

## No "Power Sharing" with the Randlords!

# Smash Apartheid!

# For Workers Revolution!

Hundreds of thousands of people will turn out to enthusiastically greet Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, on his twelve-day North American tour in late June. The man who during his 27 years' imprisonment was the symbol of the fight against apartheid slavery has also inspired black people and other minorities in North America, who see in the oppression of their South African brothers a mirror of their own. At the same time, some of the most powerful oppressors and exploiters of black people are joining in a hypocritical celebration of "freedom" while the South African masses and minorities here bear the deadly weight of racial oppression.

Mandela will get the red carpet treatment at the White House, staunch supporters of the white-supremacist Pretoria regime, and chat with President Bush, former head of the CIA which engineered his 1962 arrest. He will address a joint session of the U.S. Congress—which talks of "sanctions" against South Africa while bankrolling the Salvadoran death squad regime to the tune of a million dollars a day. He will speak to Parliament in Ottawa on June 18, then travel to Toronto to be greeted by city fathers like Metro Chairman Alan Tonks, who recently defended police shootings of black youth by charging that black people are more predisposed to commit crimes.

Mandela is bringing to North America his message for a non-existent "negotiated solution" in South Africa, which means *blacks will pay*. His trip grows out of the talks between the ANC and the de Klerk regime in early May, which came on the heels of the cop massacre in Sebokeng township, where 14 black protesters were mowed down and hundreds injured



Steve Hilton-Barber/Afrapix-Impact Visuals

**Power of black labor can smash apartheid. Above: Militant black unionists in Johannesburg protest anti-labor laws, October 1989.**

in March. The apartheid rulers, hard hit by six years of black revolt and economic losses, try to salvage their class rule by removing some of the most glaring segregationist legislation, partially lifting the state of emergency and releasing a few score political prisoners, while countless thousands remain in jail. A peaceful resolution of the conflicting interests of the multinational corporations and capitalist politicians who rule South Africa and the oppressed majority—including blacks, coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians—is impossible.

The imperialists are courting Mandela for they see in him the black leader whose unique authority as an anti-apartheid

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# Toronto Cops Wage War on Blacks

"Everyone's fearful," said Haskell Edwards, pastor of a largely black church on Toronto's St. Clair Ave. "There's a sense of insecurity, a sense of uncertainty, about what our future is." "We have become targets," added Ron Blake, a 51-year-old teacher and father of four. "This is middle-class blacks talking. It's hitting home" (*Toronto Star*, 19 May).

The shooting of 16-year-old Marlon Neal by a traffic cop in suburban Scarborough on May 14 has sent waves of fear and anger through Toronto's black communities. Pulled over by the cops on a quiet road, ostensibly for speeding, Marlon sat in the driver's seat with the doors and windows closed. Metro police constable Brian Rapson pulled out his gun and shot three times, hitting him twice in the back. Marlon slumped from the car in a pool of blood and was taken to hospital in critical condition.

The cops are waging war on black people. In August 1988, police gunned down Lester Donaldson as he sat in his room eating dinner. Four months later, they murdered Michael Wade Lawson in a car in suburban Mississauga. Last October, a cop shot and paralyzed Sophia Cook as she sat strapped in the passenger seat of a friend's vehicle. Now Marlon Neal is the latest victim of the racist onslaught.

Five hundred outraged protesters marched on Metro Police Headquarters May 19. A week later, 500 more demonstrated near the site of the shooting. Trying to defuse the anger, on June 1 the Ontario Provincial Police charged the cop Rapson with attempted murder. This would-be assassin should rot in Kingston Pen! But even this wouldn't begin to address the systematic oppression of black people and other minorities in this racist capitalist society.

The cops are the hired guns of the bosses' state, and today they're trying to act as judge, jury and executioner on the city streets. Various black and civil-liberties organizations have called for "independent civilian review boards" to monitor police activity. But the cops have made it deadly clear that they won't be hindered by review boards, independent investigations or even eyewitnesses to their atrocities. It's their *job* to "serve and protect" the racist status quo. The idea that they can be "reformed" is a deadly illusion. Nothing short of *working-class power* can stop racist cop terror for good.

Heightened police terror is part of a rising tide of racism, sponsored and promoted by the capitalist ruling class. In B.C.,

Asian immigrants and their families are subjected to racist abuse. In the Prairies, systematic "legal" brutality against Native people led to the cop murder of J.J. Harper two years ago. In Nova Scotia, Micmac Indian Donald Marshall served 11 years in prison for a murder he did not commit, victim of a frame-up stretching from the Sydney police department up to the provincial Supreme Court. In Sault Ste. Marie, "English only" bigots spit at Franco-Ontarians to "speak white."

In Quebec the revival of nationalism has also fueled racism and xenophobia, particularly against Montreal's substantial non-French-speaking immigrant population. No less than in Toronto, black people are special targets for chauvinist abuse and state violence. Just over two years ago the Montreal cops blew away Anthony Griffin. On April 9 of this year they shot Presley Leslie dead in a downtown dance club, provoking widespread outrage. No charges have been laid—instead one of the cops was promoted to lieutenant!

Black people who immigrated to Canada from the Caribbean, lured by promises of jobs and a better life, are now fearful for their families' future. Throughout the North American continent—from Washington to L.A. to Toronto's own Jane-Finch and Lawrence Heights—black communities are targets in a vicious state-sponsored "drug war." Social conditions in the ghettos, ravaged by mass unemployment, desperate poverty, disease, death, cop terror, are horrific and getting worse. In the month of January alone, cops in New York City shot and killed no less than eight people, mainly minority youth. And the cops north of the border are lusting for more blood.

Metro Toronto Police Association president Art Lymer has publicly threatened black spokesmen by name. Metro chairman Alan Tonks urges the cops on, producing fabricated statistics claiming blacks commit a "disproportionate level" of crime. The *Toronto Sun* fans the flames of race hate with scare stories alleging "black violence" and impending "race wars." As if on cue, on June 2 the cops, some with guns drawn, rioted against a largely black demonstration outside the Royal Ontario Museum's "Into the Heart of Africa" exhibit. Demonstrators were brutally beaten, and eight arrested, including prominent black community spokesmen. Drop the charges!

Meanwhile the skinheads and other neo-Nazis feed off the racist climate. In the last three months, Jewish cemeteries in Montreal, Quebec City and Ottawa have been desecrated with swastikas and white-power slogans. The Nazi-loving skinheads who revel in sadistic attacks on blacks, Jews, Asians—anyone who gets in their way—are a threat to all decent people.

## Mobilize Labor Against Racist Terror!

It is necessary to mobilize the social force with the power and class interest to *stop* the race terrorists. Mass protest action, centered on the labor movement and uniting behind it the oppressed minorities, can drive the neo-Nazi scum back into the sewers. The Labor/Black Mobilization, initiated and organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, which stopped the Ku Klux Klan in Philadelphia in November 1988 gave a taste of what is possible. Such militant, integrated protest can give the capitalist rulers pause, and make their badge-toting gun thugs think ten times before shooting another black youth.

Malcolm X once said that the U.S. Mason-Dixon line (the

## SPARTACIST CANADA

Newspaper of the Trotskyist League,  
Canadian sympathizing section of the International  
Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Jane Clancy, Marie Hayes,  
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PRODUCTION and CIRCULATION MANAGER: Russell Stoker  
BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

*Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily  
express the editorial viewpoint.*

Published quarterly by the Spartacist Canada Publishing Association,  
Box 6867, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X6. Printed in a union shop  
by union labor. Second Class Mail Registration 8161. Return postage  
guaranteed. ISSN: 0229-5415

Summer 1990

Date of issue: June 1990

# Noah Wolkenstein



WV Photo

**1955-1990**

It is with shock and deep grief that we announce the death of our comrade Noah Wolkenstein. Noah served as production manager of *Workers Vanguard* and *Spartacist* and department head of the composition crew up until October 1988. He died April 23 by his own hand. Noah was 34 years old, a member of the Bay Area Spartacist League and a full member of the SL/U.S. Central Committee at the time of his death.

