



## Imperialists Whip Up Nuclear Hysteria

# Defend North Korea! Down With UN Sanctions!

"The U.S. extreme threat of a nuclear war and sanctions and pressure compel the DPRK to conduct a nuclear test...as a corresponding measure for defense." North Korea's Foreign Ministry issued this stark statement four days before the country conducted its first nuclear test. Less than a week after the test, the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted on 14 October to impose sanctions against North Korea—an act of war, as the North Koreans rightly noted.

Fifty-six years ago, the forces of what became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea entered the south of Korea with the purpose of liberating that area from the collaborators with the Japanese imperialist occupation—the former colonial masters of Korea—who remained in place under the auspices of the post-World War II U.S. military forces in the region. In the process of attempting to reunify Korea, the Northern-based army unleashed a powerful social revolution in the South and came within a hairsbreadth of driving the U.S. imperialist army off the peninsula. In just over two years, the U.S. military, which led the assault on Korea under the aegis of the UN, sustained nearly as many losses as it did dur-

ing the ten-plus years of the Vietnam War. In the process, the U.S. imperialists and their allies, including Australia, slaughtered over three million Koreans, incinerating and suffocating many villagers with oceans of napalm.

As Trotskyists, we stand for the unconditional military defence of the North Korean deformed workers state, and thus welcome the development of nuclear weapons by North Korea as a necessary deterrent against imperialism. Our defence of North Korea—ruled through primogeniture by Kim Il Sung's son, Kim Jong Il, at the head of the Stalinist bureaucracy—is a defence of the overturn and expropriation of capitalism. To abandon defence of the workers states is to abandon the cause of international proletarian revolution. That cause and, thus, the unconditional military defence of the remaining deformed workers states of China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea, form the cornerstone of the International Communist League's program.

The Korean War has never ended, not just technically because the U.S. refused to sign a peace treaty, but in reality. Far from being the product of the steroid-enhanced

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Demonstrators in Seoul, South Korea, protest visit by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, 19 October.

## Palm Island: Queensland DPP Clears Killer Cop

# Mobilise Union Power to Defend Aboriginal People!

DECEMBER 19: "It's 2006 and a police officer can still get away with killing an Aboriginal person." These words by a former mayor of Palm Island typify the shock and outrage felt by many following the decision of Queensland Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) Leanne Clare to clear Senior Sergeant Chris Hurley over the savage killing of Aboriginal man Mulrunji Doomadgee in the Palm Island lockup on 19 November 2004. This decision is a green light for yet more racist terror in capitalist White Australia.

Mulrunji was arrested by Hurley after he challenged an Aboriginal cop liaison officer over the arrest of a friend. An hour later, with his liver cleaved in two, and a ruptured spleen and portal vein, Mulrunji was dead. A swiftly-assembled whitewash coroner's report sparked justified anger from the local Aboriginal community. Hundreds decided to march on the hated Palm Island police station and courthouse. These centres of racist state repression were subsequently torched. The response of Peter Beattie's state Labor government was swift and brutal. In scenes reminiscent of imperialist-occupied Iraq, the Aboriginal community on Palm Island was terrorised by up to 80 Tactical Response Group cops in full battle armour. (See *ASp* No. 189, Summer 2004/05). Some 26 people were rounded up and shipped off to Townsville to await trial on charges including riot, serious assault and arson. Seven will appear in court in Brisbane on 5 March next year. Others have already served

sentences or are in prison. We demand: **Free the Palm Island Aboriginal militants! Drop the charges now!**

A second coronial inquiry into Mulrunji's death, which released its findings last September, reported that "Hurley hit Mulrunji whilst he was on the floor a number of times..." and concluded these actions "caused the fatal injuries." The DPP dismissed these findings in her recent decision. Queensland Premier Beattie has stood by the DPP as has federal ALP Indigenous affairs spokesperson, Jenny Macklin. Meanwhile federal Indigenous affairs minister, Mal Brough, who oversees the Howard government's deep oppression of Aborigines, called for a review of the decision "so people can have faith in the criminal justice system," i.e., to refurbish its credentials.

Now the reformist Socialist Alliance are pushing a petition to the Queensland parliament which in part calls for "A Royal Commission into all events surrounding the death of Mulrunji" (Socialist Alliance website). Calls for government inquiries or Royal Commissions serve only to promote illusions in the racist capitalist state. This repressive apparatus—consisting at its core of the cops, courts and prisons—exists to defend the profits, property and rule of the tiny capitalist class. Such inquiries are used to whitewash the crimes of the state. The Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, established by the federal Hawke Labor government in 1987, endorsed the police and coroner ver-

dicts in all 99 deaths it reviewed—not one cop was prosecuted. **There is no justice in the capitalist courts!**

The Spartacist League seeks to mobilise the social power of the integrated organised working class, independent of the capitalist state, to defend Aboriginal people against racist state terror and to consistently champion their rights. We stand for expelling the cops, as well as prison screws and security guards, from the trade unions. They are in no way "workers in uniform" but part of the hated apparatus of capitalist rule. We fight to forge a multiracial revolutionary workers party by struggling to split the working-class base of the ALP from the pro-capitalist leadership. Such a party will be built in political struggle against Laborite nationalism and reliance on the state and will fight within the unions to replace the social-democratic union misleaders with a class-struggle revolutionary leadership committed to the fight for international socialist revolution.

An end to police brutality, and equality and justice for Aborigines and all the oppressed, requires sweeping away the racist capitalist system. Victorious workers revolution will submit the criminals responsible for racist killings to revolutionary justice. We will not forget Mulrunji Doomadgee, one of a long list of Aborigines, including John Pat, Daniel Yock, Colleen Richman and TJ Hickey, killed at the hands of the capitalist state. **Down with racist state terror! For union/minority/black mobilisations to defend Aboriginal people!**

# Defend Anti-G20 Protesters! Free Akim Sari!

In Melbourne on 18-19 November, thousands protested outside a meeting of the G20 (Group of Twenty), which included representatives of U.S. and Australian imperialism, and the bloodsucking IMF and World Bank. In the wake of the protests, the Bracks Labor government has waged a witchhunt against "violent" protesters. We reprint below a 14 December Partisan Defence Committee (PDC) letter sent to the Victorian attorney general, Rob Hulls, demanding all charges against anti-G20 protesters be dropped and protesting the almost three-month

detention on remand of Akim Sari. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian, legal and social defence organisation which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

Despicably Socialist Alternative (SALT) have fallen in behind the government witchhunt, denouncing protesters in and around the so-called "Arterial Bloc." SALT leader Mick Armstrong grotesquely stated "The left should offer no comfort to these crazies. We should do whatever we can to

isolate them" (www.leftwrites.net, 19 November). Echoing the bourgeois media's baiting of "outsiders," he pointed the finger at anarchists who came to Melbourne from interstate and overseas. A subsequent 21 November statement by SALT, "The left must take a stand against the elitist violence of the 'Arterial Bloc'," alibis the government, blaming the victims for the repression meted out to them:

"...we need to take a clear and unambiguous stand against these provocateurs.... Actions like those at G20 by the Arterial Bloc will make it difficult to build the necessary links between organised workers

and the smaller, social issue campaigns. Anything which weakens our ability to build such a movement makes it that much more difficult to deal with state repression. "The violence at the weekend did not combat that repression, but opens up the left to increased militarisation of policing when we do not have the mass grass roots organisation and support capable of repelling it."

This naked capitulation to the violence baiting of the capitalist state demonstrates SALT's loyalty to the ALP capitalist government and the forces of "law and order." Laborite reformism is at the core of their

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## Hate Trotskyism, Hate the SL

# Radical Women & Freedom Socialist Party Protest DSP Assault

Following the thuggish attack by a male Democratic Socialist Perspective (DSP) member on one of our women comrades in Melbourne on 29 August, the Spartacist League has sought to widely expose and condemn the DSP's attempted political censorship and subsequent cover-up of the anti-woman and anti-communist attacks of its supporters. The assault followed a sharp exchange over the DSP's refusal to oppose Australian imperialist military in East Timor. As we have noted, some DSP members appear willing to substitute the fist for the brain when losing an argument (see *ASp* No. 196, Spring 2006).

At union rallies and other protests, many have expressed to us their outrage over the attack and the DSP's lying response. As part of our defence of the rights of the whole workers movement, we have urged unionists, leftists and others to condemn the DSP assault. We reprint below a 31 October protest letter to the DSP from Radical Women and Freedom Socialist Party (RW & FSP). The letter acknowledges the compelling evidence and captures the DSP's culpability. Speaking to the issues of "sexism and sectarian violence in the Left," they state "The DSP has shown so far that it condones both..."

However, giving comfort to the DSP, RW & FSP also smear the SL as "sectarian and sexist," papering over the fundamental divide between the DSP's physical assault in the service of political suppression, and Leninist polemics based on principle and program, the purpose of which is to make clear the political differences between competing tendencies within the workers movement. By accusing us of "sniping" and "lies," they mean that we sharply criticise their politics, as indeed we do. They write:

"RW and FSP understand how the SL can

be infuriating in their own sectarian and sexist conduct. FSP is often a target of their sniping and lies. This goes back to the 1960s, when their U.S. section attacked Clara Fraser, a founder of the FSP, when she waged a political fight against her ex-husband, Richard Fraser, who was expelled from the party because of his sexist betrayals."

Clara and Richard Fraser were both among the founding members of the FSP, formed in the U.S. in 1966. Dick Fraser was cut off from the organisation when it underwent a split the following year. Clara Fraser made her 1967 divorce from Fraser a central issue. The FSP took the old-style New Left feminist credo that "the personal is political" to its logical extreme and turned Clara's divorce into its founding "political" principle. Indeed Clara seemingly based her entire subsequent political career on it. (See "Personalism as a 'Political' Program," *Workers Vanguard* No. 559, 18 September 1992.)

Dick Fraser was a veteran of the revolutionary Trotskyist movement in the U.S. in the period from the 1930s to the 1950s. He developed the program of revolutionary integration, which sees the struggle for black liberation in the U.S. as central and integral to the struggle for socialist revolution. Dick was a theoretical mentor of the Spartacist League on this question. While political differences separated us for many years, at the time of his death in 1988 he was a comrade of the Spartacist League. We refer readers to our Prometheus Research Library bulletin, *In Memoriam—Richard S. Fraser*, which includes his most seminal works. Today, while the FSP continue to pay lip service to revolutionary integrationism, they mold it to fit the confines of their own liberal, reformist outlook and practice. (See "Revolutionary Integrationism: The Road to Black Freedom," *Workers Vanguard* Nos. 864 & 865,

17 February and 3 March 2006.)

The FSP's socialist feminism is a species of reformism, which in this country is imbued with Laborite backwardness including capitulation to male chauvinism. Along with assorted left groups, the FSP joined the DSP-dominated Socialist Alliance (SA). In the last federal elections, SA pushed for an ALP victory through electoral preferences even as the then-leader, Mark Latham, tried to outdo Howard on "family values," pushing his hated "parental responsibility" scheme.

In response to the FSP's unsubstantiated accusations of "sexist conduct" by the SL, we cannot help but note that along with the rest of the anti-Soviet reformist left (including the DSP's forebears) they championed the anti-abortion, Catholic reactionary, counterrevolutionary Solidar-

## RW & FSP Letter to DSP

31 October 2006

Dear comrades

Both Radical Women and the Freedom Socialist Party were given documentation by the Spartacist League outlining claims that at a union rally on August 29, one of their women comrades was abused and punched by a member of the Democratic Socialist Perspective. We have a copy of the letter to the SL, dated that same day, by Margarita Windisch for the DSP which acknowledges that a newspaper was torn from the SL comrade's hands. Comrade Windisch described this as an "unfortunate incident" and apologises for the DSP member's conduct. We have also seen the letter, dated September 8 to the SL, in which the DSP denies the physical assault, calling the SL's public exposure of it as a "slander." However, the written statement by a unionist who witnessed the punching convincingly refutes the DSP's denial.

