are lying. Ribeiro gave his lawyers written permission to act on his behalf. The files include "power of attorney" documents signed by him on July 7 for the July 15 suit, on August 6 for the August 8 suit, and on July 29 for the July 26 suit. (The sequence of case numbers and dates is peculiar, but reality is often less orderly than seamless lies.) Additionally, Ribeiro's signature appears on three other documents, one for each of the three suits, requesting that the state pay his court fees. But what is further revealed in the court files is most damning of all, and most damaging to the union. In order to back up Ribeiro's claim that the capitalist state should rec-

neapolis Teamsters' *Northwest Organizer* (4 August 1938). This article denounced stool pigeons who give union account books and minutes to the courts: "A union has the same intransigent objection to permitting the enemy to scrutinize its documents, plans, books, etc., as does the United States Government have to a potential enemy scrutinizing its industrial and military resources and plans."

Ribeiro not only invited the class enemy to scrutinize the SFPMMVR's internal documents, he also appealed to the capitalist state to determine who should be the legitimate representative of the municipal workers. Among the internal union issues Ribeiro called on the court to adjudicate in case 30.832 are:

"c. The carrying out of the request for declaring the validity of the Extraordinary General Assembly called by the membership and held on the 25 of July of 1996, where the Author's [Geraldo's] return to the presidency of the SFPMMVR was decided, and the consequent unblocking of the Union's bank account, as well as the penalty of suspension applied to the dissident directorship, decided in the same Assembly.

"d. The carrying out of the request for declaring null the Assembly held by the dissident directorship on 29 July of 1996, for the fact that the directors that held that travesty of an Assembly were suspended from their posts in the 25 July of 1996 Assembly, thus not having legitimacy to

opportunism and utter contempt for workers who believed they were a leftist alternative. Their actions confirm that the ICL's break in fraternal relations with the LQB in June 1996 was both principled and necessary. The LQB was concerned only with maintaining control of a union in which it had no members at the time (Ribeiro was made a member of the LQB after the break with the ICL). The Ribeiro faction in the union was every bit as squalid as the pro-cop faction led by Artur Fernandes (himself a former LM protégé), and every bit as willing to appeal directly to the class enemy, the bourgeois state.

The Silence of the IGs

The IG and LQB claim that Geraldo Ribeiro withdrew these suits as soon as he learned of them. Not possible. The court records show that Ribeiro did indeed file a withdrawal of all three of his lawsuits—on 17 February 1997—**seven months after he filed the first lawsuit!** As the municipal workers union was being dragged through the bourgeois courts by the LQB on the one hand and the pro-cop Artur Fernandes grouping on the other, the IG ran an international diversion—an appeal for "solidarity" to demand the cops and courts keep their hands off the SFPMMVR and its president,

Ribeiro. This charade culminated with the February 1997 publication of an IG "Dossier" on the LQB's struggle in the municipal workers union.

The IG's "Dossier" was nothing but international camouflage to cover up for their collaborators' crossing the class line in Brazil. It contained not even a mention of the LQB's anti-union lawsuits. The IG did not even deem Ribeiro's 26 July 1996 letter to *Diário do Vale* "fit to print." Indeed, not one word of the lawsuits passed the IG's lips until after *Workers Vanguard* reported the facts that our comrades had uncovered in Brazil. Nor has the IG's "Dossier" ever been translated or circulated in Brazil.

In its latest literary sally, the IG repeats its timeworn refrain that the ICL "fled from the class battle" in Brazil. While constantly contradicting themselves over the date that the cops were allegedly thrown out of the SFPMVR union, Norden & Co. continue to insist that we broke fraternal relations with the LQB the day before a 19 June 1996 union meeting where the cops were to be thrown out and that we "had to know" about that meeting. Well, now we do know. Reprinted here is the public advertisement for that union meeting: there is **no mention** of removing the cops from the union. Workers were not publicly mobilized for that purpose, and in fact it didn't happen.

We challenge the IG to open the books, to publish all the pertinent materials! We've publicized every piece of hard evidence we could get our hands on. But the IG and their LQB bloc partners have access to further documentation. The lawsuits reviewed by our reporter in the Volta Redonda courthouse are available for public viewing but may not be photocopied except by the parties involved—the Fernandes faction, the LQB faction or attorneys for either side. Why doesn't the IG publish the lawsuits filed and withdrawn (seven months later) by their fraternal group in Brazil? And while they're at it, why not publish the full transcripts of the 16 June 1996 meeting between the ICL and LQB which they have on tape? Those transcripts would show that no member of the LQB ever mentioned that day that a union meeting to expel the cops was imminent—because it wasn't.