This tragedy touches every comrade and section of the International Communist League, in particular the comrades in New York who knew him in his painstaking and brilliant political work on the production side of our press, but also many comrades from other party locals and ICL sections. During his years as *WV* comp chief Noah also took responsibility for setting up press production systems and training comrades in Canada, France and elsewhere. During February and March of this year, comrade Noah was in Germany to establish the basic technical framework for our press there. He accomplished this task with the determination which was characteristic of him.

Noah joined the party in 1975. His older sister Rachel was recruited in 1973, following a fusion between the Spartacist League and the Buffalo Marxist Caucus. Noah's older brother Seth joined the party in 1974.

Noah's parents, Gloria and Ed Wolkenstein, have reached out to us through their own grief to bear witness to the strength of Noah's communist convictions and the satisfaction he drew from his crucial work for our party during these fifteen years. Our hearts go out to his parents, his other sister, Naomi, and the other members of the family.

In deference to Noah's expressed wish that no memorials be held, private informal gatherings are being held for his comrades to remember him. He will be remembered always and best through our determination to carry forward the struggle for the communist ideals to which he devoted all his energy and intelligence during the too brief time we had together.

boundary between the slave-owning states and the North) really ran along the Canadian border. The situation for black people in Canada today demonstrates that Malcolm was right in sentiment but wrong in geography. The Mason-Dixon line is a lot further north.

The Russian Bolsheviks who in 1917 led the world's first workers revolution—uniting in struggle toilers of the many different nationalities in the tsar's "prison house of peoples"—understood the strategic centrality of the fight against black oppression to the American revolution. As pioneer American Communist and Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon noted, "Everything new on the Negro question came from Moscow—after the Russian Revolution began to thunder its demand throughout the world for freedom and equality for all national minorities, all subject peoples and all races..." ("The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," in *The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]).

Cannon underscored the centrality of black struggle to a revolutionary perspective in America:

"The policy of gradualism, of promising to free the Negro within the framework of the social system that subordinates and degrades him, is not working out. It

does not go to the root of the problem....

"In the next stage of its development, the American Negro movement will be compelled to turn to a more militant policy than gradualism, and to look for more reliable allies than capitalist politicians in the North who are themselves allied with the Dixiecrats of the South. The Negroes, more than any others in this country, have reason and right to be revolutionary. "An honest workers' party of the new generation will recognize this revolutionary potential of the Negro struggle, and call for a fighting alliance of the Negro people and the labor movement in a common revolutionary struggle against the present social system."

In Canada, every bit as much, it is the "present social system" which is responsible for the shooting of Marlon Neal, for the murders of Lester Donaldson and Michael Wade Lawson, for the systematic degradation and oppression of black people and other minorities. From Toronto to Harlem, from Montreal to L.A., on both sides of the border, we need integrated revolutionary workers parties to lead the fight to stop cop terror and put an end to racial oppression through socialist revolution. ■

# Lurching Toward Social Democracy End of the Line for Canadian CP

At a press conference in April, George Hewison, leader of the Communist Party of Canada, announced to the public that at a party conference next October the membership will be asked to dump the word "Communist" from the party's name. It's "a poor vote getter," Hewison complained. Besides, he added, "I don't want to be identified with Nicolae Ceausescu and I don't think anyone else in our party wants to be either" (*Toronto Star*, 12 April).

Hewison said the goal was dumping its "Stalinist past" in favor of "democratic socialism," to build a "united party of the socialist left." Meanwhile, at a recent conference of the Communist Party of Quebec, motions were put forward calling for the complete dissolution of the party. Many cadres and organizers have already voted with their feet. Attendance at CP public meetings is one-half to one-third of a year ago. Even its annual May Day march in Vancouver was canceled this year.

Everything is up for grabs in what is called "a process of renewal," which as the CP's press admits, puts "every organizational and theoretical concept on which the world communist movement has been based for the past 70 years up for re-examination." Instead of ritual incantations of proletarian internationalism, long since abandoned in practice, Hewison & Co. offer Maple Leaf social democracy. Thus a Central Committee resolution called for the CP to "re-define its relations" with the New Democratic Party (*Canadian Tribune*, 16 April).

And at the Young Communist League convention held in Toronto May 18-21, delegates noted that their organization

had shrunk by 50 percent since their last gathering. One resolution claimed the crisis was so bad that merely "transforming the YCL will not enable us to get out of our isolation and disrepute." In the end, the convention voted to drop the name "Communist," junk all reference to "Marxism-Leninism" and break direct political links with the Communist Party, all in the name of "unity" with other "progressive youth forces."

Several delegates proclaimed that Communism had become a "dirty word." But this wasn't the only view presented. A spokesman for the Trotskyist League, herself a former member of the YCL, addressed the convention: "We are proud to be Marxists, we are proud to be Leninists, we are proud to be Communists—a taboo word here today," she said. Today more than ever, the Trotskyists are manifestly the only ones who continue on Lenin's road.

## Stalinism in Collapse—Communism Lives!

The bourgeoisie's triumphal proclamations of the "death of Communism" are taking their toll on the CP which, like the imperialists, has long identified "communism" with the corrupt, parasitic rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies from Moscow to Bucharest to Havana. The capitalist media gloats: "The Communist Party of Canada has decided it would rather be dead than red" and "The Party's Over, Eh?" (*Vancouver Province*, 12 April).

In a letter of resignation, printed in the *Canadian Tribune* (7 May), a veteran member writes: "It's hard to find language strong enough, but I'm devastated by what has been going on



Griffin/Canadian Tribune

George Hewison presides over CP's disintegration, as party press reels from collapse of Stalinism in East Europe.

## The CP and Canadian socialism: new questions, new directions

Socialist renewal & the Communist Party

### A PARTY DEMOCRATIC & RELEVANT

'Events in Eastern Europe have challenged many of our precepts'

Examining GDR history

## Stalinism -- was a different path possible?

in the USSR, in all the East European 'socialist' countries...." This is from a man who joined the CP in 1936, at the height of the infamous Moscow Trials, who made it through Khrushchev's revelations against Stalin at the 20th Party Congress, who witnessed the suppression of proletarian upheavals against Stalinist rule in East Germany, in Hungary, in Poland during the 1950s. Now, in the face of the complete collapse of Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the nationalist upheavals, economic chaos and fracturing of the Kremlin bureaucracy in Gorbachev's Russia, he declares, "for many years to come, the word communism will be repugnant to most people."

Those who rush to abandon "Communism" are dancing to the tune of the lying imperialist bourgeoisie who have proclaimed the "death of Communism" and even "the end of history." But communism is not dead—what is dying before our eyes is Stalinism. Communism is the program which embodies the fundamental interests of the international working class. So long as the class struggle exists, communism lives—the struggle to overthrow capitalism, which condemns billions of people the world over to lives of privation and social misery, and to establish a rational egalitarian society through the class rule of the workers.

The Stalinist-led Communist parties turned their back on authentic communism more than half a century ago, replacing its international liberating program with Stalin/Bukharin's lie of "socialism in one country"—a contradiction in terms—and the suicidal notion of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Leon Trotsky analyzed the Stalinist bureaucracy as a petty-bourgeois layer, sitting atop the economic foundations of the workers state, which treacherously tries to act as a middleman between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Now this balancing act has collapsed as Stalinist ruling cliques from Moscow to East Berlin to Beijing join in a mad rush to embrace Reagan's "magic of the marketplace."

More than 50 years ago, Trotsky outlined the fundamental economic and social contradictions of Soviet society following the political counterrevolution in which Stalin and his henchmen usurped power against the Bolshevik internationalists of the Left Opposition. The widespread cynicism toward communism and socialism, the alienation of the working masses from a privileged bureaucracy, the resurgence of Great Russian chauvinism and of nationalism among the non-Russian peoples—often as an ideological cover for counterrevolution—are the product of decades of Stalinist rule culminating in the market-oriented perestroika of Gorbachev & Co.

So what "realistic solutions" do they offer? Private ownership as the way to secure a higher standard of living? Tell it to the millions of desperate homeless in North America, whose only connection to desirable consumer goods produced by capitalism is to look at them in the store windows of Macy's or the Hudson Bay Co. The world market as some kind of rational regulator? Try that one on workers in the Dominican Republic who survive on wages of \$3 a day from multinationals like Falconbridge while the Bank of Nova Scotia and Royal Bank of Canada suck tens of millions of dollars a year out of their country for "debt service."