The DSP has to be held to account for its conduct,—both the actual attack and the way the organisation chose to respond. There are two very serious issues here: sexism and sectarian violence in the Left. The DSP has shown so far that it condones both, starting with its passing off the attack as an "unfortunate incident" and then throwing blame onto the SL for politically addressing the whole matter. This conduct is too familiar in the bourgeois world, from the Howard Government to James Hardie. It is *not* acceptable, and cannot be tolerated, in the socialist movement.

nośc movement in Poland in the 1980s. More recently, in 1999, the FSP claimed in words to oppose Australian imperialist troops to East Timor but nevertheless joined in the chauvinist "troops in" rallies. As for the DSP, they endorsed and were in the forefront of these pro-imperialist mobilisations, marching in lock-step with the ALP and Laborite trade-union misleaders. Just months later Australian troops were terrorising East Timorese women and torturing prisoners. Despite their stated opposition to the Australian imperialist military in East Timor, to our knowledge the FSP remain in Socialist Alliance with the social-chauvinist DSP. It is no accident that SA's "gender agenda" appeals to capitalist governments with barely a mention of the working class never mind a class-struggle perspective and the fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

Despite these deep differences with the FSP, we appreciate the stand they are taking against violence in the workers movement. The suppression of political debate by physical attacks and threats ultimately serves only the ruling class and its racist system of exploitation. ■

RW and FSP understand how the SL can be infuriating in their own sectarian and sexist conduct. FSP is often a target of their sniping and lies. This goes back to the 1960s, when their U.S. section attacked Clara Fraser, a founder of the FSP, when she waged a political fight against her ex-husband, Richard Fraser, who was expelled from the party because of his sexist betrayals. Their attacks on the FSP continue to this day. But we answer each and every attack *politically*.

We will defend the SL, or anyone within the socialist and other movements who unjustly comes under attack. In this case, a DSP member assaulted another socialist, and the DSP then shirked its accountability, both to its membership and the movement. What is the DSP doing to educate its members and create a culture of socialist, comradely conduct?

Both sexism and violence within the Left must be confronted. The brutalising of most of humanity in late capitalism is intense. This gives the socialist movement an historic responsibility to build a combative working class where we take on the brutal system, not physically assault each other! Far from "unfortunate," the incident and the DSP's response so far are outrageous and dangerous.

RW and FSP protest the DSP's conduct and urge the party to seriously address both the assault and a party culture that allows and defends sexist, sectarian behaviour.

In socialist feminism

Debbie Brennan Alison Thorne  
Organiser, Organiser,  
Radical Women Freedom Socialist Party

AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST

Australasian

# SPARTACIST



For a workers republic of Australia, part of a socialist Asia!

Marxist newspaper of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

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# Philippines: Down With Arroyo's Reign of Terror!



White House



AFF

Left: U.S. imperialist chief Bush reviews troops with Philippine president Arroyo in Manila, October 2003. Right: Thousands of Manila protesters demand Arroyo's resignation in February, defying ban on demonstrations during state of emergency.

The following article is slightly adapted from Workers Vanguard (No. 878, 13 October), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Declaring "all-out war" against the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA), the government of president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has unleashed a renewed campaign of terror, vowing to "crush" them in two years. While the stated goal of this offensive, which was announced on June 16, is the destruction of Jose Maria Sison's CPP and its affiliated organizations, the repression targets all who speak out for social justice or any improvement in the miserable conditions of the Filipino masses.

The new campaign is the latest chapter in an ongoing drive by the Arroyo regime against leftists and other oppositionists. Since Arroyo was installed in power in 2001, the police, the military and death squads have run rampant. The Philippines has become the site of an unremitting wave of abductions, torture, disappearances and assassinations of not only leftists and labor and peasant activists but of women's rights leaders, Moro (Muslim) leaders, lawyers and journalists, with over 700 killed under Arroyo. Even before Arroyo announced the new crackdown, the *Asia Times* (2 June) observed, "That the activists are not being killed en masse, but rather at a slow-motion rate of one every other day, seems calculated to maximize the chilling effect while also minimizing public outrage."

A state of emergency was declared in late February on the eve of the 20th anniversary of "People Power One"—the movement that signaled the end of the hated Marcos dictatorship and resulted in the installation of Corazon Aquino as president. This crackdown, which followed a rumored coup attempt, fit seamlessly into the ongoing repression. Arroyo banned all demonstrations celebrating the fall of Marcos, raided opposition media offices and ordered the police and armed forces to suppress "any act of insurrection or rebellion." Nevertheless, public protests broke out against the state of emergency, which was lifted after a week. And in March, more than 10,000 women defied a

## U.S./Australian Troops/Cops Out Now!

police ban and marched on International Women's Day in Manila and other cities.

Fifty-nine individuals, ranging from leftist members of Congress to military officers, were arrested during the state of emergency on bogus charges of rebellion and planning a Communist/rightist coup d'état. Fifty of those arrested were prominent figures from across the spectrum of the left. Anyone alleged to have taken part in "rebellion," including for acts carried out years ago, could be arrested at any time without a warrant—a threat against any group or individual deemed to be "subversive." A case in point is that of leftist Congressman and veteran labor leader Crispin Beltran, who was arrested on the basis of a 21-year-old warrant. When lawyers challenged the arrest because the charges had been dropped in 1988, Beltran was then accused of "incitement to sedition" and subsequently charged with "rebellion" against the Arroyo regime.

Arroyo's reign of terror is abetted and backed up by the presence of the U.S. imperialist military and Australian cops. Washington is intent on reinforcing the repressive apparatus of its Philippine

bourgeois lackeys, enhancing imperialist exploitation and quashing social unrest in a country torn by a long-running Muslim secessionist rebellion, a protracted peasant insurgency and mass unrest over worsening economic conditions. Since 2001, the U.S. has provided the regime with \$1.2 billion in aid. Much of this goes toward arming and training elite killer forces and supplying the military with helicopters, transport planes and naval patrol craft.

The U.S. is aggressively backed by their Australian junior partners who are second only to the U.S. in providing "defence and counter-terrorism" assistance. Under the pretext of the "war on terror" and seeking to enforce its own mining and other imperialist interests Australia has strengthened its military ties with the Philippines government. This has included dispatching Australian cops to the Philippines, providing naval vessels for border control and training Philippine soldiers. Now the Arroyo regime is preparing to sign a new pact with Australia called Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) which would authorize joint military exercises between the Australian and

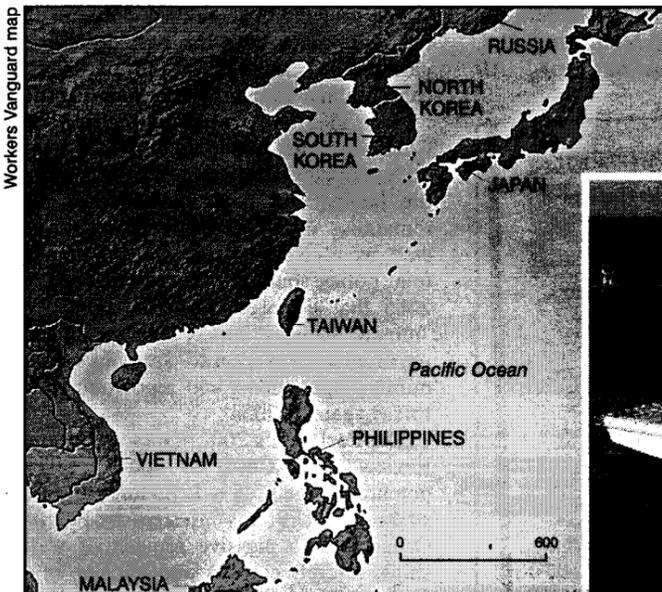
Philippines forces (*Bayanihan News*, October 2006).

Despite our fundamental political differences with the Maoist CPP, we call on the workers movement internationally to defend them as the government again steps up its repression. The combative Filipino working class and its trade unions must mobilize their social power in class struggle against the bloody regime. But such a struggle requires politically combatting the class-collaborationist program of the CPP and others on the left who have repeatedly channeled plebeian anger and protests into support for a "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, waving the colors of Filipino nationalism. What is needed is the building of a Leninist-Trotskyist party—a Philippine section of a reformed Fourth International. Such a party, acting in concert with its comrades in the imperialist centers, is the necessary instrument to lead the proletariat, marching at the head of the oppressed, in the fight for socialist revolution.

### Workers, Leftists, Muslims Under Attack

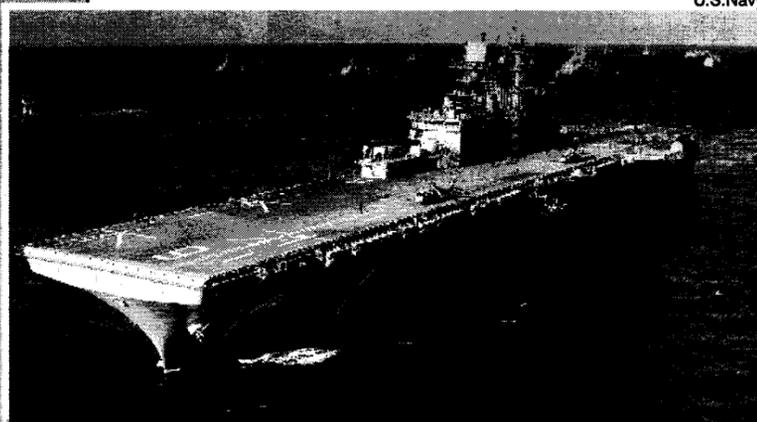
The death squads would not be able to operate without the complicity, direction and protective umbrella of regional

*continued on page 4*



Workers Vanguard map

July 25: Amphibious Assault Ship, part of massive U.S.-led Rim of the Pacific naval exercise near Hawaii. American military expansion along Pacific Rim includes renewed presence in Philippines.



U.S.Navy

# Philippines...

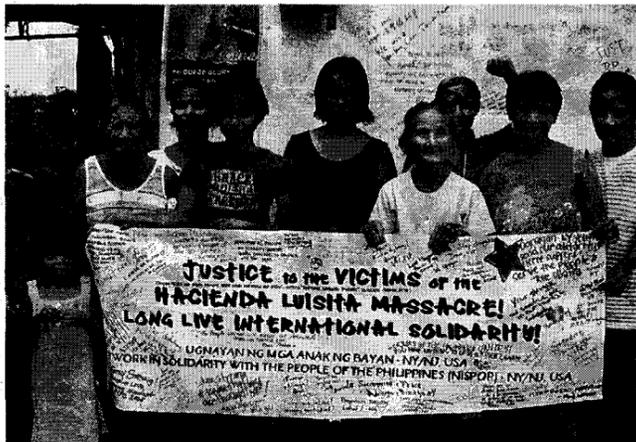
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military commanders. The Armed Forces of the Philippines circulated a June 2005 document called "Knowing Your Enemy," a hit list containing the names of 26 leftist and other opposition groups described as enemies of the state. Moreover, as Amnesty International (AI) noted in a 15 August report, "Philippines: Political Killings, Human Rights and the Peace Process," the government made public the names and addresses of members of the CPP-led National Democratic Front and others who had taken part in "peace negotiations" with the regime and whose identities had supposedly been protected by a "safe conduct" agreement.

A notorious ringleader of the murderous repression is General Jovito Palparan, who was appointed the army's Chief of Staff following his return from heading up Philippine detachments that took part in the U.S.-led occupation of Iraq until pulling out two years ago. After Palparan was assigned to Central Luzon in September 2005, the number of assassinations in the region reached 52 in four months. Palparan, who retired this September, has also been accused of perpetrating a spate of disappearances and assassinations of leftists during previous postings in Samar and Mindoro. The AI report quotes an Agence France Presse (3 February) article in which Palparan, known as "the Butcher of Mindoro," coolly stated that the bloody repression would bring "collateral damage but it will be short and tolerable.... The killings, I would say, are necessary incidents in a conflict."

Among those killed under Arroyo are 43 trade-union leaders and members, including Diosdado Fortuna, president of the Nestlé workers union, who was slain in September 2005 during a militant strike. The previous year saw the notorious massacre of striking Hacienda Luisita sugar workers in Tarlac (see "Protest Massacre of Unionists in Philippines!" WV No. 838, 10 December 2004). Other targets have included members of the CPP-linked national labor federation Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement), the Negros Federation of Sugar Workers, and electric utility and bus company unions. Other victims linked to the CPP include 113 members of the Bayan Muna (Nation First) party and 86 activists from the Gabriela women's group. And at least 42 journalists have been cut down during Arroyo's presidency.

The Arroyo regime's repression has particularly hit the countryside, long the site of massacres carried out by the state, the landlords and death squads. Some 70 peasants and peasant leaders involved in land disputes have been killed. In November 2005, the army in the Visayas region attacked peasants holding a public meeting, killing nine. In a March 2005 slaughter shown live on national television, security forces stormed a military prison where 26 unarmed Muslim detainees, mostly displaced peasants and fishermen,



NSP/OP

**October 2005: People of Hacienda Luisita display messages of solidarity following police massacre of striking sugar workers in November 2004.**

were shot dead as they protested their arbitrary and prolonged detention and horrific prison conditions.

In a sop to international pressure, on August 17 Arroyo announced the formation of the Melo Commission, which is supposedly meant to investigate the murders of leftists and labor leaders. Composed of longtime loyalists of both the Macapagal and Arroyo families, this whitewash commission includes a former Supreme Court justice, the Chief State Prosecutor and the director of the National Bureau of Investigation!