The ICL has done a service to the international workers movement by exposing the IG/LQB as the unscrupulous and dangerous hustlers they are. Our investigation began when we responded to the LQB's appeal for international solidarity by requesting that they provide us with documentation regarding the situation in the municipal workers union so that we could defend them and bring their case to others to defend. We were prepared to defend them despite our evident political differences. This essential definition of non-sectarian class-struggle defense is vitiated by the IG/LQB. Norden and his cohorts do not believe you can criticize those whom you defend nor can you defend those you criticize. We stand on the traditions of James P. Cannon's International Labor Defense, which are carried forward today by the Partisan Defense Committee. We endeavor to bring any case or cause in the interest of the whole of the working people to the attention of workers around the world. But the LQB refused to provide us with any information. Now we know why.

Opportunism, the Party Question and the State

We strive at all times for theoretical and programmatic clarity, bringing key political debates out in the open so the most conscious workers can reach a higher understanding of their own interests. But because of their amorphousness and their attraction to groupings to their right, centrists despise our insistence on clarity of position and purity of principles. They don't like being called by their right name, so they seek to conceal their opportunist maneuvering from the workers. The fake leftists cover up their actions with false and vicious attacks on

the communist ICL, while denouncing us for our alleged "sectarianism" and "passive propagandism."

The ICL has made available to the public the documentary record of our fraternal relations with Luta Metalúrgica. Our trilingual (English, Spanish and Portuguese) *International Bulletin* No. 41, "The Fight for a Trotskyist Party in Brazil," is the documentary record of correspondence between the ICL and LM from the time of an authoritative ICL gathering in January 1996—in which an LM leader participated—through the break in fraternal relations on 17 June 1996. Also publicly available in several languages is *International Bulletin* No. 38, "Norden's 'Group': Shamefaced Defectors from Trotskyism."

These materials make clear that it was the Norden group who "fled the struggle"—the struggle to forge a Trotskyist international. Declining the opportunity to form a faction and fight to change the party's program and perspectives, a right uniquely and explicitly laid out in our organizational rules, Norden & Co. ran a wrecking operation inside the party, engineered their own expulsions and now run a wrecking operation against us from outside the party. Meanwhile, their impressionism and attraction to alien political formations—adaptations to the pressures of bourgeois society which were held in check through internal democratic-centralist party struggle—are now running free. The Norden group has demonstrated that it is willing to sacrifice the most fundamental principles of Marxism at the first whiff of an "opportunity."

The party question was the common denominator to all our fights with the Norden group and the Brazilian LQB. The Nordenites resisted our struggle to transform the LQB into the nucleus of a Trotskyist party and they capitulated to the LQB's fake "mass" work, trade-union opportunism and centrist amorphousness. In contrast, after a sufficiently lengthy period of testing our apparent programmatic agreement, including with ICL representatives on site in Brazil, the ICL broke fraternal relations with LM because their ingrained trade-union opportunism was counterposed to forging a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Why did the LQB seek to control a cop-infested union? Why did they pick an ex-cop, Ribeiro, and a pro-cop thug, Fernandes, to head the amorphous and unprincipled bloc—the Municipários em Luta (MEL) which won control of the union? Why did their left-sounding campaign propaganda (which was barely distributed anyway) **not** call for the separation of the cops from the union the LQB sought to lead?

The ICL did not know of the presence of cops in the municipal workers union until the issue came up in informal discussion at our January 1996 international gathering. If we had known that this was how LM operated, **there would have been no fraternal relations.** As Norden and his protégé Negrete, then leading members of the ICL, were quite exclusively in control of our contact with the LQB prior to January 1996, the question must be asked, **did they know about the cops and keep that secret from the party?** When we did learn of it, we pressed for the LQB to bring its actions into accordance with the program with which it professed agreement and to fight for separation of the cops from the union. Then their amorphous MEL bloc blew apart, with Artur Fernandes emerging from their "own" camp as their chief witchhunter. The LQB and the Norden group virulently opposed the ICL's insistence that a leading LQB member step down from his unelected post as "adviser" to this union in which the LQB had no members and begin a communist policy of work directed at the base of the unions, including with a party press.

The IG repeatedly denounces the pro-cop Fernandes while quoting the MEL's election program that the police are "the armed fist of the bourgeoisie," saying

that LM agreed to the ICL's urgings to fight to oust the cops from the union. The IG now points to that quote to bolster the LQB's supposed anti-cop credentials. Yet they carefully conceal the crucial fact that Fernandes was part of the MEL slate that the LM/LQB engineered, just as they now attempt to conceal Ribeiro's taking the union to court. At the time, the MEL counted on the cop vote in the union to get elected—that's why they refused to raise opposition to the police within **their** union in the first place. Having taken up this fight, they then tried to use it as a factional club against their rivals for the union presidency. This crass opportunism to gain control of unions from the top is the same game the rest of the centrists play in Brazil.