Nor is there any inherent connection between "market socialism" and political liberalization—it was in China, where the program of "building socialism with capitalist methods" has gone the furthest, producing the greatest class inequalities in city and countryside, that the Stalinist rulers drew the hard line in blood with the Beijing massacre and the subsequent

repression of students and especially workers. And when they bring in the capitalist market full force, as presently in Poland, it means implementing a "shock treatment" modeled on the brutal Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Some "democracy"!

## Maple Leaf Social Democracy

The Canadian CP has long been one of the most Moscow-loyal of any of the Western Communist parties. Now, in the face of the terminal crisis of Stalinism, the CP has proclaimed a "process of renewal" aimed at transforming itself into a purely national, parliamentary party of social-democratic reformism. According to the party's April CC resolution (which calls for a break from "undemocratic, state socialism") a "socialist Canada would be independent and non-aligned." Guess that means *Northern Neighbors* will have to go?

Hewison and his crew are looking to completely resolve the contradiction of serving two masters, the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Canadian bourgeoisie. But just as the CP hauls down



Canadian Dimension



no credit

**CP leader Tim Buck (right) carried out Stalin's policies, purging Left Opposition from Comintern.**

a badly faded red flag and runs up the Maple Leaf, exchanging the *Internationale* for *O Canada*, Canada itself seems to be coming apart at the seams over Quebec.

Once again they are taking their cue from the Kremlin where Gorbachev's seemingly endless appetites to appease imperialism are being translated internationally into "unity" (read: capitulation) of the Communist parties with pro-imperialist social democracy. The renamed parties of the former Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe are rushing headlong into the Second International (the Poles, Hungarians and East Germans have already applied). And the leadership of the Italian CP has announced that it is junking the name "Communist." About the only holdouts for Stalinist orthodoxy are Castro in Cuba and the Portuguese CP.

Not so many years ago the Canadian Stalinists sneered at the "Eurocommunists" as traitors to socialism for parroting the Cold War anti-Sovietism of the imperialists and the social democrats in order to sell their services to their "own" ruling class. But at the domestic level, "Euros" and Kremlin-loyal Stalinists were practically indistinguishable in their popular-front policies. In Greece, for example, after the party (KKE) split into Interior and pro-Moscow Exterior wings in the '70s, during the 1980s both wings supported Papandrou's social-democratic PASOK government. And after PASOK fell under

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## CP...

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the weight of scandal, the KKE ended up in coalition with the rightist New Democracy, the party of the colonels!

### Against Capitalist Reunification of Germany!

Of those who reject Hewison's "renewal," some CPers harkened back to the "good old days" of Joe Stalin. One writer to the *Pacific Tribune* (18 September 1989) complained that



Spartakist

**East Berlin, January 3—250,000 protest fascist defacing of Soviet war memorial in Treptow. German Spartakists initiated this united-front mobilization.**

"the capitalist media (now including the *Tribune*) are determined to use Stalin as the scapegoat...." A letter to the *Canadian Tribune* (24 July 1989) saluted the Beijing Stalinists' savage repression of the Tiananmen protests last spring: "The Chinese government and people should be congratulated for their effective and decisive struggle against the enemies of socialism." But this "old guard" had their last wind knocked out of them with the collapse of Erich Honecker's regime in East Berlin, the symbol of Stalinist order and stability.

As the situation turned sharply to the right in the DDR (East Germany), "renewers" such as the CP's Moscow correspondent Fred Weir actually *greeted* Gorbachev's green light for the annexation of the DDR by a Fourth Reich of West German imperialism: "the USSR several times in the late 1940s and early 1950s proposed a united, neutral Germany as an alternative. This prospect has always appeared to frighten the West much more than it does Moscow" (*Canadian Tribune*, 19 February). Others were not so sanguine as the East German SED (Socialist Unity Party) caved in to capitalist reunification. Earlier this year, a petition signed by 21 members and supporters of the CP declared:

"The news that Hans Modrow, D.D.R. Prime Minister, backed by the reformists in Moscow, announced his party's support for reunification of Germany, and announced a concrete plan for this idea on the condition that the new unified Germany stayed neutral, hits us very hard.

"A unified Imperialist Germany is a real danger not only to the Soviet Union but to the whole world.... The best and most conscious workers in East Germany has shown their will to get rid of the Stalinist bureaucracy but do not support capitalist restoration.

"On January 3, over 250,000 workers responded to the Nazi defiling of graves of Soviet Soldiers by mass demonstration in Treptow Park. On January 14, once again more than a quarter million militant workers rallied in Berlin supporting Socialism.

"These actions constitute vivid evidence that the political revolution in the D.D.R. can lead to a genuine worker Democracy based on workers and Soldiers councils. Such an event will electrify the working class and its allies everywhere in the world, in the same way that the 1917 October revolution did....

"We the undersigned declare unambiguously, our opposition to any sellout of the DDR. Let our position that the SED break immediately all negotiations for capitalist restoration, our call for the building of workers councils in defence of the DDR, be known not only to the Canadian workers but to the SED and the German working class."

With Gorbachev selling out the store, many CPers feel betrayed, particularly foreign-born members who had looked to the USSR as a bulwark in the struggle against imperialist-sponsored oppression in their homelands. Last year as Moscow was pulling Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, the Partisan Defense Committee's campaign to raise funds for civilian victims of the CIA-backed *mujahedin* in the battle for Jalalabad met with considerable support from CPers. The work of our German comrades in the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), who initiated the call for the Treptow demonstration and ran in DDR elections as the only party to unambiguously oppose capitalist reunification, attracted interest among Communist Party members. As one commented, the SpAD "are probably the only organized revolutionaries in Germany right now."

### "Reformists of the Second Mobilization"

The crisis of the Canadian CP is no doubt of considerable interest to members of the Communist Party USA. But if so, they won't find out about what's happening with their comrades north of the 49th parallel from *Political Affairs* or the *People's Daily World*, which is silent while the Canadian bourgeois press chortles. Moreover, according to its 10 May issue, *People's Daily World* is cutting back to weekly frequency for financial reasons. And evidently CPUSA leader Gus Hall is having some problems of his own in suppressing Gorbachevite dissent. In his report to a January 27-28 meeting of the CPUSA's National Committee, Hall states that "leading comrades" are circulating private political letters and he complains:

"How should the Party deal with a member of the National Committee who appears on a public radio program and when asked what the lessons are for the CPUSA from the events in Eastern Europe, he answers: 'To cleanse the Party of Stalinism and remove the Stalinist leaders.' Speaking for myself, I think this is irresponsible and slanderous."

In the discussion, in which most leading black cadre spoke of the need for more party democracy, CP National Board member James Jackson pointed to the "very interesting" *Canadian Tribune* article on "Socialist Renewal." The crisis of the Communist Party of Canada stares the CPUSA in the face.

In attempting to transform itself into a "united party of the socialist left," the Canadian CP seems to be banking on the fact that the NDP is such a right-wing and relatively marginal social-democratic party, many of whose leaders would fit into the Liberal Party. The CP central committee proclaims itself

for "socialism" in which "private, collective and public property would co-exist" in "a genuine multiparty democracy in Canada." One of the main proponents of this line, B.C. leader Fred Wilson, opines, "Why all of these things could be carried out by social democrats!... [W]e should welcome that prospect." The CPC has a certain degree of labor support, but even if they achieve some success as social democrats, this will mean serving not only the Canadian bourgeoisie but also necessarily—despite their anti-Yankee rhetoric—its senior partners in Wall Street and Washington.

As Trotsky noted in writing of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, where the Stalinists' popular-front policy of seeking "alliances" with the "progressive" bourgeoisies was sanctified: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress," in his *Writings* [1935-36]). The "process of renewal" advocated by the leadership of the Canadian Communist Party represents the completion of this process. By dumping all the old phraseology and any attachment, however remote, to the defense of the Soviet Union, Hewison & Co. are looking to find comfortable niches in the labor bureaucracy and the lower rungs of the parliamentary apparatus of capitalist rule.

