

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Let Mumia Abu-Jamal Speak!

"There is a quickening upon the nation's Death Rows of late, a picking up of the pace of the march towards death.... States that have not slain in a generation now ready their machinery: generators whine, poison liquids are mixed and gases are measured and readied, silent chambers await the order to smother life."

—Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Yale Law Journal* (January 1991)

Since Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote the above words, the American assembly line of death has vastly speeded up—and now Jamal, a powerful fighter for black freedom, a man who was sentenced to die for a crime he did not commit, is directly in the path of the state's killing machine. Jamal's case is what the death penalty in America is all about, the attempt to terrorize the minority population, part and parcel of the extralegal terror of the nightriding KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets—all to try to keep black people "in their place." Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty, and to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

Despite the outrageous attempt of National Public Radio (NPR) to silence him, the voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal was heard on June 3 in New York City, when over 250 people filled the Ethical Culture Society's auditorium to hear the words of this award-winning black journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his powerful articles and radio commentary championing the cause of the oppressed. The speak-out, hosted by actor Ossie Davis, was organized by the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal to protest NPR's May 15 cancellation of a series of commentaries by Jamal, the former Black Panther Party member and MOVE supporter who has been targeted for death by the Philadelphia police.

Mumia has already spent 12 years behind bars on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, framed for the shooting of a Philadelphia police officer. His commentaries were to have been aired on the prestigious *All Things Considered* show, but NPR caved in and canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), among other forces. Republican Senate leader Bob Dole spoke on the Senate floor threatening to go after NPR's funding.

They want to silence Jamal in order to make it easier to kill him, and the 2,800 other people on the nation's death rows. The executioners want their victims to be faceless and nameless. An articulate, compassionate black man describing the horrors of this barbaric system of injustice would give the lie to their racist propaganda justifying judicial executions with the claim that all its victims

NYC Rally for Death Row Political Prisoner



At New York speak-out, Judge Bruce Wright, WBAI's Bernard White and actor Ossie Davis read from works by Mumia Abu-Jamal, censored by National Public Radio. WV Photo



Jennifer Beach

VOICE OF THE VOICELESS

"This is Mumia Abu-Jamal and this outlaw broadcast from Pennsylvania's Death Row is subject to immediate termination by the government. Hear what NPR, 'National Police Radio,' wouldn't allow."

—From Jamal's call for June 3 Speak-Out

are guilty, crazed psychopathic ax murderers. In fact, as Mumia Abu-Jamal's commentaries powerfully expose, the system of legal lynching is an integral part of the racist oppression of black America.

At the June 3 speak-out, Ossie Davis eloquently indicted the real criminals: "Our whole society, instead of facing up to what is happening, and what is not happening, decides to resolve the problem of unemployment, of crime, of drugs, of inferior education, of homelessness—to resolve the whole thing by

coming up with a formula which will take as many of the victims as they can catch in their net and put them safely away out of sight. They will build more prisons, more facilities to warehouse people for whom there is no meaningful, gainful employment in our society."

Davis pointed to the huge number of young black men who are either in prison or wards of the racist "justice" system (as many as three out of five in cities like Baltimore). Clinton vowed to "end welfare as we know it," and the new "welfare" system is jail. With almost a

million people behind bars, the prison population has *tripled* since 1980. Having destroyed millions of unionized industrial jobs and wiped out wide swaths of industry, the ruling class has consigned a whole layer of black inner-city youth to die off through disease, cop murders and imprisonment. The speedup on death row encapsulates this capitalist hell.

Jamal's Voice Is Heard

The June 3 speak-out attracted a diverse audience and featured a wide array *continued on page 6*

**The Communist International After Lenin
Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time**

See Page 8



On Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam

May 21, 1994

Editor—

I have just read the current edition of WORKERS VANGUARD, in particular, the piece on Farrakhan ["Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People," WV No. 600, 13 May]. As a political prisoner, I am most appreciative of the paper's coverage of my case and that of other political prisoners. I commend the paper for

keeping its readers abreast of incidents and developments regarding racist attacks on Africans and other people of color, economic oppression, etc. However, my patience has run out, with this edition of WORKERS VANGUARD, insofar as your frequent arrogantly racist attacks against African leaders and spokespersons and movements are concerned. As much as you have attempted to rewrite the biography of Omowale

(Malcolm X) to turn him into some kind of integrationist, the fact is that he preached African self-determination. Like Omowale, I believe in and support self-determination for African people, here and elsewhere. I don't believe in the concept of African people needing Caucasians to determine for us which among our people are good or "bad news" for us. I will, as an African person, determine whom I will listen to and/or follow.

I have written to you in the past about the racist arrogance and paternalism, as well as ideological colonialism, your paper has exhibited. You have continued to disrespect African people. As of this date, please do not continue to send me WORKERS VANGUARD. Thank you.

s/Mondo

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (formerly known as "David Rice")

particularly of the ideas of the French Revolution and great expectations that, in the congenial atmosphere of the myth of the Aryan race, Zionism and the myth of the Jewish race will also thrive."

I hope you will agree with me that this example is particularly relevant now, not only as applying to Zionism but, also to Farrakhan.

Sincerely yours,
Israel Shahak

* * *

NY, NY

8 April 1994

Dear editor,

I have been ruminating over something that appeared in WV a few issues ago, and I should now like to raise this issue with you and your readership. You characterized Louis Farrakhan as a "dangerous anti-Semitic demagogue." Further, you concluded that his freedom of speech should not be denied him.

I find your characterization of Farrakhan insufficient from a Trotskyist perspective. I think that the evidence shows him to be not just a demagogue (Al Sharpton is that much) but a clerical-fascist. If that be true then your calling for his freedom of speech is in error. Let us consider the facts:

1. It is a matter of public record that Farrakhan praised Hitler as a "great man."

2. His rantings against the Jews as power-hungry world manipulators, blood-suckers, monopolists of the film and media industries, and creators of AIDS are on par with anything the Nazis ever accused the Jews of.

3. You have frequently cited his taking a financial contribution from neo-Nazi Metzger. Conversely we may note that such a hardcore fascist as Metzger would only give money to someone he felt a deep political kinship with.

4. My own chance observation on one occasion revealed a streetcorner Farrakhanite bookstand selling black literature literally keeping under the table copies of the fascistic Protocols of the Elders of Zion for sale to black anti-Semitic cognoscenti. I might add that my one personal observation of this is bolstered by accounts in the bourgeois press which allege that Farrakhan's bookstores routinely stock this filth.

5. To my mind, the best American parallel to Farrakhan's clerical-fascism is that of Father Coughlin's in the 1930s. Coughlin, too, hailed (heiled?) Hitler, railed against the Jews. "Jewmockracy," "Jewish control" etc., ad nauseam. The then-Trotskyist SWP flatly denounced Coughlin as a fascist. And I believe I am on strong historical ground when I say that the SWP never called for his freedom of speech.

Here are the political questions I should think necessary to discuss in your pages: Is Farrakhan now a clerical-fascist? If not, why not? What actions on his part would it take before the Spartacist League denounced him as such?

The last question is, I think, the most significant. I realize that there is a very strong tendency on the part of the American left to say that "blacks can't be racists" (and therefore fascists) because they don't have the political, social and economic power to do so in a highly

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TROTSKY

The Truth About D-Day

The rulers of U.S. imperialism are cynically celebrating the 50th anniversary of "D-Day," claiming that the Normandy landings were the "turning point" of World War II. This is a myth. Hitler's forces were vanquished by the Soviet Red Army on the Eastern Front, as more than 27 million Soviet citizens died in defending the USSR and its collectivized social foundations against the Nazi scourge (see "D-Day Was a Sideshow: The Russians Crushed Nazi



LENIN

Germany," WV No. 357, 22 June 1984). The Fourth International fought for defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state, while opposing both imperialist camps whose real war aims were for redivision of colonies and markets. Stalin, who undermined the defense of the USSR, also throttled the revolutionary upsurges in Europe at the close of the war. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the French Trotskyists courageously sought to organize German soldiers against the Nazi rulers, clandestinely publishing the German-language paper Arbeiter und Soldat (Worker and Soldier). We print below an excerpt from an article published on the eve of the Allied landing in the French Trotskyists' underground newspaper, La Vérité.

Why are these gentlemen of the City [London's financial district] and Wall Street now in a hurry to finish the war? The war is piling up corpses and destruction, blood and tears. But it is also accumulating gold in the reserves of the National Bank of the United States and in the vaults of Mr. Morgan, and dividends in the pockets of the stockholders of United Steel and General Motors. So they carefully allowed the German "enemy" to get oil from Spain, special steel alloys and even Ford motors via neutral countries.

Why are these gentlemen from Wall Street and the City now in a hurry to finish the war? Their interests, the interests of the arms merchants, of the traffickers and of the reactionary politicians, were precisely to let the USSR exhaust itself in the fight, lose its wealth and its youth, so that it would come out of the war impoverished, bled white and ready, under pressure, extortion and threats by the international bourgeoisie, to abandon its socialist structure and open its markets to imperialism.

While the USSR was losing its blood, the English and American imperialists were building up gigantic stockpiles of matériel and countless arms near Europe with the hope of being able to impose their will on the USSR and Europe.

That was their plan. But instead, the Red Army resisted. It has pushed forward and driven the German imperialist armies out of the USSR. It now threatens Romania, Hungary and is driving toward Central Europe.

At the same time, the proletariat is awakening in all countries. Recently, we saw the Italian workers sweep away fascism and spontaneously set up factory councils. From Norway to Greece, from France to Poland, the working masses are gaining confidence once again and taking action. Under these conditions, the weakened German gendarme will soon be incapable of insuring police functions and holding back the rising revolutionary tide.

At this precise moment, the second front becomes necessary. The bourgeoisie wants to draw up its army in front of the Red Army, which is driving toward the West, and in front of the revolutionary wave which is rising throughout Europe and threatening to sweep everything away.

Despite the propaganda statements, which are as hypocritical as the Nazis', the second front is not a second front against Nazism (if that were the case, it would already have existed months ago). It is a front against the Revolution and against the USSR.

—"The Working Class and the 'Second Front': How to Do Away With Fascism and War" (La Vérité, May 1944)

WORKERS VANGUARD



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No. 602

10 June 1994

"The victory of Nazism rules out assimilation and mixed marriages as an option for Jews. 'We are not unhappy about this,' said Dr. Prinz. In the fact that Jews are forced to identify themselves as Jews, he sees 'the fulfillment of our desire.' And further:

'We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can be only honoured and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind. Having so declared himself, he will never be capable of faulty loyalty towards a state. The state cannot want other Jews but such as declare themselves as belonging to their nation. It will not want Jewish flatterers and crawlers. It must demand of us faith and loyalty to our own interest. For only he who honours his own breed and his own blood can have an attitude of honour towards the national will of other nations.'

"The whole book is full of similar crude flatteries of Nazi ideology, glee at the defeat of liberalism and

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard will skip the second issue in June, July and August.

Our next issue will be dated July 8.

Five of Vancouver Six Beat Trumped-up Charges

“It’s No Crime to Stop the Fascists!”



Spartacist Canada photos
Vancouver anti-fascists received wide union support. Left: Demonstration outside courthouse on May 31 in solidarity with the defendants (above).

VANCOUVER—For the last nine months, six anti-fascist protesters faced trumped-up charges of assault for defending themselves and others at a 60-strong demonstration on 6 May 1993 organized against Ron Gostick and his rabidly anti-Semitic and white-supremacist “Canadian League of Rights.” No matter that Gostick’s “host,” infamous racist Jud Cyllorn, came out and waded into the demonstration that night with an iron bar. (He was quickly disarmed by the protesters.) No matter that the protesters had to fend off repeated fascist attacks and provocations clearly shown on TV. The anti-fascists were charged (three months after the event!) because, as the official police report stated, they wanted to send “a message” to “radical activists.” The message: that it’s free rein for the fascists, state repression for those who oppose them.

But dozens of trade-union locals and officials, anti-racist organizations and

many others sent their own message: “Drop the Charges Against the May 6 Anti-Fascist Protesters!” They showed their determination on the morning of the first day of the trial, May 31, when over 60 came out to a demonstration in front of the provincial courthouse initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, chanting “It’s no crime to stop the fascists! Drop the charges now!” Members of the Vancouver Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) Local 391 and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Local 100 came out with their union banners.

Even before the trial date, the Crown Attorney prosecutor dropped the charges against two of the Six, John Lipscomb and Oliver Scribner. As the trial convened, charges against telephone worker Glenn Mason were thrown out of court. Of the three who were dragged

through the proceedings, the charge was dismissed against postal unionist Bob McBurney, and CUPE member Tom Hansen was found not guilty.

Outrageously, Miriam Scribner, Trotskyist League activist and a CUPE member, was found guilty and given a conditional discharge. Her “crime”? Spray-painting a yellow line down Cyllorn’s back to stop him from menacing the protesters.

The *Vancouver Sun* (2 June) reported on her testimony. She noted that “it was ‘an extremely dangerous moment’ when Cyllorn came out on the street carrying a metre-long length of metal pipe. Protest marshals managed to take the metal pipe away from Cyllorn, she said....” While celebrating the victory of five of the Six against the state’s attack, supporters were furious at this verdict. A telephone worker shop steward asked pointedly: you mean they convicted a 5-foot-one librarian for

spray-painting a 200-pound Nazi?

The charges emboldened the racist terrorists. Cyllorn skulked around Miriam Scribner’s workplace and in the days before the trial he made harassing and threatening telephone calls to unionists who publicly backed the Six. The response was anger at this open attempt at intimidation and a renewed determination to defend the anti-fascist protesters. This was reflected in the impressive labor support and turnout at the courthouse.

Speaking on behalf of the Vancouver CUPW, Acting President Jim Lougheed told the May 31 rally that “The Local has been supporting the six anti-fascist protesters since day one,” and called on those present to “go into that courtroom and show the state that they cannot trample on people who are willing to fight fascism.” That’s exactly what happened as supporters overflowed the courtroom,
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Black Transit Worker Shot by Cops, Framed Up and Fired

All Out for James Frazier!

New York City transit workers, students and other opponents of racist cop terror are mobilizing support for James Frazier, a black track worker and member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 who faces frame-up charges in Brooklyn Criminal Court. Last October, Frazier was shot from behind by the police as he was driving to visit a friend in the hospital. The Transit Authority bosses summarily fired Frazier, despite a perfect work record, and to cover up the cops’ crime, the District Attorney is railroading Frazier on charges of weapons possession. He faces up to 15 years in prison.

As a result of the efforts of Frazier’s supporters in TWU Local 100, two union divisions have called a rally demanding “DA—Drop the Charges! TA—Reinstate James Frazier Now!” to be held at the next court hearing on Friday, June 17 at 8:30 a.m. at Brooklyn Criminal Court, 120 Schermerhorn Street. The cops who did this to brother Frazier are scheduled to appear.

At the June 3 NYC speak-out for Mumia Abu-Jamal, Frazier spoke powerfully about his case and in defense of other victims of racist cop terror. Following are excerpts from his remarks:

Good evening. It’s really moving to be here tonight, to hear about Mumia Abu-Jamal. We both were shot by the police department—his case was in Philadelphia, mine was right here in New York. We both were attacked in the hospital by the police. I’d like to say that everyone here should keep up the fight to help free this man. It happened to me, it happened to him, it happened to Geronimo Pratt, it could happen to anybody sitting here. So the struggle must continue for these people.

Up until the day I was shot, I didn’t know any organizations or anybody cared about what happened to another person. Because, you know, New York is mostly a place where a man is dying on the ground, you step over him. I very strongly believe that if I didn’t have this support, I’d have been railroaded in jail a long time ago. Every time I go to court, I have a lot of support from the Partisan Defense Committee, the Spartacus Youth Club, the Labor/Black League and the Transport Workers Union members.

I would also like to say to Wadiya Abu-Jamal, there’s nothing I really can do to express my sympathy to you but to say, “stay strong.” I hear about Mumia, 13 years in prison—13 years

NYC transit worker James Frazier (right) speaks to rally outside TA headquarters, April 19.



WV Photo

for something he didn’t do. I hear about Geronimo Pratt, in prison for 23 years for something he did not do. I’m still fighting in court to stay out of prison, for something I didn’t do. So I know, I deeply know how you feel.

Unlike Mumia and Geronimo Pratt, I’m not a political speaker, I was not a member of the Black Panthers. I read in an article that Mumia was a target. But as a young black male, we are targeted from the very beginning

(applause). From the beginning we are targeted, just because I’m young, and I’m black and I have a nice, flashy car—I guess I’m not supposed to have that.

It’s not easy fighting this system we have here. Mayor Dinkins, a black mayor, hired 6,000 cops and Giuliani controls them. So I’d like to say, just keep up the struggle, and let’s keep the fight up for Mumia and Geronimo Pratt. Thank you.

The Death of Gay Liberation?

By David Thorstad



April 1993 gay rights march in Washington, D.C. was a flag-waving celebration for Democrat Clinton and U.S. imperialism. WV Photo

This past spring David Thorstad submitted the following article to *Workers Vanguard*, as well as a number of other left and gay papers. A former president of New York's Gay Activists Alliance (1975-76), Thorstad was a founding member of the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (1977), as well as co-author of the book, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)*. In 1978 he was a founding member of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association). This organization, which supports the sexual rights of gays and especially youth, has been repeatedly singled out for vicious attack by the government—and by other gay groups seeking “acceptance” from this racist, capitalist

state that persecutes homosexuals.

As always with signed articles, the opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect our editorial viewpoint. In the case of Thorstad, our differences and exchange of views go back a ways. Thorstad was briefly prominent as a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1970s, before resigning in disgust when the SWP abandoned its brief hypocritical flirtation with the “gay liberation movement” (see “Gays and the SWP,” *Women and Revolution* No. 24, Spring 1982). Our most significant difference has been with Thorstad's

longstanding “only gays can liberate gays” belief in the liberating potential of radical lifestylism, so characteristic of the early '70s New Leftist sectoralist movements.

The logic of New Left sectoralism has long since played itself out, as yesterday's “gay liberationists” have become today's hard-nosed constituency lobbyists, wheeling and dealing in the Democratic Party and letting cops march while excluding the likes of NAMBLA. Thus, while we don't share Thorstad's sense of betrayal, we appreciate his powerful indictment of today's toadying

would-be bureaucrats for Clinton and Reno, the mass murderers of Waco.

As we said in “Stop the Witchhunt of Peter Melzer!” (WV No. 587, 5 November 1993):

“The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a generalized campaign against sex aimed at the ‘moral rearmament’ of the American people which would bolster the bourgeoisie's authority. The guiding principle for sexual relations between all people ought to be one of effective consent.”

Defense of NAMBLA should be an elementary act of basic decency—but it seems it is left to us Marxists to practice the basic principle that “an injury to one is an injury to all.”

The gay movement faces an old paradox. Just when it has attained a level of social influence greater than any achieved over the past century, it is losing its soul.

Gay leaders prefer political correctness to variety and ambiguity, sameness to difference. I myself yearn for the spirit of a banner I saw in 1971: “Love is a many-gendered thing.”

Passionless bureaucrats on C-SPAN press a politics of victimization (copied from middle-class feminism) and a liberal strategy of expanding state protection of “gay people” rather than of liberating sexuality. Victimization is “in” these days—there's money in it; it can get you acquitted of murder. As a strategy for extending rights, though, it reminds me of the “Victim of the Press” button worn by the ex-homosexual zombies of Aesthetic Realism.

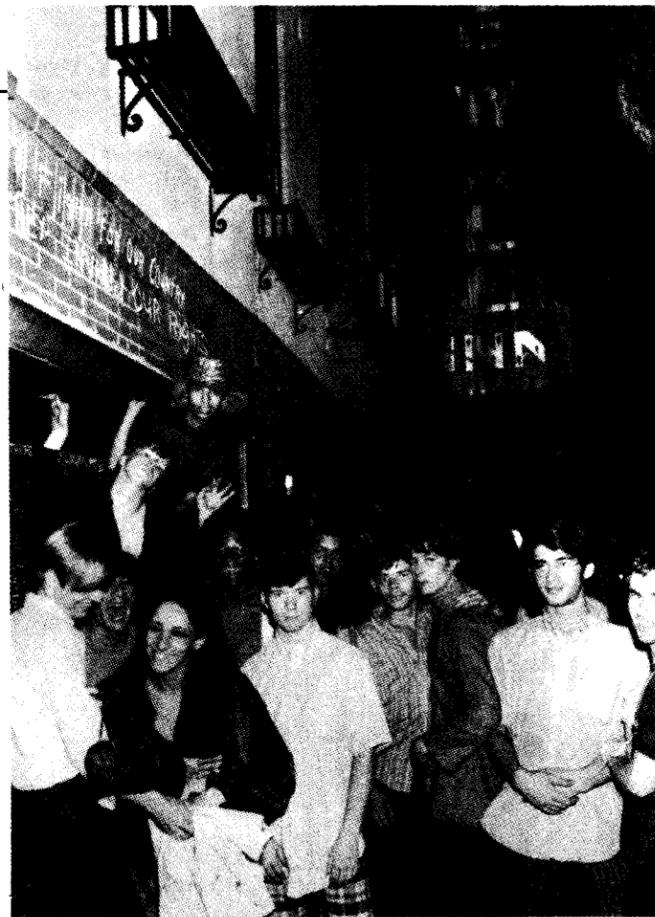
No talk here of empowerment or liberation (passé in these postmodern, post-everything times), rarely of repealing sodomy and other anti-sex laws, and never of laws that discriminate against youth. Rather than fight the anti-sex legacy of Judeo-Christianity, gay leaders seem to ignore it, even embrace it.

Oblivious to the source of gay oppression in institutions like the family, gays lobby the state to bless their unions—and stage a “mass wedding” in the nation's capital fit for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. The state is using AIDS to reimpose coupledom and control over sexuality, and how do gay leaders respond? By embracing monogamy and marriage—this despite the fact that half of straight marriages fail, and monogamy is a bit player in the mammalian heritage (fewer than 3 percent of mammals are monogamous).

We Are Family—or wannabe.

Hundreds of thousands marched in gay pride in Washington in April 1993. The event became a virtual love fest for President Clinton—before the blood had dried on his and Janet Reno's hands after their incineration of the Waco dissidents (among whom 25 children). That numbing act of police-state terrorism and child abuse gave little pause to gay leaders, who were enthusiastic vote-getters for the principle-less draft dodger turned mass murderer.

Flush from a meeting with Com-



Fred McDarragh

Young gay activists gather outside Stonewall bar, New York City, June 1969, after brutal cop attack which triggered “Stonewall Rebellion.”

mander in Chief Clinton a week before the march on Washington, Human Rights Campaign Fund executive director Tim McFeeley voiced confidence that Clinton would rip up the ban on gays in the military by July: “It's not just what the President said, but how he said it. It's a feeling you got by looking into his eyes” (*New York Times*, 18 April 1993). McFeeley expressed similar sappy certainty on Donahue. All that gay money donated to big-business bimbos (instead of being used to fight gay oppression) was about to pay off. Clinton nevertheless opted for continuing a discriminatory policy.

Gay leaders argue that since “lesbians and gay men” (p.c. nomenclature nowadays) fought so well in the U.S. war against Iraq, they deserve recognition as cogs in the war machine. As we prepare to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots, one of their main goals is to get the state to welcome same-sexers as servants of the New World Disorder. Proud out-of-the-closet patriotism.

Despite their rush to embrace the military issue, no gay leaders invoked

history's most renowned example of same-sex military heroism—the “sacred band” of Thebes. That would not have been p.c. since the Theban Band involved men and youths, and pederasty is a secret not to be told. (These days, only androphilia is p.c.)

On one level, surely, gay men and lesbians who are fighting to be in the military are extending the civil rights of all of us. Their contribution to sexual liberation is more iffy. And the morality of militarism is never questioned.

Can this be what Stonewall was about?

The first group to emerge from Stonewall—the Gay Liberation Front—struggled against the Vietnam War. It was exhilarating to see the GLF banner waving in antiwar demos. Today, gay leaders wave the Stars and Stripes and hope to bring gay pride along in the next bombing raid on Third World babies. In this respect, little of the Stonewall spirit survives.

Hoping to appease the Christian right and the Clinton administration, gaycrats from Barney Frank on down join Jesse Helms in calling on the International

Lesbian and Gay Association to expel the North American Man/Boy Love Association—the only U.S. group active in the ILGA for more than a decade. But heterosexual supremacists object to all varieties of homosexuality, not just this or that subgroup.

On January 26, 1994, the U.S. Senate unanimously (99-0) adopted a Helms amendment to withhold \$118 million from the United Nations unless the ILGA expelled NAMBLA. Not a peep from the gay establishment against this antigay Republicrat diktat—for which, in fact, they paved the way.

Pat Califia has observed that boy-lovers and SMers face the brunt of anti-sex repression—thereby winning for the broader movement the elbowroom it enjoys. That is why NAMBLA and SM figure prominently in right-wing religious propaganda. But don't expect the gay establishment to acknowledge this. To them, “An injury to one is an injury to all” is a mere phrase.

In England, the gay movement has been campaigning to lower the age of consent to 16 for male-male sex. (It is already 16 for straight and lesbian sex.) On February 21, activists stormed Parliament when it adopted a “compromise” age of 18! In contrast, in the United States—where the age of consent varies from 14 to 18 in states where sodomy laws have been repealed (you can't do it legally anywhere else no matter how old you are)—gay leaders have agreed not to challenge whatever the arbitrary age happens to be.

Lowering any of the ages of consent would advance the civil rights of youth and their (often older) lovers. But the new homophile establishment will have none of it. For them, pederasty remains taboo and anathema. Peri Jude Radevic, executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, recently stated: “Lowering age of consent laws has never been and never will be a part of the mission of NGLTF” (*Village Voice*, 8 February). The gay movement in England fights to lower the age of consent, but in the United States, never?

New York's Gay Activists Alliance (from which NGLTF was an elitist offshoot in 1973) and other post-Stonewall groups in the United States, Canada and Europe opposed age of

Protest "Stonewall 25" Exclusion

Let NAMBLA March!

The Spartacist League vigorously protests the Stonewall 25 Steering Committee's attempted exclusion of the North American Man/Boy Love Association from the march on the United Nations later this month. We are printing below our letter defending NAMBLA's right to march to Spirit of Stonewall (SOS), a group also defending NAMBLA.

4 June 1994

Spirit of Stonewall
Organizing Committee
Boston, MA
Dear SOS:

The Spartacist League condemns the vicious exclusion of NAMBLA by the Stonewall 25 Steering Committee from the upcoming Stonewall 25 national march in New York City on 26 June 1994. When the Steering Committee voted to ban from the march all "organizations advocating...the repeal of age of consent laws without adequate protection of youth, or those advocating...the sexual abuse of youth," it was singling out, and slandering, the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) and all others who oppose the oppression of young people in this society. As Marxists we oppose the regulation of private consensual sexual acts, which are nobody's business but the persons involved.

By its action the Steering Committee shows that it has signed on with the government's anti-sex witchhunt—a campaign aimed at instilling conformity to Christian, puritanical, bourgeois morality. The state's persecution of NAMBLA is part of an attempt to assert its prerogative to legislate sexual norms as against all those it considers "deviant," a category which includes all gays and lesbians and many others as well. By building a "family values" gay pride march, the Steering Committee fuels a reactionary climate where pregnant teenagers need "parental consent" for abortion while hysterical charges of "sex abuse" result in the persecution of day-care workers

and teachers—a campaign which began with the witchhunting of homosexual teachers. To exclude NAMBLA from a gay pride march is therefore to enlist in the crusade to persecute gays in the name of "saving children."

The Steering Committee's despicable action can only encourage the very forces responsible for the repression and oppression of gay people and youth, and those forces are sinister indeed: In 1992, following an "exposé" by KRON-TV in collusion with the SF cops, NAMBLA members were threatened at their press conference by a demonstration of child abuse "survivors"—joined by a gang of skinheads carrying the Confederate flag of slavery. On the East Coast, Bronx High School of Science teacher Peter Melzer is threatened with the loss of his job solely because of his beliefs and association with NAMBLA.

The Spartacist League cannot, however, endorse SOS's call (dated 3 April 1994). Signers of the call are being asked

to support not just basic rights of NAMBLA and others to march, but also a series of political demands. Central to its political thrust is support to gay sectoralist lifestyle, embodied in the demand that "the gay and lesbian movement...return to its roots" in the Stonewall 1969 rebellion. As against "lifestyle" advocacy as a road to sexual liberation, we Marxists believe that the oppression of women and gay people in this capitalist society stems fundamentally from the institution of the family, which is bolstered by the state and organized religion. Sectoralist, gay lifestyle politics cannot address the material cause of gay oppression. In divorcing the goal of fighting for full rights for gays from the liberation of the working class and all the oppressed from capitalist exploitation, gay sectoralist politics can only tail the Democratic Party of war and racism. The Steering Committee's action is the logical result of seeking a space within the capitalist

system, but toeing the "family values" line of the bourgeois establishment can never win "respectability" for gays and lesbians, who are by definition anathema to the religious-inspired right wing.

From its inception the Marxist movement has championed the rights of homosexuals; Oscar Wilde was defended against persecution for homosexuality by the most authoritative journal of the Second International, *Die Neue Zeit*. Within the framework of fighting for socialist revolution to lay the basis for a new society in which the full expression of the individual (sexual and otherwise) will be possible, we stand against all state interference in private matters of sexuality. Trotskyists have always opposed the "family values" conservatism of the anti-Marxist Stalin, as they also fought his bureaucratic usurpation of soviet power and the resulting counterrevolutionary international program. We call for abortion rights for young women as part of free, quality health care, including contraception, for all. Advocating the concept of effective consent in sexual matters, we denounce the reactionary "age of consent" laws which seek to straitjacket the sexuality of young people.

Let NAMBLA march!

Fraternally,
Amy Rath for the Spartacist League

cc: NAMBLA
Stonewall 25 Steering Committee

Women and Revolution —Spring 1982

Drop the Charges Against NAMBLA!

18 February 1982
NAMBLA
Box 174, Midtown Station
New York, New York 10018

Dear NAMBLA:
The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League protests and denounces the vicious state witchhunt unleashed against your organization this past Feb. and Mar.

deadly dangerous, in fact—of these is: "We demand that the vast amounts of money used for this purpose [to harass and prosecute NAMBLA] be used instead to investigate and prosecute the hundreds of thousands of unsolved murders and violent assaults on children, women, people of color and lesbians."

Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Hands Off NAMBLA!
Stop the Witchhunt of Peter Melzer!

The morality vigilantes are at it again. Their latest target is Peter Melzer, a tenured teacher of physics at the Bronx High School of Science, who is a member of the Steering Committee of the Stonewall 25 National March. Peter Melzer has been a teacher for 31 years without a single complaint lodged against him, and his association with NAMBLA has been known to school officials since 1984. But he became the object of unwanted notoriety in March of this year when NBC-TV's "48 Hours" exposed his relationship with NAMBLA.

WORKERS VANGUARD

—7 February 1992 —5 November 1993



WV Photo

SL defends NAMBLA against government snoops who want to regulate private, consensual sexual acts.

consent laws on the grounds that they protect no one; rather, they criminalize consensual sex (the best kind).

Stonewall meant struggle. It meant putting your livelihood on the line. It meant irreverence, pride in outsider status, youth sexuality, drag, sexual ambiguity. It meant rediscovering gay history. It meant solidarity with gay prisoners and anyone who is oppressed.

Solidarity—there's a concept that now counts for less. When was the last time you heard a guppie call for freeing gay prisoners? Their silence may suggest that

there aren't any, but thousands of gay men call a U.S. jail home because of sexual activity that was no less consensual than anything Radecic, McFeeley or Frank engage in.

A 14- or 15-year-old has as much right as they do to sexual pleasure with the partner of his or her choice and should not need the imprimatur of the state or any gay/lesbian Pope. In Minnesota, where the age of consent is a ridiculous 18, lesbian directors of an antiviolence agency have called for locking up any gay man who has sex with a youth under

18! That reflects an antigay male agenda, in which yelling "child abuse" is a way to increase funding. "When they lay those dollars on you, your soul goes" (Malcolm X).

Gay liberation is falling victim to its success. With growth have come middle-class efforts to get into the mainstream, to win a place at the hot table (two current clichés)—even if this means anathematizing pederasty, a ubiquitous same-sex variant. This is a form of self-hatred.

The loss to AIDS of many sex radicals has also been a heavy blow, from which gay liberation will not soon recover.

Fighting discrimination is necessary. Civil rights and sexual freedom issues have always coexisted; they complement each other. Personally, I have felt more discrimination from other homosexuals than from straights—in 1989, for example, when New York's Gay and Lesbian Community Services Center refused to rent space to NAMBLA for a concert by America's greatest living poet, Allen Ginsberg (boylover and NAMBLA supporter).

Your case against discrimination is weakened if you yourself discriminate.

Man-boy love has been a player in gay liberation since the mid-nineteenth century. The first gay magazine in the world, *Der Eigene*, celebrated boylove and anarchism. Pederasty is the form that homosexuality most commonly has taken throughout Western—and not only

Western—culture. It is inseparable from the high points of Western civilization (Ancient Greece and the Renaissance). It lies close to the roots of gay liberation.

Attempts to purge it resemble those in the early 1970s to shove drag queens aside—despite their role in Stonewall. The aim is to corral rebellion, to allow the Republicrat party to set the gay agenda, to deny homosexuality. This is not the spirit of Stonewall.

In all cultures and in all historical periods, men and youths have been getting it on, because they are naturally attracted to each other. Efforts to deny this, and to demonize man-boy love, are grotesque. ■



WV Photo

Spartacist banners at 1993 Washington gay rights march. Attorney General Janet Reno's cynical lie of "child abuse" was used to justify government's Waco massacre of 86 Branch Davidians, including 25 children.

Spartacist League Public Offices

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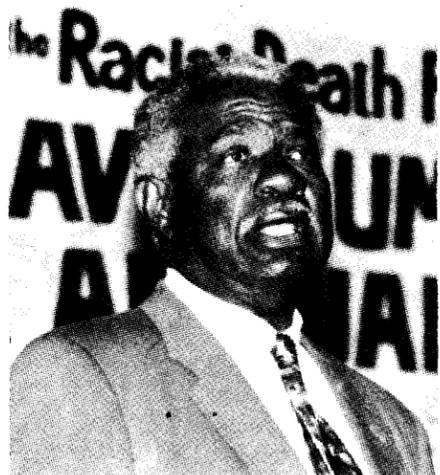
Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

of presentations centered on Mumia Abu-Jamal's own words. The entire event was taped for broadcast, effectively breaking the ban imposed by NPR and bringing the man and his message to the public. The highlight of the evening was a moving reading from Jamal's commentaries by Ossie Davis, Judge Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*, and Bernard White of WBAI radio. They came together on stage, their strong and dignified voices alternating, imparting the drama of Jamal's searing portrayal of black life on death row. The compilation, "Mumia Abu-Jamal Death Row Collage: His Words for Three Voices," was arranged by Charles Brover.

Michael G. Haskins of WBAI radio also read powerfully from Jamal's journalism from death row. Mumia's greetings to the meeting were played via an audiotape made from prison. A videotaped statement was sent by actor Mike Farrell, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Greetings were read to the rally from actor Ed Asner and Raymond Martinez, Jr., president of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668, and the British National Union of Journalists. Amnesty International also released a statement against the gross legal travesty of Jamal's trial and the racist death penalty.

As the Partisan Defense Committee and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal recognized in sponsoring the



WV Photo

Actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

event, NPR's cancellation in the face of an increased police vendetta makes breaking the ban "a life and death issue of free speech." The meeting's urgency was magnified by the fact that the Pennsylvania state legislature is imminently expected to enact a bill, overriding the governor's veto, which would force him to begin signing death warrants. And with Pennsylvania's gubernatorial race heating up this year, the FOP is pushing hard to make the legal murder of Mumia Abu-Jamal a key issue, bombarding the media with demands for his immediate execution.

Jamal's wife, Wadiya Abu-Jamal, told the gathering: "For almost 13 long years we have suffered at the hands of the out-



WV Photo

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel, addresses rally detailing constitutional violations which railroaded former Black Panther to death row.

law—this outlaw being the system—simply because Mumia can't stop telling the truth.... This outlaw has killed many, many innocent people, and will do it again. Each and every day. Please use all that's right within you to support Mumia and all innocent people on death row, so that he can help you, because he is still the voice of the voiceless."

Dr. Alan Berkman, a former political prisoner who served eight years in prison in the frame-up "Resistance Conspiracy" case, recalled seeing Mumia in prison, where "facing death, he spent an enormous amount of his time and energy helping the other prisoners deal with cases that were much less serious than his own." Other speakers included Elombe Brath, chairman of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition and a commentator on WBAI, and James Frazier, a New York City transit worker, who in October was shot in the head by an NYC cop and now faces frame-up gun possession charges. The meeting closed with a musical rendition by Bernadette Speech and Jeffrey Schanzer of Jamal's essay, "To War for Empire," bitterly denouncing the Persian Gulf slaughter.

A System of Racist Injustice

Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead attorney, reported on the defense team's efforts to uncover ignored and/or suppressed evidence that will prove Jamal's innocence, as they fight for a new trial. "We are in a race against time to save this innocent and eloquent spokesman of the African American community," Weinglass wrote last year—and time is getting even shorter.

As merely one example of the gross violations of Jamal's rights which landed him on death row during his 1982 trial, Weinglass told how the prosecutor argued to the jury, "Mr. Jamal will have appeal after appeal after appeal and his case will be reviewed, so you needn't feel you're taking personal responsibility here for the death penalty." Weinglass pointed out, "That precise argument has been held by the United States Supreme Court to undermine what the jurors must

confront when they judge whether or not a person should be given life or death."

Weinglass concluded, "If Mumia would get a new trial tomorrow, we're confident on the basis of what we've developed thus far that we could win his case."

Paul Cooperstein of the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized the political nature of the vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal, asking, "What role did the Clinton White House have in NPR's gag order on Mumia? The same day NPR killed Mumia's broadcast, President Clinton was speaking to thousands of cops, promoting his 'three strikes you're out' crime bill which will add dozens of new crimes punishable by death. Clinton told that throng, 'We recognize that there should be capital punishment for people who kill law enforcement officials in the line of duty.'

"Clinton appears even more prepared to outdo Reagan and Bush in unleashing terror. The 1985 bombing of MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years. Last spring, Clinton and his attorney general Janet Reno made their mark with the summary execution of 86 men, women and children of the integrated Branch Davidian religious sect," Cooperstein said.

The PDC spokesman put Jamal's case in historic perspective: "1887: the Haymarket martyrs—labor organizers, anarchists, leaders of the eight-hour day movement—hanged in Chicago. 1915: IWW member Joe Hill, executed by a Utah firing squad." He recalled the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti, and the "Scottsboro Boys"—nine black youths whose lives were saved by mass international protest—and pointed out: "In the Cold War witchhunt of the '50s, when Reds were branded as spies who deserved to die, the courageous Rosenbergs were electrocuted for being Communists and Jews. Now, the impending sentence of death against Mumia threatens to be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs."

Cooperstein concluded, "Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. In a socialist America, maybe with Geronimo ji Jaga in the Ministry of Justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the Ministry of Information, then and only then can we start to speak of justice."

Join the Fight to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

Renowned actor and veteran activist Ossie Davis told the audience in his introductory remarks: "As Napoleon said, victory belongs to the one who can survive the last 15 minutes of the battle. We cannot afford to let the bastards wear us down. We gotta fight! The march to freedom, and the march to equality, was in process when I was born. I just got on board. I suspect when they let me off

and put me in one of those quiet places forever, the march will still be going on. And I will be able to tell history that, at least, when I was alive, there was a place for me in the line of march. You should be happy to say as much. That's the reward for being alive, to be a part of the struggle. That's all you were promised."

With the NPR's censoring of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the outcry it produced, his case has become a national issue. This has heightened the urgency of raising the fight to save Jamal in unions, student groups, churches and community organizations throughout the country. The speak-out raised over \$2,000, all proceeds going for Jamal's legal defense. Much, much more is urgently needed, as death penalty cases can cost



WV Photo

Wadiya Abu-Jamal

as much as a million dollars. Contributions to Jamal's defense, which are tax-deductible, can be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Jamal," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

A video of Mumia speaking from prison is available which also recounts his early history and details the police vendetta against the Panthers and MOVE. You can order this to show to your union, community or school group. A detailed legal report by Leonard Weinglass on the outrageously biased trial of Jamal is available from the Partisan Defense Committee, which also distributes Mumia Abu-Jamal's writings from death row. Call the PDC at (212) 406-4252 or write PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

Phone calls protesting NPR's censorship should be addressed to vice president Bill Buzenberg or Mary Morgan at (800) 235-1212, or fax to (202) 414-3045. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, 1100 Pike St., Huntingdon, PA 16652-1112. ■



James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 when he was Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Young Spartacus

Racism, Anti-Semitism and Free Speech

Malcolm X Mural Controversy at S.F. State

Cops Off Campus!

SAN FRANCISCO, May 28—An integrated crowd of over 3,000 students and their families assembled on the field. If they cast their eyes above the podium, they would find that police snipers stationed on the rooftops of surrounding buildings had their sights trained on them, scanning the crowd for "trouble" from student protesters. El Salvador? No. It was graduation day at San Francisco State University.

This chilling display of police-state-style terror was part of the "tactical" response of the campus administration to a controversy that had erupted ten days earlier at the dedication of "Malcolm X Plaza." There, the Pan-African Student Union had unveiled a ten-foot-high mural of the martyred black militant, which incorporated into its border an American flag with Stars of David and dollar signs intermingled with skulls and crossbones and the words "African Blood."

To tie the legacy of Malcolm X, a courageous fighter for black freedom, to this display of anti-Semitic imagery was obscene. Lois Lyles, a black English professor at State, tried to wipe out the mural's anti-Semitism with a paint brush. Now she is charged with assault and vandalism. What should have happened was the mobilization of an integrated force of black, white, Latino, Asian and Jewish students to take down the anti-Semitic symbols in the border of the mural. Instead, the mailed fist of the racist capitalist state was brought onto campus to obliterate the mural.

The SF State administration presides over this heavily plebeian campus, with a significant minority student population, like apartheid police on a South African bantustan. In 1968, hated college president S.I. Hayakawa mobilized hundreds of cops in an attempt to smash a student strike led by the Black Students Union. Today, to enforce the administration's own brand of "political correctness," squads of riot-equipped cops are brought in at the behest of university president Robert Corrigan to wipe out a Malcolm X mural. The message to the students is clear—don't step out of line, or else...the police have got their guns loaded and aimed at you. We demand: *Cops off campus! Abolish the administration! For student-teacher-worker control of the university!*

Racist Bigotry and "Free Speech"

At a meeting of the Student Union Governing Board on May 23, called to debate the question of the mural, Spartacus Youth Club member Joe Sol addressed a crowd of some 200 students:

"We demand that the charges against Professor Lois Lyles be dropped. We agree with her statement 'that the legacy of Malcolm X not be contaminated by



Young Spartacus



Larsen/SF Examiner

Obscene anti-Semitic symbols on Malcolm X mural were seized upon by administration to launch racist cop occupation at SF State.

ethnic prejudice and racial hatred.' Malcolm X was the enemy of the kind of nationalist demagoguery and bigotry, the vile anti-Semitism that is preached by people like Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan, the man who said Malcolm X was 'worthy of death,' wants to divert the justified outrage of black youth against this racist society into poisonous bigotry, into accepting racial segregation. Anti-Semitism is sucker bait and it lets the racist rulers of this country—who hold the real wealth and power—off the hook. It is capitalism which keeps black people forcibly segregated at the bottom of this vicious racist society of exploitation and oppression. Setting blacks against Jews only fans the flames of racist reaction, whose first targets will be black people. Meanwhile, the white racist rulers laugh all the way to the bank.

"Just as black-nationalist separatism plays into the hands of the racist WASP capitalists who run this country, reactionary Zionism fuels anti-Semitism. Members of Hillel House came out to protest the mural. That is their right, but one can't blame others if they are suspect of their intentions. Last year, it was reported that members of Hillel had spied on leftist and Arab student groups on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League. The ADL is a rabid, pro-Zionist organization that has also spied on anti-apartheid militants and turned information over to the apartheid regime in South Africa. They have a long and sordid history of working against militant integrated struggle against fascist terror. So these self-described spokesmen for the Jewish people act as the front men for the worst enemies of Jews and all minorities.

"This is a profoundly racist society. The rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer, and the working class is getting screwed. Schools are closed and prisons are built. There are no jobs and the jails are overflowing. Democrats and Republicans scream to ax welfare benefits while 100,000 cops are hired to shoot and kill ghetto youth. The way out is not the dead end of nationalist despair but integrated class struggle. A powerful example of that is when the Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacist League organized a rally against the Klan's provocation against Martin Luther King's birthday in Springfield, Illinois. This was a mass, militant, labor-centered demonstration that showed that labor, fighting in its own interests, is a

potent social weapon against the racist reaction of the ruling class.

"To invoke anti-Semitism in a mural to commemorate Malcolm X is an insult to the legacy of that courageous black fighter against racist oppression. But it is not a question for the administration to deal with. Any bans on freedom of speech or expression will be used by the powers that be on campus against those who militantly fight against racist reaction."

The following day, university president Corrigan ordered that the entire mural be obliterated. A multiracial group of students hastily assembled barricades in front of the mural and set up a round-the-clock encampment on "Malcolm X Plaza." At 11 p.m., the plaza's five pay phones were cut off. Shortly before 2 a.m., a tactical squad of 56 cops armed with clubs, guns and plexiglas riot shields stormed into the student union facing the plaza. Students quickly tied the building's glass doors shut. Smashing through the doors with an ax, the cops chased students away from the plaza as painters moved in to cover over the mural. After the cops retreated, the students rushed into the plaza to

scrub it clean. The mural was again painted over, and again scrubbed clean. Finally, the enraged administration called in another cop riot squad and had the mural ground off the wall with sanders.

The gestapo-style intervention of the administration was used by the mural artist and his nationalist backers to argue that the issue was not anti-Semitism but "freedom of expression." At the May 23 meeting of the Student Governing Board to debate the mural, the artist, Senay Dennis, pronounced that the Star of David and the dollar sign did go together because "Jews had the money." Obscenely, he demagogically "proved" this by asking Jews in the audience to raise their hands and when some complied, Dennis declared they had the money in their wallets. Meanwhile, Dennis had the tidy sum of \$1,500 in his wallet, his fee for painting his anti-Semitic "tribute" to Malcolm X.

Trying to put a "p.c." veneer on his own racism, Dennis nonetheless insisted that his work was not anti-Semitic but rather "anti-Zionist." This self-serving

continued on page 11

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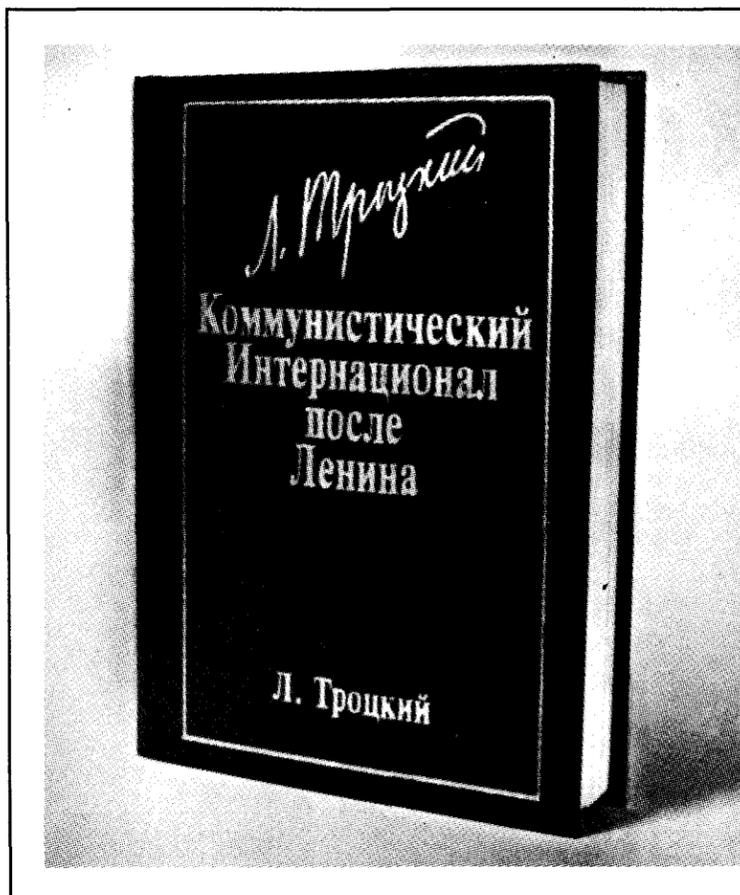
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The Communist International After Lenin Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time

We are pleased to announce the publication of the first Russian-language edition of Leon Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin*. Published in Moscow by the Prometheus Research Library and the International Communist League, this volume finally makes available to Russian readers two key documents written by Trotsky for the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, published in English as *The Third International After Lenin*, as well as two subsequent documents, "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" and "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" The book also contains Trotsky's foreword to the 1930 French edition, which included all four of the above documents, along with an introduction written by the Prometheus Research Library. The PRL is the central reference archive of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the ICL.

The central document in the book is "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," which consists of three sections: "The Program of International Revolution or a Program of Socialism in One Country?," "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" and "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution." In this and the second document, "What Now?" Trotsky extended to the whole of the Communist International the Left Opposition's struggle against the consolidating conservative nationalist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which sought above all to ensure itself a comfortable standard of living in a ravaged country. This bureaucracy usurped political power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, and it first adopted as its program "socialism in one country" (and at a snail's pace), only to be forced by a kulak grain strike in 1928 into a program of forced collectivization and maximum industrialization. With the post-1934 great purges this bureaucracy sought to free itself from all connection with Lenin's revolutionary internationalist Bolshevik Party.

Prior to 1928 the Left Opposition's struggle had been contained within the Russian Communist Party. "What Now?" and Trotsky's criticism of the draft program provided to the International the Opposition's scathing critique of the policies imposed on the Comintern from 1923-1928, first by Zinoviev, as part of the "Troika" together with Stalin and



Leon Trotsky, 1929

Harvard University Press

A limited number of copies of *The Communist International After Lenin* are available outside of the ex-USSR. \$25 (includes postage). NY State residents add 8.25% sales tax. NJ residents add 6% sales tax. ISBN 5-900696-01-4
Order from/make checks payable to: Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 USA

Kamenev, and after Kamenev and Zinoviev broke with Stalin, by Bukharin/Stalin. These policies had led fledgling Communist parties around the world to centrist vacillation, opportunism and disaster.

The latter was particularly the case in China, where Zinoviev/Stalin's subordination of the Chinese Communist Party to the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang (KMT) was maintained even in the face of overwhelming evidence that KMT leaders viewed their Communist "allies" as far more of a danger than the warlords and foreign imperialists. As a result, the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was derailed, ending in the KMT's bloody suppression of the Communist Party and the Chinese workers movement. It was in his analysis of the Chinese experience in the critique of the Comintern's draft program that Trotsky definitively generalized his theory of permanent revolution—developed in 1905 to explain both the possibility and

necessity of the proletariat taking power in the coming Russian Revolution—to other countries of belated capitalist development like China. Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* (1929) was written as a sequel to this document.

With its sweeping analysis, the "Criticism of Fundamentals" comprises a handbook of communist strategy. The document had very restricted circulation at the Sixth Comintern Congress, poorly translated and bowdlerized, and only in numbered copies handed out to delegates who were members of the Program Commission. But despite the fact that the seminal "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" was missing from the circulated English translation, the revolutionary focus and power of Trotsky's analysis and program were clear to James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, who were delegates to the Congress from the U.S. and Canadian CPs. Cannon and Spector smuggled this partial translation out of the country and used it to recruit adherents for the Left Opposition.

It was the partial and poor English translation brought back from Moscow which was published by the American Trotskyists in 1928-29, first in the *Militant* in serialized form and then as a pamphlet with a never-reprinted introduction by Cannon. Cannon described Trotsky's document as "a searchlight in the fog of official propaganda, scholasticism and administrative decree which has been substituted for the ideological leadership of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in earlier years."

Later in 1929 the complete text of the critique of the Comintern program was published in Germany in *Volkswille*. The section on "Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch" was translated from the German by Max Shachtman and published as a pamphlet, "The Strategy of the World Revolution," by the Communist League of America in November 1930. The French edition published that year was titled *L'Internationale Communiste après Lénine (Le Grand Organisateur de la Défaite)* (The Com-

munist International After Lenin [The Great Organizer of Defeat]). In 1936 an entirely new English translation of the "Critique" and "What Now?" from the original Russian manuscripts was published by Pioneer Publishers as *The Third International After Lenin*. John G. Wright (Joseph Vanzler) was the translator; the volume was edited by Max Shachtman, at the time the principal literary exponent of Trotskyism in the United States. This English-language edition, still available as a Pathfinder Press reprint (minus Shachtman's introduction), remains the definitive foreign-language edition.

Trotsky's critique was crucial to the extension of the Left Opposition beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. In particular, it served to distinguish the internationalist program of the Trotskyists from the "Right Opposition" that crystallized around Bukharin after Stalin dumped him in 1929. Trotsky had warned that the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" would lead to the growth of centrifugal social-patriotic tendencies within the Comintern. And indeed, a leading German spokesman of the Right Opposition, August Thalheimer, in his 1928 "Critique of the Draft Program of the Communist International" (which has only recently been obtained from the Institute for the History of the Workers Movement in Berlin), dismissed the need for a unitary program for international socialist revolution, stressing the need for "freedom and independence" and repeatedly urging "the non-Russian parties" to work out the "special characteristics" for "the building of socialism in their countries." Internationally, the discarded bureaucrats of the Right Opposition evolved increasingly to the right, toward making peace with "their" capitalist rulers, and in the case of the American Jay Lovestone eventually to direct collaboration with Western intelligence agencies.

After ousting Bukharin, Stalin's Comintern zigzagged through the ostensibly leftist stupidities of the "Third Period," including equating Social Democracy with fascism (the infamous "social-



Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Modern History Documents

Sixth Congress of Communist International, 1928. Trotsky's documents in *The Communist International After Lenin*, written for the Congress, were devastating indictment of Stalin/Bukharin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

fascism" thesis), prostrating the powerful German working class in the face of Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Recoiling from the German disaster, in 1935 Stalin turned the Communist International to full-blown class collaboration, committing the French Communist Party to social-patriotism with the Stalin-Laval pact. This was generalized in the policy of the "People's Front," announced with great fanfare by Georgi Dimitrov at the Seventh World Congress that year and consummated with the Stalinist sabotage of the Spanish Revolution. Max Shachtman's lengthy 1936 introduction to *The Third International After Lenin* dealt

centrally with these developments.

But Shachtman's introduction was flawed in that it continued to describe Stalinism as "bureaucratic centrism." Already in February 1935, soon after Stalin began the massive purges which followed the assassination of Kirov, Trotsky had noted that the social basis for the characterization of the Soviet bureaucracy as centrist was changing: "As the bureaucracy becomes more independent, as more and more power is concentrated in the hands of a single person, the more does *bureaucratic centrism* turn into Bonapartism" ("The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bona-

partism," February 1935). Especially after the Seventh Congress, which signaled the passage of the Comintern to reformism, the term "bureaucratic centrism" disappeared from Trotsky's own writings. In October 1937 he wrote a letter to Cannon criticizing the American section for continuing to use the term:

"Some comrades continue to characterize Stalinism as 'bureaucratic centrism.' This characterization is now totally out of date. On the international arena Stalinism is no longer centrism, but the crudest form of opportunism and social patriotism. See Spain!"

In his introduction, Shachtman noted:

"None of the material in this volume was ever published in the Russian language.... If more than one pair of eyes saw them in Russia, it was only because painfully multi-typed copies were distributed from hand to hand among the Oppositionists in exile." The publication of *The Communist International After Lenin* in Russia today finally brings these documents to readers in the land of their origin, 66 years after they were written by Trotsky and 64 years after they were first published in full abroad.

We publish below a translation of the Prometheus Research Library's introduction to the new volume.

Introduction to Russian Edition by Prometheus Research Library

We publish here a collection of documents written by Leon Trotsky which synthesized the Left Opposition's programmatic counterposition to Stalinism on key international questions. The first two documents in the collection, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals" and "What Now?" codified the political intervention of the Left Opposition into the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern—CI) in 1928 and were critically important to the international extension of the Left Opposition.

In addition to these two documents, we also include "The Chinese Question After the Sixth Congress" and "Who Is Leading the Comintern Today?" which completed the 1930 French edition of *The Communist International After Lenin*. In his 1929 foreword to the French edition, Trotsky declared this collection to be "the one and only edition for which I bear responsibility before the readers." These works have never before been published in the Russian language.

By the summer and fall of 1928, when these documents were written, Trotsky and his supporters had carried on five years of political combat against the bureaucratic degeneration of the CPSU and the Comintern. This struggle had

been initiated by Lenin himself—in December 1922, he made a bloc with Trotsky to fight Stalin and even proposed to remove Stalin as General Secretary.

While Lenin was alive, Stalin's bureaucratic abuses (such as those committed against the Georgian Communists) had not yet acquired an overt political program. But less than one year after Lenin's untimely death in January 1924, Stalin announced the theory of "socialism in one country." This was an explicit repudiation of the revolutionary internationalist program upon which the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky had led the October 1917 Revolution which created the world's first workers state. Up until early 1924, all the Bolshevik leaders—including Stalin—acknowledged that the revolution's only prospect for survival was its extension to one or more of the advanced capitalist countries, especially Germany. A critical turning point was the failure of the 1923 German Revolution, which meant the prospect of a lengthy period of isolation for the Soviet workers state. Stalin became the spokesman for the growing bureaucratic layer in the party and state apparatus for whom material privilege and official posts had become more important than the world revolution. Per-



Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Modern History Documents
James P. Cannon at Red Army event during Sixth Congress of the Communist International, 1928.

haps initially a rationale for its position, "socialism in one country" became the bureaucracy's justification for existence. This doctrine born of defeat was to breed many others.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, Stalin & Co. sought to enshrine "socialism in one country" into the CI's program. Trotsky's scathing response, "The Draft Program of the Communist International: A Criticism of Fundamentals," which is the core of this book, speaks powerfully both as an exposition of Marxist clarity and revolutionary internationalism. He submitted this document and the letter "What

Now?" to the Sixth Congress in order both to refute the Stalinists' false "theories" and to expose the miserable record of failures the CI suffered under their leadership, such as the knifing of the 1925-1927 Chinese Revolution and the undermining of the 1926 British General Strike.

At this point, Trotsky characterized the Stalinist bureaucracy as a centrist excrescence in control of a party still capable of being reformed and polemicized against those among Stalin's opponents who wanted to declare the party dead. Even after their expulsion in 1928,

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Moscow Meeting Greet Publication of Trotsky Book

On April 25, over 40 people attended an International Communist League meeting in Moscow to greet the publication of the first-ever Russian edition of *The Communist International After Lenin*. Those in attendance included representatives from a wide spectrum of political views, including supporters of several ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies in Russia, as well as members of some of the groups claiming the Stalinist heritage of the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Those present included an academic exponent of Nikolai Bukharin's Right Opposition and a journalist from *Pravda*. What was striking was the genuine appreciation for this book expressed by almost all those in the divergent audience, which included students from Moscow University and Patrice Lumumba University as well as workers who had read ICL literature distributed at factory gates. Thirty-nine copies of the new Trotsky volume were sold, as well as a good deal of other ICL literature.

A spokesman for the ICL explained the significance of the fight of the Left Opposition against the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. The 1928 Trotsky writings published in *The Commu-*



First Russian edition of *The Communist International After Lenin* is presented at April 25 ICL meeting at the House of Journalists, Moscow.

nist International After Lenin were key to ensuring the maintenance, though outside the USSR, of the revolutionary Leninist current which led the Russian Revolution. Trotsky's Fourth International,

founded in 1938, embodied the program and continuity of the Communist International of Lenin's time.

The ICL spokesman went on to describe the challenge of publishing

Trotsky's book in Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary Russia. Many historical and political books in Russia today are published with small press runs and distributed only locally, given astronomical rises in production costs and the disintegration of the distribution networks of the old planned economy. In contrast, *The Communist International After Lenin* had a press run of 25,000 and is being distributed in Houses of Political Books and across the territory of the former USSR from Dnepropetrovsk to Leningrad, Chelyabinsk, Vorkuta and beyond to Warsaw and Berlin.

The ICL speaker noted the difficulties involved in this enterprise: "From the time that we acquired the original Russian texts from the Trotsky Archives in Harvard and set about this project, it has been a challenge to get this book out. Several potential publishers were scared off by our introduction which contains a forthright statement on the vital importance of this book in the struggle against capitalist counterrevolution in general, and Yeltsin's August 1991 barricades, in particular. 'It will never get past the censors!' some said.

"When we finally did settle with a

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Russian Edition...

(continued from page 9)

Trotsky and the Left Opposition refused to abandon the CPSU to Stalin as long as there appeared the slightest possibility of reversing the bureaucratic degeneration from within. However, in his 1935 article, "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," Trotsky revised his analysis of the triumph of the bureaucracy and the analogy to the overthrow of the radical Jacobins during the French Revolution:

"In the internal controversies of the Russian and the International Opposition, we conditionally understood by Thermidor the first stage of the bourgeois counter-revolution, aimed against the social base of the workers state...."

"The overturn of the Ninth Thermidor did not liquidate the basic conquests of the bourgeois revolution, but it did transfer the power into the hands of the more moderate and conservative Jacobins, the better-to-do elements of bourgeois society. Today it is impossible to overlook that in the Soviet Thermidor also a shift to the right took place a long time ago, a shift entirely analogous to Thermidor, although much slower in tempo and more marked in form...."

"The smashing of the Left Opposition implied in the most direct and immediate sense the transfer of power from the hands of the revolutionary vanguard into the hands of the more conservative elements among the bureaucracy and the upper crust of the working class. The year 1924—that was the beginning of the Soviet Thermidor."

At the same time, Trotsky was clear that the victory of the Stalin faction did not signify a capitalist counterrevolution; rather "this usurpation was made possible and can maintain itself only because the *social content of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy is determined by those productive relations that were created by the proletarian revolution.*"

Germany 1933: Decisive Test for the Comintern

What prompted Trotsky's reassessment of Thermidor and the nature of the bureaucracy was the victory of Hitler in 1933, a historic defeat for the German and world proletariat which can be laid directly at Stalin's door. In 1928, in the face of a virtual kulak insurrection, a panicked Stalin broke with Bukharin and made a left turn on economic policy, implementing in his own brutal way significant aspects of Trotsky's economic program. Especially in the sphere of industrialization, Stalin's actions dramatically vindicated Trotsky's five-year-long struggle against the rightist course. However, the Stalinists' "left" turn was accompanied internationally by the so-called "Third Period" policy of sectarian opposition to the tactic of the united front and to the official trade unions, led by the Social Democrats.

With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, Germany was thrown into a profound social crisis, one posing the question: which class shall rule? The bourgeoisie mobilized the shock troops of fascism to smash the organized workers and maintain the rule of capital. United in struggle against the Nazi threat, the German communist and social-democratic workers could have stopped the fascists and paved the way for a German proletarian revolution—something for which Trotsky repeatedly agitated. The Social Democracy, acting as a prop of German capitalism, refused to mobilize the working class against the fascists. And Stalin, dubbing the Social Democracy the "left wing of fascism," refused to allow joint workers' action. Thus, in this critical juncture, the German Communist Party, following Stalin's pronouncements, failed to provide the proletariat a revolutionary way out of the crisis. The result was that Hitler came to power virtually without a shot being fired.

In November 1931, Trotsky had warned that a "victory of fascism in Ger-



A. Mondadori



no credit

Trotsky's work exposed Stalin's policy of subordinating Chinese CP to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang which led to mass slaughter of Communist workers. Above left: Armed workers militias in Shanghai, 1927.

many would signify an inevitable war against the USSR." Yet in 1933, following Hitler's assumption of power, there was not one significant manifestation of factional opposition, let alone a split, within the CI against the disastrous line of the Stalinist leadership. The servile acquiescence of the parties of the CI underlined for Trotsky two fundamental conclusions. First, despite the revolutionary aspirations of much of its working-class base, the Comintern had become simply a creature of Stalin and his faction; and second, rectification of this situation could no longer be pursued within the framework of an internal faction. A decisive political and organizational break was now necessary—the Stalin faction had so effectively strangled the CPSU and the CI that its removal could only be secured by force, that is, by a *proletarian political revolution*. The continued rule of the conservative bureaucratic caste, as the experience of Germany showed, represented a mortal threat to the further existence of the Soviet workers state. As Trotsky noted in his classic book *The Revolution Betrayed*: "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat? Thus stands the question upon whose decision hangs the fate of the Soviet Union."

With the CPSU and the CI dead as instruments of revolution, Trotsky began to organize and regroup cadres for a new International. Even some of his supporters thought this was "premature," and to them he replied: "The proletariat has need of an International *at all times and under all conditions*. If there is no Comintern today, we must say so openly and immediately start the preparation for a new International" ("Success or Failure?" September 1933). It was to this vital task that Trotsky dedicated the remainder of his life, right up to his assassination by a Stalinist agent in August 1940.

As Trotsky warned in the 1928 documents below, adoption of the dogma of "socialism in one country" (which he characterized as a form of national reformism) by the CI would inevitably lead to its demise. He noted in his "Criticism of Fundamentals" that: "It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism." This forecast turned out to be prophetic: in its panicked reaction to Hitler's victory, the CI began implementing and in 1935 formally adopted the policy of "people's fronts"—the subordination of the workers parties to those of the supposedly "progressive" bourgeois forces in the fight against fascism. The CI had been transformed into an instrument for the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers, an agency for shackling the international proletariat to its imperialist rulers.

Stalin suppressed the Spanish Revolution in the late 1930s in a bid to curry favor with his hoped-for "democratic" imperialist allies against Nazi Germany. As a gift to his wartime imperialist "allies," Stalin liquidated the Communist International with the stroke of a pen in 1943. Then, by selling out revolutionary opportunities at the end of World War II, particularly in Italy,

France and Greece, Stalinism enabled capitalism to survive, and thus prepared the way for its own ultimate demise.

In the blood purges of the late 1930s, Stalin liquidated a substantial portion of the Red Army's commanding officers—an action which played a major role in the terrible defeats suffered by the USSR in the early stages of the Nazi invasion. At enormous cost to the Soviet peoples in and out of uniform, Hitler's forces were ultimately defeated, leading also to the formation of bureaucratically degenerated workers states in East Europe. The multinational Soviet proletariat and its Red Army were fighting to defend the Soviet Union, homeland of October. But Stalin did not fight the war in the name of "socialism" or even under the banner of defense of the first workers state. Rather, he proclaimed it the "Great Patriotic War"—to be fought in defense of the *Rodina* (motherland), that is, explicitly on the basis of Russian *nationalism*.

Stalinism in Terminal Decline

All of Stalin's heirs emerged from the same political cesspool. Imbued with the spirit of Russian nationalism inherent in "socialism in one country," they, like Stalin, practiced crass class collaboration under the rubric of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Gorbachev took this to its logical conclusion, by treacherously abandoning Afghanistan to the imperialist-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats, then giving the green light to capitalist counterrevolution throughout East Europe.

In the USSR, Gorbachev opted for "market reforms," leading to the abandonment of planning in a planned economy in 1988. Predictably this led to economic chaos, as managers looted their enterprises and speculators flourished. Once the political monopoly of the bureaucracy was broken in 1989, the CPSU was openly divided into hostile factions, *all* of which ultimately accepted the inevitability of capitalist restoration. The real squabbles between them amounted to at what pace and in particular *who* would get possession of the state property built up over decades by the blood and sweat of the Soviet workers.

The "socialist" veneer of the competing Stalinists was discarded as if this threadbare mantle were contaminated with leprosy. In the republics of the USSR, Stalinist hacks made an easy transition to nationalism, often in the company of outright fascists. Faced with the imminent breakup of the USSR, some of Gorbachev's lieutenants moved against him in August 1991, not to defend "socialism," but to defend the perks and sinecures they possessed as part of the bureaucratic machine which ruled the degenerated workers state.

Even a small disciplined mobilization of the Moscow workers could have easily dispersed the counterrevolutionary rabble on Yeltsin's barricades. But the pathetic GKChP [the coup plotters' "State Committee"] told the workers to stay home, fearing to unleash forces which could have opened the way to proletarian political revolution against all sections of the fragmented bureaucracy. Opposed to any measures that could

upset the imperialists, the coup leaders capitulated to the imperialist-backed Yeltsinites.

In the subsequent 18 months, and in the absence of any leadership to mobilize the atomized Soviet proletariat, a piecemeal consolidation of bourgeois counterrevolution took place. The degenerated workers state of Stalin and his heirs, resting on the social foundations of the October Revolution, was destroyed, representing a world-historic defeat for the international working class. Today, a socialist revolution is needed to sweep away the emerging capitalist class.

Who is responsible for this catastrophe? Above all, the *Stalinists*. In the 1920s, Stalin destroyed the party of Lenin by negating the essence of its program; later he killed its cadres. By July 1933, Trotsky noted: "The present CPSU is not a party but an apparatus of domination in the hands of an uncontrolled bureaucracy" ("It Is Necessary to Build Communist Parties and an International Anew"). In the end, the CPSU collapsed under its own weight, demonstrating that without the lure of privilege and the power of repression this "party" of 18 million members was simply a bureaucratic shell. Out of the cadaver crawled all sorts of maggots, from pro-imperialist "democrats" to neo-tsarist fascists. As for those remnants seeking to claim the mantle (and properties!) of the old CPSU, what they want to recreate is not the party of October but the bureaucratic machine which *destroyed* it.

It was the Trotskyists—and they only—who fought against the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party. The documents printed below are important not only for their content but also because they represented the breakout of the Left Opposition internationally. As members of the Program Commission at the Sixth Congress of the CI, American Communist Party leader James P. Cannon and leading Canadian communist Maurice Spector read translated excerpts of Trotsky's "Criticism." Convinced of its correct analyses, Cannon returned to the U.S. and founded the American Trotskyist movement along with supporters from within the American CP; Spector did likewise in the Canadian party. Thereby they established a significant extension of the forces of the Left Opposition on the North American continent, the citadel of world imperialism. This provided much of the slender thread of revolutionary continuity which is today embodied in the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

For decades, the Stalinist betrayers sought to keep the workers atomized and, through lies and terror, sought to erase every vestige of revolutionary and internationalist consciousness. This book embodies the essential core of the revolutionary internationalist program Trotsky sought to implement, first within the CI and later with the Fourth International. It is imperative that the political heirs of the proletariat which made the October Revolution reclaim their true revolutionary birthright. We therefore present these vital historical documents to the working people of the former Soviet Union.

22 June 1993

S.F. State...

(continued from page 7)

alibi, seconded by some Palestinian nationalists, serves only to reinforce the Zionist lie that anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism. All of this crap does not take place in a vacuum. The poisonous ravings of Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan and Khalid Muhammad are gaining some currency among middle-class black students. With fewer opportunities for advancement in this racist society, many within this layer are attracted to Farrakhan's appeals to "uplift the race" by keeping the swelling black "underclass" down—i.e., so that petty-bourgeois blacks can find careers to uplift themselves as exploiters of "their own people."

The SF State student government, which hired Dennis, is simply a bunch of junior porkbarrelers. But in the teeth of the administration's police attacks on the mural, they palmed themselves off as "fight the power" radicals. What a charade! These guys will readily call the cops when it suits their purpose. The charges against Professor Lyles are the result of a "citizen's arrest" made by one of the mural defenders! Nonetheless their appeals to "free speech" as against Corrigan and his riot-equipped cops enabled them to draw some support from students who otherwise did not subscribe to the mural's anti-Semitism.

This was a false polarization—opposition to the mural's anti-Semitism did not mean supporting the administration,

and opposing the administration did not mean defending anti-Semitism. But it was a polarization that was fueled not only by the riot-equipped cops but by the abject racist hypocrisy of the powers that be. To hear Corrigan intoning that "enforced silence is poisonous" at graduation ceremonies when police snipers are stationed on surrounding roofs, to listen to the administration paying homage to "multiculturalism," is too much to stomach. Everybody knows that when it is a question of racism against blacks it is a different story.

In 1975, liberal professor Ted Keller invited Nazis to spew their anti-black, anti-Semitic, genocidal filth at one of his classes. The administration mobilized the cops to protect the Nazis. When a united-front protest of 150 students and workers, initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, drove the Nazis off campus, the

administration responded by trying to ban the SYL. Now the "free speech" liberals of the ACLU, who go to bat—and to court—in defense of the Klan's "right" to mobilize for genocide, weigh in on the side of the administration, arguing that "artistic freedom" only applies to murals in art galleries not in public places.

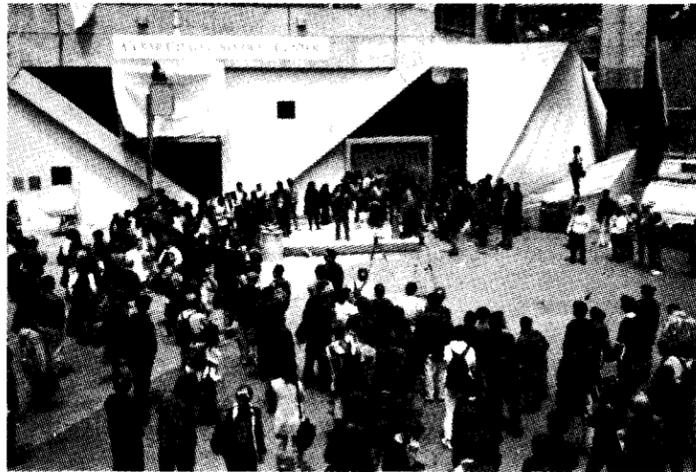
This refrain was taken up by the editorialists of the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 May) who opined, "the Malcolm X mural is not intended as a gallery or museum piece. Rather, its continual display in a public building would appear to give the university's institutional endorsement to its content." But when the Confederate flag of the Southern slavocracy flew in SF's Civic Center, a highly public place, the *Chronicle* did not find this an "institutional endorsement" of anti-black racism and Klan terror. On the

contrary, when Richard Bradley, a supporter of the Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, scaled the flagpole and tore down the Confederate flag, the *Chronicle* responded by smearing the SL as "violent."

The SF State administration promises that they will allow a new mural of Malcolm X, one that doesn't "offend" anybody, to be painted next fall. To equate Malcolm X with anti-Semitism is a grotesque slander. But where the black nationalists and the administration have a meeting of minds is in their portrayal of Malcolm as a man who believed in the "economic development" of the black ghetto within the framework and under the rules set by white-dominated American capitalism.

SYC member Joe Sol spoke of the Malcolm X that we commemorate in his remarks at the debate over the SF State mural:

"Malcolm X believed and stated very forcefully that black people must fight for equality 'by any means necessary.' The necessary means to fight against racist oppression is working-class revolution to smash the rule of capitalism which breeds racist degradation. We of the Spartacus Youth Club fight for revolutionary integrationism—the understanding that black freedom will not be won short of workers revolution and that there will be no workers revolution unless the cause of black freedom is actively championed by a fighting labor movement. When the integrated working class in this country makes that revolution, Malcolm X will be honored by black and white alike as a courageous fighter and a martyr for the cause of the liberation of humanity." ■



Young Spartacus

Students rally at S.F. State on May 25 to protest painting over Malcolm X mural by administration.

Moscow Meeting...

(continued from page 9)

publisher, our next immediate hurdle to overcome was the collapse of the publishing industry: paper and printing prices were climbing every week. Our editorial commission—which stretched from here in Moscow, to the Prometheus Research Library in New York, to the PRL-West in the San Francisco Bay Area—worked as quickly as possible. But at the same time we worked methodically, to ensure that our galleys were worthy of Trotsky's original manuscript.

"The challenge of the political conjuncture in which we worked can be illustrated in one small example: our final consultation with our proofreader (out of the seven stages that we put our galleys through) had to be postponed because it fell on 3 October 1993, the day that street fighting began in response to Yeltsin's September putsch, culminating in his Bloody Monday White House massacre. When the smoke cleared from around the bombed-out White House, newspapers and parties were banned, hundreds had been killed and jailed, and thousands of so-called 'foreigners' deported in a state-run pogrom.

"But Yeltsin and his IMF masters were still not able to bring down the iron hand of bonapartist dictatorship as firmly as they wished. Along with producing the supplement, 'Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington!' the ICL threw itself with renewed speed into getting this book out as quickly as possible.

"This book is for us not a commercial venture but a political act by the ICL in the struggle against the counterrevolution that has ravaged the former Soviet bloc."

The discussion period fully reflected the diversity of views present at the ICL meeting. The revisionism of many of the currents who today claim the mantle of the Fourth International was glaringly obvious. Russian supporters of Cliff Slaughter's British Workers Revolutionary Party and of *Rabotchaya Demokratiya* (formerly affiliated with the British Militant group) got up to praise *The Communist International After Lenin...* and fulminate against the ICL for

having stood on Trotsky's "outdated" program of military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. What these pseudo-Trotskyists hate in particular—since they all sided with Yeltsin's "democrats" in August 1991—was our forthright call on the Russian working class to disperse the counterrevolutionary forces mobilized on Yeltsin's barricades.

The mountebanks of David North's International Committee, who today posture as "orthodox" Trotskyists, chose to remain silent on the question of Soviet defensism, covering up their own past as cheerleaders for each and every counterrevolutionary threat to the USSR, from the Afghan mullahs to Polish Solidarność. The Northites objected instead to the ICL's exposure of their "Security and the Fourth International" slander campaign, which maligns many of Trotsky's closest collaborators as KGB agents (and simultaneously CIA agents!). The Northites thus obscenely echo the Stalinist lie that Trotsky was killed by his "own" people.

Back in 1990, Fred Weir, the Gorbachevite Moscow reporter for the Stalinist *Canadian Tribune*, gave evidence that even longtime CP hacks can sometimes recognize empirical reality (after a few decades) when he admitted in a couple of Canadian speeches that the idea of building an "isolated socialist state" had proved something of a failure. (For this Gorbachevite, the failure of "socialism in one country" was an argument for moving to a full-blown capitalist "market economy.") Weir's admission exposed the essential nationalism underlying Stalinist dogma; he never sought to explain why the "already existing socialist states" in East Europe, the Soviet Union and China remained "isolated" from each other—and particularly from proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

But the current pathetic remnants of the old Soviet bureaucracy, as reflected in the remarks of the *Pravda* reporter at our Moscow meeting, don't even aspire to Weir's crass empiricism. Stalinism strangled the Communist International as a revolutionary organization, sabotaging promising revolutionary situations around the globe for 60 years, all in the vain pursuit of an illusory "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Proving that the Stalinists have learned nothing

and forgotten nothing, the spokesman for *Pravda* insisted that because Russia was moving toward colonial status in the imperialist world market, it was "anti-imperialist" struggle, not proletarian revolution, which stood on the agenda. What this "anti-imperialism" means in practice today is an obscene "red-brown" coalition with Russian fascists and monarchists.

It was in answer to arguments such as these that the ICL speaker declared that Stalinism's terminal collapse in 1991-92 confirmed, in the negative, Lenin and Trotsky's argument for revolutionary internationalism: either we expropriate the imperialist world market and establish an internationally planned economy, or we will be plunged into the barbarism of imperialist counterrevolution.

He continued, "For many years of isolation and imperialist encirclement, the Russian nationalism of 'socialism in one country' was passed off as 'Soviet patriotism.' But at bottom, this nationalism was a rejection of the October Revolution

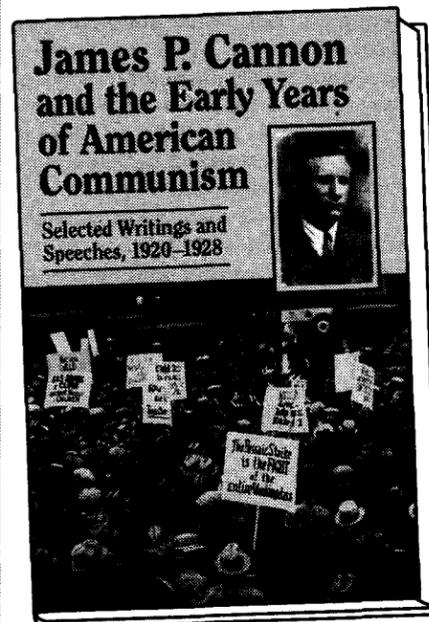
and the very basis of the Soviet workers state. It was an embrace of the bourgeois Great Russian *derzhava* [strong state] that has now come spilling out. And this nationalism is not monopolized by the Stalinists, it is shared by the social democrats and fake-Trotskyists.

"We published this book so that we would have a common language with subjective revolutionaries: the language and understanding of communist internationalism and revolutionary principles. Today, every political activist who hopes for a better life for humanity must learn of the content of this work.

"We are at a crossroads. There can be no return to the Soviet Union of Stalin and his heirs. The question is not whether Russia as a nation will be degraded. The question is whether Russia will be a vehicle for imperialism as in Bosnia, or a force for social liberation in Eurasia. We share with Trotsky the commitment to the latter, which now requires a socialist revolution to re-establish the working class as the ruling class." ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

donning 'democratic' trappings.... However, just as the struggles of the black toilers for freedom and equality broke down the old apartheid system, so they will break down the neo-apartheid 'power sharing' deal between the Randlords and their new black front men."

The South African elections were an acid test for the left, and for a host of groups dramatically exposed their socialist pretensions. In backing Mandela's ANC, whether openly or with a fig leaf of "independence," they were making common cause with their "own" bourgeois rulers. This is not surprising from those who had earlier called for sanctions by the imperialist governments and capitalist corporations to pressure the apartheid regime. They may see this as their victory, but for the South African masses it means that a black president and cabinet ministers will now order the army and state machinery carried over from apartheid to crack down on black township squatters and striking workers. The ANC in office cannot deliver any of the demands of its base. The Mandela/De Klerk regime sits atop a powder keg.

In different guises, the SWP's line was that of the entire reformist left. The granddaddy of them all, the Communist Party USA, headlined "South Africa Vote: 'Revolution by Ballot'" (*People's Weekly World*, 30 April). Veteran Stalinist leader Gus Hall surely envies his South African counterpart, the SACP's Joe Slovo, who is now housing minister in the Mandela/De Klerk government, having been elected along with a slew of other CP ministers on the ANC ticket. In the same vein, Sam Marcy's Stalinoid *Workers World* (5 May) glowed that the apartheid regime would be replaced by "a 'national unity government' influenced by the African National Congress. That itself is a historic victory for the workers and oppressed worldwide." And the International Socialist Organization, followers of British Stalinophobic social democrat Tony Cliff, ran a banner headline "AMANDLA!" (Freedom) in the *Socialist Worker* (May 1994).

The perennial Stalinist and social-democratic myth of a peaceful "revolution" through elections is a deadly illusion for the oppressed masses of South Africa and elsewhere. While a tiny layer of black leaders has been integrated as junior partners into the white bourgeoisie, effective power is still in the hands of the apparatus inherited from apartheid. Even the *New York Times* (4 June) recognized that Mandela "is bound by a constitutional promise to protect the jobs and perquisites of public employees"—in particular of the military and security forces, the core of the state power. Thus defense minister Joe Modise, an SACP leader and former commander of the ANC's guerrilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), announced that Georg Meiring, former head of the South African Defence Force, would be in charge of the "new" South African National Defence Force for the next five years. In Chile in the early 1970s, Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular signed "constitutional" guarantees not to touch the hierarchy of the military officer corps, which eventually overthrew the leftist government in the bloody Santiago coup at a cost of tens of thousands dead.

Allende's UP was a *popular front*, in which the working class is chained to the bourgeoisie through a class-collaborationist coalition. In South Africa, the institutionalized racial oppression adds a key additional factor. The ANC is a nationalist popular front in the form of a party, including the SACP and leaders of the COSATU unions. In office, it necessarily betrays the aspirations to national liberation of its millions of black supporters, and turns its back on its own bourgeois-democratic program. Long gone is the 1955 ANC Freedom Charter's talk of nationalization of the mines and key industries. Allocating less than 3 per-

cent of the budget to the heralded "Reconstruction and Development Program," Mandela's inaugural speech to parliament "seemed tailored more for corporate boardrooms than the townships where many of South Africa's poor blacks live," noted the *Washington Post* (25 May).

Writing to South African supporters six decades ago, Leon Trotsky outlined the policy of a communist vanguard toward the ANC, which then as now was the hegemonic organization of black African toilers: "The Bolshevik-Leninists unmask before the native masses the inability of the Congress to achieve the realization of even its own demands, because of its superficial, conciliatory policy" ("On the South African Theses," April 1935). Yet today many of those who claim to be Trotskyist, rather than unmasking the ANC and waging a fight for proletarian power, are building support for the new black bourgeois rulers. In a May 16 speech in New York, Peter Taaffe, leader of the British Militant Labour tendency, *opposed* the call for a workers party now in South Africa,

ICL told the truth. "Power sharing" deal preserves neo-apartheid capitalism, as power of black proletariat is shackled to bourgeois nationalist popular front.



saying: "The working class in South Africa has to go through the experience of an ANC government. The slogan of a workers party was an incorrect slogan in the period prior to the elections in South Africa. We wanted the biggest possible ANC majority."

This support to the ANC also includes fostering dangerous illusions about the state. In South Africa, Militant's supporters in the Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC have been siding up to the *black cops* of the apartheid regime. *Congress Militant* (September 1993) even ran an interview with "comrade Enoch Nelani," national deputy president of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), demanding that these enemies of workers and black struggle be admitted to COSATU. Justifying this, in his New York speech Taaffe marveled that the "black cops in South Africa who mowed down workers organizing trade unions" are now "organized into a trade union themselves." "These very same killers," he went on, "these very same black police who were tools of the apartheid regime, were radicalized by the situation." His conclusion: "We can neutralize the forces of the state and win them over."

This is the classic lie of all reformists, which has led to bloodbaths of the workers from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the '70s. We repeat the fundamental truth proclaimed by Marx and Engels and in Lenin's *State and Revolution*, that the existing capitalist state power must be destroyed by a workers revolution and replaced by a proletarian power, which in South Africa would be a black-centered workers government.

In the South African elections, we gave critical support to the Workers List Party (WLP) initiated by the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (see *WV* No. 599). While sharply criticizing its left-reformist program, we noted that in advocating the building of a workers party and in standing against the nationalist ANC, the WLP's campaign drew a crude class line. There were other organizations on the left which claimed to

oppose a vote to the ANC on the basis of class principle and called for a vote to the WLP. Among them were Socialist Organiser (S.O.) and Workers Power (WP) in Britain. But where we fight for a revolutionary party, a Bolshevik opposition to the ANC, these groups are looking to create a South African version of British Labourism, a Menshevik party to tail after the ANC with a fig leaf of "independence."

Again the question of the state is the touchstone. S.O. supported the use of the apartheid army in the KwaZulu bantustan: "socialists should support the use of force—even by the SADF—to ensure that the elections take place in Natal KwaZulu" (*Socialist Organiser*, 14 April). To preach illusions in the fascist-infested and racist SADF (now rebaptized the SANDF) is the height of opportunist folly, for it is precisely these forces that will be unleashed by the ANC/De Klerk government against the black masses!

Workers Power argues that in South Africa, "The workers do not need the

experience of voting for a popular front or an embryonic bourgeois party." But while giving critical support to the Workers List, after initially refusing to do so on the grounds that the WLP is not a mass organization (what changed?), WP made it clear that it did so reluctantly and yearned to give "critical support" to the popular front through the back door. "Had it been possible to vote separately for the workers' organisations and candidates within the ANC alliance then revolutionaries should have supported these candidates critically" (*Workers Power*, April 1994). So if South Africa had British-style constituency elections, WP would have called for votes to the SACP and COSATU candidates on the ANC ticket. This ploy makes a mockery of class independence.

An elementary precondition for considering critical support to a workers organization is that it run independently of the bourgeoisie. Yet centrists like Workers Power in effect say to the reformists: "Break with the bourgeoisie! If you do, we will support you—and if you don't, we will support you anyway, if only South African election laws would let us play our little game of voting for the 'workers parties of the popular front'! But since they don't, we're stuck." That is not a tactic to set the plebeian and proletarian base against their pro-capitalist misleaders, but a strategy of tailing after the class traitors. In reality, Workers Power wants to replicate the Labour Party everywhere so they can tail it.

Then there are the professional wafflers. The Revolutionary Internationalist League asserts that the ANC is a popular front, and RIL claims to be for a workers party in South Africa. But while mouthing words like "Trotskyists can give no political support to the ANC," their bottom line was: "In general, going through this struggle with the most militant workers and youth means that we would also vote for the ANC list (there are no constituency elections)...except "in situations where sections of workers see a vote for an alter-

native list (like WOSA or the Azanian Peoples' Organisation [AZAPO])" then "we will join with them" (*Revolutionary Fighter*, April/May 1994). Leaving aside the fact that the militant nationalists of AZAPO called for an impotent boycott of the elections, what this evasive gobbledygook amounts to is saying they will vote for the bourgeoisie, unless there is a reformist force big enough to chase after. The RIL's American counterpart, Leland Sanderson's Revolutionary Workers League, has yet to pronounce itself on the South African elections (or to bring out a paper in the last five months).

Meanwhile, Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) seems to have a bad case of conflicting opportunist appetites. Prior to WOSA's decision to put up the Workers List, the USec's *International Viewpoint* (February 1994) promoted "the idea of calling for a vote for the ANC while running an independent campaign of immediate democratic and social demands"—i.e., putting up a phony militant platform to cover for a vote to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC. *Workers Power* (May 1994) reports that South African USec supporters "withdrew from WOSA, condemning the decision to stand against the ANC." In its April edition, *International Viewpoint* printed a financial appeal for WOSA, while skeptically commenting about the Workers List: "It remains to be seen which approach is the most pedagogical and constructive towards the hundreds of political and trade union activist members of the ANC and SACP who will in their majority vote for the ANC ticket."

The dispersed American USec supporters, both *Socialist Action* (May 1994) and the *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (May/June 1994), reprinted interviews with WOSA leader Mfanafuthi "Prof" Ndlovu, without themselves taking a position. What unites these 57 varieties of pseudo-Trotskyists is that, rather than putting forward a revolutionary program based on the objective needs of the workers and oppressed, they guide themselves by the present consciousness of the masses. Thus in practice, they are nothing but a "left" gloss on the reformist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders.

The other ostensible left group running in the South African elections was the "Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International," linked to Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain, which ran in Natal/KwaZulu and Western Cape provinces. However, their unreputed record of blocs with some of the most reactionary forces in the region, in the name of "fighting Stalinism," ruled out support for their candidates. In the November 1989 elections in Namibia, they participated in an electoral lash-up called the United Democratic Front (UDF), which included several bantustan parties who were collaborators of South Africa's puppet regime. The UDF received money from the apartheid government, which was anxious to undercut the vote for SWAPO. Today, the Slaughteries' virulently Stalinophobic election manifesto essentially accuses the ANC of bringing Stalinist gulags to the veld.

Authentic Trotskyists fight intransigently for the political independence of the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeoisie. So long as the South African proletariat is yoked to the cart of nationalism, through the ANC and its competitors such as the Pan Africanist Congress and AZAPO, and chained to the bourgeoisie by the popular front, this spells bloody defeat for the South African masses. Black liberation from white-supremacist rule, whether it is called "apartheid" or not, can only come about through a workers revolution led by a racially integrated Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. This is the program of the International Communist League.

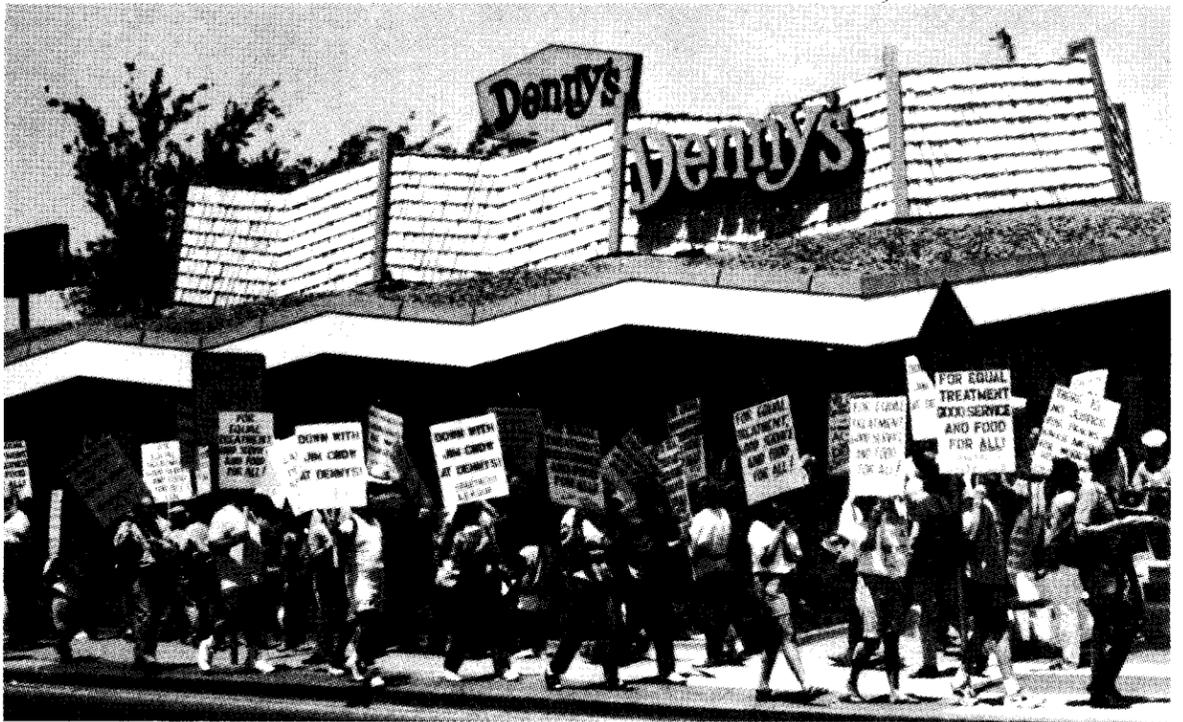
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Denny's Bosses Agree to Pay Black Victims of Jim Crow Racism

On May 24, the Denny's restaurant chain agreed to pay \$45.7 million (plus another \$8.7 million in lawyer's fees) to settle two lawsuits on behalf of thousands of black customers who suffered outrageous racist mistreatment. For years, the 1,500-restaurant chain charged "cover charges" only to blacks, demanded that blacks and Hispanics (but not whites) "pre-pay," seated whites first, made blacks wait for hours or refused to serve them. Families who brought their kids in for advertised "free birthday meals" were treated like criminals and driven out. Denny's often called the cops on those who complained. Managers were even told to close up to avoid "blackouts" ("too many" black customers at one time).

When Denny's policy of blatant, old-style segregation—three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institutionalized Jim Crow racism—became a scandal last year, the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues launched a nationwide campaign of protest demonstrations. On July 3, several hundred people joined militant, integrated picket lines at Denny's restaurants in six locations: Los Angeles, the Bay Area, Chicago, Atlanta, Boston and the Washington, D.C. area—uniting unionists and students, black, white and Hispanic, to demand: "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for all!" The protests drew significant support from integrated unions, from Bay Area Rapid Transit workers to leaders of Chicago's transit workers union. Protesters raised the call: "Fight this racist open shop—Unionize Denny's!"

Part of the \$1.5 billion-a-year Flagstaff Corporation headquartered in Spartanburg, SC in the heart of the open-shop South, Denny's is a non-union outfit whose racist, segregationist actions go hand in hand with vicious exploitation of its workers. Despite Flagstaff chairman Jerome Richardson's lying insistence that Denny's had "no policy...to discriminate against anyone," with the settlement Denny's has admitted its guilt. Those who can "prove" they were victims of these racist outrages are to get \$25,000 each. Denny's also agreed to "run checks" for racism at its



Coast-to-coast demonstrations initiated by the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues last July brought out hundreds to protest Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's.

restaurants.

Rather than protesting the rampant discrimination at Denny's, NAACP head Ben Chavis, a former civil rights activist, sought to cut a deal for black businessmen. Last July the NAACP signed an agreement for more black managers, black-owned franchises, contracts for black advertising agencies and suppliers, and a seat on Denny's board. Even this has been shortchanged by Denny's bosses, who have added no new black franchises while "minority businesses are still receiving only a sliver" of Denny's dollars (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 March). But the NAACP did get a black member of the board.

Those who were humiliated, harassed and sometimes even arrested by Denny's racist bosses deserve every cent they get, however token. But the settlement *changes nothing*. Don't expect racism to stop at Denny's, or anywhere else in this racist country. The enforcers for the capitalist ruling class, from Clinton's "Justice" department on down, are there to *defend and perpetuate* the racist social order which generates the type of vicious discrimination Denny's inflicted on its victims. It took communist revolutionaries to organize a simple act of anti-racist decency against Jim Crow at Denny's. It will take a socialist revolution to root out racist oppression for good.

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capitulate, the U.S. began beefing up its formidable military garrison of 37,000 troops south of the 38th parallel armistice line, shipping in Patriot missile batteries, Apache attack helicopters and spare parts for war planes. The Pentagon has dispatched the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Carl Vinson* into the region, and last week the *Independence* was placed on full alert. Despite reams of Pentagon/CIA "reports" that North Korea is readying to invade the South, the only military buildup going on in Korea is Washington's.

The imperialist news media have branded North Korea an "outlaw state," like Saddam Hussein's Iraq on the eve of the Persian Gulf slaughter. Heralding Clinton's announcement, a rabid editorial in the *New York Times* (1 June) warned that "time is running out" and laid down a naked ultimatum that if Pyongyang didn't bow to U.S. *diktat*, "it may leave the U.S. no recourse but to seek economic sanctions and prepare for any military reactions." Pyongyang has rightly denounced any economic embargo as an "act of war." The manufactured nuclear scare is so transparent that the *Washington Post* (24 April) reports from South Korea: "Even U.S. soldiers and airmen say Washington recently has seemed gripped by a hysteria about North Korea's nuclear program that seems inappropriate...."

The U.S. is playing a deadly game of nuclear brinkmanship, alternating between bellicose threats and offers to "negotiate." The U.S. has had a hard time lining up regional support for a military



Clinton traveled to border to threaten North Korea. U.S. troops out of the Korean peninsula!

adventure on the Korean peninsula. And no wonder, for Washington's purpose is to throw around its military weight to reassert its role as imperialist top dog in the Pacific Rim. China may well veto sanctions in the UN Security Council and Japan and South Korea balk at provoking the North. However, Tokyo and Seoul are now talking about supporting economic measures against the North even without a UN resolution. This is crucial to Washington, since the only concrete action proposed against the already isolated Pyongyang regime is the

cutoff of funds repatriated to the country from North Koreans resident in Japan.

Clinton & Co. are in a sticky position. Alternating bluster about sanctions with offers of diplomacy, they face a dilemma: "How do you isolate the world's most isolated country?" asked a top South Korean official. "The truth is, it can't be done." As for all-out war, the Pentagon's own war scenarios project that—even with a U.S. "win"—the result would be devastation in the South. It has occurred even to mad-dog Cold Warriors like the *New York Times*' A.M. Rosenthal that, while North Korea only has two small power-generating nuclear reactors, South Korea has nine large ones, which if they were hit with conventional weaponry would inundate the country with radioactive fallout.

Nuclear "Nonproliferation" Hypocrisy

Constantly bullied by International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) demands for inspections of its power facilities, North Korea at first refused to allow these inspections and even threatened to pull out of the NPT. But under the constant pressure of the annual "Team Spirit" military maneuvers, in which U.S. and South Korean forces rehearse an invasion of the North, Pyongyang agreed to IAEA inspections, offering more than the treaty requires. Not satisfied with anything but abject surrender, U.S. imperialism and its IAEA front men keep demanding new "conditions" every time the Kim Il Sung government makes a concession.

The latest round of escalation came when the North started removing spent fuel rods from its Yongbyon nuclear reactor late last month, and the IAEA

demanding that 300 of the 8,000 rods be set aside for later determination whether any plutonium reactor by-products had been diverted *five years* ago. Pyongyang offered to negotiate an arrangement to inspect key rods and has allowed IAEA inspectors on site. Even IAEA chief Hans Blix denies that there has been any violation of the treaty, but the U.S. is now pointing to North Korea's efficient removal of the rods to justify its latest war threats.

What imperialist arrogance! Estimates of the amount of plutonium North Korea may have managed to produce in its tiny reactor are measured in *grams*. (It takes 22 pounds of *weapons-grade* plutonium to make a single reliable A-bomb.) By contrast, last month it was revealed by American scientists that the U.S. has "lost" more than *13,600 pounds of weapons-grade plutonium* from its Hanford Nuclear Reservation, enough for hundreds of powerful A-bombs. With an arsenal vast enough to blow up the world many times over, the Pentagon has nearly a thousand nuclear warheads aimed just at North Korea. And the U.S. is the only country ever to *use* nuclear weapons, incinerating some 200,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and leaving a generation of maimed and malformed babies.

In the 1960s, it was discovered that hundreds of pounds of enriched uranium bomb material "lost" by the U.S. had found their way to Israel. When Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu revealed to the world that the Zionist state had *over 200* A-bombs, he was slammed into a dungeon in the Negev desert, where he remains to this day. Yet Washington has not so much as rapped

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the knuckles of its war-crazed junior partners in Tel Aviv, who still refuse to sign the "Nonproliferation" treaty. Likewise, South Africa's apartheid rulers last year admitted to a cache of six bombs (developed in collaboration with Israel and Germany) which they intended to "destroy" given the prospect of a majority-black ANC government. Pakistan and India, perennially on the verge of war when not actually shooting at each other, are estimated to have some 60 "near bombs" between them.

Meanwhile, Japanese imperialism, which also howls against the North Korean "nuclear threat," has been amassing plutonium at the rate of *several tons* a year, aiming at a stockpile of *85 tons* in the next couple of decades. While demanding that North Korea "obey" the NPT, Japan has itself been exempted from many of the treaty's provisions and has been making noises about entirely repudiating the agreement. And with the February launch of its sophisticated H-II missile, Japan clearly has the capacity to send nuclear payloads to any part of the world.

The hysterical imperialist claims that North Korea possesses nuclear weapons are probably untrue—not merely trivial in extent. The international working class must defend the right of North Korea and the other remaining deformed workers states (China, Vietnam, Cuba) to have nuclear weapons to defend themselves against the imperialist war criminals. *Down with Washington's sanctions blackmail! Defend North Korea against imperialist provocations!*

New World Disorder in the Pacific

Washington's nuclear brinkmanship on the Korean peninsula must be seen through the lens of growing inter-imperialist rivalry in Asia. Noting that "relations between Seoul and Tokyo have never been better," *U.S. News & World Report* (4 April) recently complained about a "strategic realignment... that eventually may reduce America's influence in Northeast Asia." Indeed, Washington's frenzied anti-proliferation push is aimed in large part at Tokyo, which has been using the North Korean bogey as an excuse for forging ahead with its own nuclear arsenal and to grease the skids for a propaganda assault on widespread pacifist opposition at home to the development of nuclear weapons. Defense Minister Aichi Kazuo sees the North Korean standoff as "a wonderful opportunity...to expand Japan's role" (*Asian Wall Street Journal*, 23 March). As the U.S. seeks to overcome its trade deficit with Japan by threatening to impose retaliatory eco-

nomie sanctions, right-wing leaders like Ishihara Shintaro have called for scrapping the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

While giving verbal support to the American threats, Japan—as the major investor in Korea, South and North—seeks a more deliberate push toward counterrevolution in the North. Editorial comment in the Japanese bourgeois press continually urges North Korea to adopt a more conciliatory posture toward the U.S. and wants the Beijing regime, further down the road of "market socialism," to exert similar pressure on Pyongyang. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) calls on the Japanese working class to defend North Korea against imperialist threats and to oppose the Japanese bourgeoisie's drive to revive its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" of neocolonial exploitation—the main enemy is at home!

U.S. sabre rattling is also not popular in Seoul as the Kim Young Sam regime is caught between a rock and a hard place. South Korea does have to pay lip service to U.S. imperialism's aggressive military stance but is not anxious to go to war. The North's ground forces are far superior to Seoul's puppet army and a new Korean war could easily wipe out the country's huge industrial monopolies, the *chaebols*. Nor can South Korea afford to rapidly swallow up a collapsing North Korea as German imperialism did with its *Anschluss* (annexation) of the former East Germany (DDR). Thus Seoul sides with Tokyo's desires for a less precipitate drive toward capitalist restoration in the North.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Following the collapse of Soviet Stalinism and with China heading fast down the road of capitalist restoration, the North Korean deformed workers state is militarily isolated and in great peril. Its policies of extreme autarky are a dead end. Proletarian political revolution in the North intertwined with socialist revolution in the capitalist South is the only way to salvage the social foundations of the workers state. A revolutionary upsurge by the combative working class in the South, joined by radical students and discontented peasants, would certainly reverberate across the 38th parallel, as well as inspiring outbreaks of class struggle throughout the region, particularly in China and Vietnam, where workers face the ravages of "market socialism." The revolutionary reunification of Korea would also inspire resistance by the powerful industrial proletariat of Japan, the key to a socialist Asia, and propel the sizable Korean population in Japan into struggle.

The most volatile social factor on the Korean peninsula is the South Korean working class, from the strategic Hyundai workers in Ulsan to militant teachers

in Seoul. The "honeymoon" has long been over for the Kim Young Sam "reform" regime. As last summer's strikes at Hyundai and the banning of the student group Hanchongryon show, while the military is no longer formally in power, the state apparatus continues to rule through naked military and police terror. The bourgeoisie put Kim in power to impose austerity cutbacks—carried out under the government's obscene slogan of "Money is sin, poverty is pride"—as the *chaebols* seek to drive down real wages. In anticipation of this year's spring labor offensive, the government arrested workers' leaders and threatened to use torture against "suspects who hold anti-state ideas."

What is needed is the creation of a Leninist-Trotskyist party that can link workers' struggles into a common fight, winning the radical student movement and rural population to its side, and overthrow the venal puppet government of U.S. imperialism, whether it is represented by (former military head of state) Roh Tae Woo or Kim Young Sam.

Juche vs. International Communism

The Stalinist Kim Il Sung and his cultist, nepotistic regime undermine the defense of the socialized property forms. The world capitalist market has proved itself far stronger than Kim's doctrine of *Juche* (self-reliance) which, stripped of its Korean nationalist parables, is the same old Stalinist crap that "socialism" can be built in a single country while (vainly) striving for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of socialist revolution elsewhere. Kim's version of this discredited nationalist dogma glorifies a bizarrely bureaucratic, impoverished and autarkic "socialism" in half a country with an illusory notion of "self-reliance" rooted in feudal obscurantism and reactionary Confucianism. In the absence of political revolution, Stalinism will be the gravedigger of the North Korean workers state.

Bereft of Soviet and Chinese aid, the Pyongyang regime faces a grave economic crisis and sees no alternative but to open the economy, as have China and Vietnam, to imperialist penetration. Having already enacted a joint-management law, at a December 1993 plenum of the ruling Workers Party additional measures were taken to draw in Western capital. This sharp turn to "market socialism" was underscored in Kim's New Year's address, as he called for a popular mobilization to make this year "a reformative turning point toward a new stage of development of North Korean socialism." What this "new stage" means for the working class is an expansion of the free-trade zones, like the ones created in Nampo, Rajin and Sonborg, where workers will be directly exploited by foreign capital and profit extracted from their labor. A "peaceful" reunification of Korea, as Kim Il Sung has long called for, would mean turning the North into a giant free-trade zone—dismantling the planned economy and restoring capitalism. The resulting immiseration would be far worse than the social disintegration of the former DDR.

Juche is antithetical to the internationalist traditions of Lenin's Bolsheviks and the early Communist International prior to Stalin's usurpation of political power leading to the strangulation and eventual destruction of the Comintern. Pioneer Korean Communists, driven into exile by Japanese imperialism's 1910 occupation of the peninsula, played an important role not only in their own country but in the Chinese and Japanese Communist parties as well as the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Far East. Koreans in the Soviet Maritime District eagerly joined the Red Army to fight against the White Guards and Japanese imperialism during the Civil War. Among the many Korean Communists who died defending the Russian Revolution was Bolshevik commissar Alexandra Kim, born in a Korean village in the Primorsk region,

who was executed by the Japanese army. Koreans in China and Manchuria were an important component of the Comintern's Shanghai Far Eastern Bureau.

The first Comintern representative to set foot on Japanese soil was a Korean, and many Korean youth studying in Tokyo joined the Japanese CP. Courageous Korean Communists, dispatched by the Comintern from the USSR, China and Japan, tried to organize an indigenous Korean party, but these efforts were thwarted by the brutally efficient Japanese occupation police. The Korean contribution to early Asian communism was reflected at the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow in 1921, where 52 of the accredited 144 delegates were Korean. The nationalist dogma of *Juche* could only prevail in the Korean party after its internationalist traditions had been purged, first by Stalin and later by Kim Il Sung. But the working class has a long memory, and the greatest tribute we can pay to the founding internationalist spirit of Korean communism is to build a new Leninist-Trotskyist Korean communist party.

Today North Korean schoolchildren learn by rote epic fairy tales of how Kim Il Sung "led" the Korean revolution. Nonsense! The North Korean workers state was created not by *Juche* but by the Soviet Red Army's rout of Japanese imperialism. Land was soon redistributed and industry nationalized in the northern half of Korea. When North Korean troops advanced south in 1950 they were welcomed as liberators; popular support for the Northern side was often expressed in strike action. In contrast, when MacArthur led imperialist troops back into Seoul under the bloody UN flag, his reception was anything but warm. To this day, most South Koreans despise the U.S. troops who have occupied their country for more than 40 years.

The Korean Question and the Japanese Left

The Japanese left has a wretched record on defending the deformed workers states against imperialism. During the Vietnam War the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to decades of imperialist aggression was popular. But the understanding that the USSR was the main obstacle to imperialist aggression rarely penetrated the narrow and chauvinist Stalinophobic politics that predominates here. With the USSR gone, the remaining deformed workers states in Asia are in great danger. With Korea's long history of being exploited by Japanese imperialism it is particularly disgusting that most Japanese leftists refuse to defend North Korea. Those who can only whine about the unsavory and bizarre character of the Pyongyang regime in order to justify an abstentionist or neutral position on North Korea do so in the interests of their own bourgeoisie.

Sanctions and other war measures against North Korea will also mean increased attacks against Koreans in Japan. The government has already threatened legislation that would make it illegal to send money to North Korea. Such a law would particularly target Chosen Soren, the main Korean social organization in Japan sympathetic to the North. In April, Osaka police raided eight Chosen Soren offices. Right-wing storm troopers have also targeted Chosen Soren offices and businesses and launched cowardly attacks on Korean schoolgirls. On June 1, the Spartacist Group Japan issued a leaflet demanding: "Hands Off Chosen Soren! For Labor/Minority Mobilizations to Stop Racist Attacks Against Korean Residents in Japan!" Yet most of the Japanese left, refusing to defend North Korea against imperialist attack, also fails to lift a finger in defense of Koreans in Japan against the racist government.

Even those leftists who utter a few empty words in support of Koreans

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usually tail the Socialist Party (JSP), with its line of extending diplomatic recognition to North Korea. But to prove its loyalty to the bourgeoisie, the JSP too will support sanctions. As part of the short-lived Hosokawa coalition government, the JSP not only backed anti-working-class austerity measures, but accepted direct responsibility through its cabinet post of Home Affairs Ministry for arresting and prosecuting labor militants, leftists and Japanese Koreans and for deporting foreign workers. Doing the bourgeoisie's dirty work is nothing new for these yellow "socialists." In 1950, the JSP used the MacArthur occupation regime's red purge to build the anti-Communist Sohyo labor federation, which supported the imperialist side in the Korean War.

Why the JCP Has No Korean Members

The Communist Party (JCP) offers tepid opposition to the threat of imperialist sanctions against North Korea, while pushing a wretched no-nuke pacifism and supporting "peaceful" measures by the United Nations. Domestically the JCP is steeped in chauvinist protectionism, doing nothing to defend non-Japanese workers against government and right-wing attacks. The JCP today has no Korean members and their trade-union federation refuses to organize Koreans and other non-Japanese workers into common industrial unions.

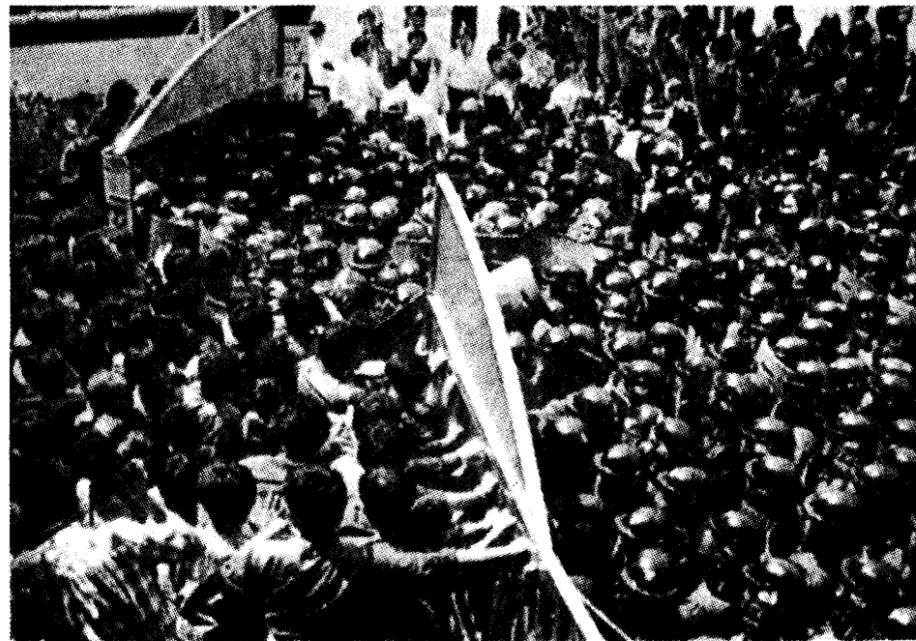
Yet in the years following World War II, the JCP recruited over 4,000 Koreans from among the hundreds of thousands who were brought in as forced laborers before the war. When a number of central

JCP leaders were released from Fuchu prison in October 1945, public meetings to greet them attracted large numbers of Koreans. When the JCP called a general strike for 1 February 1947, party members and sympathizers in the militant Korean organization Chouren collected money and organized support committees in preparation for the strike, which the JCP leadership called off at the last minute.

The JCP's betrayal not only squandered a potential prerevolutionary situation but also reinforced the segregation of Japan's minorities from major indus-

try and union organization. This defeat led to attacks on Koreans during the Cold War and in September 1949 Chouren was outlawed as part of the anti-Communist witchhunt. In January 1951, after the Korean War broke out, Chouren was reorganized as Minsen and called for victory to the North. But JCP leaders instead sought a bloc with "centrist" and nationalist forces in the South for a "democratic revolution." This line was so right-wing that even Stalin's Cominform complained.

The JCP's refusal even to oppose the Southern regime of despotic U.S. puppet



Hyundai workers fight off South Korean riot police, July 1993. **Combative South Korean proletariat can spark revolutionary struggle north and south of 38th parallel.**

Letters...

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organized societal manner. I find such "logic" to be a well-meaning, but dangerous, inside-out liberalism. While it's true in a general sense that blacks can't oppress whites it is wrong in a specific sense. A black boss, black cop, black teacher, or a black in any position of authority can, like a white person, make life miserable for the objects of his hate. So my question is "Does the Spartacist League feel that it is intrinsically impossible for any blacks to be racists or fascists in America?"

If you feel that because of the terrible historical oppression of blacks it is impossible for them individually or in groups (Farrakhanites) to be fascist, then given the history of anti-Semitism in the world and in America why is it possible for Jews to be fascists? I do believe that you have denounced the mis-named Jewish Defense League as fascistic.

While black fascism will no more take political power in America than Jewish fascism will, it is still possible for both these ethnic groups to spawn fascist parties which can do great damage. And looking at the miserable alliance of the Inkatha with the South African neo-Nazis, I do not find a Farrakhan/Klan axis, however temporary it might be, an impossibility. And Metzger's donation to Farrakhan might well have been the start of just such an alliance which may even now exist secretly.

In any event I think it would be most fruitful for you to discuss these questions in *WV*, the very best newspaper on the left.

Sincerely,
Peter Stone

* * *

WV replies: Our earlier exchange with Mondo can be found in "On Integrated Education and Black Liberation," in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 526 (10 May 1991).

In his letter (which was written before our recent article on Farrakhan appeared), Peter Stone questions why we don't characterize the Nation of Islam as fascist. Father Coughlin was white

and Farrakhan is black in a country founded on institutionalized brutal racial oppression. That's fundamental. The Spartacist League has never held that blacks in the U.S., because they are an oppressed race/color caste, cannot be racists or even fascists. But while there can be individual black fascists in this country, there can be no significant black fascism. Blacks of all political persuasions would be the first victims, not the collaborators, of American fascism in power. Farrakhan's flirtations with the likes of Klansman Metzger do not alter this basic fact. In his letter Israel Shahak recounts that some Zionists initially welcomed the ascendancy of Nazism in Germany as a victory over the liberal program of assimilationism. This did not prevent the Nazi regime from exterminating the Jews, including the right-wing Zionists among them.

We have always insisted that fascism in the U.S. is deeply anti-black and anti-Semitic. We have written that "The JDL may be a fascist group in terms of its ideas and aspirations, but Jews will be victims and not a source of American fascism" ("Jews and American Fascism," *Revolutionary Communist Youth Newsletter* No. 11, March-April 1972). Only by emigrating to Israel with his hardcore followers could JDL leader Kahane set up a genuinely fascist organization. The same article noted, "To identify fascism as extreme ethnic nationalism is completely anti-Marxist. Fascism is a counter-revolutionary movement whose base is the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie and lumpen elements reacting to the proletariat's failure to take power in a revolutionary crisis."

Peter Stone's reference to Father Coughlin underscores the difference between the "radio priest" of the 1930s and the demagogic head of the Nation of Islam. Coughlin was an integral part of a broad current of pro-Nazi forces in this country, including significant elements of the ruling class, represented by industrialist Henry Ford and national hero Charles Lindbergh. With the American ruling class almost exclusively white and the working class mainly white, it is inconceivable that a fascist movement aimed at crushing and atomizing the working class on behalf of the bourgeois-

ie could be based on anything but white racism.

While Farrakhan may share many opinions with white fascists, what he is able to do is another matter. As we showed in our article in *WV* No. 600, the NOI leader wants to sell his services to America's rulers. Yet today the ruling class and bourgeois media—both liberal and rightist—are whipping up racist hostility against the Farrakhanites, with the aim of justifying the suppression of all black "extremists," including black leftists as well as various nationalist currents. What Farrakhan represents is a latter-day version of Booker T. Washington's "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" accommodationism. Farrakhan's anti-struggle program accommodates the aims of the racist ruling class to repress the deeply disquieted and alienated black population. But the whole system of racist discrimination is run by and for the white ruling class. ■

Vancouver...

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with more forced to wait outside. Many took time off work and were there for all three days of the proceedings.

Also speaking at the rally were representatives of the Iranian Immigrant and Refugee Society of British Columbia and the Freedom Socialist Party. The International Socialists declined an invitation to speak.

The rally received extensive coverage in the local media. Two Chinese-language daily papers (*Sing Tao* and *Ming Pao*) published photos and stories on the event. Days before, Vancouver's mayor had refused to apologize for a February 1992 racist police assault, captured on videotape, on two Chinese workers, even as the city was compelled to pay thousands in compensation to these victims of cop terror. The social-democratic New Democratic Party provincial government had exonerated the cops of any wrongdoing.

The government went after the Vancouver Six claiming, in the words of the judge, that "as long as [the fascists] don't contravene the criminal law, they have a right to hold their meetings and asso-

Syngman Rhee was the final straw for Korean militants in the party. In February 1955, the JCP's Korean leaders resigned, taking some 4,000 members with them. Seeing no revolutionary-internationalist alternative, these Korean communists instead turned to Kim Il Sung's brand of Stalinism. Minsen was dissolved and replaced by Chosen Soren, which was shackled from the start by Kim's promise that it would not "interfere" in Japanese domestic politics.

Today, Chosen Soren dutifully subordinates itself to the dictates of the "Great Leader" while rarely taking up issues central to Koreans in Japan, like the call for full citizenship rights for all non-Japanese residents. But the responsibility for the degeneration of the post-war militant Korean movement must be placed squarely at the feet of the JCP's chauvinist leadership. JCP members who hate racism and chauvinism need to understand that they are in the wrong party!

Japan's revolutionary proletarian party has yet to be built. That party, like Lenin's Bolsheviks who fought against the tsarist prison house of nations, will fight in the interests of the working class and the minority populations to create a workers republic. The Spartacist Group Japan is fighting to build a multinational Leninist-Trotskyist party. Those who hate racism and chauvinism, who believe that the working class has no country—as Marx and Engels wrote in 1848—who defend North Korea against imperialist provocations, who want to fight against discrimination against Koreans and other minorities in Japan as part of the fight for socialist revolution, should join the SGJ. ■

ciate with each other." But the fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with demented ideas. They "speak" with lynch ropes, iron bars, gas chambers and death camps. The *Vancouver Sun* (3 June) quoted PDC spokesman Oliver Scribner: "'While small in number now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow,' he said. 'Fascist terror is not free speech'."

Trying to hide the obvious fact that they were aiding and abetting the fascists, both the prosecutor and the judge went out of their way to declare that they were "neutral." This idea, preached especially by the NDP social democrats and their reformist tails, was challenged by Spartacus Youth Club spokesman Angela Summers at the May 31 rally:

"There's a very important lesson here: the capitalist state is not neutral. The police, the courts, the whole system exists to protect the propertied classes, the bosses, the rich white rulers of this country. They will not and cannot be pressured into 'stopping' the fascists. In fact, by their actions they embolden and encourage the racist terrorists."

On 22 January 1993, some 3,000 anti-racist protesters prevented Nazis of the "Canadian Liberty Net" from rallying in Vancouver. Against those who wanted an empty gabfest to just "say no" to the fascists, the PDC and TL mobilized disciplined union contingents in response to our widely distributed call "All Out to Stop the Fascists!" A few months later, on May 6, the PDC and TL brought out a core of unionists, blacks, Asians, gays and socialists to the demonstration (organized on less than a day's notice) that shut down the fascist meeting for over an hour. Our program is to unleash the power of labor and minorities to stop the fascist terrorists—and it works. *Keep the Nazis on the run!*

The PDC extends its warm thanks to all those who endorsed the demand to "Drop the Charges" and who dug deep to help out financially. But more is still needed: it has cost thousands of dollars to defend the Anti-Fascist Six. Send your contributions, payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked "Anti-Fascist Defense," to: Box 4932, Main P.O., Vancouver, BC, V6B 4A6, Canada. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For a Black-Centered Workers Republic!

South Africa: Acid Test For the Left

The imperialist media and reformists around the world have been unanimous in hailing the election of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president, often in identical words. The *New York Times* (4 May) echoed Mandela's inaugural address, repeating Martin Luther King's famous phrase, in an editorial titled "Free at Last!" The *Times* waxed positively lyrical: "It was a magical moment: the peaceful passage from an era of oppression to a dawn of liberation in South Africa." The *Financial Times* (27 April), spokesman for the international financiers of the City of London, earlier celebrated Mandela's victory as the "Dawn of South Africa's Freedom." And the *Militant* (9 May), newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., headlined "South African Elections Mark 'Dawn of Freedom'."

In contrast, we told the stark truth about the pact between the African National Congress and the apartheid masters, that "ANC/De Klerk Deal Is

Betrayal of Black Freedom" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 599, 29 April). Where the SWP's *Militant* gushed about a "victory" for classless "democracy," writing of "Birth of New S. Africa: A Victory for Humanity" (16 May) and "Mandela President; Apartheid Is Buried" (23 May), we said bluntly of the now-bourgeois nationalists in power, "Mandela/ANC Front for Racist Capitalist Rule," and stressed that "Black Freedom Requires Socialist Revolution" (*WV* No. 600, 13 May). While noting that "The heroic struggles of the black masses over the past two decades have forced the white ruling class to abandon the rigid system of racial oppression known as apartheid, in which there was a garrison 'democracy' for the privileged white minority and totalitarian police-state repression of the vast non-white majority," we added:

"The Randlords and their imperialist backers believe that they have preserved the bedrock of apartheid capitalism by

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Steve Hilton-Barber



The hated SADF apartheid army, rebaptized SANDF (above), is still the fist of racist capitalism against the black masses. Opportunists echo imperialist myth that "freedom" has arrived.

Fake Left Cheers for Neo-Apartheid Deal

Defend North Korea Against Imperialist Provocations!

Oppose U.S. Sanctions Threat!

The following is adapted from an article in the publication of the Spartacist Group Japan, Spartacist No. 16, May 1994.

TOKYO, June 6—The 1950-53 Korean War was never officially ended, merely "suspended" when the U.S.-led United Nations invasion forces failed to overwhelm North Korea and its Chinese allies. Ever since then, Washington has continued its relentless drive to undermine and destroy the North Korean deformed workers state, created in 1945 when the Soviet Red Army drove Japanese imperialism out of Korea. In the past 18 months, taking advantage of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the

Soviet Union and China's headlong rush toward capitalist restoration, the Clinton administration has carried out a calibrated campaign of nuclear blackmail and military buildup aimed at forcing the Pyongyang regime of Kim Il Sung to disarm, roll over and play dead.

On June 2, U.S. president Clinton declared that Washington would seek to impose economic sanctions against North Korea for alleged violations of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), which Pyongyang was strong-armed into signing in 1985. When war secretary Perry threatened all-out war several months ago if the North refused to

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South Korean students protest visit of U.S. war secretary William Perry in April, as Washington rattles its nuclear sabre against North Korea.

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!