The entire subsequent trajectory of the LQB was predictable, and we did predict it. We warned where their unprincipled combinationism at the top of the union and their recourse to bureaucratic methods against their opponents in the union could lead. In a 23 February 1996 letter to them, we wrote:

"Our enemies cannot be fought with the bosses' methods of back-room deals and intrigues. We know of no other way than to lay your case clearly before the workers and fight openly for your views. To proceed otherwise could damage your organization and the union itself, and confuse the workers for a long time to come.

"We are for clear political struggle between the different parties and their counterposed programs, without threats of expulsion or exclusion, which could potentially set the stage for more direct state intervention in the union under the fig leaf of restoring 'democracy'. The very powerful Teamsters union in the United States, and before it the Mine Workers union have been reduced to a shadow of their former strength through precisely this kind of government intervention, abetted by the fake left."

Today the LQB and the IG stand exposed for abetting such state intervention in the Brazilian union movement. Until we exposed the lies retailed in the IG's "Dossier," they insisted that the cops had been thrown out of the SFPMVR and that Ribeiro was the union president. Now they've changed their tune and describe the SFPMVR under Artur Fernandes as a "court-rigged outfit." Indeed it is, and they helped make it that way. Ever legends in their own minds, Norden and Negrete continue to maintain that what happened in the Volta Redonda union is a "victory." They dismiss the facts that Fernandes is in charge of the SFPMVR, that Ribeiro has been booted out as president, that the cops

remain in the union, that the capitalist courts have been allowed to meddle in the union's affairs—by insisting that the sentiment of the ranks goes in the opposite direction, that "the will of the workers" (as somehow determined by the IG/LQB) is decisive.

Norden & Co. have trampled on the elementary Marxist principle that the capitalist state has no business intervening in the labor movement. At bottom, they deny that the workers (even the most "willing"!) need a Leninist party—to bring revolutionary class consciousness **from without** in order to transform the proletariat from a class **in** itself to a class **for** itself, fighting for its own class rule, a workers state.

A little opportunism is a dangerous thing. As Trotsky wrote in his incisive 1931 essay, "The Mistakes of Rightist Elements of the Communist League on the Trade Union Question":

"If the theoretical structure of the political economy of Marxism rests entirely upon the conception of **value** as materialized labor, the revolutionary policy of Marxism rests upon the conception of the party as the vanguard of the proletariat.

"Whatever may be the social sources and political causes of opportunistic mistakes and deviations, they are always reduced ideologically to an erroneous understanding of the revolutionary party, of its relation to other proletarian organizations and to the class as a whole....

"One of the psychological sources of opportunism is a superficial impatience, a lack of confidence in the gradual growth of the party's influence, the desire to win the masses by organizational maneuvers or personal diplomacy. Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes, the policy of silence, of hushing up, of self-renunciation, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others; and finally, the complete passage to the positions of opportunism. The subordination of the CP to the Kuomintang in China, the creation of workers' and peasants' parties in India, the subordination of the British party to the Minority Movement, etc., etc.—in all these phenomena we see the same method of bureaucratic combinationism which commences with a superficial revolutionary impatience and finishes with opportunist treason."

In our previous article, "IG's Brazil Fraud Exposed," we stated: "The IG cannot simultaneously stand by the verbal affirmation of class principle in their 'Dossier' and by the class betrayal carried out by their comrades in Volta Redonda." The IG has consciously chosen the latter, proving that their flight from the ICL was not a casual journey. It was based on deep revisionism and hostility to the revolutionary Marxist program and party. ■

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The Post-Soviet Period and Disintegrative Pressures on the Revolutionary Vanguard

Norden's "Group": Shamefaced Defectors From Trotskyism

Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

a victim of this ongoing collusion....
 "I urge you, I appeal to you all to use that same strength that enabled you to support me for almost three decades, and direct it towards Mumia's struggle."

Sabo's Kangaroo Court

As at earlier Jamal hearings, dozens of people turned out to show support for Mumia, many of whom were forced to stay outside in the hallway while the cops were given half of the public courtroom area. As he entered the court, Mumia smiled and waved at his family and supporters through the glass wall separating him from the public benches.

Sabo again lived up to his reputation as a "prosecutor in robes," admitting every witness the prosecution wanted while rejecting crucial witnesses for the defense. When Veronica Jones appeared at a hearing before Sabo last fall to reveal that she had been pressured by the cops into lying against Jamal at the 1982 trial, she was dragged off the stand to jail. This pattern of vindictive state harassment against witnesses for Jamal continued against Jenkins, who was brought to court from prison. *Only after* announcing that she intended to testify on Jamal's behalf was she arrested on felony charges stemming from a months-old incident in which she had cooperated with the police. Despite this intimidation, Pamela Jenkins stood fast in her testimony at the hearing. Asked why she had now come forward in Jamal's case, an act which could only put her in greater danger of police retribution, particularly while imprisoned, Jenkins responded: "I'm not going to sit back and let an innocent man go to jail."