This is a long way down from the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 and the flinty men who founded the Communist Party of Canada (see "How Stalinism Wrecked the Communist Party of Canada," *Spartacist Canada* No. 77, Winter 1989/90). Like "Moscow Jack" MacDonald, first national secretary of the Workers Party and then the CPC, who declared himself in 1932 for Trotsky's Left Opposition. Like William Moriarty, who was the only delegate to the Comintern Executive Committee plenum in 1925 who refused to condemn "Trotskyism." And Maurice Spector, who together with James P. Cannon of the American party smuggled Trotsky's critique of "socialism in one country" out of Stalin's Russia and, expelled from their respective parties, founded the International Left Opposition. But it wasn't just Stalin who destroyed the Canadian and other CPs; he had his cynical hatchet men like Tim Buck to purge those who still held to the program of international proletarian struggle which animated Lenin's Third International in opposition to Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country."

In his writings on the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern, American Trotskyist leader James Cannon noted:

"The acceptance of this theory by the other Communist parties in the capitalist countries prepared by their own weariness and loss of historical perspective, implicitly signified their renunciation of the revolutionary program in their own countries. At the same time, it gave them—for consolation—an ersatz program which enabled them to save face in making the transition to reformism, and to pretend to themselves and others that they were still fighting for 'socialism'—in another country."

—*First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

### For Genuine Communism!

In Canada and the U.S., the most grotesque betrayals—like the CPs' support for throwing Japanese Canadians and Japanese Americans into concentration camps (in Canada in particularly harsh and brutal conditions) and calling for "total war" against strikes during World War II—were justified in the name of defense of the Soviet Union. The Trotskyists—who fought for working-class opposition to the second imperialist war, who uniquely defended those who were interned for their

Japanese origins, who defended the Soviet Union, including American Trotskyists who risked their lives to sail on the *Murmansk* run, bringing arms and revolutionary propaganda in defense of the gains of October to Russian workers and soldiers—were slandered as "imperialist agents"!

For years, CPers in the West sneered at the Trotskyists: "We have the USSR, the powerhouse of socialism. Where do you Trotskyites have power?" Now this rug has been pulled out from under them. The Stalinist leaders' relationship to the class struggle mimics the relationship of the imperialist rulers to "democracy"—they have not believed in it nor promoted it for a long, long time. They are completely prostrate before imperialist triumphalism and desperate to junk anything that even remotely smacks of "communism."

But presumably there are some who joined the Communist Party because they wanted to be communists. To them we say that to follow your leaders' capitulation means turning your backs on the struggles which must break out and are already breaking out in East Europe, as workers resist the calamitous effects of the plunge toward the restoration of capitalism. It means abandoning the mass of South African blacks who, while their leaders "negotiate" with de Klerk and the apartheid capitalists, still raise red flags with the hammer and sickle as a symbol of the social revolution for which they are so desperately fighting. This world needs genuine communists more than ever.

There is an authentic communist alternative which is represented in the program of Trotskyism. As we wrote in our declaration of the founding of the International Communist League (*Spartacist Canada* No. 76, Fall 1989):

"The heirs of Stalin manifestly lack the capacity to defend the Soviet power, of which they have been simultaneously the parasitic defender and the counterrevolutionary disorganizer for 65 years. Yet to the same measure that they have brought 'communism' into disrepute thanks to the crimes they committed in its name, they have also reduced their ability to manipulate the allegiance of dedicated pro-Communist workers throughout the world. No longer can a Stalin and his half-dozen conscious accomplices wield 'monolithic' parties as instruments of class-collaborationist treason in the name of 'building socialism.'

"We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. We choose the communism that had Lenin as its greatest teacher in the imperialist epoch. We choose the communism of Lenin's comrade Trotsky, who beginning as early as 1923 understood the main lines of what needed to be done. We choose the communism that Stalin utterly betrayed as he deliberately destroyed the Third International. We choose the communism of a new Fourth International that will do away once and for all with the exploitation of man by man and establish a socialist society based on a new vision of the continual expansion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture and in every aspect of personal life." ■

### Contact the Trotskyist League

#### Toronto

Box 7198, Station A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X8  
Telephone: (416) 593-4138

#### Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O., Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3X2  
Telephone: (604) 255-0636

# South African CP Leader Joe Slovo: From “Uncle Joe” Stalin to Gorby

Joe Slovo, general chairman of the South African Communist Party, returned home in April from decades of exile. During those years his wife and comrade, Ruth First, was murdered in 1982 in Mozambique by a letter bomb sent by a South African assassination squad. A week after his return, Slovo accompanied African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, himself just released after 27 years in apartheid prisons, at the first-ever ANC negotiations with the white-supremacist Pretoria government in May. Now Slovo's pamphlet, *Has Socialism Failed?*, has become a hot item, a topic of discussion in meetings of disintegrating Communist parties from Chicago to Toronto and London.

Amid the terminal crisis of Stalinism, CPers are clinging to Slovo's pamphlet as a drowning man grasps at straws. As leaders of collapsing East European regimes seek refuge in the Second International, here is a party leader who still calls himself a Communist. And unlike Brezhnev-era dinosaurs like the CPUSA's Gus Hall, Slovo is a Gorbachev man all the way. Moreover, while Communist parties from Europe to North America are in the throes of demoralization and outright liquidation, the SACP is at the height of its popularity.

That the SACP's stock has gone up has nothing to do with any change in its program, which remains as wretchedly reformist as ever, at most calling for bourgeois democracy. In an interview with the *London Independent* (4 November 1988), cited by the South African Marxist intellectual Baruch Hirson, Slovo declares: “We are engaged in a struggle in which socialism is not on the immediate agenda or should be a criteria of participation in the struggle. For some while after apartheid falls there will be a mixed economy.... There is no pole-vault into socialism.”

In the context of the apartheid police state, even white liberals found in the Communist Party the only organized vehicle to struggle against racism and for basic democratic rights. It was the only sizable racially integrated party in South Africa, including not only blacks and whites but also Indians and coloureds (mixed-race). At his 1964 trial under the Suppression of Communism Act, Nelson Mandela pointed out:

“For many decades communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals.... Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism.”

—quoted in Mary Benson, *Nelson Mandela: The Man and the Movement* (1986)

The black African masses also equate communism with a thoroughgoing social revolution, with ripping South Africa's wealth out of the hands of the Randlords who have so cruelly superexploited them for over a century.

But they will not find the road to liberation in Joe Slovo's pamphlet, or in the party which for decades has sought “power sharing” with the “enlightened” slavemasters like Anglo American in a “post-apartheid” (capitalist) South Africa.

In *Has Socialism Failed?* Slovo glibly remarks, “Socialism certainly produced a Stalin and a Ceausescu, but it also produced a Lenin and a Gorbachev.” Oh well, the reader is to

conclude, two out of four—not all bad. And his tract admits, rightly enough, “The Fault Lies with us, not with Socialism.” Slovo embraces “the processes of perestroika and glasnost” as socialism's only hope of “*showing its essentially [!] human face.*” But unlike Gorbachev he still holds “the class struggle is the motor of human history,” and criticizes the CPs' “unilateral ideological disarmament” in the face of the capitalist ideologues' offensive.

The appeal is to those CPers who don't just want to throw in the towel. But to justify all the years when he followed “Uncle Joe” Stalin's every twist and turn, Slovo pens some patently self-serving “self-criticism,” like it is “now becoming clear that the virtual destruction of the command personnel of the Red Army, the lack of effective preparation against



Associated Press

**Joe Slovo (left), returning after decades of exile, with Nelson Mandela at political rally in South Africa.**

Hitler's onslaught and Stalin's dictatorial and damaging interventions in the conduct of the war could have cost the Soviet Union its victory.” *Now becoming clear?! In a similar vein, Slovo writes that “we kept silent for too long after the 1956 Khrushchev revelations.”*

Baruch Hirson bitterly commented last year on the SACP leader's belated discovery of Stalinism. “Slovo had heard these accounts of Stalin's crimes over many decades: was he deaf, or did he lack a sense of morality? He heard them from Trotskyists in Johannesburg in 1943, he knew them when he read about the condemnation and rehabilitation of the Jewish doctors in the USSR...” (“Thieves in the Thieves' Kitchen,” *Searchlight South Africa*, July 1989).