Meanwhile, the longstanding terror campaign against the oppressed Moro population continues unabated. Since 2001, when the U.S. opened a "second front" in the "global war on terror" by landing troops on the island of Mindanao, tens of thousands of Moro Muslims have been forcibly displaced and hundreds tortured, killed or disappeared. The sight of American soldiers roaming Mindanao and inflicting bloody repression is a haunting reminder of the atrocities meted out to the Muslim population under U.S. colonial rule at the turn of the 20th century. This March marked the 100th anniversary of the methodical slaughter by American troops of some 900 Moro men, women and children who had taken refuge in the bowl of the volcanic crater of Bud Dahu mountain. No one was spared. "Not even a baby alive to cry for its dead mother," wrote Mark Twain in denouncing this atrocity. President Theodore Roosevelt congratulated General Leonard Wood, who directed the bloodbath, and his men "upon the brilliant feat of arms wherein you and they so well upheld the honor of the American flag."

The marginalization and expropriation of the Muslim population intensified in the postcolonial period, especially under Marcos, who attempted to put an end to the "Muslim question" by overwhelming the Moro population with Christian migrants. While in 1903 Muslims constituted 76 percent of the population of Mindanao, today they make up less than 20 percent. A Leninist-Trotskyist party would act as the tribune of the people, fighting for full equality for minorities and for the integration of the Muslim toilers into the working class. **Down with the military occupation of Mindanao! U.S. and Philippine troops out now! All**

**U.S./Australian military/cops get out of the Philippines now!**

## Arroyo Regime Aids Imperialists' Anti-China Drive

After gaining nominal independence following World War II, the Philippines remained a semicolonial vassal of the U.S., serving as a linchpin of the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance. In the 1960s and '70s, Clark Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base were crucial platforms for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The Arroyo government, a rabid supporter of the "global war on terror," provided airspace and military facilities for U.S. warplanes en route to aircraft carriers



The National Archives

**March 1906: U.S. imperialist troops pose over Moros (Muslims) slaughtered in volcanic crater.**

and bases in the Indian Ocean during the invasion of Afghanistan, and it sent troops to Iraq. This March, the regime signed an agreement setting up the Security Engagement Board (SEB), which will increase U.S. forces in the Philippines under the pretexts of maritime safety, fighting "terrorism" and dealing with natural disasters and epidemics. The SEB is the latest in a series of military pacts drawn up since 1998 that effectively create a permanent U.S. military presence in the country. Manila has also invited the U.S. to re-occupy the bases it abandoned at the time of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92.

The growing U.S. military presence in the Philippines over the past decade is part of a broader strategic shift of American military forces to the Asia-Pacific region. This shift is aimed squarely at China, as the imperialists stoke their drive for capitalist counterrevolution in the largest and most powerful of the remaining deformed workers states, as well as at North Korea. A U.S.-Japan joint policy statement issued in February 2005 that declared capitalist Taiwan a "mutual security concern" signaled the imperialists' intention to strengthen their military agreements and reposition their forces against China.

The Pentagon's 2002 "Nuclear Posture Review" lists China as one of seven potential targets of a U.S. nuclear first strike. The U.S. has infested the Pacific Ocean with a massive armada of warships, aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines. Barely a month passes without a

military exercise conducted in the Pacific Rim involving thousands of American troops from different branches of the military, at times carried out jointly with U.S. allies. Near Guam this June, the Pacific Command's "Valiant Shield" exercise, one of the largest in decades, involved some 30 warships, including three aircraft carriers, hundreds of warplanes and 22,000 troops.

Washington is seeking once again to turn the strategically located Philippine archipelago into an unsinkable aircraft carrier and add it to the string of countries around China's perimeter that provide the U.S. with military bases, from Kyrgyzstan on China's western flank to South Korea, Taiwan and Japan along the Pacific Rim. The Bush administration announced a nuclear pact with India in March as a step toward bringing that country into Washington's anti-China alliance. In Australia, the southern arm of this encirclement, the U.S. is building huge bases at Bradshaw and at Yampi Sound.

Internationally, almost the entire left refuses to defend China against imperialism under the pretense that it is a capitalist country, pointing, for example, to the Beijing bureaucracy's "market reforms" and the significant amount of investment by offshore Chinese and imperialist capital on the mainland. In fact, the imperialists have a two-pronged strategy for capitalist counterrevolution, combining military pressure with economic penetration. Currently, the U.S., European and

Japanese capitalists are putting enormous pressure on China to open up its state-owned financial system to foreign banks, while the IMF "advises" Beijing to reduce its budget deficit by cutting back on investment in infrastructure, an austerity measure that would destroy the livelihood of millions of Chinese toilers.

Ever since the destruction of the Soviet Union, the imperialists have set China as the main target for counterrevolution, aiming to reverse the gains of the 1949 Revolution. Despite profound bureaucratic deformations, the Chinese Revolution was of world-historic significance, overthrowing the rule of the imperialist-backed Chinese bourgeoisie and creating a collectivized economy that laid the basis for an enormous leap in social progress. A nation that had been ravaged and divided by foreign powers for a century was unified and freed from imperialist subjugation. In a country defined by abject peasant backwardness, the revolution enabled women to advance by magnitudes over their previous status.

These gains, however, have been undermined by Stalinist misrule. Following the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country" and its corollary, "peaceful coexistence," the Chinese Communist Party regime, from Mao Zedong up through today, has conciliated imperialism, not least through selling out revolutions in other countries. And one effect of "market reforms" has been the strengthening of domestic counterrevolutionary forces.

The impact of capitalist restoration on the Chinese population would be even

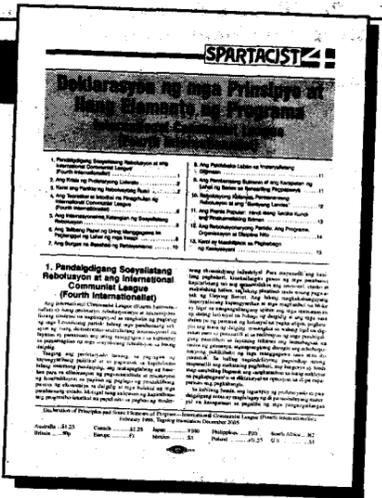
## Available in Tagalog

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

Adopted in 1998 at the Third International Conference of the ICL.

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more devastating than what befell the working people of the former Soviet Union, which had been a global industrial and military power. It is in the direct interest of the international proletariat to defend China and the other remaining deformed workers states—North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba—against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. What are necessary are proletarian political revolutions to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies. Such a perspective must include the fight for socialist revolution internationally, crucially extending to the U.S., Japanese, Australian and European imperialist centers.

### Class Collaboration vs. Proletarian Independence

Arroyo, like her predecessors, presides over the grinding immiseration of the Filipino population, imposing one IMF-dictated austerity program after another to pay for usurious loans, otherwise known as the “foreign debt.” Over eleven million of the Philippines’ 33 million people of working age are unemployed or underemployed. And some eight million Filipinos are currently working abroad, including in such dangerous places as Iraq, where an estimated 6,000 are working. At the same time, the large diaspora of overseas workers, along with Filipino seamen, who make up roughly one-fifth of the international maritime workforce, form a living bridge linking the struggles of the proletariat in the Philippines to those of its class brothers and sisters around the world.

Over 40 percent of households in the Philippines lack adequate shelter and food. Tens of thousands of Manila slum dwellers eke out a living scavenging mountains of garbage dumps. The public education and health systems have sharply deteriorated as a result of stepped-up privatization and slashing of public spending. In February, a devastating landslide, largely caused by deforestation, buried 1,800 people on the island of Leyte. The incompetence of the regime and its failure to provide the most basic relief was a cause of anger and indignation across the country. And in the slums around Manila, massive fires are now commonplace, as steep increases in power rates force people to use kerosene and candles for lighting. Thousands have been left homeless there.

Bent on reversing some measures instituted after the fall of the Marcos dictatorship, the Arroyo regime has launched a campaign for constitutional “Charter Change,” or “Cha-Cha.” The proposed changes to the constitution include removing restrictions on the operation of foreign capital in the country and eliminating provisions for the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively. It also calls for replacing the current electoral system, under which leftist parties have won a number of Congressional seats. If Arroyo succeeds in ramming through this scheme, the 2007 legislative elections will be postponed. There is plenty of opposition to “Cha-Cha” among sections of the bourgeoisie. But one thing the competing wings of the ruling class agree on is the need to repress the workers and the poor. As Arroyo told her cabinet, “The fight against the Left remains the glue that binds” (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 18 June).

Resistance is growing among workers, farmers, students and minorities fighting for justice for the victims of the regime’s terror, an end to the U.S. military presence, the repeal of value-added taxes, land reform, an increase in the minimum wage and other demands. But the Filipino left, centrally Sison’s CPP, is attempting to channel this plebeian anger into a broad “anti-imperialist united front” with those sections of the domestic bourgeoisie that fear foreign investment rivalry and are uneasy with the Arroyo regime’s hawkish

## Longshore Union Support Key Filipino Seamen Win Strike in U.S.

Eighteen Filipino crewmen aboard the M/V *Endless*, owned by a Greek company and registered in Panama, went on strike in the Los Angeles area Port of Long Beach for four days [in September], and they won with the support of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU). The seafarers set up a picket line at the top of the gangway, carrying signs that read: “Seamen on Strike for Wages, Hours and Conditions.” The company had cheated them out of \$362,000 in back wages and refused them break time, with most of the crew not having been home for two or three years.

The strike began on September 7 after an inspector for the International Trans-

port Workers’ Federation (ITF)—a global organization of dockers, seamen, truckers and rail and aviation unions—investigated the books and confirmed the crew was owed back wages. ILWU Local 13 members, backed by the ILWU International, honored the picket line and stopped loading the ship. With the *Endless* paralyzed and another ship blocked from the berth, the owners granted \$227,000 in back pay, and acceded to the crew’s demands for repatriation at company expense and the promise that they would not be blacklisted. This victory gives a taste of the power of international labor solidarity in action.■

posture and open embrace of its American imperialist master.

While pursuing on-and-off peace talks with the government, the Sisonites taunt Arroyo as “anti-Filipino” and seek to broker alliances with disaffected military officers and the shadowy MKP (Nationalist Filipino Soldiers). In a March 12 statement, Sison called for the “legal and nonviolent ouster of the Arroyo regime” through a “broad united front of patriotic, progressive and anti-Arroyo forces” that would be “open to the participation of civilian and military officials and personnel of the reactionary government.” The statement called for the formation of a “Transition Council” that would include “the representatives of all major coalitions, political parties, mass organizations and groups of retired military and police officers.” The Sisonites thus seek an alliance with some of the very forces trained by the U.S. to hunt down leftists and Muslim militants.

Underlying this class-collaborationist policy is the Menshevik-Stalinist program of “two-stage revolution”: fighting for a “democratic” revolution in league with a mythical “progressive” and “anti-imperialist” wing of the bourgeoisie while relegating the struggle for socialism to an indefinite future. From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-1927, which was drowned

borne out by the proletarian Russian Revolution of 1917.

As explained by Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the October Revolution, the evolution of backward countries that came to capitalist development in the epoch of imperialism reflects the process of “combined and uneven development”: cottage industries and other backward forms of production exist side by side with massive industrial plants, funded by imperialist capital, employing the most advanced technique. Thus in the Philippines, production for the world market has led to the emergence of a modern, concentrated proletariat working for electronics giants like Hitachi and Philips, Japanese automakers and other major corporations, while the peasantry has been robbed of its lands to make way for sugarcane, coconut and banana plantations dominated by the likes of Dole and Del Monte. Facing this huge propertyless, impoverished mass is a sliver of a domestic bourgeoisie that acts as compradors for the imperialists.

Too weak to confront its imperialist overlords, on whom it depends for securing its class rule, and living in fear of a revolutionary upheaval of the exploited masses, the stunted Philippine bourgeoisie is incapable of achieving the democratic gains associated with the

complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation.” Once in power, the proletariat of necessity must move toward building a collectivized economy through the expropriation of capitalist property. This in turn requires a fight to extend proletarian revolution to the imperialist centers in order to set the stage for an internationally planned economy—the basis for building a socialist society based on material abundance.

### Forge a Trotskyist Party!

It is crucial that the Filipino proletariat champion the just struggles of the rural poor against the landlords and agribusiness interests. Rejecting the vanguard role of the working class, the Maoist CPP and New People’s Army have been waging peasant-based guerrilla warfare for almost four decades. Such guerrilla movements represent the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie and of necessity must seek to attract and make compromises with one wing of the bourgeoisie. Fundamentally, the CPP’s guerrilla struggles have served as a pressure tactic on the bourgeoisie, aimed at forcing concessions at the negotiating table.