Jenkins spoke of her affair with Thomas Ryan, one of the cops convicted in the 39th District scandal, which started when she was a young teenager. Describing her lengthy period of cooperation with him as an informer, Jenkins testified that Ryan and other cops had pressured her to say she'd seen Jamal shoot Faulkner. In a written statement submitted earlier this spring, Jenkins recounted that Cynthia White said "that the police were trying to get her to say something about the shooting." On the stand, Jenkins said that after the shooting, White had told her that "she was in fear for her life from the police." Jenkins added that she had seen White earlier this year at a North Philadelphia crack house. When White saw Jenkins she "acted like she saw a ghost" and fled.

Manipulation and coercion of prostitutes to abet cop payoff schemes and to act as "witnesses" in frame-up operations is standard operating procedure for the Philly cops, and for cops everywhere. The 1995 corruption investigation was one of a series of scandals that have rocked the Philadelphia Police Department since 1979. A legal brief submitted by Jamal's attorneys before the hearing stated: "Jamal will present evidence illuminating the sordid interconnection of police corruption and prostitution in Philadelphia's center city area in the

early 1980's, a connection which led to federal convictions of over 30 officers." But Sabo and the D.A. kept any of this evidence from coming to light in the courtroom.

Seeking to discredit Jenkins' testimony, the prosecution submitted purportedly "conclusive" proof that Cynthia White had died in September 1992, claiming that the body of a black woman found in an abandoned building in Camden, New Jersey had been identified as her. Jamal's investigators were ready to produce not only official documents contradicting the D.A.'s "evidence" but also numerous interviews with people who had seen White as recently as early 1997 and positively identified her from photos. But Sabo refused to allow any of these witnesses to take the stand.

The hearing adjourned on June 30. The D.A. then got Sabo to reopen the hearing to present yet more witnesses from the offices of the New Jersey prosecutor and the state troopers to "prove" what had supposedly already been conclusively shown—that Cynthia White was dead.



Jamal witnesses Pamela Jenkins and Veronica Jones, flanked by attorneys Rachel Wolkenstein and Leonard Weinglass, at March 10 press conference in Philadelphia.

But the new prosecution "evidence" was shown to be far from conclusive. Fingerprints are decisive for identifying a dead body. Yet, under cross-examination by Jamal lead attorney Leonard Weinglass, one of the D.A.'s witnesses admitted that the New Jersey fingerprint classification codes which they claimed matched the dead body in Camden *did not match* Philadelphia police and FBI fingerprint records for White. And even the D.A.'s investigators admitted that they continued looking for White during the last two years, despite the New Jersey death report.

Former cop and convicted felon Thomas Ryan, fresh from jail for his role in the 39th District case, tried to rebut Jenkins' testimony about their relationship. Jenkins said that she had first met Ryan well before the Faulkner shooting, by which time she had already become his girlfriend. In a different 1986 court case, Ryan had acknowledged having known Jenkins for five years, i.e., since 1981. At the Jamal hearing, Ryan asserted having "had no recollection" of when he had come to know Jenkins until

the prosecution "refreshed" his memory that he had first met her only in 1982!

While on the stand, Jenkins also testified that Ryan had named other cops who were on the scene the night of Faulkner's killing. Jamal's attorneys have for years sought and been denied records of other police personnel who were there the night Faulkner was shot and who might have evidence regarding what happened. Lawrence Boston, a former cop who walked a beat near the area in December 1981, verified that plainclothes police were routinely to be found in that vicinity into the early morning hours. Boston, who said he had been a close friend of Faulkner, was one of the officers who Jenkins had heard was on site that night. But when questioned as to his exact whereabouts at the time of the shooting, Boston would only say, "I should have been in bed."

Another witness, Marcus Cannon, was also in the vicinity of Faulkner's shooting. Cannon saw two white men, acting as though they were part of the lumpen scene in that red-light district, leap into

the nation's ghettos and barrios, where they often carry out summary executions by simply gunning down black and Hispanic youth.

Most recently, among a series of sinister and reactionary decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "preventive detention"—without even the pretense of due process—is the law of the land. Last month, the Court upheld a Kansas statute permitting states to keep "sex offenders" and anyone deemed "mentally abnormal" incarcerated in mental hospitals after their prison terms are up. This kind of preventive detention is usually associated with colonial-type repression by occupation forces in places like Northern Ireland or the Palestinian Occupied Territories. In fact, hundreds of prisoners completing their sentences in the U.S. have already been thrown in mental hospitals and more states are racing to enact new legislation in the wake of the Court's ruling.