More than avoiding a painful re-examination of history, Slovo seeks to avoid renouncing Stalinism's reformist perversion of Leninism or analyzing its social roots. Thus Stalinism is defined as a “bureaucratic-authoritarian style of leadership,” and “socialism without democracy.” If Stalinism is simply overbearing centralism, therefore one does not have to analyze the

material bases for the rise of a conservative, nationalist bureaucracy in the USSR, and the *program* it generated: "socialism in one country" for Russia and "two-stage revolution"—i.e., no socialism—elsewhere.

Slovo mouths platitudes about "*working class internationalism*" being "*one of the most liberating concepts in Marxism*" which "*needs to find effective expression in the new world conditions.*" This rings pretty hollow in the face of Moscow's world-historic betrayal of East Germany to a Fourth Reich, as well as its abandonment of Afghanistan, Nicaragua and Angola, to say nothing of Kremlin arm-twisting to get the ANC to come out foursquare for a "political settlement" with the apartheid state. Where was "working class internationalism" when Soviet deputy foreign minister Anatoly Adamishin flew over the Witwatersrand in a helicopter with South African foreign minister "Pik" Botha, with whom he worked out in secret negotiations the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola?

And while Slovo comes to the defense of "Marxist theory," he hastens to add that "this is not to say that every word of Marx, Engels and Lenin must be taken as gospel...." Which words exactly does he have in mind? Well now, it seems that "The concept of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' was dealt with rather thinly by Marx as 'a transition to a classless society,'" dixit Joe Slovo. The Paris Commune, which Marx and Engels saw as exemplifying this rule of the working class, is dismissed as "an exceptional social experience." And Lenin's elaboration of the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1917 is explained as due to other special circumstances:

"Understandably, the dominant preoccupation at the time was with the seizure of power, its protection in the face of the expected counter-revolutionary assault, the creation of 'democracy for the majority' and the 'suppression of the minority of exploiters'."

For Joe Slovo, that was then, and this is now.

Certainly it would be unfair to accuse him of such "preoccupations" as he hobnobs with the top exploiters of South Africa. We can't see Slovo chatting with Prime Minister de Klerk and "Law and Order" Minister Coetzee about the dictatorship of the proletariat. Indeed, Slovo writes: "*On reflection, the choice of the word 'dictatorship' to describe this type of society certainly opens the way to ambiguities and distortions.*" Like bourgeois ideologues, he equates the Marxist term for the rule of the working class with the Stalinist bureaucratic regime. And his purpose is to reject the program of socialist revolution, replacing it with "democracy" and a "mixed economy"—i.e., capitalism. But this is not Gorbachevite "new thinking." The SACP renounced the struggle for socialism decades ago...under Stalin.

Today Slovo & Co. imagine themselves negotiating a "post-apartheid state" with de Klerk, Coetzee and the rest of the capitalist ruling class. So while Anglo American publishes ads showing black miners as "shareholders," the SACP chairman talks of "reorganising social life" so that "the producers...have a real say not only in the production of social wealth but also in its disposal," and assures Jo'burg corporate executives he does not foresee "the premature abandonment of any role for market forces," etc. But while Slovo talks of "real democracy in the post-apartheid state," the young comrades in the townships and the workers in the mines and factories are flying the red banner of communism and looking for revolution *now!*

In South Africa, with its combative millions-strong proletariat, the brutally oppressed black, coloured and Indian population battling against overwhelming force, where numerous



Peters/SIPA

**For South African blacks, the red flag of communism is a symbol of the fight for freedom.**

white students embrace revolutionary struggle and even some groups of white workers make common cause with the black unions, the SACP's commitment to the *maintenance of capitalism* is a betrayal of monumental proportions. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution explains that in the age of imperialism *bourgeois democratic* tasks cannot be fulfilled without socialist revolution. In South Africa, even "one man, one vote" can be achieved only by smashing the white-supremacist state through an uprising of the oppressed black, centrally proletarian masses.

Black miners laboring in barbed-wire compounds will be won to this program of workers revolution, not to Joe Slovo's nostrums of "power sharing" with their "enlightened" exploiters.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 504, 15 June

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## Smash Apartheid...

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fighter is necessary to convince South African blacks to submit to a deal with the oppressive racist state. But despite these treacherous schemes, there will be no such "power sharing." The apartheid regime, whose wealth is based on the super-exploitation of the black laboring majority, is necessarily at odds with the most minimal level of formal democracy. De Klerk's "reforms" cannot even include the simple demand of "one man, one vote" in a country with 28 million blacks and 5 million whites, let alone address economic equality, where white income is across the board *twelve times* higher than that of blacks.

The London *Financial Times* (11 June) bluntly laid out the purpose of de Klerk's negotiations: to "interrupt the process of radicalisation among blacks." But despite the conciliation of their leaders, who are now backing away from even the "moderate" demands of the Freedom Charter, South African blacks know their liberation can only be achieved through a far-reaching social revolution which smashes the apartheid state. The fight to forge a racially integrated Bolshevik party that can lead the struggle for a black-centered workers government, drawing as well on the coloured and Indian populations, and growing numbers of whites who do not want to live their lives in a racist garrison state, is the task of the hour.

### Massacre in Welkom

Since Mandela's release in February, revolt has spread through the rural bantustans, urban townships have exploded with protest and a strike wave continues (the government calculates that the number of workdays lost to strikes in the first quarter of 1990 is four times that of the same period last year). Nowhere is this spirit more evident than in Welkom, Transvaal, a gold mining town 150 miles southwest of Johannesburg. The Welkom mine produces 27 percent of South Africa's gold, and both the mine and the town are owned by the so-called "progressive" capitalists of Anglo American Corporation. About 58,000 well-off whites live in comfortable neighborhoods with manicured lawns. Thousands of desperately poor black miners are jammed 21 to a room in the Saint Helena Mine hostel, and on the other side of town 138,000 blacks live in shanties along dirt roads in Thabong township. Last month, tensions in Welkom reached the flash point.

It began with the ANC leader's release last February. "As soon as they showed Mandela on the TV, then this started," one white shaft steward complained. The black miners began to wear ANC T-shirts, militant slogans were found scrawled on tunnel walls. They particularly objected to the segregated changing rooms and the preference given to whites in the process of "hoisting." This meant whites were the last to go down and first to come up, spending two to three hours less underground. As black workers began to organize, the far right in Welkom formed vigilante groups organized by the Blanke Veiligheidswag (White Security Guard). This fascist outfit began "night patrols" on the streets of Welkom that meant carrying out attacks on black pedestrians.

On May 16, 31 black miners were dismissed by Anglo American for "disobeying rules," such as by wearing ANC garb. That afternoon, the fired black miners and a few of their union brothers approached company officials outside Shaft Number One. White security cops opened fire with rubber bullets

and a 9mm pistol, wounding 18. In the clash which followed, two white mine managers were stabbed to death. Scores of blacks were arrested. On Sunday, May 20, there was a protest meeting in the black township of Thabong. About 1,000 miners and 500 youth formed a procession after the meeting and attempted to march into Welkom. Police opened fire on the procession, killing 11 blacks and injuring 90.



Associated Press

**Nelson Mandela (left) seeks "power-sharing" deal with South African mining magnate Gavin Relly.**

South Africa's two most prominent leaders of black unions, National Union of Miners (NUM) president Cyril Ramaphosa and Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) secretary general Jay Naidoo, arrived in Welkom and issued a conciliatory statement over the "regrettable" stabbing. But at funerals for the white managers there was a column of vehicles adorned with the swastika-like flag of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Such paramilitary and fascist groups have been growing, in reaction to de Klerk's talk of "power sharing" with the ANC.

Welkom is one of the premier mines of the Anglo American Corporation, which owns 70 percent of the country's mining capital and has been known for its "far-sighted" approach to South African capitalism. The company recently ran a full-page ad in the London *Financial Times* to ask "Do We Sometimes Wish We Hadn't Fought To Have Black Trade Unions Recognised?" "Life has not always been easy since then," they sigh with paternalism worthy of a latter-day Cecil Rhodes, particularly when "our gold and coal mines" are struck. But they sought to bring in unions "for very sound commercial, as well as moral, reasons." Anglo American's commercial interests were clear: to set up a collaborationist labor bureaucracy to prevent an outbreak of revolutionary worker agitation.