Even under the most favorable historical circumstances, guerrilla warfare has been capable at most of creating bureaucratically deformed workers states. Thus in Cuba, Castro’s guerrilla movement, based on the petty-bourgeois peasantry, was able to take power in 1959 and smash capitalist property relations in 1960-61 due to extremely exceptional circumstances: the flight of the national bourgeoisie, the absence of the working class as a contender for social power in its own right, and, most importantly, an economic and military lifeline thrown by the Soviet Union. Even so, the Cuban Revolution placed in power an *anti-proletarian*, nationalist regime, requiring a fight for proletarian political revolution. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, and consequently no readily available lifeline against imperialist encirclement, the narrow historical opening that made it possible for petty-bourgeois forces to overturn the capitalist order has been closed.

What is necessary is a programmatic



L.A. Times

Left: As Marcos dictatorship tottered in 1986, “People Power One” brought U.S.-backed Cory Aquino to power. Right: 2001 “People Power Two” coup ousted corrupt president Joseph Estrada, brought bloody Arroyo regime to power.



AP

in blood by Chiang Kai-shek, to the massacres of Indonesian Communists by General Suharto in 1965, history has repeatedly demonstrated that the first “stage” of “two-stage revolution” ends in the blood of the working class and the oppressed.

Against this Stalinist program of betrayal, revolutionary Marxists fight for the political independence of the proletariat from all wings of the bourgeoisie. In regard to the Philippines and other countries of belated capitalist development, the International Communist League is guided by the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution, whose validity was

bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries, such as national liberation, agrarian revolution, political democracy and the separation of church and state. For the Stalinists’ mythical “progressive” national bourgeoisie, even a moderate agrarian reform is enough to give them apoplexy, and democracy is a “luxury” they cannot afford. They prefer death squads.

As Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1930), “With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the

break with all variants of the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of “two-stage revolution” that dominates the Filipino left. Both the CPP and its breakaway groups, including the Workers Party (PM), hailed “People Power Two,” the 2001 coup that ousted corrupt populist president Joseph Estrada and installed Arroyo with the blessing of the Catholic church and the backing of the Makati Business Club (see “For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!” *WV* No. 763, 31 August 2001). The Sisonite Bayan Muna party even campaigned for Arroyo’s senatorial ticket in the 2001 elections after her regime bloodily suppressed a May

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# South Africa Permanent Revolution vs. “Two-Stage” Stalinist Betrayal

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 875, 1 September), newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League.

In 1994, after more than a decade of massive struggles by the predominantly black working class and township poor, the white-supremacist police-state regime in South Africa was replaced by Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC). The black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian working people were promised that their everyday conditions of life would be greatly improved by redistributing the country's wealth from the affluent white ruling elite. Instead, under the bourgeois-nationalist regimes of Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki, conditions for the working class, rural toilers and township masses have in many important respects gotten worse.

Almost a million workers have been laid off through the privatization of government-owned industry and other kinds of capitalist restructuring. Sixty percent of the adult jobless black African population has never been employed. Two million people have been evicted from their homes because they could not pay the sky-high utility bills, and some ten million have had their electricity and water cut off. At the same time, a small black elite has arisen who drive Mercedes, vacation in Dubai and clink champagne glasses with the Randlords of the Anglo-Gold Ashanti corporation. The income of white families has increased substantially while that of the overwhelming majority of blacks has plummeted.

A key factor in the ANC's accession to power was the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which for decades had supported the ANC materially and diplomatically. During the Cold War, the ANC and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois “Third World” movements and regimes were able to play off Moscow and Washington, thereby achieving a certain latitude in which to maneuver. But as the Moscow Stalinist regime under Mikhail Gorbachev fell apart, the ANC leaders openly embraced “power sharing” with the white racist South African rulers, a section of whom accepted that ANC rule no longer posed a threat to the white economic oligarchy. Today, despite the change in the political and judicial superstructure, South Africa remains, as it was under the white-supremacist apartheid system, a country in which the black masses live in Third World poverty while most whites enjoy First World conditions. We have thus described South Africa under the ANC as a neo-apartheid capitalist state.

Nothing more clearly exposes the fact that the ANC-led regime is the enemy of the workers and the oppressed than its response to the AIDS pandemic that has ravaged South Africa. According to the

United Nations, in 2005 an estimated 5.5 million South Africans were HIV positive and some 320,000 died from AIDS. Women are among the hardest hit by the pandemic. Today, over 39 percent of pregnant women in the province of KwaZulu-Natal test HIV-positive. An effective, scientific response to this crisis has been willfully frustrated by the *criminal policies* of the ANC-led government. Mbeki himself outrageously refuses to acknowledge the scientific fact that the HIV virus causes AIDS! On August 24, police using pepper spray attacked protesters in Cape Town who, as part of a national day of protest by the Treatment Action Campaign, were calling for the firing of the health minister and demanding that prisoners be treated with anti-retroviral drugs.

A key agency upholding the government is the heavily overlapping leadership of the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). As part of the governing “Tripartite Alliance,” the SACP/COSATU tops keep the country's powerful and combative working class tied to the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, who in turn are the black front men for the dominant white capitalist class. Leading SACP cadres are senior officials in the government, including those branches directly engaged in the brutal repression of labor struggles and township protests: the Security Ministry and the intelligence service.

In the last two years, major labor strikes and militant township protests have signaled growing hostility on the part of the

black masses toward the ANC regime. The future of the Tripartite Alliance is now being intensely debated within the workers movement and among broader layers of society. Amid the anger and bitter disillusionment among their working-class supporters, the SACP tops recently came out with a discussion document in which they openly criticized the central ANC leadership (*Bua Komanisi!* Special Edition, May 2006). The document raised the possibility of running candidates in future elections in the party's own name, within the framework of the Alliance. Such candidacies would have a purely token character, in no way challenging, much less weakening, the ANC's governmental power. The document categorically rejects “watering down the ANC's overwhelming electoral majority.”

Along somewhat similar lines, the COSATU bureaucrats have issued a discussion document (“COSATU Political Discussion Document—Possibilities for Fundamental Social Change”) in preparation for a congress in September strongly condemning the “neoliberal” policies of the Mbeki regime. It points out that the share of national income going to the workers has decreased while the share raked off in corporate profits has markedly increased. Nonetheless, the COSATU misleaders cite favorably surveys through 2004 that “have confirmed that the overwhelming majority of COSATU members support COSATU's approach of strategic engagement from within the Alliance.”

The sordid reality behind the ideological claptrap of the SACP document is the maneuvering inside the ANC itself. The



May 18: Johannesburg rally during one-day COSATU general strike protesting unemployment, poverty.

SACP/COSATU tops are backing Mbeki's main factional opponent, Jacob Zuma. Mbeki's former deputy president, Zuma combines a “man of the people” posture with appeals to Zulu tribalist nationalism.

The SACP leaders have always used the Menshevik/Stalinist schema of “two-stage revolution” as an ideological justification for their historic alliance and interpenetration with the ANC. According to this schema, conditions are not currently ready for socialism. Therefore, first must come a political bloc with “progressive” bourgeois nationalists, which in South Africa is called the “National Democratic Revolution” (NDR). Then, some far-off and unspecified time later, this will evolve into socialism. Thus the recent document asserted “the inextricable linkage between the NDR and the imperative of ‘building socialism now’,” while reaffirming “our commitment to the ANC-led Alliance.”

South Africa's black workers and poor know damn well that the country is not moving toward socialism but in the opposite direction: toward increasingly brutal capitalist exploitation and immiseration. The SACP leadership is in some difficulty as it has failed to produce the gains it promised the masses. Hence, in order to repair the damaged credibility of the Alliance, the SACP/COSATU tops have adopted a more leftist stance toward the Mbeki regime while promising to fight for more worker-friendly policies. This is a cynical political con game. In order to go forward in its struggles, the working class must break with the ANC-led Alliance and with the reformist politics of class collaboration packaged as the National Democratic Revolution.

In opposing the “two-stage revolution” schema—a formula for class betrayal—Spartacist South Africa, section of the International Communist League, stands for the program and perspective of permanent revolution developed by Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. This posits that in countries of combined and uneven development, the outstanding democratic tasks historically associated with the bourgeois revolutions can only be carried out through the assumption of power by the working class. In South Africa, genuine national liberation and the destruction of black oppression require proletarian revolution and its extension to the advanced capitalist (imperialist) countries of North America, West Europe and Japan. In fighting for that goal, we seek to build a Leninist revolutionary vanguard party of the working class that would champion the cause of the vast unemployed urban masses, the landless, immigrants, women, agricultural laborers and all of those oppressed under neo-apartheid capitalism.

## Upsurge in Labour Struggles, Township Protests

All too little has changed in the “new” South Africa. Retaining an ironclad grip on the economic resources of the country

**Break with the Bourgeois ANC—No Support to Mbeki, Zuma! Forge a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!**

(mines, banks, factories and land), the white bourgeoisie subcontracts out the task of administering the capitalist state to the ANC.

Last year saw the largest strike wave since the ANC assumed power, as workers protested starvation wages in the face of booming profits and fat bonuses to management. Militant actions by South African Airlines workers grounded both domestic and international flights, stunning the company by their determination and the level of public support. In the first national mine workers strike since the late 1980s, 100,000 members of the National Union of Mineworkers shut down the gold sector, supported in an important (and unprecedented) action by two historically white craft unions.

In June 2005, COSATU called a one-day general strike against unemployment and poverty, supposedly meant to launch a series of rolling mass actions. A rally at Johannesburg Library Gardens was characterized by heightened anti-ANC sentiment. When the COSATU bureaucrats persisted in raising desperate cries of "Viva ANC! Viva!", a large section of the crowd of up to 50,000 replied "Phansi!" (Down!).

For the past two years, a wave of protests—mainly over lack of water, electricity and decent housing—has swept South Africa. The most dramatic upheaval occurred in the Merafong township of Khutsong on the West Rand, where residents called for a boycott of the local elections in March 2006 and turned the area into a "no go zone" for the ruling party. When Defense Minister and ANC national chairman Mosiuoa "Terror" Lekota attempted to call a pro-government rally, he was greeted with chants of "voetsek" (f--k off).

In the township of Soshanguve, north of Pretoria, residents used rakes, spades and building tools to drive off security guards who had dismantled their shacks the night before. Police then arrived and fired on the crowd with rubber bullets and stun grenades. In Durban, a march by the Shack Dwellers Movement, which organized an electoral boycott, was attacked by the cops. Protesters were beaten while in police custody. These scenes of revolt and repression take place almost daily in the "new" South Africa.

### Jacob Zuma: Anti-Working-Class Politician

The SACP and COSATU tops have sought to deflect the growing anger against the government among the working class and township poor into support for the Zuma "camp" of the ANC. When Mbeki dismissed Zuma as deputy president in June 2005, the COSATU leadership, the SACP and the ANC Youth and Women's leagues came to his defense. Mbeki is widely viewed as a coldblooded, arrogant technocrat whose main priority is placating the white corporate elite and their imperialist senior partners, as well as their black junior partners. But as a bourgeois politician and Zulu traditionalist, Zuma is no less a class enemy of the proletariat than Mbeki. Criminally, the SACP/COSATU tops have told the working class to take sides in a power struggle between two bourgeois politicians whose reactionary politics are *indistinguishable*. Opposing Mbeki is not the same as opposing class collaboration with the bourgeois ANC. *Break with the ANC! Forge a revolutionary workers party!*

The obscenity of the SACP's pro-Zuma position became utterly manifest during his recent trial for the rape of an HIV-positive woman, which resulted in his acquittal. In his trial testimony, Zuma ignorantly proclaimed that he showered after sex to minimize the chance of catching AIDS! Meanwhile, his supporters paraded outside the courthouse carrying the slogans "Burn the Bitch" and "100% Zuluboy." Disgustingly, the Young

Communist League joined the pro-Zuma protests, rendering absolutely contemptible the SACP's claims to stand against Mbeki's HIV denialism and against women's oppression.

One of the most sinister aspects of these events was their fostering of tribalist enmities. Many Zulus and others saw Zuma's dismissal as an anti-Zulu plot by Mbeki and other Xhosa central leaders of the ANC. The historically Xhosa region of the Eastern Cape in fact contains some of the most destitute areas in the country. In reality, the ANC represents the interests of the (overwhelmingly white) capitalist class against workers of all racial and ethnic groups: Zulu, Xhosa and other black Africans, Indian, coloured and white. Since coming to power, the ANC has increasingly worked to pit different sectors of the oppressed against each other.

### The Tripartite Alliance: A Nationalist Popular Front

The Tripartite Alliance between the ANC, SACP and COSATU is a nationalist popular front in which the power of the African working class is held in check by its subordination to the supposedly "progressive" national bourgeoisie. The SACP's class-collaborationist alliance with the bourgeois ANC goes back at

some other set of economic policies—e.g., the 1994 COSATU-authored Reconstruction and Development Program—could promote the welfare of labor and capital simultaneously are peddling a nationalist lie. And the purpose of that lie is to obscure the fundamental fact that modern society is divided into two main classes—the capitalist exploiters and the exploited proletariat—whose interests are irreconcilable.

By centering its criticisms on Mbeki's particular policies, the SACP seeks to disguise the class nature of South African society and the neo-apartheid capitalist state. Thus the document asserts: "The post-1994 democratic state is not inherently capitalist, it is, in fact, a sharply class-contested reality." Furthermore, in regard to the judiciary, the police and intelligence forces, the document declares that "demagogic attacks on these institutions are short-sighted and reckless."

As Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky argued repeatedly, there is no such thing as a class-neutral "democracy"; every state is an apparatus of repression—based on armed bodies of men, principally the army and police—that protects the social interests and property forms of the ruling class. Lenin wrote in *The Proletarian Revolu-*

ship consciously maneuvered to tie the working class to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC despite the masses' far more radical aspirations, thereby laying the basis for neo-apartheid capitalism. Exploitation, immiseration and oppression can be eliminated only through a *proletarian socialist revolution* modeled on the October 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

### Menshevik/Stalinist "Two-Stage" Betrayal

The 1917 October Revolution was the great event of the 20th century. Leading the vast, impoverished peasant masses, the small Russian working class, concentrated centrally in a few industrial centers, seized political power across one-sixth of the globe. The Russian Revolution smashed the old state apparatus, inherited from the tsarist autocracy, replacing the class dictatorship of capital with the dictatorship of the proletariat based on democratically elected councils (soviets) of workers and peasants.

Despite the enormous poverty and backwardness that the Bolsheviks confronted (and the later degeneration of the Soviet workers state under Stalinist rule), the October Revolution laid the basis for a planned economy that would transform the country into an industrial powerhouse whose military might served as a counterweight to U.S. imperialism. Full employment, housing and health care were won only through the overthrow of capitalism.

Against the Mensheviks, the original proponents of "two-stage revolution," Lenin wrote a few months after the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy while Russia was in revolutionary turmoil:

"The leaders of the petty bourgeoisie—the intellectuals, the prosperous peasants, the present parties of the Narodniks [populists]...and the Mensheviks—are *not* at present in favor of a revolution against the capitalists...."

"The conclusion is obvious: only the assumption of power by the proletariat, backed by the semi-proletarians, can give the country a really strong and really revolutionary government" (emphasis in original).

—"A Strong Revolutionary Government" (May 1917)

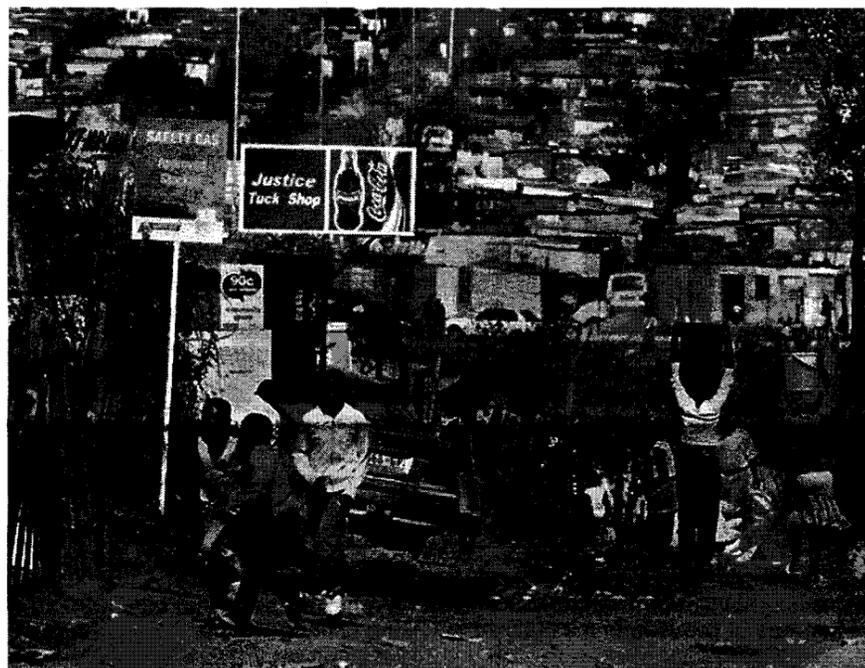
This statement shows that Lenin had in effect come to the understanding earlier put forward by Trotsky that the revolution in Russia could be consummated only through the proletarian seizure of power.

As later practiced by the Stalinists, the "two-stage revolution" policy led not to socialism but to bloody counterrevolution. The second stage, so to speak, occurred when the bourgeois nationalists turned on and massacred their Communist would-be allies and the workers and peasants who supported them, such as in China in 1927 and Indonesia in 1965.

Consider the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27. By then the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state had placed at the head of the Communist International J.V. Stalin and Nikolai Bukharin, who applied the old Menshevik schema to colonial and semicolonial countries under the slogan of the "Anti-Imperialist United Front." Insisting that the coming revolution in semicolonial China would be limited to a "national-democratic revolution" placing the bourgeoisie in power, Stalin and Bukharin, despite objections by Trotsky, continued the policy of the liquidation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) into Chiang Kai-shek's bourgeois-nationalist Guomindang (GMD), which soon engaged in a civil war against imperialist-backed Northern warlords in the name of unifying China.

In early 1927, the GMD army marched on Shanghai, then controlled by a local militarist backed by the British. Under CCP leadership, 500,000 workers staged a general strike that developed into a successful insurrection. Communist-led workers effectively took over this key

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Gideon Mendel

### Squatter camp in Soweto epitomises impoverishment, oppression of black masses under ANC-led regime.

least to the 1930s. The central purpose of the SACP discussion document is to provide a theoretical and historical rationale for maintaining the Alliance.

According to the document, the post-1994 period was a "democratic breakthrough" opening up progressive possibilities under the ANC regime. Focusing its criticism overwhelmingly on the GEAR policy—an anti-worker austerity plan implemented in 1996 under Mandela to attract foreign investment and boost profits—the document argues: "*Relative to the transformational potential of the 1994 conjuncture, this project [GEAR] represents a serious strategic setback for the working class (and the national democratic revolution)*" (emphasis in original). The document draws the conclusion that it is necessary to rebuild a mass-based ANC in order to fight for a "progressive developmental" (i.e., capitalist) state.

Even on its own terms, this account whitewashes the fact that the SACP initially endorsed GEAR and has played an active role in the ANC-led government for ten years. Underlying GEAR was not the sudden conversion of the central ANC leadership to neoliberal ideology but the imperatives of the world capitalist system: driving down the cost of labor in order to increase the international competitiveness of South African business.

Those like the SACP who argue that

*tion and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918): "Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*" (emphasis in original). The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. The capitalist state cannot be reformed. It must be smashed through socialist revolution.

Ironically, a counter-polemical against the SACP document published in an official journal of the ANC, *ANC Today* (13 June 2006), cites Marx to refute the notion that South Africa is not a capitalist society with a capitalist state: "In reality, the statement that South Africa 'is not inherently capitalist' is mere demagoguery, with no scientific, Marxist foundation." Indeed it is!

Apartheid's purpose was the procurement, reproduction and control of super-exploited African labor for white-owned capital, initially centered on the mining industries. The legal edifice may have changed, but the fundamental basis of South African capitalism, including the enormous disparities between racial groups, has not. During the anti-apartheid struggles, the SACP and COSATU leader-

# South Africa...

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metropolis. But the Shanghai proletariat laid down its arms on Stalin's orders. And shortly after Chiang's troops entered the city, where they were welcomed by the victorious workers, Chiang staged a bloody coup that beheaded the Chinese proletariat. Tens of thousands of Communists and revolutionary-minded workers were slaughtered. Following this catastrophic defeat, the battered CCP, under Moscow's instructions, shifted its support from Chiang to a rival "left" GMD bourgeois nationalist, Wang Jingwei, who controlled the major city of Wuhan. A few months later, Wang in turn massacred his Communist would-be allies and their working-class supporters.

## Trotsky's Theory of Permanent Revolution

It was in the aftermath of the crushing defeat of the Chinese Revolution (and part of his struggle against the treacherous and disastrous Stalinist leadership of the world Communist movement) that Trotsky generalized his theory of permanent revolution, which he had first developed in 1904-06 with regard to the course of the revolutionary struggle in tsarist

Thus, Trotsky wrote in *The Permanent Revolution* (1929): "With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation."

In South Africa, adequate housing for millions in the townships and shantytowns, electricity and clean water for the entire population, free quality education, the eradication of *lobola* (the bride price) and female genital mutilation, the mobilization of all available scientific and medical resources in combating the AIDS pandemic: these desperately needed measures require the socialist transformation of the economy and society. South Africa's industrial proletariat has the power and class interests to unite all of the oppressed in a determined battle for a revolutionary workers government.

Lenin, Trotsky and the other leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution never believed (contrary to Stalin's later falsifications) that socialism could be built in a single country, especially not in a relatively poor country besieged by world imperialism. As Trotsky wrote in *The*

to *break* that chain at its weakest links, and then fight like hell to take the battle to the imperialist centers, seeking allies against the vicious enemy of all the oppressed—international capital. Thus, the fight to build a South African Bolshevik Party is inseparable from the struggle we in the International Communist League are waging to reforge an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International."

—"South African Powder Keg: Part Four," WV No. 606, 16 September 1994, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12

A socialist revolution in South Africa would reverberate among working people and the oppressed the world over, finding strategically powerful allies in the proletariat of the imperialist centers.

## For a Revolutionary Vanguard Party

Reflecting the growing popular discontent with the Mbeki government, several groups and individuals outside the Alliance have raised the call for a new mass workers party, for example, Trevor Ngwane of the Anti-Privatization Forum (APF). The Johannesburg-based APF functions as a kind of political sandbox for various pseudo-Trotskyist organizations in South Africa, including the Clifite Keep Left group and the Democratic Socialist Movement, which is affiliated

Alliance with ANC" (WV No. 808, 29 August 2003): "This is essentially a call for a 'party of the whole class.' The model for this is the (old) British Labour Party.... We reject the notion that the South African working class must pass through the experience of a mass reformist party before a revolutionary party can develop out of it—a kind of two-stage theory of party-building."

In practice, the APF is a class-collaborationist outfit seeking to pressure the ANC-led regime from the left. This is clearly indicated by the APF's allegiance to the World Social Forum (WSF) movement, which is also supported by the COSATU leadership. The purpose of the Social Forums, which are bankrolled by various agencies of the imperialist rulers and their neocolonial underlings, was to draw left-radical youth protesting the evils of "globalization" away from pitched battles with the forces of the capitalist state and to corral them behind the "democratic alternative" of parliamentary reformism, while pretending that these talk shops were "non-parliamentary" (see "Social Forum Con Game," WV No. 853, 2 September 2005).

The list of sponsors of the biannual meetings of the WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil, include the Brazilian federal government, the Banco do Brasil and the country's giant oil company, Petrobras. The 2003 European Social Forum (ESF) in Paris was funded by the right-wing Chirac government. And the 2004 ESF in London was bankrolled and hosted by New Labour mayor Ken Livingstone, supporter of the U.S./NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999.

The Social Forums have been dominated by the misnamed "Non-Governmental" Organizations (NGOs). These organizations, sanctioned by and receiving much of their funding from churches, corporations and capitalist states, are hardly independent of the governments to which they are answerable. Like other components of the Social Forum movement elsewhere, the APF in South Africa is funded by NGOs such as Oxfam Canada and War on Want. As the old saying goes, "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

For the perspective of permanent revolution in South Africa to become a reality requires the forging of a vanguard party modeled on Lenin's Bolshevik Party, a party which led the first and only successful proletarian revolution in history. This party united the most politically advanced workers with the best of the leftist intellectuals. The Bolshevik Party was built through political and polemical struggle against the reformist pseudo-Marxists (the Mensheviks), the populist Social Revolutionaries and the left nationalists of the various oppressed peoples of the tsarist empire. Similarly, our comrades of Spartacist South Africa seek to aggressively confront the different currents of the South African left in political and polemical struggle with the aim of forging an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist party on a clear programmatic basis. ■



Winstar Stalin's 1927 autographed photo (centre) sent to Chiang Kai-shek: "To the Guomindang's victory and China's liberation." Left: In line with Stalinist policy, Shanghai workers welcomed Chiang Kai-shek's troops into city, April 1927. Right: Execution of Communist Party member, one of thousands massacred following Chiang's coup. no credit

Russia. Permanent revolution *rejects* the nationalist bloc between the proletariat and its capitalist class enemy.

By the late 19th century, the major imperialist powers had subjugated the rest of the world through either conquest or commercial/financial dependency, while the struggle among them for economic and military predominance intensified. In countries of belated capitalist development, the propertied classes emerged as too dependent on and tied to imperialism to complete the historic tasks of social and economic modernization. "Progressive developmental" capitalism in a country like South Africa or those of Latin America is an illusion. However, in many cases foreign investment has created a force capable of breaking the hold of imperialist domination and opening the road to social progress: the industrial proletariat.

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

As we wrote shortly after the ANC succeeded the apartheid regime:

"The consolidation or simply the survival of a socialist revolution in South Africa *requires* its international extension. This was the core of the Bolsheviks' program....

"For the moment South Africa is a weakened link in the chain of the world capitalist system binding the neocolonies of the Third World to the imperialist states of North America, West Europe and Japan. It is necessary to mobilize the forces of the proletariat

with the Taaffeite Committee for a Workers International. Trevor Ngwane himself is a former ANC local councillor who was expelled from the party in 2000 for opposing the extensive privatization of government-owned industries.

In a brief document titled, "The Vanguard and the Mass" (February 2005), Ngwane calls for "a party which groups the majority of workers together on politics which reflects their own interests" and denounces any conception of an independent vanguard party as amounting to "not really a vanguard—just a sect." Ngwane's "Socialist Group" in the APF issued a similar call three years ago. In response, we wrote in "South Africa: Union Militants Protest COSATU

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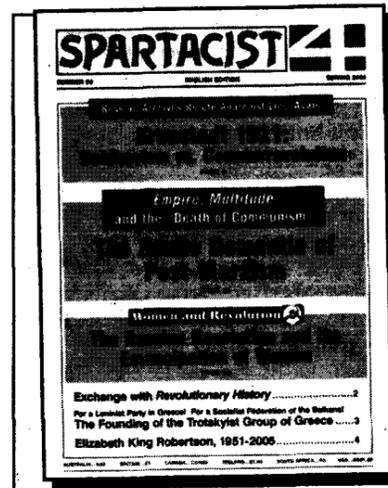
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# North Korea...

(continued from page 1)

"axis of evil" delusions of the Bush administration, U.S. imperialism's sole policy toward the Stalinist-led North has always been to destroy it on the road to overturning the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The Korean War was initiated by Democratic president Harry Truman and continued by his Republican successor, Dwight Eisenhower, while General Douglas MacArthur promoted the notion of nuking China. There is little question that the possibility of a nuclear riposte by the USSR gave pause to the Dr. Strangeloves, while the entry of a million-plus "volunteers" of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, after China itself was militarily threatened by the U.S., allowed North Korea to survive. To this day, the U.S. maintains nearly 30,000 troops in South Korea, including a naval base and three air bases. These troops have been repeatedly used to back up the suppression of working-class militancy and social uprisings in the South and are a signal of U.S. imperialism's intent to reverse its defeat in the North. **All U.S. troops and bases out of South Korea!**

The day before the statement was issued by North Korea's Foreign Ministry, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chris Hill warned, "We are not going to live with a nuclear North Korea. [It] can have a future, or it can have these weapons. It cannot have both." The anti-nuclear pretensions of the U.S. are the purest hogwash designed to erase the memory of the incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the end of World War II. It is the U.S., in its 2002 "Nuclear Posture Review," that has targeted China and North Korea, among several other countries, for a potential nuclear first strike. Meanwhile, on several occasions South Korea has covertly sought to develop the technology necessary for nuclear weaponry. Japan, which has more than 40 tons of plutonium, is a screw's turn away from developing nuclear weapons. And then, of course, there is Israel's large nuclear arsenal.

Nevertheless, North Korea's nuclear test has been characterised by most bourgeois commentators as the product of a bizarre, deranged and rogue dictatorship. There is much peculiar about the dynastic, mythologised bureaucratic rule of the Kims in general and specifically about the proclivities of "Dear Leader," Kim Jong Il. But North Korea's decision to conduct the test is not only rational; it is an essential first step to developing nuclear weaponry to deter imperialist attack. It is no accident that North Korea's only partial respite from the unrelenting pressure of U.S. imperialism was during the period when it was economically and militarily in alliance with the USSR. Indeed, had it not been for the Soviet nuclear arsenal, it is likely that much of China, Vietnam as well as North Korea would be irradiated rubble.

## Down With Imperialist Nuclear Blackmail!

In the aftermath of the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict, during which the USSR refused to support China in the service of the Soviet quest for "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, we hailed China's first nuclear explosion in October 1964 as an elementary act of defence in the context of the Soviet betrayal. As we then stated: "The main point is that every increase in the ability of the Chinese to hold the U.S. at bay militarily is an increase in time to prepare the proletarian revolution—above all in America—the only final safeguard to all gains thus far made by the international working class" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965).

For revolutionary Marxists, it is axiomatic that for socialist revolution to sur-

vive, it must in relatively short order achieve world dominance by the proletarian seizure of power in the most advanced strongholds of imperialism. The bureaucratic castes that rule in the deformed workers states have no such perspective. They derive their relative economic privilege and social power from their parasitic relationship to the workers states and, thus, fear most of all a reawakening of any proletarian militancy that would threaten to replace their dominance. Thus, while occasionally forced to defend the revolutions over which they hold political sway from imperialism's attacks, these Stalinist bureaucrats seek to maintain a futile policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as part of their nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country" (or even half a country in North Korea).

During the U.S.-mobilised Cold War that followed World War II and targeted the Soviet Union for nuclear attack, the

**Seoul, 1950.  
Under UN flag,  
imperialists  
slaughtered  
some three  
million people  
in Korean War,  
reduced  
peninsula to  
rubble.**

Captain C.W. Huff/National Archives



USSR offered important military and material support to the newly formed Chinese deformed workers state, similarly targeted during the Korean War. With the easing of the Cold War, the Stalinists in the Soviet Union were willing to trade off that support for rapprochement with the U.S. imperialists. Similarly during the Vietnam War, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seized the "opportunity" to throw in its lot with the American imperialists in opposition to a fictional Soviet "social imperialism." As the U.S. sought the overturn of the military, industrial powerhouse that resulted from the 1917 October Revolution, the CCP's efforts were much appreciated by the U.S. and assisted in preparing the way for counter-revolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, a world historic defeat for the international proletariat.

In the case of North Korea, China criminally voted for sanctions against North Korea in the UN Security Council, having earlier condemned the nuclear test in an 8 October joint statement with the newly elected right-wing Japanese prime minister, Shinzo Abe. And all along, Beijing has been working to pressure the Pyongyang regime into the "six party talks" whose aim is to disarm North Korea. For its part, North Korea is pushing for "bilateral" talks with the U.S.

What has been the net result of China's shameless toadying? To be sure, the imperialists now accord China the stature of a major, if aberrant, operator on the world stage. And there is the imbibing of heady beverages at sumptuous banquets accompanied, no doubt, by numerous opportunities to enrich oneself for favours accorded to the imperialist investors. But since the overturn of the degenerated workers state in the USSR, the U.S. has redeployed to Asia forces it once used to contain the Soviet "threat," and these forces endanger not just Pyongyang but centrally Beijing. At the same time, the U.S. has been strengthening its ties with Japanese imperialism, targeting China under the guise of "defending" capitalist Taiwan. For its part, Japan has sought to

prettify its vicious occupation of China and Korea during the first half of the 20th century until its defeat in World War II, while currently using North Korea as an excuse to overturn the restrictions on its military contained in the postwar constitution.

For their part, the Australian rulers have been aggressively enforcing imperialist neo-colonial rule in the region by dispatching troops and cops to the Solomons, East Timor and Tonga. Two heavily armed warships were stationed off Fiji in anticipation of the military coup that eventually took place in early December. For the U.S. and Australian rulers, enforcing capitalist "stability" in this region also serves their strategic encirclement of China. U.S. military and spy bases in Australia, once primarily targeting the Soviet Union, now monitor China, North Korea and Vietnam with the object of reversing social revolutions that overturned capitalism. We

**demand: U.S. bases out now! Down with the counterrevolutionary U.S./Australia alliance! Not one person, not one cent for the Australian imperialist military! Australian troops, cops hands off Fiji! Get out of the South Pacific, East Timor now!**

Beijing's craven appeasement of the imperialist drive against North Korea is particularly dangerous to China's own defence. Capitalist counterrevolution in China would be a devastating defeat for the international proletariat, turning the world's most populous country into one giant sweatshop directly for the imperialist exploiters, or perhaps some other eventuality not now envisioned. What is urgently posed is the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China to oust the ruling Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing and replace them with a regime based on workers democracy and revolutionary internationalism. A workers political revolution in China would be a spur for a similar uprising in North Korea while igniting socialist revolution in South Korea, providing the basis for the **revolutionary reunification** of the Korean peninsula. It would arouse the powerful Japanese proletariat in opposition to its capitalist rulers and set the stage for a worldwide proletarian offensive against imperialist rule.

## For International Socialist Revolution!

The Australian government, backed by the Labor party and the bourgeois Greens, have been in the forefront of the years-long U.S.-led campaign targeting North Korea. Thus foreign affairs minister, Alexander Downer, and now federal ALP leader of the opposition, Kevin Rudd, railed against North Korea's successful nuclear test. The Australian imperialists jumped to offer a naval vessel to assist in intercepting North Korean shipping.

In the U.S., the Democrats have seized upon North Korea's nuclear test to portray themselves as the hard wiseguys who know how to defend America against the real rogue states like North Korea and

Iran. Senate minority leader Harry Reid put it sharply: "Distracted by Iraq and paralyzed by internal divisions, the Bush administration has for several years been in a state of denial about the growing challenge of North Korea, and has too often tried to downplay the issue or change the subject.... The first step toward ending North Korea's nuclear weapons program must be to ensure that this alleged first nuclear test is also the last" (Agence France-Presse, 9 October).

In Australia the ALP leaders promote themselves in similar fashion. The recent report of the Iraq Study Group in the U.S., signaling the depth of bourgeois defeatism over the occupation of Iraq, has evoked a new round of calls by Labor politicians for troops to be withdrawn. They want troops out of Iraq so that the Australian military can play a greater role in Afghanistan and closer to home, policing the South Pacific and targeting North Korea and China. Rudd recently remarked, "The Iraq War is a distraction in terms of where Australia's national security resources need to be deployed" (*Australian Financial Review*, 14 December).

The Democrats regained control of the Senate and House of Representatives in the recent U.S. mid-term elections, in large part because voters were dismayed by the seemingly endless occupation of Iraq. But the Democrats are, in fact, imperialist warriors par excellence. Virtually every major U.S. imperialist action in the 20th century was carried out by Democratic presidents—because U.S. rulers are aware that the Democrats' posture as "friends" of working people makes them better able to sell U.S. imperialism's wars to the population. Indeed, Bill Clinton was preparing to bomb North Korea into submission in 1994 had he not obtained a promise from Kim Jong Il to cease attempts to reprocess plutonium from fuel rods. What the Democrats are offering is a superior "war on terror," one that would have as today's prime target North Korea as an opening shot against the 1949 Chinese Revolution.

The predatory aspirations of the U.S., shared by its Australian junior partner, among others, are so apparent that even some of those sham socialists who eschew the defence of the deformed workers states under the preposterous fiction that these are capitalist societies feign sympathy for North Korea's plight. Thus, Socialist Alternative (SAlt) state that "George Bush has consistently provoked and threatened North Korea" and "it is worth remembering that the US has invaded Korea before in 1950" ("The US is the threat to peace, not North Korea," *Socialist Alternative*, October/November 2006).

It takes chutzpah for SAlt, whose progenitors (along with those of the International Socialist Organisation) were baptised during the Korean War when they capitulated to imperialism and refused to defend the Korean social revolution from imperialist attack, to offer such concern. Now SAlt maintains, "Our central demand need [sic] to be an end to US warmongering, and the destruction of all nuclear weapons—starting with America's." Here SAlt reveals their touching reformist faith that a good and harmless imperialism can be created through pressuring or otherwise cajoling the imperialists to clean up their act. This is most clearly expressed in their unending efforts to elect Labor to the government benches. An end to war and devastation, beginning with a struggle against the capitalist rulers at home, requires the overthrow by the proletariat of the imperialist world order. That task cannot be accomplished without the forging of a revolutionary Trotskyist international party committed to that end. It is to that purpose that the ICL devotes all its resources.

Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 879, 27 October

# Mumia...

(continued from page 12)

Cowperthwaite declared, "Black liberation cannot succeed apart from united class struggle against the capitalists; working-class emancipation cannot succeed without an implacable fight against anti-black racism. Taking up the fight for Mumia's freedom is part of the fight against racial oppression and working-class exploitation."

Cowperthwaite was loudly applauded when he championed the TWU's strike action, saying, "I'm proud that we showed our union power for three days last December. We paralyzed the racist, union-busting MTA and the city itself. That's the same power we need to free Mumia and all class-war prisoners." He continued, "In every workplace, the words 'Strike!' and 'Free Mumia!' should ring out in the same breath."

Cowperthwaite illustrated the capitalist state as a machine of class repression by pointing to its role in the transit strike: "The government and courts only intervene into the unions to hogtie and destroy them as fighting organizations. Just look at the recent court injunctions, fines and prison time imposed on TWU Local 100.... The LBL says: 'For complete and unconditional independence from the capitalist state! Cops and security guards out of the unions! No to union-suing! Labor must clean its own house!'" He said:

"A host of phony socialist groups, liberals and black nationalists derailed the struggle for Mumia in the late '90s by pushing the demand for a 'new trial' and sowing illusions in the same government that framed him up. During every political show trial in this country's history—Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys, the Rosenbergs—the liberals and reformists have sown false hopes in the supposedly evenhanded scales of justice."

In her remarks, Pam Africa gave credit to the PDC for its many years of work on behalf of Mumia. She has often cited the legal efforts of PDC attorneys on behalf of Mumia, including bringing out the Beverly evidence, which is but one part, although a crucial part, of the massive evidence of Mumia's innocence. As Erica Williamson noted in her address, the PDC first learned of Mumia's case from MOVE member Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the government's fire-bombing of the MOVE commune on 13 May 1985, in which eleven men, women and children were burned to death. The PDC defended MOVE and for 20 years has included MOVE members in its

## Mumia's Greetings to PDC Rallies

The following recorded greetings from Mumia Abu-Jamal were played at the PDC rallies last month.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa! Dear friends and comrades of the PDC:

Thank you for your hard and arduous work in the unions and the streets on behalf of my life and freedom. I, we thank you all. This struggle for justice has been long and bitter, yet we struggle on, as we must. The law, Marx said, is but the will of one class made into the

law for all. We have seen how the law is made and unmade, how legal precedents become suggestions, and how the law changes from case to case—all in support of repression. We've seen the racial exclusion of jurors and the racist comments of judges, false confessions and more. Yet, the struggle continues. I thank you all for the part you play in that struggle.

Ona MOVE! Long live John Africa! From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

program of monthly financial stipends to class-war prisoners.

Directly responding to Williamson's and Cowperthwaite's criticism of the role played by the liberal-reformist left in demobilizing support for Mumia, Pam Africa stated: "I want to dispel the myth that people who call for a trial for Mumia is the cause of the movement being splintered." Speaking of those who might support the death penalty and don't know whether Mumia is innocent but see that he "didn't have a fair trial," she said that "you don't run these people off." Her comments were applauded by many, underlining the range of political views of those in attendance.

Pam Africa defended the Workers World Party (WWP) and Jeff Mackler of Socialist Action (SA), saying "they do work" on behalf of Mumia. She continued by saying that "a lot of people aren't here tonight because we do not understand how we offend each other and you cannot pull people in offending them." She pointed to the 24 April 1999 "Millions for Mumia" protests, which the WWP and SA heavily built, as a high point in mobilizing for Mumia and mentioned as well the ILWU stop-work action that shut down West Coast ports that day. She went on, "You know what broke this movement up? It's fear. It's racism. It's classism. And the terrorism that was in the hearts of this government, when they looked out there on April the 24th, 1999, when they saw the people united, moving up against them.... They had to stop that."

She also took issue with the PDC and LBL speakers' assertion of the strategic importance of mobilizing the labor movement in this struggle, asking about the poor and the unemployed: "They stood beside the workers. I'm saying we must give credit to all those people who worked to free Mumia." She spoke of Italian

Americans, Mexican Americans and black nationalists who came out for Mumia at that time. She also pointed to "black policemen" who were "there for Mumia."

The PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein, who was on Mumia's legal team from 1995 to 1999 and led the investigation that turned up evidence of Mumia's innocence, including the Beverly confession, responded from the platform: "I want to begin by really genuinely thanking Pam for raising her criticisms here at this meeting.... I'm not offended by that. And neither should anyone who we criticize be offended. It's a question of how best to fight forward for Mumia's freedom as part of the broader struggle for the liberation of us all." "What the capitalist class sees in Mumia," Wolkenstein said, "is the spectre of black revolution. And because of that they will stop at nothing, nothing—lies, coercion, falsifying evidence, disappearing evidence of Mumia's innocence, campaigns of all sorts to create dissension and all of that. I couldn't agree more that our main enemy is the capitalist state. Now the question is, how do you fight it?"

### For Class-Struggle Defence!

As Wolkenstein explained, the first step is understanding the nature of the capitalist state as "the instrument of repression for those rulers of this country, the capitalist class," who "will stop at nothing against a possible unity of the working class, against the consciousness...that they must struggle for socialist revolution and not accept the parameters of capitalism." Wolkenstein noted that it was very important that the 1999 union leadership came out in defense of Mumia and that they had signed the statement that appeared in the *Amsterdam News*. "But they would do better," she said, "if they were here today as a first step fighting for Mumia." She won applause for saying that they should have "been prepared to bring out their membership in defending the transit workers when they were out on strike" and "to commit themselves along with every other union here, that labor will stop in this city until Mumia is free."

Wolkenstein continued, "That consciousness is the consciousness that we must win people to." "Our numbers on a street in a demonstration show our desire to stand for something.... But that is not the same thing as being able to stop this system, shut it down! These are very different things. And that is why we talk about the power of the working class. It is not a dismissal of the good will, the heart, the needs and the oppression that otherwise exists in society. It is not a statement that those people who are unemployed are not part of the struggle. But that is the duty of the labor movement: to organize the unemployed, to fight for jobs for the unemployed, to unionize people across the board."

Wolkenstein answered Pam Africa on the role of black cops, some of whom, like the Black Guardians, had been welcomed into Mumia protests in the past: "You know what I want those black cops to do? I want those black cops to tell me what they know about the frame-up of

Mumia Abu-Jamal, because there were tons of black cops involved in the frame-up." Wolkenstein insisted that those cops, precisely "because they're cops" who "defend the capitalist system, and are part of the gunning down of blacks and immigrants and poor and strikers, are just as much the enemy of all of us here as a white cop!"

The PDC's polemics, Wolkenstein said, were directed not at individuals who came out for Mumia protests because of their particular liberal or religious beliefs, or even centrally at bourgeois organizations like Amnesty International, whose views are antithetical to the Marxist understanding of the state. "Who we are addressing our criticisms to," she emphasized, "are those organizations that say they are socialist. That say they are for the workers. That say they're for black revolution and for black freedom. It's those organizations that play the game that has been played for decades and decades and decades, which is to say, to use the excuse: 'People aren't ready for this yet. They haven't gotten there yet. We can't go too far in advance of people yet. We must bide our time.'"

Wolkenstein continued, "I want to make a point that the more evidence that came out of the frame-up, from 1995 to 1999, the more those so-called left organizations decided to hold people back from their understanding of the nature of the courts. Because it was clear that there was a frame-up.... The more the evidence came out, the more those organizations said: 'We are not going to argue for Free Mumia, that Mumia is innocent. We are not going to argue that people need to understand that this is a racist system, that we cannot have any illusions in the court and that we'll need a mass mobilization on the streets, and that's the only way we will get the courts to respond.'"

Pointing to a January 1999 "Emergency Leadership Summit Meeting" that included among its 70 participants representatives of the WWP, SA and Refuse & Resist, Wolkenstein stated, "I'll give a criticism of the Partisan Defense Committee. We weren't there at that meeting fighting for what we should have been fighting for." She continued, "What did they decide to do at this leadership meeting? They decided they would consciously make the demand for 'Millions for Mumia' be 'new trial for Mumia.' Not 'Free Mumia.' And not anything that opposed the death penalty. And this was already after there was a worldwide campaign where millions and millions of people...had signed onto statements and demands and rallies and resolutions that said 'End the racist death penalty. Free Mumia.'"

"There are going to be liberals who are going to organize on the basis that Mumia is a wonderful man," Wolkenstein continued. "And he is. And he writes beautifully. And he does. And that the trial was unfair. Which it was. And they will mobilize on that basis. But that's not enough. And you know what? That will not get Mumia free." She emphasized, "There is no way, given the determination of this state to execute Mumia, that he could be freed short of a mobilization that recognizes the depth of the hatred the state has for him."

Holding up the *Amsterdam News* ad, Wolkenstein said, "There are accusations being made that to raise the Beverly evidence, to raise the demand for Mumia's immediate freedom, to raise the demand that he is an innocent man is divisive, that it's sending decent people away. Well, there are plenty of decent people who do not have our politics who signed onto this statement. Because they can when it's presented to them.... They were ready to do this years ago. Who didn't allow them to do that is the so-called left that decided that the only way that you could build a mass movement was by taking people

## Join the Campaign!

### Funds urgently needed for legal defence!

Make a contribution today, payable to Partisan Defence Committee, write "Mumia legal defence" on the back of the cheque and mail to the address below. Every cent of such contributions is transmitted to Mumia's legal defence team via Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York.

**Organise protest!** Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and religious organisations demanding Mumia's freedom. Get your union or organisation to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Mumia. Publicise Mumia's case in your union or organisation's newsletter.

**Spread the word!** Contact the PDC for copies of *The Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal—Mumia Is Innocent!* This pamphlet arms activists in the struggle for Mumia's freedom by presenting the political basis of the state vendetta against Mumia and the explosive evidence which completely destroys the more than two-decades-long frame-up of this eloquent fighter for black freedom. It is available for \$1. Get the PDC badge: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"—\$1 each. Order the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$10 for DVD. Bundles of the 4-page brochure, *Mumia Is an Innocent Man: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal*—\$2 for 25 copies. Order from/make cheques payable to Partisan Defence Committee, PO Box Q217, QVB, Sydney NSW 1230. Contact us on (02) 9281 2181 or (03) 9654 4315.

back, retarding their consciousness, stopping them from drawing the lessons of Mumia's case."

Wolkenstein also answered charges often raised by liberals that Mumia never told the courts that he was innocent. "Mumia said he was innocent the night he was shot.... He said he was innocent during his trial. He said he was innocent in his 2001 affidavit that accompanied the legal pleadings along with the Beverly evidence." Mumia's statement to the court that he was not guilty of the crime he was charged with "were the words that Sacco and Vanzetti used." She continued, "Mumia knew why he was in court.... He was guilty of being a Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, a black revolutionary. He was guilty of being a journalist who reported the truth. He was guilty of not doing the bidding of the police and the government."

### Mobilise Now!

The questions posed in the debate from the podium continued in the floor discussion. A supporter of the Free Mumia Coalition asked the audience to sign a petition to name a Harlem street in honor of Mumia. But as Williamson explained, the PDC regrettably was unable to sign the petition because it called for a "new and fair trial" and did not call for his freedom or say that he is innocent.

A supporter of the PDC described her work with another group supporting Mumia that was going to put out a fundraising letter. She said she asked



Workers Vanguard  
San Francisco, 24 April 1999: "Millions for Mumia" rally mobilised around call for new trial, catering to illusions in racist "justice" system that railroaded Mumia to death row.

them, "Why don't we put in the letter that he's innocent? Well, all hell broke out. 'We can't do that, we'll alienate people. Some people think he's guilty'."

SL spokesman Don Alexander counterposed our revolutionary integrationist program for black liberation to the dead end of black nationalism. Referring to the overthrow of capitalist rule in Russia in 1917, he said, "One of the important components of that revolution was its internationalism. And it was the fight of the Russian Bolsheviks that actually won the early Communist movement to understand the need to fight against black oppression in the U.S. as central to the struggle for working-class revolution, not separate

from it." The Black Panthers "represented the best of a generation of black militants that wanted to make a social revolution. But their so-called program of revolutionary nationalism rejected mobilizing the multiracial working class as an ally of the struggle for black freedom. That made them easy pickings. It wasn't just the FBI that smashed them, but it was the fact that they did not have a program that was capable of uprooting black oppression, which is rooted in the capitalist system."

In a brief outburst in the midst of the discussion period, Pam Africa charged that there was "racism" in the room. This attempt to deflect the vigorous debate drew a sharp rebuke from Rachel Wolken-

stein: "What we have here is a bunch of demagoguery because there's differences, and we're going to have differences. But I am not going to tolerate an attack on our organization as being racist because you have a disagreement."

Another Spartacist speaker pointed out that the Harlem rally took place in the midst of one of the capitalists' periodic "elephant-and-donkey show" electoral farces, which "serve to perpetuate the myth that this country is democratic or can be fair for working people and the oppressed." She pointed to "the agents of the capitalist class in the labor movement" as well as leftists "who push the lie that this system can be reformed to serve the interests of workers and the oppressed. And I'll give you a stellar example of that. Millions of people protested the racist imperialist war against Iraq.... And where did that go? That got channeled in this country into the dead end of 'Anybody but Bush'." She continued, "The best way that we arm people to fight racism, exploitation and war is by telling the truth about what this system is about and what program it's going to take to fight to get rid of it and organize the working class."

The debate at the rally was a welcome example of the kind of political struggle that must take place to drive the fight to free Mumia forward. As Erica Williamson stated in concluding her opening remarks: "Everyone here must take this case back to their unions, to their campuses, to their community groups." The rally concluded with the chant: "Free Mumia Now!" ■

## Anti-G20...

(continued from page 2)

politics. In opposition to Laborism, we Trotskyists of the Spartacist League fight for the perspective of building a Leninist vanguard party, which stands as a tribune of all the people, capable of leading the working class in a revolutionary and internationalist struggle against ruling-class attacks. This would open the road to socialist revolution and workers rule.

The same police who bloodied anti-G20 protesters also terrorise Aborigines and attack workers picket lines. The capitalist state—its cops, courts and prisons—is a machinery of repression committed to defending the private property, profits and rule of the capitalist exploiters, including when administered by a Labor government. The autonomous types and those in their orbit seek, for example, to pressure the existing social order through "direct action," eschewing the need to mobilise the power of the working class against the capitalist system. Despite our vast political differences, we stand in defence of them and all the anti-G20 protesters under attack by the capitalist state. **Drop all the charges now!**

We protest the arrest and detention of 28-year-old student, Akim Sari, following the anti-G20 protests in Melbourne on 18 and 19 November. Charged with affray, riot, criminal damage and theft, he has been denied bail and is held in remand until his 12 February court appearance—in effect, almost a *three-month sentence!* Sari's detention is an attempt to intimidate anyone who protests the injustices of capitalism. It is a reminder of the vicious treatment the capitalist courts' daily mete out to asylum seekers and the oppressed Aboriginal people of this country. **We demand that Akim Sari be released immediately!**

Sari is reportedly one of at least 11 anti-G20 protesters arrested and charged. Others include 19-year-olds Rosalie Delaney and David Vakalis, 22-year-old Danya Bryx and 24-year-old Dominic Richardson, charged with riot and affray for alleged crimes such as throwing a milk

crate and street signs at police barricades and vehicles. **Drop all the charges against the anti-G20 protesters now!** These serious charges follow a media frenzy against "violent" protesters. The real violence was in fact perpetrated by the state. Some 100 police attacked a [anti-]G20 festive gathering outside parliament on 18 November. It is reported they chased and beat people, such that an ambulance had to be called to attend to several. Three people were arrested. The next day, during a violent police attack on an anti-G20 street theatre protest, one woman was so badly injured she required hospitalisation.

Aided and abetted by the hysterical trial-by-media witchhunt, the police taskforce set up by the Bracks Labor government to track down and arrest "suspected ringleaders," has operated with frightening abuse. In a scene reminiscent of a military dictatorship, young worker Drasko Boljevic feared for his life when he was abducted and terrorised by unidentified men who turned out to be undercover cops. Eventually released after a traumatic two-hour ordeal, police acknowledged that it was a case of mistaken identity—he wasn't even at the anti-G20 protest!

The G20 meeting provided a forum for U.S. imperialist spokesmen, like Paul Wolfowitz, and their Australian junior partners to plan the future immiseration of the working masses. It occurred in the context of the ongoing murderous neo-colonial occupation of Iraq by the U.S., Britain and Australia (having bombed, bled and starved that country for 16 years), and "war on terror" government repression which shreds hard-won civil liberties and whips up a racist, anti-Muslim social climate, targeting those of immigrant background such as Akim Sari and Drasko Boljevic. We recall that in 2000, a year before the criminal attack on the World Trade Center, the then-recently elected Bracks Labor government oversaw a brutal police assault on youthful protesters who were demanding an end to "third world debt" outside the World Economic Forum in Melbourne. Today, as then, the aim is to squash leftist political dissent. **Release Akim Sari! Drop all the charges against the anti-G20 protesters now!** ■

## Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

Day demonstration by Estrada's plebeian supporters.

Like the CPP, the PM, whose policies are inspired by Felimon Lagman, a labor leader assassinated a month after Arroyo took power, demands a "transitional revolutionary government" to replace Arroyo. A current vehicle for the PM's class-collaborationist politics is the Laban ng Masa (LnM—Struggle of the Masses) bloc, whose components range from the social-democratic BISIG party to the Revolutionary Workers Party-Mindanao, which is affiliated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat.

In February, the PM/LnM advocated alliances with "patriotic" elements within the military and police. In particular, PM/LnM hailed a group of officers who had rebelled against Arroyo, declaring: "We are united with the Magdalo officers and rebel soldiers in their cause to overthrow an illegitimate regime" (Laban ng Masa Web site, 22 February 2006). This line was a continuation of PM honcho Sonny Melencio's 2002 call for a "revolutionary

united front" that was to include such "non-socialist groups" as the Young Officers Union, a nationalist military formation that called for a coup d'état against Arroyo (*Links*, January-April 2002).

In their appeals to the military officer corps and the police, the CPP and PM trample on the Leninist understanding of the capitalist state. Consisting at its core of the cops, courts, prisons and army, the capitalist state is a machinery of violence that exists to defend the profits and rule of the bourgeoisie against the working class and the oppressed. The struggle against repression, exploitation and poverty requires a fight to sweep away capitalist rule through a proletarian revolution that shatters the bourgeois state and replaces it with a workers state, supported by the peasantry and other oppressed plebeian layers.

Key to a victorious socialist revolution in the Philippines is the forging of an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party, centrally through polemical struggle against all variants of nationalism and class collaboration promoted by the opportunist left. **Reforge the Fourth International—world party of socialist revolution!** ■

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## Debate at Harlem, New York PDC Rally

# For a Class-Struggle Fight to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The following article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard (No. 880, 10 November) newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

As part of the urgent effort to revitalize mass protest on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, more than 250 people turned out for an October 28 rally at Harlem's Salem United Methodist Church called by the Partisan Defense Committee and the New York Labor Black League for Social Defense. Framed up on false charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman on 9 December 1981, Mumia is on death row for having been a leader of the Black Panther Party, a MOVE supporter and an eloquent and effective opponent of racist oppression.

Recognizing that Mumia's case is now at a critical juncture, the PDC and Labor Black Leagues organized the Harlem rally and others in Los Angeles, Chicago and Oakland in October under the slogans: "Free Mumia now! Mumia is an innocent man! Mumia Abu-Jamal's life is in danger—Mobilize now! Abolish the racist death penalty!" The rallies brought together speakers and organizations across a spectrum of political beliefs raising their own views on which way forward in the fight to free Mumia. That crucial debate was the defining feature of the Harlem rally.

The PDC's August 25 rally call (printed in WV No. 876, 15 September) laid out our perspective to "win activists to the understanding that Mumia's defense must be based on a class-struggle perspective—organizing independently of the racist capitalist state that has framed him up." The call stated:

"Worldwide protests, crucially involving trade unions, won a stay of execution for Mumia in August 1995. Millions rallied to Mumia's cause out of revulsion with the injustices inherent in capitalism—poverty, racial and ethnic bias and war.... But they were demobilized by a host of reformist and liberal organizations that appeal to bourgeois forces who see in Mumia's case an isolated 'miscarriage of justice' that could be rectified with a 'new trial.' This meant rejecting the very reasons Mumia's case won such broad international support. "That worldwide movement must be revived and infused with a new strength and militancy built on the understanding that *there is no justice in the capitalist courts.*"

### Harlem Rally: United Struggle for Mumia

The Harlem rally drew a wide range of activists, including members of the New York Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Black Panther Party veterans, as well as students from an array of NYC-area campuses. It pointed toward the kind of united-front action that is necessary to mobilize broad social forces, particularly



Harlem rally, 28 October. PDC's Rachel Wolkenstein (left) shows *Amsterdam News* ad with statement signed by over 200 people demanding Mumia's freedom. Pam Africa (right) of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

## Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

the trade unions. The watchword must be unity in action with full freedom of criticism for participating organizations.

The PDC's Erica Williamson, who chaired the event, opened her remarks by condemning the killing of four protesters in Oaxaca the night before and calling for "international solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Mexico who are being victimized by vicious government repression."

Williamson addressed the urgency of the fight for Mumia's freedom, stating, "If Mumia is to be freed, it will take the mobilization of the masses, centrally labor, to champion his cause in outrage and on the basis that this was a case of a political frame-up through and through." Williamson placed Mumia's case in the context of the "increased bipartisan attacks on civil liberties and the frame-up conviction and sentencing of leftist lawyer Lynne Stewart to 28 months and her co-defendants Mohamed Yousry to 20 months and Ahmed Abdel Sattar to an outrageous 24 years," as well as the attacks by the Bush administration on defendants' *habeas corpus* right to challenge evidence. She stressed that "while all legal proceedings and legal remedies should be pursued on Mumia's behalf, we cannot have any illusions or reliance in the capitalist courts." Williamson continued:

"There is no need for a trial to prove that Mumia is innocent—the facts speak for themselves. The evidence of Mumia's innocence is overwhelming. The PDC has fought to get this evidence out, well before the conclusive piece of evidence that helps tie it all together—the confes-

sion of Arnold Beverly—was exposed. Mumia has been in prison or on death row for nearly 25 years. He doesn't need another 'day in court.' He needs his freedom."

Powerfully supporting this appeal, just days before the rally, a full-page statement calling to free Mumia and signed by more than 200 black and labor activists and prominent individuals around the world appeared in the major Harlem-based black newspaper the *Amsterdam News* (26 October). The statement specifically points to the confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot the policeman; it is titled: "We Demand the Immediate Freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal, an Innocent Man."

The rally heard taped greetings from Mumia and a recording of a moving speech by his sister Lydia Barashango at the Oakland rally. A statement was read out from New York's 1199SEIU United Healthcare Workers East union declaring: "We support the demand to free Mumia Now!" Besides speakers from the PDC and LBL, the audience was addressed by Jose A. Arroyo, vice chair of Section 115 of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, Lynne Stewart and Pam Africa of the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Arroyo described the rally as being "united with one common cause, and that is we are in the class struggle" and referred to the TWU strike last December. An immigrant from Mexico, Arroyo described his horror at watching the news of the May 1985 firebombing of MOVE, saying that he "saw how the government

was burning an entire block of people, with children inside!" The audience was read a statement from Leonard Riley Jr. of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1422: "Coming from South Carolina and coming out of the 'Charleston Five' experience, I know first hand the full potential and extent to which the government will go to act against those that openly challenge their policies.... It was only through national and International solidarity of the labor movement that the Charleston 5 were eventually freed." Riley's statement concluded: "We Can and We must use the collective forces of the Labor Movement to free this innocent man. Free Mumia Now!"

Addressing the rally less than two weeks after her sentencing, Lynne Stewart expressed her determination to challenge her frame-up conviction and sentencing for the "crime" of being a zealous advocate on behalf of her client, the Islamic fundamentalist cleric Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. She received a standing ovation. Later in the program, Monique Code read a statement from Mumia's son Jamal Hart, who was framed up and sentenced in 1998 to 15 and a half years on bogus firearms possession charges for speaking out in his father's defense.

### Free Mumia: Which Way Forward?

The core debate at the rally tackled the question of why support for Mumia was demobilized over the years, which must be understood in order to build the kind of militant mass protest movement that can win his freedom. As Williamson said in her opening remarks, "The fact that people are not mobilizing and filling the streets now like they once did for Mumia does not go unnoticed by the courts." She continued:

"Many so-called socialist organizations such as Workers World Party, Socialist Action, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the International Socialist Organization have at one point or another taken up Mumia's case. But it is a question on what basis they take it up. It boils down to a difference between reforming the capitalist state and organizing working people independent of it and to fight it. Many of these leftist groups were fighting on the basis of winning the courts over to Mumia's side and tying the masses to have faith in the courts, instead of fighting on the basis of winning the masses to the fight for the freedom of an innocent man. And now that Mumia stands on his last legal legs in court, with small exceptions you hardly hear a peep from most of these groups."

In fact, the organizations mentioned by Williamson were notable for their absence from this rally.

Speaking for the New York Labor Black League, which was initiated by and is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, TWU Local 100 member Tom

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