The recent conviction of Timothy McVeigh for the heinous 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building was seized on by the bourgeois media—amid widespread howls for "vengeance"—to catapult the question of the death penalty to center stage, as the three major weekly news magazines carried cover stories asking, "Should He Die?" McVeigh has now become one of only two whites among the 13 prisoners currently on federal death row. And blacks and Hispanics form a vastly disproportionate majority of the burgeoning population of more than 3,300 on state death rows around the country. Death sentences have been carried out at the rate of well over one a week this year, with double and even triple executions rating barely a mention in the bourgeois press.

As Marxists we stand unequivocally opposed on principle to the death penalty. Capital punishment is nothing but institutionalized murder by the racist capitalist state. Stephen Bright, director of the Southern Center for Human Rights, noted: "It is the cases that don't make it on the radar screen that are really at issue. Those involve the defendants, overwhelmingly black and poor, who are represented by lawyers who fall asleep during the trial, who turn up drunk or who do not get a penny for expert witnesses."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is symbolic of what the racist death penalty is all about, the ultimate weapon in an entire apparatus of repression wielded by the capitalist class with the aim of intimidating and terrorizing working people and minorities. He is a black fighter who never capitulated, an eloquent and unquenchable voice for justice and humanity, a symbol of resistance to this racist system—and for those reasons he has been hounded by the capitalist state since he was a youth and today sits in prison facing the death chamber. Every resource must be strained to secure his freedom, as part of the fight for a workers revolution to sweep away this whole system of exploitation, oppression and "legal" murder. Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

action the moment shots exploded, drawing weapons and running toward the sounds of the gunfire. But Cannon never got to present this striking new evidence at the hearing. Sabo refused to allow him on the witness stand.

The Capitalist Injustice System

The state's drive to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal comes amid an intensification of racist repression across the board. In the last few years the rate of executions around the country has skyrocketed, with this year headed toward a 60-year record. During Clinton's tenure in the White House, federal death penalty statutes have been vastly expanded, while the right of *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts—particularly crucial in death penalty cases—has effectively been gutted. At the same time, tens of thousands more cops have been put on the streets to rampage through the

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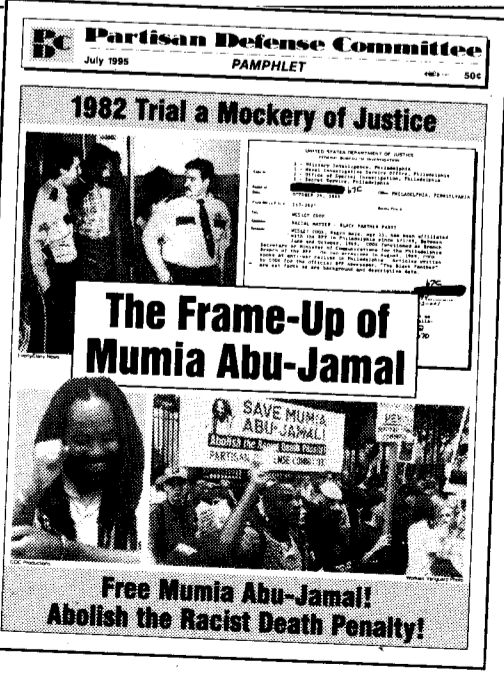
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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



The System vs. Geronimo: Why?

Much of the national media made much of the recent reversal of the murder conviction of former Black Panther official Geronimo ji Jaga (né E. G. Pratt), after almost three decades in California hellholes.

Few accounts explained *why* Geronimo was caged, and why the state fought so long and hard to keep him there, even using foul and unfair means to do so.

This writer, who knew Geronimo in his youth, will attempt to do so.

Why would the state of California and the FBI knowingly convict a man of a murder that they knew he didn't commit?

The answer to this conundrum lies less in the realm of the "law" than in the area of politics.

Geronimo's "offense" had nothing to do with murder and everything to do with his political beliefs *and activities*; he was a Black Panther, and a revolutionary, and therefore, he was a target to be "neutralized," in FBI terms.

In December 1969, the Southern California chapter of the Black Panther Party was attacked by the heavily armed LAPD. Geronimo, as the office's Defense Minister, heavily insulated the office against government attack, and a gun-battle ensued, lasting up to ten hours of urban war.

When the smoke cleared, every Panther emerged alive, thanks to Geronimo's skilled defense work, and military expertise.

Although several Panthers were later beaten by cops (the chapter's Culture Minister had his right hand, his drawing—as in art—hand, broken) none suffered life-threatening wounds, despite hours of being under heavy police automatic fire and bombing by grenades.

Geronimo, who learned the art of war in the rice paddies of Vietnam, had brought the war—this time for *Black liberation*—home, and the state marked him from that day forward.

For his armed defense of the Black Nation (through the Black Panther Party) Geronimo would be hunted, framed and caged in a cruel succession of state gulags for almost 30 years, while an FBI/

LAPD/L.A. D.A. (District Attorney) snitch would be massaged into positions of power, prominence and influence over the Black community of L.A.

As a Black ex-sheriff, Julius "Julio" Butler knew people in the region's cop community, and used that knowledge to his advantage, as a smart snitch would. Despite felony convictions, the D.A.'s office armed him, and by treating old cases as misdemeanors, opened the doors to law school where Butler won a law degree. Thus equipped, this paid FBI/LAPD/L.A. D.A. informant, standing on the caged back of Geronimo, ascended the leadership of the L.A. African-American community as he was named a deacon of one of the city's most respected Black churches.

As he rose, the state's judiciary and political establishment stomped on Geronimo again and again and again and again—denying him parole, denying post-conviction petitions, denying his *habeas* writs, setting him up on bogus prison charges, time and time again.

By caging this revolutionary, the state killed *three* birds with one stone: 1) the government deprived the Black community of one of its most militant (and militarily skilled) fighters; 2) the government put in place of Black prominence a paid informant; and, 3) the government fractured and dissipated emerging white, progressive support by falsely tying the murder of a Santa Monica schoolteacher to a known Black Panther, like Geronimo.

It also used the growing paranoia of the late Dr. Huey P. Newton to prevent crucial support from coming to Geronimo's aid in his darkest hour of need.

In a demonstration of admirable, albeit misguided, discipline, almost a dozen Panthers stood by silently while Geronimo was railroaded, as they were under orders from the Supreme Commander to not assist a man who, Huey feared, had defected to the more militant East Coast wing of the Black Panther Party. It would take decades for them to realize that the East Coast-West Coast split was itself fomented by agents and operatives of the FBI, and finally, like ripe plums, they fell into line, and testified, decades later, to knowing Geronimo was innocent of the Santa Mon-

ica murder, as he was some 400 miles away, in Oakland, at the time.

It is easy for us to now celebrate Geronimo's return as a signal victory, and it is. But, we must not stop there.

We must also acknowledge it was a victory for the state which unjustly stole 27 years—half the life—of a man who rightly defended his people from unjust attack. For 30 years *the government created a Black "leader"* it could work with (a snitch *and* a lawyer!).

For almost three decades the state wiped the field clear of revolutionaries, and allowed gangsters (like Freeway Ricky Ross) to thrive, thus lobotomizing an entire Black generation with a cruel, new form of chemical warfare (until they got tired of them and set *them* up!).

Because of their efforts, the Black Panther Party is no more. So who won, who lost?

Because of their unprincipled, foul methods, most Black folks hear the word "revolutionary" and think it's a new kind of fabric softener.

Because of their utilization of the law as a tool of white supremacy and as an instrument of crime countless revolutionaries, like Ruchell Magee ("Cinque"), Hugo "Yogi" Pinell, E. Mondo Langa, Delbert, Merle, Phil, Janine, Ed, Janet, Mike, Deb and Chuck Africa, Russell "Maroon" Shoats, Leonard Peltier, Dr. Mutulu Shakur...and on and on, languish in American gulags.

For many of them, their trials were about as "fair" as Geronimo's, with "witnesses" just as tainted, and "evidence" just as twisted.

So, it is true that Geronimo won a powerful victory.

It is also true that Black America (and, as in Bro. Leonard's case, Native America) suffered, and continues to suffer, a grievous loss, until all political prisoners, and prisoners of war, are free.

28 June 1997

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To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Northern Ireland...

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of Her Majesty's Labour Party. The swinish pro-imperialist British Labour Party defended the British Empire in two world wars, and infamously cheered the British execution of James Connolly. Lenin, whose Bolsheviks led the Russian workers to power in 1917, denounced the Labour Party and the rest of the Social Democracy as "social chauvinists"—occasionally "socialist" in word, but chauvinist in deeds. It was a Labour government, which included Tony Benn, which despatched the British Army to Northern Ireland in 1969; and after 27 years, the blood-soaked Army remains to defend the oppressive Orange statelet of Northern Ireland. The bitter reality of the imperialist "peace" fraud, we have repeatedly warned, leaves the Catholic minority at the mercy of the Army/RUC and emboldened Loyalist death squads and has done no good for Protestant workers either.

The Spartacist League says: British Army/RUC out of Garvaghy Road and all Catholic areas—for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland! The British working class has a particular obligation to oppose its "own" bourgeoisie: a century ago Karl Marx emphasised that the British proletariat would never be free as long as Ireland remained in thrall. Those who fail to oppose in words and deeds British imperialism's armed rampage in Northern Ireland today are no Marxists but miserable class traitors.

In the recent general election the Spartacist League told the truth and refused to give a gram of support to Blair and Co. who, wrapped in the Union Jack, pledged to serve Queen and City [of London financiers]. The SWP said "vote Labour or socialist," which in practice meant going all out for a Blair victory. Tony Cliff declared that the SWP were "over the moon at the Labour victory." *Socialist Review* (June 1997) added: "The Labour victory has lifted a burden from the shoulders of socialists everywhere." The fake-Trotskyist Workers Power crowed: "Blair's victory is our victory" (*Workers Power*, May 1997). Now Blair will use his overwhelming majority as a mandate for massive attacks on anyone who resists oppression, whether Irish Republicans, or militant trade unionists at home.

The SWP *supported* its own bourgeoisie when the British Army was sent to Northern Ireland in 1969 with the "argument" that they would "save lives." The SWP continued to whitewash their bloody role and denounced those who called for troops out: "The breathing space provided by the presence of British troops is short but vital. Those who call for the immediate withdrawal of the troops before the men behind the barricades can defend themselves are inviting a pogrom which will hit first and hardest at socialists" (*Socialist Worker*, 11 September 1969). This support for the army who carried out a cold-blooded massacre on Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1972 is grotesque. It is quintessential reformism, expressing confidence in the armed forces of the capitalist state. Today the SWP supports the imperialist "peace" fraud by calling on Mr. "I believe in the



Workers Hammer
Spartacist League/Britain calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland as part of struggle for socialist revolution.

United Kingdom" Blair to talk to Sinn Féin to "send a message of hope to Protestants and Catholics alike." Tell it to the people on Garvaghy Road! With crass hypocrisy the SWP refuses to call for troops out in the British *Socialist Worker*; they only mention it in their *Irish* paper, in the small print.

Supporting the British Army in Northern Ireland is a graphic example of the capitulation of these so-called "international socialists" to their own bourgeoisie, which began with Cliff's refusal to defend the USSR and the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states against U.S. and British imperialism in the Korean War during an earlier Cold War Labour government. In the second

imperialist Cold War, the virulently anti-Soviet SWP went so far as to cheer the CIA-backed Afghan *mujahedin* scum who fought against the Red Army to murder unveiled women and school teachers for the "crime" of teaching girls to read. No "breathing space" for them. In step with the Labour lieutenants of imperialism, the SWP, Workers Power et al. supported capitalist counterrevolutionaries from Polish Solidarność to Boris Yeltsin in Moscow. The Spartacist League upheld Trotsky's position, for unconditional military defence of the Soviet degenerated workers state, and proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is the only programme that could have prevented the disaster of capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and Eastern Europe.

Northern Ireland today stands on the brink of another wave of anti-Catholic pogroms and communal strife. As communists, we seek to intervene to alter the course of the conflict towards a class determination. What's necessary are integrated, programmatically based workers militias to smash Loyalist and all sectarian terror and stop imperialist rampage. Nationalism is a dead end: Sinn Féin supported the imperialist "peace process," which is premised on maintaining the British imperialist armed fist in Northern Ireland. As proletarian internationalists we oppose the nationalist irredentist view that the Protestants should be forced into a unified Ireland. We fight for an Irish workers' republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. This requires the construction of Leninist vanguard parties to fight for workers revolution on both sides of the border and both sides of the Irish Sea. ■

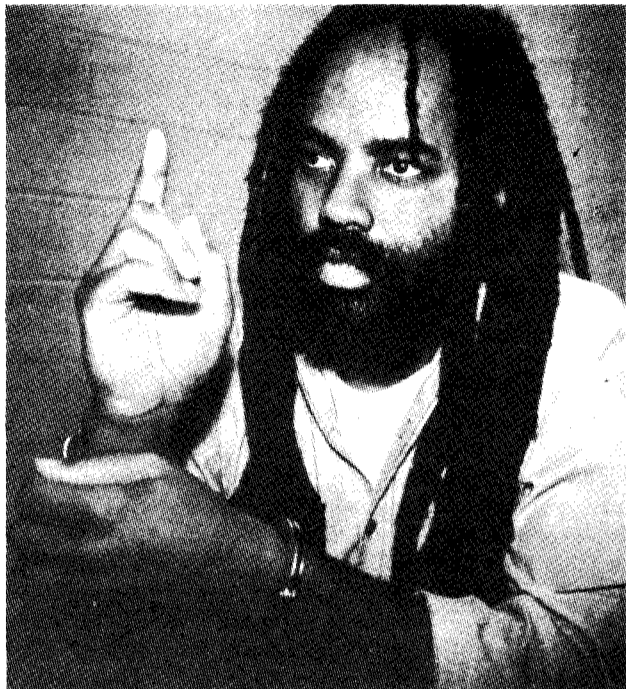
WORKERS VANGUARD

Hearing Airs New Evidence of Cop Frame-Up

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The latest spectacle in hanging judge Albert Sabo's Philadelphia courtroom underscores our warning that freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be won through reliance on the capitalist courts. Mumia must be saved from the forces of death who have clamored for his execution since this outspoken journalist, former Black Panther and MOVE supporter was framed up in 1981. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fight for broad, labor-centered mobilizations internationally to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal now! Abolish the racist death penalty!

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ordered a further evidentiary hearing as part of Jamal's 1995 Post-Conviction Relief (PCRA) appeal, which is now before it. Jamal's attorneys requested the hearing to introduce new evidence of police coercion of witnesses in the frame-up which falsely convicted Mumia of the December 1981 killing of police officer Daniel Faulkner. Pamela Jenkins, who was a pivotal government informant in a 1995 federal investigation into police corruption in the 39th District, came forward early this year to reveal that police had tried to coerce her into falsely asserting that she saw Jamal



Mumia Abu-Jamal, railroaded to death row in 1982 as part of FBI/cop vendetta.

shoot Faulkner, when she wasn't even at the scene of the shooting (see "Witness Reveals New Link in Jamal Frame-Up," WV No. 664, 21 March). Jenkins also revealed that key prosecution witness Cynthia White had been a police inform-

ant and had been threatened with her life by the cops into perjuring herself at Jamal's 1982 trial. White, who like Jenkins was a prostitute at the time, was the only "witness" who claimed to have seen Jamal with a gun in his hand.

The notoriously corrupt Philadelphia Police Department has been at the center of a decades-long FBI/cop vendetta against Mumia, from the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Panthers. Another victim of the FBI's notorious Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), former West Coast Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), was recently released after having spent 27 years behind bars. COINTELPRO led to the assassination of 38 Panthers and the jailing of many others. Geronimo's frame-up murder conviction was overturned on the basis of evidence that the key prosecution witness in his case also had been an informant—not only for the FBI and the Los Angeles cops but also for the L.A. district attorney's office. Commenting on Court TV on the day Geronimo walked out of prison, Robert Fogel-ness, a criminal defense lawyer, called the overturn of Geronimo's false conviction "the best argument I have ever heard in opposition to the death penalty."

Upon being freed, Geronimo declared: "After being released from almost a lifetime of imprisonment, I am still not completely liberated and cannot be while my comrade, Mumia Abu-Jamal, is still

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Army Fires on Catholics in Portadown

Northern Ireland: Blair's Labour Government Has Blood on Its Hands

British Troops Out Now!

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Spartacist League/Britain (SL/B) on July 6, hours after the Labour government of Prime Minister Tony Blair gave the go-ahead for a bloody anti-Catholic provocation by the Orange Order in the Northern Ireland town of Portadown. Bolstering the Orange reactionaries, whose annual "marching season" is a signal for Loyalist sectarian terror, Blair unleashed British troops and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) riot police to suppress Catholic protests which spread throughout Northern Ireland.

The SL/B distributed its leaflet, among other places, at a "Marxism '97" gathering in London of Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party (SWP) affiliates of the American International Socialist Organization (ISO). Attacking the Cliffites' support to Blair's openly anti-working-class and anti-Irish "New

Portadown, July 6: RUC cops (right) and British troops (far right) attack Catholic residents as Blair gives go-ahead for reactionary Orange Order provocation.



Labour," the SL/B declared, "SWP wanted a Labour government, they've got it!" The forging of a revolutionary workers party requires breaking Labour's working-class base from its chauvinist, pro-capitalist misleaders.

JULY 6—At about 3:30 a.m. hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men in full

riot gear, [armoured] Saracens, and over a hundred armoured Land Rovers stormed into the Garvaghy Road. Residents were thus "informed" of Secretary of State [for Northern Ireland] Dr. Mowlam's "decision" to clear the way for a thousand Orangemen to flaunt the bloody Union Jack in the face of the oppressed Catholics of Northern Ire-



Reuters photos

land with the biggest mobilisation of the British Army for years. Catholic residents who resisted this outrage were met with plastic bullets fired at the head; casualties lay on the ground, blood streaming. This is the bitter fruit of the imperialist "peace process."

"Mo" Mowlam is the authentic face
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