In late May, Anglo and its former chairman Gavin Relly orchestrated a meeting at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel of 350 bankers and industrialists with a high-level delegation from the ANC. At his first press conference after being released, Mandela had caused consternation in corporate boardrooms by reaffirming the ANC's call (in its 1955 Freedom Charter) for nationalization of South Africa's mines and redistribution of the wealth. But in a joint news conference with Gavin Relly at the Carlton, Mandela backed off from this pledge:

"I would like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form."

—London *Independent*, 24 May

While Mandela was appealing for "co-operation of the corporate sector," Relly said they agreed on a "mixed economy," and that "one shouldn't jump about and get frightened just because people see the word 'nationalisation'." For his part, Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party has been quoted as saying that redistribution of wealth does *not* mean "sectors of the economy would have to be nationalised."

### Imperialist Sanctions: Who Do They Serve?

Mandela is using his tours of West Europe and North America to appeal to the imperialist chiefs to maintain "sanctions" against South Africa. We have pointed out how grotesque it is to call on American rulers, who dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and turned Vietnam into a moonscape, who block effective school integration in the U.S. and whose program for ghetto poverty amounts to genocide, to pressure their South African junior partners to...fight racism. We noted that calls for "disinvestment" were at best an empty moralistic gesture, that when multinational corporations began withdrawing productive assets it was to protect their profits and, except when a revolutionary overthrow is directly posed, this would serve to *weaken* the black unions, the organizational embodiment of the proletarian power that can bring down apartheid capitalism. "So divestment has become good business. But it is *not* good for South Africa's black workers," we summed up (*Workers Vanguard* No. 434, 7 August 1987).

Canada's declaration of sanctions in 1985 was very good business indeed. In banning the South African Krugerrand, Ottawa literally made a killing in gold. The third largest producer (after South Africa and the USSR), Canada profited handsomely as sales of the "Maple Leaf" coin climbed with the apartheid regime's murder of black miners and youth. By 1987 Canadian companies' gold output had tripled in a five-year period; today "Made in Canada" Placer Dome is the largest gold company outside of South Africa. And Ottawa's "anti-racist" posturing is a grotesque fraud. It was from Canada's Indian reservation system where Native people were imprisoned that the South African rulers drew inspiration in devising such key elements of apartheid as the bantustans. Canadian governments slammed the door on desperate Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler's genocide, flung Japanese Canadians into concentration camps during World War II, and denied the vote to Asians and Natives until well after the war.

The Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) was unique in telling the truth about the liberal divestment movement when it was highly unpopular to do so. But forces in COSATU have begun questioning the policy of divestment and sanctions. COSATU's 1987 congress criticized selective sanctions, which "cause serious regional unemployment." The following year the Chemical Workers Industrial Union demanded that 41 foreign-controlled companies negotiate so that divestment not be at the workers' expense. And last year, the CWIU struck nine Mobil Oil installations against plans to "divest" by selling out to the South African mining conglomerate Gencor, while the Metalworkers union struck Goodyear over the company's sellout to South Africa's Consol.



Campbell/Syigma

**Miners are key to producing wealth of South Africa. Black workers must fight for their own class power.**

A recent article on "Financial Sanctions and the Future of South Africa," by Paul Trehwela in *Searchlight South Africa* (February 1990), published in London, incisively analyzes the cause and effect of imperialist sanctions. Trehwela writes that while in the 1960s and 1970s the ANC called mainly for international consumer, sports and cultural boycotts, today "the decisive practical role in the sanctions campaign now lies with world financial capital." He notes that at the height of the 1985 township revolt, U.S. financial capital—following the lead of Chase Manhattan Bank—imposed financial sanctions on South Africa, blocking new credits and demanding repayment of back loans. Since 1985 some \$15 billion in foreign debt was repaid by South Africa, while another \$10 billion left the country in capital flight. He observes:

"The action of the banks in July-August 1985, setting in motion the sole effective process of economic sanctions so far, was a measure by capital in its own defence against a future threatened loss.... What the banks require are political changes in South Africa that can assure them of future safety for their investments, and a safe field for future investment."

Trehwela notes that the present sanctions policy was designed by state technocrats of imperialist countries, notably Canada and Australia (the number four gold producer). They were approved by meetings last year of the Commonwealth foreign ministers and heads of government, and endorsed by the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and a delegation of COSATU headed by Metalworkers union leader Moses Mayekiso, "formerly a leader of the left wing of the unions." By looking to the banks as liberators, the ANC and its various allies and satellites are playing straight into the hands of the International Monetary Fund and the drive to "mass pauperization" of the Third World:

"The convergence of real practical bank sanctions and the agitation of the ANC for financial sanctions marks its co-option into the political operations of  
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## Smash Apartheid...

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world capital. Outside the environs of Mrs Thatcher, it is hard to discover who does not either support or threaten to support their extension. Congresses of bishops and the Trade Union Congress, the UN and the Communist Parties, radical leftists and the far-seeing right: all look to the agency of money-dealing capital to undo what money-dealing capital set in place at the founding of modern South Africa, in the period of Rhodes and Rothschild.

"Ultimately it is the future of the workers in South Africa that is under examination.... The ANC has passed from the patronage of the USSR into the US sphere of interest. Its guiding policy in international affairs has in the last resort become that of the IMF and the US banks, the real authors of 'financial sanctions'. In aligning themselves with this politics, the leaders of Cosatu, and in particular Mayekiso, have become the means of transmission of the politics of the banks within the proletariat."

Collaboration with the banks over sanctions; schemes like the Anglo American employee shareholder plan and retirement fund (whose first chairman is NUM secretary Cyril Ramaphosa)—these are measures that bring black unions increasingly under the control of finance capital and the capitalist state. The aim, as Trehwela indicates, is "to build up a trade union bureaucracy and a labour aristocracy among black workers, through which it hopes to control the class." Whether this is possible in South Africa today is another matter.

### Black Workers Must Take the Power!

Trehwela holds that following the 1985 township revolt and subsequent growth of black trade unions, the existence of the apartheid regime has become "anomalous" to the banks. He assumes that a post-apartheid capitalist state is in gestation which will include an ANC presence in the government. This assumption is shared by a whole political spectrum, from de Klerk on the right through Gavin Relly to Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and leftists like Trehwela. At most this would mean that South Africa would become another Zimbabwe (where Mugabe's cops and army tear-gas strikers). But this perspective is a conservative/liberal/reformist utopia. In fact, South Africa is barreling down the road to civil war.

While "verligte" (enlightened) capitalists and imperialists would like to strike a deal with the ANC, in apartheid South Africa there is very little middle ground. De Klerk's National Party is losing votes as white reactionaries dig in, arming themselves to defend their swimming pools, ranch houses and farms built on the toil of black labor. Moreover, it is far from clear that the maximum concessions by the Nationalist government can meet the minimum demands of the ANC if either side is to retain any support on its respective side of the yawning chasm that separates the oppressed black majority from the layer of white oppressors, far smaller but big enough to wage a bloody fight to the death. And they will. The idea that apartheid, that is to say capitalist rule based on white supremacy, will pass peacefully into history is absurd.

In the period since the Mandela-de Klerk Cape Town talks, COSATU has pushed to get in on the negotiations. "We're meeting ministers almost every day," glowed one NUM official, and Ramaphosa referred to blood-drenched top cop Adriaan Vlok as "our minister" when they met in Welkom. The Pan-Africanists oppose negotiations, but their slogan of "one settler, one bullet" is simply a call to drive whites out of a black nationalist-ruled capitalist South Africa. The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) also criticizes the ANC negotiations with the de Klerk regime and talks of building a "mass-based people's organization with a socialist orientation" (*Socialist Action*, June 1990). But its advocacy of "Black Consciousness philosophy" denies the central role of the black African proletariat capable of leading also the oppressed, coloured and Indian masses as well as those whites who accept a racially integrated, egalitarian South Africa.

Allied with AZAPO is the Cape Action League, whose youth group recently published a document calling for a constituent assembly rather than a negotiated settlement. CAL is led by Neville Alexander, whose latter-day Menshevism is often misidentified as Trotskyism in South Africa. The revolutionary-democratic slogan of a constituent assembly is appropriate as the ANC prepares to abandon "one man, one vote" in practice, alleging the need to assuage white fears. But by itself this slogan does not go beyond the limits of bourgeois society. To overthrow the domination of the capitalists who have sucked fabulous wealth from superexploitation of the labor of South African blacks, to ensure equality and freedom for the oppressed masses and raise them out of poverty, it will take nothing less than proletarian revolution, with black workers in the vanguard.

Today the contradictions in South Africa are excruciating: the mood of demoralization following the exhaustion of the 1984-86 township revolts is past, the working class is insurgent as never before, yet never before has it been so politically dominated by the politics of class collaboration. A socialist revolution must be prepared and led by a genuinely communist party, forged in struggle against the reformism of the SACP and the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC. It must be a racially integrated party, which includes not only blacks but also coloureds and Indians as well as whites as comrades. It will be a Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, which says to black workers: the nationalists want you to pull the cart of capitalism as the apartheid rulers have forced you to with their *sjamboks* and bullets, but you have the power, you produced the wealth—take it, it's yours.

*Smash apartheid—For workers revolution in South Africa!*

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 504, 15 June

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## Mumia Abu-Jamal...

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community groups and others, which successfully stopped the KKK/skinheads from daring to appear. Mumia Abu-Jamal sent a taped message to the rally in his hometown: "It's time folk de-hood the Klan and take a close look at what's beneath," he said, describing "the Klan's primary role and function: to use racial hatred to divide the many peoples who make up this country so that the few, the ruling class, can more easily exploit the many."

"Around the Klan demonstration no doubt stand the squadron of cops whose sole assignment is to protect the Klan if they were to appear," Jamal continued; "It is fitting that one agency of the state, the cops, are assigned to protect another agent, the Klan. For make no mistake, the KKK serves the interests of the ruling class who must divide to rule.... Far more deadly racists sit in black robes, send blacks, Hispanics and poor into prisons where the state plays slavemaster."

On 9 December 1981 the cops tried to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal in the streets, but failed. He was hospitalized with a bleeding stomach wound, arrested and framed up on charges of killing a cop. At this trial he was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding eleven prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution's request. The judge denied Jamal's request to have the arresting cop called as a witness. That cop's report indicated that Jamal had made no statement; this was crucial in refuting an alleged confession the other cops claimed Jamal gave while almost bleeding to death from his stomach wound.

Jamal presented a defense of 15 character witnesses. He exposed inconsistencies in the state's case, which he described as: "A parade of street hustlers and whores strutted on the witness stand, one to say she saw a 'short' man, of roughly 200 lbs. shoot the victim (I am 6 ft, 1; and was about 170 lbs. at the time)...a white cab driver described the shooter as a man wearing an 'Afro'; (and I've worn long locks for several years prior to 1981)." To bolster its frame-up against Jamal, the prosecution slandered one of his character witnesses, renowned poet and Temple University professor, Sonia Sanchez, as a "friend of cop killers."

At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued that Jamal be condemned to death simply for his political history and beliefs, claiming that Abu-Jamal's prior membership in the Black Panther Party and a 12-year-old quotation that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" proved he was a committed cop-killer! The prosecution claimed Jamal would get "appeal after appeal after appeal," trying to hoodwink the jury into thinking that the death sentence would never be carried out. Yet Jamal's petition to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to reargue his appeal was denied on 1 February—the second time in less than a year that court has turned down his legal challenge to the racist witchhunt which has condemned him to die.

A petition for review to the U.S. Supreme Court has been filed. Last year Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson declared: "Mumia's trial was a farce.... It was clear to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs.... An innocent man has been sentenced to die."

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is

## Join the Campaign!

Save Jamal! Organize protest! The name of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today a rallying cry in the fight against the racist and barbaric death penalty. Bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save his life.

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about. It exposes not only the barbarity and arbitrary cruelty of this ultimate form of state terror, but the inherent racism in its application. In Canada, capital punishment always fell most heavily on immigrant workers and Native people. And its abolition (by a six-vote margin in 1976) is *reversible*. The racist killer cops have repeatedly campaigned to "bring back the noose," demanding the "tools to finish the job." Before his conviction was finally overturned in 1982, Micmac Indian Donald Marshall spent eleven years in prison for a murder he did not commit. Lawyer Clayton Ruby noted that, had the death penalty been in force, "Donald Marshall would now be dead" (*Globe and Mail*, 6 November 1989).

As Jamal wrote: "The death penalty in America is a symbol, a ritual, a relic of a time of total dominance, of one people, by

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## Mumia Abu-Jamal...

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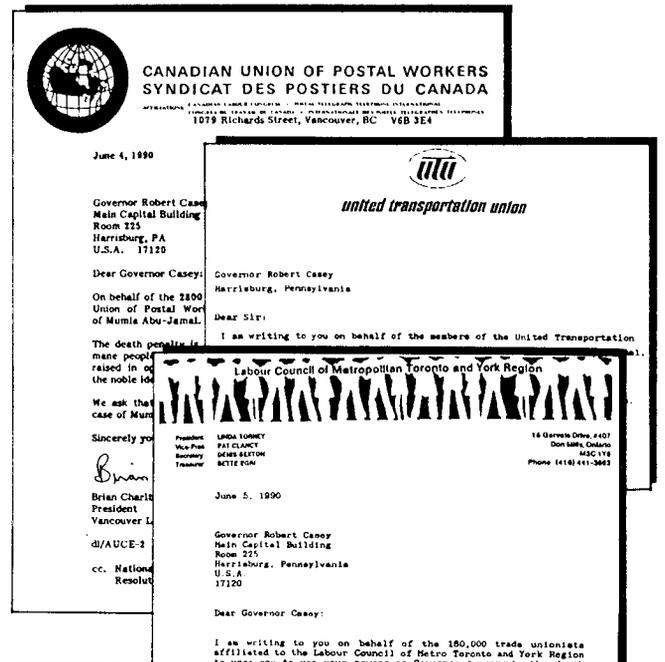
another. Therein lies its attractiveness in the U.S., and in the apartheid regime in South Africa" ("Pull the Hood Off the Hangman," *Workers Vanguard* No. 477, 12 May 1989). In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation, which denied to whole people fundamental human rights, reducing man to a beast of burden and the disposable property of his master.

The Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S., along with the PDC in Canada and other sister organizations internationally, has undertaken a massive campaign to save Jamal's life. The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization 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 Trotskyist League.

The urgency of the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the over 2,200 prisoners on death row throughout the U.S., was underlined on 5 March when the U.S. Supreme Court announced new grounds for denying federal appeals in many death row cases. Now the states are gearing up their killing machines again. In California, which has 273 prisoners on death row, protest has (for now) blocked the first execution there since 1967.

Over 16,000 people around the world have signed petitions and sent letters demanding Jamal not be executed. In Canada the campaign is gathering widespread support from the labor movement. In addition to the Metro Toronto Labour Council, letters have been sent on behalf of the Vancouver Local of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Local 391 of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and Local 483 of the United Transportation Union, among others.

In Toronto, the Partisan Defense Committee has initiated a united-front demonstration on July 4 at the U.S. Consulate to demand "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty!" (see endorsers list, this page). The Toronto demonstration is part of a two-week international campaign of protest that will include rallies across the U.S., and pickets of U.S. embassies and consulates in Australia, England, France, West Germany and the DDR. The former prime minister of the DDR, Hans Modrow, has endorsed the German rallies.



### Across the country trade unions demand: "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!"

Speakers at the U.S. events will include officers of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Amnesty International and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The PDC seeks to bring the force of the organized working class, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save Jamal's life. International protest can powerfully aid this struggle and that of all class-war prisoners. The fight to save Jamal is the fight against racist state murder around the world. We urge our readers to give their wholehearted support to building this urgent international mobilization.

*We want to make it very clear that the views expressed in the above article submitted by the Partisan Defense Committee, and elsewhere in Spartacist Canada, do not necessarily represent the views of other endorsers and speakers working together to save Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty.*

## "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Death Penalty!"

### Toronto Demonstration, July 4, 1990

— Partial List of Endorsers —

Oji Adisa, Mother Africa Children's Photographic Reproductions International

African and Caribbean Student Association

Afrocanadian Club, Oakwood Collegiate,\* Toronto

Anarchist Black Cross

Denise Burnett, CIUT FM\*

Canadian Union of Postal Workers Vancouver Local

Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Vancouver

Coalition for the Truth About Africa

Claire Culhane, Prisoners' Rights Group\*

John Donaldson, Past Vice President, Ontario Federation of Labour\*

Lennox Farrell, Chairperson, Rally Against Apartheid\*

André Kolompar, President, CUPW Toronto Local\*

Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and York Region Executive Board

C. J. Marshall, Executive Vice President and Treasurer, Hotel Employees, Restaurant Employees Local 75,\* Toronto

Dari Meade, Spokesperson, Black Action Defence Committee\* Partisan Defense Committee

Harry Rankin, Alderman, City of Vancouver\*

Charles Roach, President, Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration Committee\*

Clayton C. Ruby

Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1

Executive Council, Vancouver

Trotskyist League

United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union Local 1,

Vancouver

United Transportation Union Local 483, Toronto

Lance Wilson, Research Consultant, Multicultural

Access Program, City of Toronto\*

Wimmin Prisoners' Survival Network

\*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

## Down With Tory Abortion Law!

# Free Abortion on Demand!

"Every person who induces an abortion on a female person is guilty of an indictable offense and liable to imprisonment...." This is the chilling language of the new anti-abortion law which made it through parliament on May 28.

Abortions are prohibited except in cases where it can be proven that continuing pregnancy would endanger a woman's physical, mental or psychological well-being. A doctor who performs an abortion that does not meet these conditions faces fines and a two-year jail sentence. To ensure that women have no other access to abortion the law makes "supplying or procuring" drugs to induce an abortion—like the very safe RU-486 abortion pill—a crime also punishable by two years behind bars. Obscenely, this law is being touted as a "compromise" replacement for the former reactionary abortion law which was struck down by the federal Supreme Court in January 1988 as an unconstitutional violation of women's rights!

In early June, a 20-year-old Toronto woman bled to death after performing an abortion on herself. Had she survived she would have been liable to prosecution and imprisonment under the new law. Another young woman in Waterloo, Ontario was seriously injured following a botched backstreet abortion. With the government holding the threat of jail sentences over the heads of doctors who perform abortions, desperate women will increasingly be driven to the back alley butchers or to using coat hangers on themselves. As Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who was dragged through four criminal trials and jailed for ten months in the 1970s under the old law, said, doctors "will be afraid to perform this service. No doctor wants to go through what I have gone through."

Already in Calgary, Winnipeg and Halifax doctors fearful of criminal prosecution say they will demand psychiatric assessments of patients or stop performing abortions altogether. Morgentaler, whose 20-year battle for women's abortion rights brought down the government's former anti-abortion legislation, is again on trial in Nova Scotia, facing 14 counts of violating the province's special "anti-Morgentaler" law against performing abortions in clinics. A new anti-abortion outfit, the "Canadian Rights Coalition," is trying to push women to file malpractice suits against doctors who perform abortions.

### All-Sided Capitalist Reaction

The attack on abortion rights is a touchstone for everything that is sick and backward in this society. In B.C. the president of "REAL Women" grotesquely alibied the massacre of 14 young women engineering students at Montreal's Ecole Polytechnique who were gunned down last December by a de-ranked man who hated "feminists." In a letter which was mailed across the country, courtesy of the fanatical right-wing, anti-abortion Social Credit government in B.C., she suggested that the murderer "might just have been a man whose child had been aborted by a 'feminist'." Dr. Morgentaler, a Jewish survivor of the Auschwitz death camp, has been subjected to the most vicious anti-Semitism, to death threats and to murderous attack by the anti-abortion lunatics who vandalize the clinics and terrorize patients. They draw in their wake the

deadly skinhead fascists and the Ku Klux Klan.

The new anti-abortion law only underlines the futile, dead-end strategy of the feminist "pro-choice" leaders who seek to pressure the capitalist government and courts to defend women's rights. Tory Justice Minister Kim Campbell, who describes herself as a fervent "pro-choice" activist, is the most ardent defender of the new legislation. But such bourgeois women *buy* their rights; they'll still be able to get abortions in plush private clinics.

### Abortion Rights and the Working Class

The feminist slogan "women have a right to choose" means little to poor and working-class women who confront the impossible "choice" of mandatory motherhood or death and maiming at the hands of a backstreet abortionist. Even in the brief period when abortion was not illegal, access did not improve. Across the north of the country medical care of any kind, let alone abortion, is virtually non-existent, and the Maritimes are almost as bad. In Newfoundland only one hospital provides abortions, and in Prince Edward Island none.

The Trotskyist League fights for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all as the only means to address the needs of poor and working-class women. We stand for mobilizing the social power of labor—men, women, minorities—to defend the clinics against the woman-hating, anti-abortion terrorists.

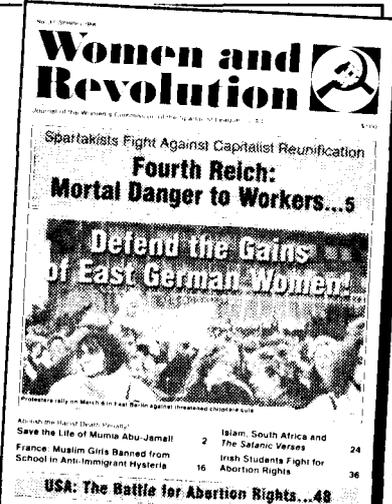
The nuclear family, cornerstone of women's oppression, is integral to the maintenance of this rotting capitalist system. Genuine emancipation and lasting gains for women will only be won through the creation of a new socialist society, where free abortion on demand will be part of a full program of socialized medicine. In such a society the bourgeois family would be replaced by socialized child care and housework, enabling women to be full participants in social and political life.

Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

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# **SPARTACIST** CANADA

## **American Black Journalist on Death Row**

# **Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal!**

"I am writing to you on behalf of the 180,000 trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Council of Metro Toronto and York Region to urge you to use your powers as Governor to commute the death sentence imposed upon Mumia Abu-Jamal and to allow his re-trial." With these words, in a letter of protest to Pennsylvania governor Robert Casey, Metro Toronto Labour Council president Linda Torney added powerfully to the growing chorus of voices raised to demand that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die.

Insolitary confinement in Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, Mumia Abu-Jamal awaits the electric chair. He is a death row political prisoner today because he has defied the racist, capitalist order. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, outspoken MOVE supporter and a journalist called "the voice of the voiceless" for his championing the rights of the oppressed, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for 21 years. Because he is a militant, still resisting the racist system which is trying to kill him, the state is readying the legal lynch rope for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Jamal's history reflects that of a generation of American black militants from the civil rights movement through the Reagan years. At the age of 13, Jamal was first beaten and arrested for protesting a rally for Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace, held in the white racist bastion of Mayor Frank Rizzo's South Philadelphia. At 14, Jamal was co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party; as he recalled, this experience "charged my pen with a distinctive anti-authoritarian, and anti-establishment character that survives to this day."

A widely acclaimed journalist since 1970, Jamal broadcast on national radio networks, interviewing singer Bob Marley, basketball star Julius Erving, Puerto Rican independence fighters and others. In 1980 he was elected president of the



Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. Jamal is a well-known supporter of the black Philadelphia MOVE organization, itself the target of a vendetta unleashed by Rizzo's cops. In 1978 Jamal covered Rizzo's campaign against MOVE, including the siege of the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops. In 1985 this vendetta culminated in Mayor Wilson Goode's hideous bombing of MOVE—aided and abetted by the federal government—which left eleven, including five children, dead.

On 5 November 1988 in Philadelphia, a labor/black anti-Klan rally triumphantly occupied Independence Mall, site of a threatened skinhead/Klan march. The Partisan Defense Committee's work in building the "Stop the KKK!" mobilization led to a massive outpouring of opposition to the race terrorists from trade union members, civil rights activists,

*(continued on page 13)*

## **Demonstrate!**

**WEDNESDAY JULY 4 — 5:30 p.m.**

**U.S. CONSULATE, 360 UNIVERSITY AVE., TORONTO**  
(North of Queen, near Osgoode Subway)

**SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL! ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY!**

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee