



WV Photo

Yankee Imperialists Hands Off Haiti, Cuba!

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

SEPTEMBER 13—The Clinton administration's plans for an invasion of Haiti appear to be moving past the stage of threats to actual implementation, as the dispatch of military transport ships and readying of the 82nd Airborne make clear. While the "limited" invasion is pitched in terms of humanitarianism and "restoring democracy," in fact the U.S. military moves are a dire threat to the Haitian masses. The American imperialists want to stop the flow of "boat people" by ousting the bloody junta initially supported by Washington, and clamping a heavy-handed military rule on the country. No less important, an invasion of Haiti would serve as a club threatening more aggressive actions to overthrow the Cuban Revolution. We say: Yankee imperialists—hands off Haiti, Cuba!

Not content with the vicious U.S. embargo which is starving the Haitian masses, the invasion of Haiti is being pushed mainly by Democratic Party liberals, notably the Congressional Black Caucus. The declared aim is to reinstate Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a former radical populist priest ousted by the military in 1991. The White House claims a "drop dead date" by which Haiti's junta leaders must leave has not been decided by Clinton, but that the "window" for a landing is between mid-September and mid-October.

Under the invasion plan which involves about 20,000 troops, Army forces will predominate, including soldiers of the 82nd Airborne, with Marines on ships off Haiti and commandos conducting the initial assault. The 10th Mountain Division, a light infantry division from Fort Drum, New York is to be deployed to Haiti soon after to help "maintain order" and relieve the 82nd Airborne: The Pentagon announced the aircraft carrier *Dwight D. Eisenhower* is being sent to Haiti to be used for helicopter operations, along with the carrier *America*. The plan also calls for AC-130 gunships, A-10 attack planes and fight-



U.S. Marines train for Haiti invasion on Vieques, off Puerto Rico. Top: Spartacist contingent at September 8 NYC demonstration calls for defense of Cuban Revolution and Haiti against U.S. war moves in the Caribbean.

ers, which are clearly intended to terrorize the population.

Giving the fig leaf of "international support," 17 countries have pledged 1,500 troops to "help Haiti return to democracy," Secretary of State Christopher announced September 12, as he loudly discussed military actions around Haiti and Cuba with top officials in Norfolk, Virginia. Washington has even asked Israel (!) to contribute police forces. Currently, the U.S. is training 266 Caribbean troops at Roosevelt Roads Naval Base in Puerto Rico, to be deployed within ten days of an invasion in a "non-combat role." And a police force of Haitians is reportedly being trained by the U.S. at the Guantánamo naval base.

The transformation of the Caribbean into a huge "multinational" military platform for U.S. imperialism is a direct threat to both the Haitian masses and the Cuban deformed workers state. The gains of the Cuban Revolution, although attenuated, remain a beacon to the impoverished workers and peasants of Latin America and the Caribbean. U.S. military out of Roosevelt Roads and

voted for the Pentagon war machine to devastate Iraq for disturbing U.S. control over the Persian Gulf oil fields. This time, however, Clinton and his fellow Democrats are bent on avoiding a Congressional vote. An invasion of Haiti is not popular in the U.S. Opposition comes from both the Republican right, which sympathizes with the junta, and from many who are deeply skeptical of U.S. military adventures. For example, today's *New York Times* comes out against an invasion, clucking its tongue about the need for Congressional approval.

Meanwhile, the Haitian military is going about killing as usual. Since the ouster of Aristide three years ago, some 5,000 people have been killed by death squads, savagely shot or tortured to death. More than 10,000 have been arrested, the majority brutalized or tortured. On the night of August 28, the Rev. Jean-Marie Vincent, a priest who was a prominent associate of Aristide, was assassinated. Vincent was the head of "Tet Ansanm" ("Heads Together"), a peasant movement in the northwest region of the country which angered large landowners.

Today, the State Department is distributing press releases about human rights violations in Haiti—something they have downplayed for years in order to justify the U.S. policy of shipping refugees back to the bloody dictatorship. But a U.S. invasion would only further subjugate the Haitian people under the boot of its Yankee imperialist overlords. The last U.S. occupation of Haiti lasted 19 years, murdering thousands

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OPEN THE BORDER
ASYLUM FOR REFUGEES NOW!
Spartacist organization

**ISO:
Gusano
Socialists?**

See Page 7



Alabama Rubber Workers Rock Scabs

ATLANTA—Over one thousand striking rubber workers and their supporters gathered outside Dunlop Tire's suburban Huntsville, Alabama plant in the early morning hours of September 6. After almost 12 weeks on strike, the 1,600 members of United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 915 learned of company plans to bring in hundreds of scabs. The strikers had just narrowly rejected a giveback contract offer which would have imposed 12-hour shifts and huge takebacks in medical care.

Just after 3 a.m., hundreds of pickets—men and women, black and white—massed at the plant gate to educate some scabs. For the next three hours scabs' cars were rocked as they tried to enter the plant. Altogether, more than 100 scab cars are due for a lot of body and glass work. At 6 a.m. the cops declared the

For an Industry-Wide Strike!

mass picket an "unlawful assembly" and unleashed a barrage of CS tear gas, bracketing the workers in front and behind, cutting off their retreat. "They were not trying to disperse the crowd, they were trying to hurt people," one striker said.

The cops then waded in, clad in black uniforms with helmets and gas masks. They clubbed Sherry Thurmand, a 22-year seniority worker, as she sat on the ground. Four strikers were arrested for disorderly conduct, with "resisting arrest" thrown in to justify the beating that the cops dished out. Speaking with *Workers Vanguard*, strikers compared the

cop attack to the LAPD beating of Rodney King in its wanton brutality. Drop the charges against the Huntsville strikers!

When the gas cleared, some of the scabs got the message and left town. But a local judge quickly gave Dunlop an injunction limiting pickets to six per gate—who must remain ten feet apart. The company is now producing tires with scores of scabs. On the heels of the injunction, the union tops came out of sessions with a federal mediator with another giveback contract. But on Saturday, September 10 strikers threw it back in their face by better than a two-to-one margin.

At an earlier strike rally on July 10, hundreds of workers came from all over Alabama to show their solidarity—auto workers, electricians, postal workers, miners, IAM and OCAW. These forces must be organized in action, with mass pickets to stop the scabs. Strikers must not allow the union tops to bargain away their militant picket line stand. An elected strike committee is urgently needed to take the steps necessary to win the strike. This includes dispatching teams to Toyota, Nissan and Honda plants to get workers to refuse to handle Dunlop tires!

For Sit-Down Strikes to Stop the Scabs! Bring Out the Whole URW!

The Dunlop plant is one of many shut down by scattered URW strikes. After contracts in the industry expired in April, the URW International tops made Goodyear workers vote twice to saddle them with a sellout, then forced the same terms onto Uniroyal-Goodrich workers. Now, with only some 10 percent of industry capacity struck, the bureaucracy is dividing rubber workers, making it easier for them to be conquered by the big international conglomerates that monopolize the industry.

Workers at six Bridgestone/Firestone plants struck on July 13. In Des Moines, Iowa and Decatur, Illinois, strikers are facing scabs, as the company imposes its "final offer." On August 25, unionists from the strikes at Caterpillar and Staley in Decatur joined striking rubber workers early in the morning. Five hundred workers marched on the Firestone plant after the company announced they were hiring 30 scabs.

But the 4,200 workers at the struck Firestone plants affect less than half of the firm's North American capacity. The largest, most modern tire plant in the

country, the non-union Firestone plant in Wilson City, North Carolina, is producing 33,000 tires a day. A winning strike against the giant international tire companies must be linked to a struggle to organize the unorganized, especially across the South.

This will take the kind of sharp class struggle that the union bureaucracy fears like the plague. "Hot-carguing" (truckers, auto workers refusing to handle scab tires), mass picket lines that defy injunctions, sit-down strikes to occupy the plants and *keep out* the scabs—that's what's needed to win. The URW pioneered the sit-down strike, at Goodyear in Akron in 1935. But these class-struggle tactics will never be used by the labor lieutenants of capital who are tied by a thousand strings to the capitalist Democratic Party. Democratic president Clinton just signed an order to break the strike of the Soo Line railroad workers—without a peep from the AFL-CIO bureaucrats.

Reject Protectionist Poison!

The crucial battle to organize the racist, open shop South must go hand in hand with the fight against the special oppression of black workers. Only through an all-sided struggle against racial oppression can the working class build the integrated class struggle that can defeat the bosses' attacks.

Yet the rubber strike has been marked by grotesque flag-waving attacks on the Japanese and Italian owners of Bridgestone/Firestone, Dunlop (Sumitomo) and Pirelli. The URW tops have organized picketing at the Japanese consulate in Chicago. At Labor Day in Decatur jingoist slogans of "World War II, Part II" and "Pearl Harbor" dominated the march. These are a deadly diversion by the labor bureaucracy, which is desperately seeking to divert workers' anger from the *American* bosses. This protectionist poison is *sucker bait*, designed to set workers from different nations at each others' throats while the capitalists drive up the rate of exploitation.

Rubber workers see the strike as part of a struggle to turn back the tide of givebacks and defeats for labor across the country. After the mass picket in Huntsville on September 6, one worker said, "This is America in microcosm. We've fought too hard, for too long, to give up."

What's urgently needed, from Huntsville to Decatur, is a combative leadership that will tell workers the hard truth and fight for a class-struggle workers party to lead the battle for a workers government, putting an end to the racist profit system with a planned economy. ■



TROTSKY

British Imperialism in Ireland

World War I precipitated a rebellion in Ireland against British colonial rule—the 1916 Easter Uprising. On the eve of the uprising, one of its two principal leaders, the revolutionary socialist James Connolly, denounced the barbaric and perfidious role of British imperialism throughout the world and called for an Irish workers republic. After executing Connolly, James Larkin and their comrades, the British imperialists manipulated Orange and Green nationalism

to partition Ireland and turn the resulting southern Irish bourgeois state into a neocolony. Today we fight for an Irish workers republic within a socialist federation of the British Isles, opposing both British imperialist rule in Northern Ireland and the forcible inclusion of the distinct Northern Irish Protestant community in a unitary Irish state.

The power that for seven hundred years has waged bitter and unrelenting war upon the freedom of Ireland, and that still declares that the rights of Ireland must forever remain subordinate to the interests of the British Empire, hypocritically appealed to our young men to enlist under her banner and shed their blood "in the interests of freedom."

The power whose reign in Ireland has been one long carnival of corruption and debauchery of civic virtue, and which has rioted in the debasement and degradation of everything Irish men and women hold sacred, appealed to us in the name of religion to fight for her as the champion of Christendom.

The power which holds in subjection more of the world's population than any other power on the globe, and holds them in subjection as slaves without any guarantee of freedom or power of self-government, this power that sets Catholic against Protestant, the Hindu against the Mohammedan, the yellow man against the brown, and keeps them quarrelling with each other whilst she robs and murders them all—this power appeals to Ireland to send her sons to fight under England's banner for the cause of the oppressed. The power whose rule in Ireland has made of Ireland a desert, and made the history of our race read like the records of a shambles, as she plans for the annihilation of another race appeals to our manhood to fight for her because of our sympathy for the suffering, and of our hatred of oppression....

We are out for Ireland for the Irish. But who are the Irish? Not the rack-renting, slum-owning landlord; not the sweating, profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressman—the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish upon whom the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a free nation can be reared.

The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour. They cannot be dis severed. Ireland seeks freedom. Labour seeks that an Ireland free should be the sole mistress of her own destiny, supreme owner of all material things within and upon her soil. Labour seeks to make the free Irish nation the guardian of the interests of the people of Ireland; and to secure that end would vest in that free Irish nation all property rights as against the claims of the individual, with the end in view that the individual may be enriched by the nation, and not by the spoiling of his fellows.

—James Connolly, "The Irish Flag," *Workers Republic* (8 April 1916)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD



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DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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Huntsville, Alabama: Striking rubber workers rally July 10 against Dunlop bosses. URW tops try to ram through sellout contract against militant ranks.

WORKERS VANGUARD

For over a month, major-league baseball players have stayed solid in their strike against the owners. Ever since the Major League Baseball Players Association walked out on August 12, newspaper editorial offices and TV studios have been churning out propaganda trying to whip up sports fans against "greedy players." That's pretty rich coming from the mouthpieces for franchise owners, who are one of the nastiest and most rapacious gangs of bosses around.

In a Labor Day commentary, the *New York Times* (5 September) noted that in the middle of a baseball walkout, with hockey players facing a lockout and basketball players trying to get rid of a salary cap, there is a rash of sports strikes at a time when most unions are taking it on the chin. And the media are bad-mouthing the strikers just as they went after the well-paid PATCO air traffic controllers when they struck against Reagan in 1981.

Much is made of the average player's salary of nearly \$1.2 million, but the majority of players get barely a third of that during their brief (five-year) "career" in the "big." As for the owners' poor-mouthing, claiming rising player salaries are driving them to ruin, an economic report by the union exposes the multifarious ways management accountants cook the books. Baseball is coming off a banner year in attendance, in addition to the obscenely profitable television revenues.

It would be hard to find a more venal, corrupt, racist gang than the cabal that runs organized baseball. Take the Tribune Corporation, owner of the Chicago Cubs. These rabid union-haters broke the 1985-86 strike of *Chicago Tribune* newspaper unions by importing hundreds of scabs. They repeated these tactics against workers at the *New York Daily News* four years later. And now they want to do it to the Cubs.

Then there is the execrable Marge Schott, the Cincinnati Reds owner who counts Nazi swastikas among her Christmas decorations and is infamous for her racist hiring practices and revolting epithets against nearly every minority in the United States. Or take New York Yankees boss, George Steinbrenner, owner of a non-union shipyard in Tampa, Florida who once told 1,500 unionists at a plant he was closing in Lorain, Ohio that "I don't know about you boys, but I'll be eating three meals a day." Steinbrenner was banished from baseball twice, once for illegal contributions to Nixon's Watergate CREEP fund, and again for dirty tricks against Yankee star Dave Winfield. True to form, King George tried to cut off payments to Winfield's foundation for poor kids.

Steinbrenner has become synonymous with that type of "Boss" whose overweening ignorance and arrogance makes him a saboteur of "his" own enterprise. He is currently trying to ditch Yankee

Owners' Cabal Provokes Baseball Strike

Koeniges/Newsday



AP

Sams/Sipa



Harry Benson



Racists and robber barons: rogues' gallery of baseball team owners. Clockwise, from top left: George Steinbrenner (New York Yankees), Marge Schott (Cincinnati Reds), George W. Bush (Texas Rangers), H. Wayne Huizenga (Florida Marlins) and Ted Turner (Atlanta Braves).

Grinker/Contact



Smith/Outline

Stadium because of its location in the black and Hispanic Bronx, where his \$14 average ticket prices are out of reach for poor and working people. His "community relations" director ignited a storm of outrage when he described black youth playing basketball next to the stadium as "like monkeys" who "hang on the rim." Steinbrenner wants the courts paved over as parking lots.

Then there's the boorish multi-media mogul Robert Edward (Ted) Turner III, the Atlanta Braves owner who called players union leader Marvin Miller a "gimpy bastard" and spewed anti-Semitic remarks at player agent Jerry Kapstein. This rogues' gallery also includes George W. Bush (son of the former president) of the Texas Rangers; Jerry McMorris of the Colorado Rockies, who owns the largest privately held trucking company in the country; and Florida sports mogul H. Wayne Huizenga, who amassed hundreds of mil-

lions as owner of Waste Management, Inc., the biggest garbage company in the world, and Blockbuster Video. The average net worth of the owners is between \$300 and \$400 million.

These robber barons have hired as their hard cop labor negotiator one Richard Ravitch. Liberal Democrat Ravitch was the boss of the New York Metropolitan Transit Authority who forced a giveback contract down the throats of TWU Local 100 after a bitter eleven-day strike in April 1980. As the baseball owners' hatchet man, Ravitch has insisted on imposing a "salary cap" which would limit the teams' total wages and drive down current player pay at least 20 percent.

One sportswriter cracked, "baseball players are hardly potential candidates for Karl Marx's reserve army of the unemployed." In fact, the union chiefs are posing as champions of the "right" to be bought and sold on the "free" mar-

ket. What the baseball bosses really want is a return to the days of the reserve clause, when ball players were semi-slaves to be exchanged like bubble gum cards. The current strike, which has really stuck it to these aspiring slave-owners, is a good thing for the working class.

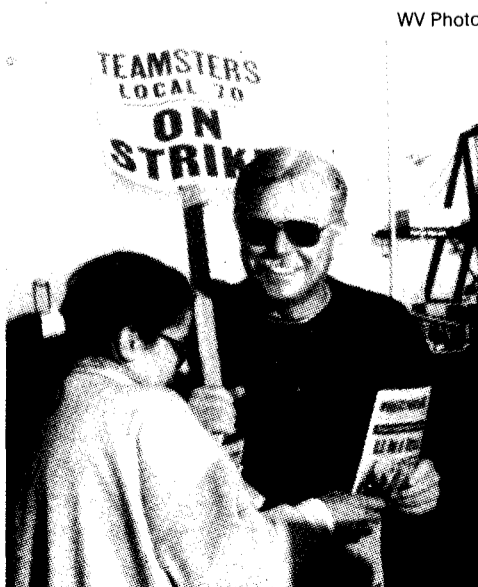
The sports media have presented the strike as a confrontation between two grasping parties both uncaring for the poor abused fan. But as John Helyar chronicles in his often insightful book *Lords of the Realm: The Real History of Baseball* (Villard, 1994), in this "all-American sport," aside from the few superstars most players were treated like dirt. An owner would "reserve" his entire roster, assuring his virtual lifetime control over players' services. As late as 1967, before the Players Association became a force in negotiations, the average salary was \$19,000 and the minimum

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IRA Opts for Imperialist "Peace" Fraud



Northern Ireland in the "New World Order"

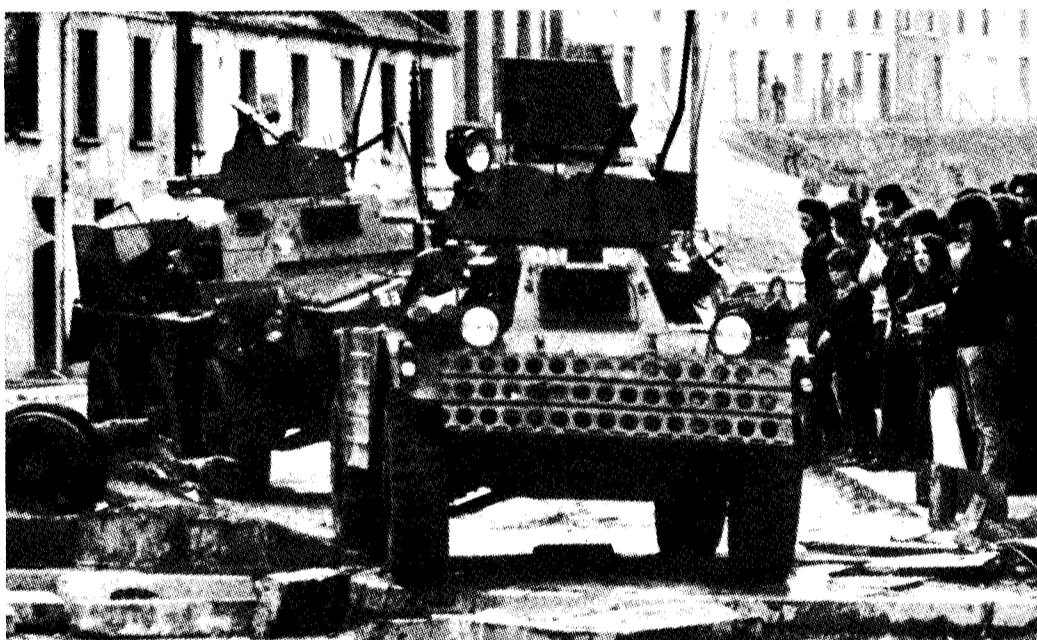
Jeremy Nichol

**British Troops Out Now! Not Orange Against Green, But Class Against Class!
For an Irish Workers Republic in a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!**

LONDON—On 31 August the Irish Republican Army (IRA) dramatically announced a "complete cessation of military operations," without conditions, declaring: "We believe that an opportunity to secure a just and lasting settlement has been created." The declaration marks the latest stage in the quest by the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Féin, for a "negotiated settlement" with British imperialism, pursued through the "good offices" of the southern Irish clericalist state and underwritten by U.S. imperialist chief Bill Clinton.

Hoping to secure a place in the "New World Order" ordained by Washington following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the IRA/Sinn Féin are predictably claiming a victory. Yet the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland have been offered *nothing* in exchange for the cease-fire. Sinn Féin does not even demand the withdrawal of British troops from the North, but appeals only for soldiers to be confined to barracks and the situation "demilitarised" by removing the notoriously Protestant-dominated Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) from Catholic areas.

The recent move was foreshadowed by the Anglo-Irish declaration between London and Dublin last December. As we warned then: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (WV No. 589, 3 December 1993).



Crescent Books

Republican murals in West Belfast commemorate eight IRA men murdered by British SAS killer elite troops (top). British troop carriers rumble through Catholic area of Bogside, enforcing the bloody occupation of Northern Ireland.

The IRA declaration has provoked speculation on all sides that Britain might eventually withdraw from Northern Ireland entirely. The Irish nationalists look forward to this, while Protestant Loyalists are screaming about "sellout" and secret deals. It is true that Britain has long been looking for a way to gracefully disencumber itself of the Northern Ireland albatross, whose cost to the British exchequer [treasury] runs to some £4.5 billion (\$7 billion) a year, enabling Northern Ireland to have a higher disposable income per capita than Britain. But Britain is not about to put an end to

Protestant ascendancy, nor is withdrawal of the British army—which continues to ride roughshod through the Catholic ghettos—an imminent possibility.

Meanwhile, the viciously sectarian RUC and Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) are still in place, and the heavily armed fascistic Protestant Loyalist/Unionist paramilitaries, who have killed far more people than the IRA this year—mostly in random, indiscriminate attacks on the Catholic populace—have refused thus far to reciprocate the IRA's cease-fire. And there will be no alleviation of the grinding poverty that afflicts working people—Catholic and Protestant—in Northern Ireland, where unemployment is substantially higher than even in Britain.

As Sinn Féin organized cease-fire celebrations in Catholic areas, crowds waved the Irish tricolour, shouting "time to go" at the troops and painting the word "Garda" (southern Ireland's police force) on RUC stations. But up to one-third of the membership of the IRA reportedly opposed the cease-fire, and among much of the Catholic population there was scepticism and anxiety. As a woman from Ardoyne—a Catholic area of north Belfast where unemployment runs 47 percent—put it: "I want peace but nothing has changed around here. The Brits and the peelers [cops] are still on the streets, young lads are still being harassed. We're terrified of a loyalist attack" (*Irish Times*, 8 September).

Only hours before the cease-fire went into effect, a Loyalist gang dragged Bel-

fast Catholic Sean McDermott from his bed and executed him. Shortly after the IRA declaration, John O'Hanlon was shot in cold blood outside a friend's house in Belfast. On 5 September the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) set off a large car bomb outside Sinn Féin's headquarters in Belfast, following up five days later with an assassination attempt against a Sinn Féin activist. Meanwhile, the British media and Tory and Labour politicians have whipped up a frenzy against "terrorism," which for them applies to the actions of the IRA but never to the blood-soaked British Army or the RUC, which regularly leaks "security files" on Republicans to Loyalist death squads.

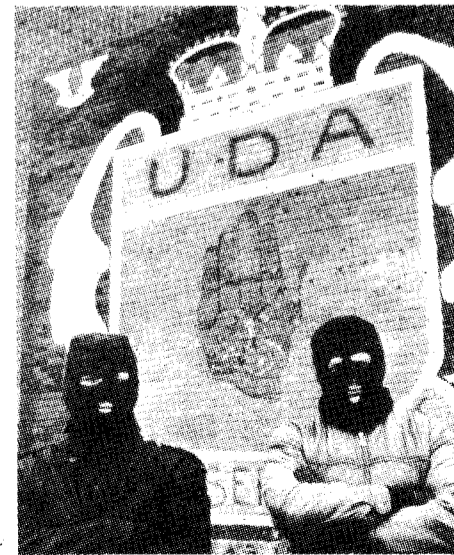
We are for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. But unlike the Green nationalists and their cheerleaders on the British and Irish left, we Marxists recognise that the Protestant community is not simply an extension of British imperialist rule. Northern Ireland is an example of *interpenetrated peoples*. The Protestant majority are deeply hostile to—and a significant number of Northern Catholics are wary of—the nationalist project of reunifying the North with the even more poverty-stricken and virulently anti-woman southern clerical state, where divorce as well as abortion is illegal.

Only workers rule, forged through the revolutionary unity of the working class, Catholic and Protestant, can bring about a just and democratic solution. In the



Reuters

Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams (left) shakes hands with Irish Republic prime minister Albert Reynolds and John Hume, leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic Labour Party, over IRA's unconditional cease-fire.



Pacemaker

Fascistic Protestant UDA Loyalists continue to gun down Catholics despite IRA cease-fire.

context of an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles, the Protestants may yet be voluntarily incorporated into a common Irish nation, which they would at present vehemently reject; they may develop a more distinct national identity; or they may find a democratic accommodation with the Catholics outside the framework of strictly national solutions.

Imperialist-Brokered "Peace" Deals

Sinn Féin leaders consciously look to the example of recent imperialist-brokered deals in South Africa and the Middle East. It would be fatal for working people to have illusions in such "settlements." In South Africa the newly installed Mandela/De Klerk regime has already moved to break strikes of black workers and squelch the expectations of the impoverished black masses. The Palestinian PLO now has its own cops to keep down the Palestinian masses in Gaza and Jericho. And while conditions in Northern Ireland are not identical, Ruari O Bradaigh, the leader of the dissident nationalist group Republican Sinn Féin, has warned that behind Gerry Adams' call for "new policing arrangements" is a veiled appeal for recruiting Republican militants to serve in a "police service to be run in parallel with the RUC" to do "England's dirty work in Ireland" (*Irish News*, 6 September).

The imperialist-brokered "solutions" in the Middle East and South Africa are at bottom a product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The existence of the Soviet Union provided a certain room for manoeuvre for petty-bourgeois nationalists. But with its demise, the ANC and PLO increasingly turned hat in hand to beg crumbs from Washington. Similarly, Sinn Féin appeals to U.S. imperialist chief Clinton, falsely portraying him as an ally of the oppressed Northern Catholics.

Washington has been a prime mover in the Northern Ireland "peace process." Last February Clinton granted Adams an unprecedented visa for a 48-hour visit to New York over the opposition of the British government. Now Adams has been granted another visa for a longer trip to the U.S. later this month. Following the IRA cease-fire, Clinton made a point of inviting Irish deputy prime minister Dick Spring to his vacation resort and promising a "peace dividend" of

increased U.S. aid to the southern republic and Northern Ireland. Vice President Gore visited Ireland to confer with Prime Minister Albert Reynolds.

Numerous commentators have noted wryly that the IRA's cease-fire announcement neatly dovetails with the U.S. political calendar. Some 44 million Americans claim Irish descent, and with mid-term elections imminent, Clinton and other Democratic Party politicians, like Ted Kennedy, are desperate to shore up their flagging popularity. But while Clinton made a show of offering a visa to IRA veteran Joe Cahill—for the purpose of persuading American IRA supporters to back the cease-fire—much less publicised are his efforts to maintain contact with the Protestant Loyalists. Thus, five months ago Gore held secret talks with James Molyneaux, the leader of the largest Protestant party, the Ulster Unionists (UUP), and next month a UUP delegation is expected in Washington.

While Molyneaux backs British Conservative prime minister John Major, Protestant fundamentalist demagogue Ian Paisley has denounced the possibility of any negotiations with the IRA as a "sellout." Major does not lightly dismiss Paisley's threats that disgruntled hard-line Protestants are capable of unleashing a "civil war." The British imperialists do not always see eye to eye with the fractious Loyalists, but for now they have no intention of abandoning their old allies.

Labour Lackeys of British Imperialism

The IRA's cease-fire came 25 years to the month after British troops were dispatched to Northern Ireland by a Labour Party government. And when Labour "left" Tony Benn invited Gerry Adams—in violation of a government ban on the Sinn Féin leader visiting Britain—to address a meeting at the upcoming Labour Party conference, newly anointed party leader Tony Blair went into an anti-Republican frenzy. Nor is the Irish Labour Party in Dublin any less hostile to the interests of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. Labour Party head Dick Spring—a strong backer of conciliating the Paisleyite bigots—initially threatened to quit the coalition government over the prospect of official talks with Sinn Féin, while not batting an eyelash as the government implemented plans to slash two-thirds of the TEAM Aer Lingus maintenance workers.



Popperfoto
Irish socialists James Connolly (above) and James Larkin. Connolly was executed for leading 1916 Easter Uprising.



UPI

Taking their cue from their reformist big brothers, fake-left outfits like Tony Cliff's Socialist Workers Party or Peter Taaffe's Militant Labour capitulate to British imperialism. When the British Labour government sent in the troops in 1969, *Socialist Worker* hailed this as providing a welcome "breathing space." Today Éamonn McCann, a prominent spokesman for the Irish Socialist Workers Movement, exults: "Two cheers for the ceasefire. The third can wait until we can see more clearly where we're headed" (*Hot Press*, 21 September).

Militant Labour, which spent decades enconced in the Labour Party, to this day refuses to call for the withdrawal of imperialist troops from the North. A recent statement in its Northern Irish press despicably seeks to blame the IRA for the crimes of British imperialism, claiming that the IRA provided the state with an "excuse to introduce an array of repressive legislation and repressive methods" (*Militant Labour*, September 1994). We recall Lenin's statement that for English socialists not to oppose British imperialist rule in Ireland would be "the worst sort of opportunism, a neglect of their duties as democrats and socialists, and a concession to *English reaction and the English bourgeoisie*" ("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," February-May 1914).

Such despicable softness on British imperialism in the workers movement only reinforces the attractions of Green nationalism. Many working-class Cath-

olic youth join the IRA because they mistakenly see it as the only force opposing the British army. Yet the IRA's "armed struggle" was never really aimed at—or capable of—driving the massive British imperialist military presence out of Northern Ireland, but rather at pressuring Britain to the conference table. When the IRA does strike a blow at the imperialist oppressor, we defend it against state repression and we call for the immediate release of Republican prisoners. However, a central component of the IRA's nationalist strategy involved reprehensible indiscriminate terror against Northern Protestants, as well as against civilian targets in Britain, aimed at exacerbating the communal divide between Catholics and Protestants and at galvanising the oppressed Catholic minority behind the banner of Green nationalism.

We call for the formation of integrated workers militias to combat both imperialist/Loyalist rampage and sectarian terror from any quarter. But forging such militias is integrally linked to the construction of a revolutionary proletarian leadership that has the confidence of both Protestant and Catholic workers. The prevalence of sectarianism in the North is not the proof of some unbridgeable religious divide, but is fostered by the desperate and hellish conditions of capitalist existence. While the Catholics are an oppressed minority, the situation of working-class Protestants is little better. In the Protestant Shankill

continued on page 11

Ernest Mandel to Debate Spartacist League in NYC

Debate

"The Struggle for World Socialist Revolution Today"

- Ernest Mandel
Spokesman for the
United Secretariat of the
Fourth International
- Joseph Seymour
Central Committee,
Spartacist League/U.S.,
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

11 November 1994

Time and place to be announced
For more information call:
(212) 732-7860

New York City

On Friday, 11 November 1994, in New York City, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), will host a debate between the ICL and Ernest Mandel, internationally known spokesman for the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). Readers of *Workers Vanguard* will recall that back in February 1993, at a public seminar held in New York, comrade Mandel repeatedly declared, in response to our interventions from the floor, that if we organized a meeting, he would come and debate us (see *WV* No. 571, 12 March 1993, and *WV* No. 576, 21 May 1993). We immediately accepted his offer, but for unavoidable reasons comrade Mandel was unable to come to the U.S. before now.

The radical public is cordially invited to participate in this event; in addition to equal-time presentations by Mandel and our spokesman, comrade Joseph Seymour, there will be ample time for speakers from the floor. Up for discussion, along with the central issues confronting revolutionary Marxists today, will be the contrasting political records of our international tendency and Mandel's. In the 1960s and '70s, the USec under Mandel's leadership was loudest cheerleaders for Third World Stalinism, and anything else that moved—from "student power" to Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution." More recently they slavishly tail social democracy. The USec hailed every counterrevolutionary force in the former deformed and degenerated workers states, from Polish Solidarność to the Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers," and called to "fight at Yeltsin's side" in his counterrevolutionary seizure of power in August 1991.

Since 1964, when the Spartacist tendency was

expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (then associated with the United Secretariat), the ICL has upheld revolutionary Trotskyism on the key programmatic issues. In Chile, France and, more recently, South Africa, we have stood for proletarian opposition to class-collaborationist "popular fronts." From Afghanistan and Poland to the Soviet Union and Cuba, we have fought for unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialism, and for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies as the only real means to defend these states against counterrevolution.

In 1989-90, during the crucial months of nascent political revolution in East Germany, the International Communist League mobilized its modest forces to the utmost to fight tooth and nail against the capitalist reunification carried out by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. Meanwhile, the USec was split between those (the Matti tendency) who celebrated counterrevolution in Germany and those like Mandel who wrung their hands while doing nothing to stop it.

Among those in the U.S. who describe themselves as in solidarity with Mandel's USec are Socialist Action, a section of the Solidarity organization, the Trotskyist League and other supporters of the International Trotskyist Opposition, as well as numerous other individuals who were formerly members of the Socialist Workers Party.

These days, USec leader Ernest Mandel likes to polemicize against "labels" saying: "socialists, communists, it doesn't make any difference." Come see for yourself in this debate between the revolutionary Trotskyist politics of the ICL and the impressionistic tailism of Mandel's United Secretariat.

Haiti, Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

and ending with the installation of the terror regime of the U.S.-trained *Garde*. The 1915 invasion touched off a five-year revolt by Haitian peasants, which was drowned in blood by the U.S. military. This time as well, the U.S. "multi-national" invaders will be charged with preventing an outpouring of the plebeian masses, who take Aristide's promise of freedom for good coin and itch to mete out justice against Cedras' military butchers, as well as against the Tontons Macoutes and "attachés," auxiliaries of the murderous police. It is to prevent such an uprising that the imperialists are sending in an occupation force.

Aristide has come out as clearly as he dares in supporting a U.S. invasion (to call for it openly is banned by the Haitian constitution). Tailing after Aristide are a host of American rad-libs who overtly call for a U.S.-led occupation, and a bunch of fake-lefts who give *political support* to Aristide, who in turn pressures the White House to invade. Aristide's *Lavalas* movement, which ties Haitian workers and peasants to a handful of bourgeois liberals (and Clinton), is a "popular front," which once again is leading to bloody defeat for the oppressed.

The small working class which once existed in Haiti, primarily in the "free trade zones," has now largely been dissolved as an effect of the imperialist sanctions. The bulk of Haitian workers are in the diaspora. It is in the cities of the Eastern seaboard—from Montreal to Boston, New York City, Washington, D.C. and Miami—that proletarian revolutionaries must seek to intersect the hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers. We seek to win them to an internationalist program fighting for a workers and peasants government in Haiti as part of a revolutionary perspective for the Caribbean and Latin America.

Above all, we call upon the workers movement and all opponents of imperialism in the U.S. and Canada to mobilize in class struggle to defend Haiti and its terribly oppressed people against a Yankee invasion.

Cuba in Peril

The invasion of Haiti poses a direct peril to the Cuban Revolution. The recent jockeying between Washington and Havana over the *balseros* ("raft people") led last week to an agreement whereby the U.S. would allow in a minimum of 20,000 Cuban émigrés a year while Castro promised to cut off the wave of refugees. While there is much speculation of a secret agreement to talk later about easing the embargo, for now the net result has been to tighten the squeeze on the beleaguered island, with the cut-off of dollar remittances from the exiles, and sealing the escape valve for a layer of unemployed disaffected youth. The opening for legal immigration affects mainly older people with ties to



Construction workers take to the streets of Havana to disperse pro-imperialist mob.

the Miami *gusano* community.

Clinton's immediate concern has been to prevent a wave of boat people from Cuba and Haiti washing up on Miami Beach, which would spike the reelection chances of his ally, Democratic Florida governor Lawton Chiles. More fundamentally, the White House flip-flop over the émigrés reflects a dispute within the American ruling class over the best way to provoke counterrevolution in Cuba—through support to the hardline *gusanos* or by easing the embargo to facilitate a "peaceful pene-

group" (*New York Times*, 10 September).

The end result has been the cynical manipulation of thousands of desperate Cubans, many driven to risk their lives by the hunger induced by the American embargo of all necessary imports. In particular, the lack of fuel and feed, formerly imported from the Soviet bloc, has crippled Cuban agriculture, which was highly modern and mechanized. Now it has been forced back into self-sufficiency. Unemployed city dwellers are growing root crops and other vegetables in the countryside.

From beggars and street children to boys who rush unsolicited to wash car wind-screens, all of the signs of the underclass so common in capitalist cities are there in Havana."

The article notes that while blacks have received more positions in government and state enterprises, and their lives are vastly different since the revolution, "the underclass is disproportionately black" and "there are signs that this tension may turn into an open racial rift." This strikingly confirms our warnings of a year ago (see "Cuba in Peril," WV No. 585, 8 October 1993).

Now the Clinton administration has reportedly told Cuban negotiators that the 30-year trade embargo could be eased if Havana released its "political prisoners" and furthered "political liberalization." Shortly after, Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina met in Madrid with representatives of Miami exile groups including Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, a founder of Alpha 66, one of the main *gusano* terrorist groups.

Thus there is a danger of the gutting of the fundamental bases of the workers state, emanating from the very top levels of the bureaucracy, which would like to ensure itself a "soft landing" through "peaceful counterrevolution." Castro recently declared that only Cuba's health and educational systems are non-negotiable. The main obstacle to a deal between Washington and the Cuban bureaucracy is that U.S. imperialism has deep and intimate ties to the Cuban *gusanos* who long to wreak a bloody vengeance on any and every supporter of the revolution, even the most moderate.

In the face of the U.S. imperialist siege, Cuban workers and collective farmers desperately need their own organs of class rule—councils of workers power—to defend the revolution and to oust the Castro bureaucracy, establishing a government based on workers democracy. Fundamentally, Cuba—reeling under the double hammer blows of the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the intensified U.S. economic warfare—cannot hold out alone. Militant protest against the imperialist onslaught against Cuba, as part of a struggle for socialist revolution throughout Latin America and in the United States, is critical for defense of the Cuban Revolution. ■



Cuban *balseros* in U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay.

tration" of the island with dollars and cheap goods.

As the *New York Times* put it, to stave off disaster in the *balsero* crisis, the Administration had to conduct a "self-coup" against its own policies of provoking illegal emigration and fomenting economic and political chaos on the island. This policy reversal created havoc among U.S. propaganda and spy agencies. "It's almost as if the West has asked Erich Honecker to stop Germans from crossing over the Berlin Wall," said Frank Calzon, a spokesman for "Freedom House," the CIA "human rights" front

The U.S. embargo is literally killing Cubans. This is the conclusion of a study by a group of U.S. physicians who came back from Cuba this summer. The study, to be published in the *Journal of the Florida Medical Association*, reports that patients are dying of pneumonia because basic drugs like penicillin are unavailable. "People are needlessly dying," said one Cuban doctor (*Newsday*, 6 September).

A European Union study reported in April that the daily caloric intake in Cuba has dropped from 3,100, the second-highest in Latin America, to 1,750. And the ration card currently provides even less of daily needs, an estimated 900 calories a day. Thus, one-half of the meager daily diet must come from purchases on the black market. This has a tremendously demoralizing effect on the population.

The Cuban Stalinists for more than three decades sought to build "socialism" on one Caribbean island, based on Soviet sugar purchases and oil supplies on favorable terms. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban bureaucracy has increasingly become a transmission belt for the pressure of imperialist penetration. For example, Castro's decree a year ago legalizing the holding of dollars quickly opened the door to the dollarization of the economy. A recent *Economist* (3 September) report noted how the hunger and misery of Havana's slums has disproportionately affected Cuba's black population:

"The desperate regime's legalisation of the dollar last July has set off an even more desperate quest for it on the streets.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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ISO: Gusano Socialists?



ISO echoes counterrevolutionary call for mass exodus from Cuba.

WV Photo

We have for years insisted that the so-called "Third Camp," which during the Cold War claimed to be for "Neither Washington nor Moscow," was in fact the camp of pro-imperialist counterrevolution. In the last several days, this has been confirmed in the starkest way. We are referring to the despicable line on Cuba taken by the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. and the International Socialists (I.S.) in Canada.

At a September 8 demonstration in San Francisco called to "Stop the War Against Cuba," a group showed up carrying signs calling on the U.S. to "Open the Border—Asylum for Refugees Now." Was this a provocation by counterrevolutionary exiles, known as *gusanos* (worms) in Cuba, seeking to bleed the Cuban Revolution? No, the placard was signed by the ISO. Not a mention of defending the Cuban Revolution against Yankee imperialism—which they don't.

Then in Canada, our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste noticed that the I.S. in Vancouver had organized a tiny "anti-fascist" demo timed to compete with a September 10 Cuba solidarity rally. When TL comrades challenged them, "Do you defend Cuba against American imperialism?" the I.S.ers refused to say. When the September issue of their paper, *Socialist Worker*, came out, you could see why.

The paper has two articles on Cuba, vilely retailing the lies of the imperialist media and the U.S. government. One piece, "Let Them ALL In," claimed that Cuban "refugees" are "desperate for a taste of freedom." So for the I.S. social-democrats, racist U.S. imperialism and the *gusano* heaven of Miami's Little Havana—that notorious center of drug trafficking, mafia activities and fascistic terror—represent "freedom."

Even more scandalously, the second piece in *Socialist Worker*, "Behind the Crisis in Cuba," actually *hails* a counterrevolutionary riot on the Havana waterfront on August 5 by would-be hijackers and black market criminals.

According to the I.S.:

"Demonstrations estimated to be over 10,000 erupted in Havana days before the recent exodus to the US began from Cuban shores.... [P]olice and rapid response teams were unable to stop the resistance....

"Cuban workers and peasants have begun to break the hold of a repressive regime. Cuba today has nothing to do with socialism. But the promise of real socialism, socialism from below, has been re-kindled.

"Solidarity with Cuban refugees is a critical step in ensuring that that flame continues to burn."

In referring to the anti-communist outburst as a heroic "resistance," the I.S. echoes every imperialist agency and *gusano* mouthpiece. And they make crystal clear that their supposed humanitarian "concern" for Cuban refugees is a political ploy to keep the "flame" of counterrevolution burning.

This lying account comes straight from Washington. The mob in Havana is "estimated to be over 10,000." Estimated by whom? Reporters from Agence France Presse said "more than 200" marched down the street chanting "freedom" and throwing rocks at store and hotel windows. Cuban government spokesmen put their number at 700. The *only* source claiming several thousand or more anti-Castro protesters is...the U.S. State Department.

There were more than 10,000 people in the streets of Havana on August 5, but as we reported in our last issue, these were workers and residents of central Havana who rushed to the scene to disperse the rioters (see "Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba," WV No. 605, 2 September). And the counterrevolutionaries were swept away not by the police, but by a spontaneous outpouring followed up by construction worker brigades and the "rapid response teams" of the unions, party organizations and neighborhood Committees to Defend the Revolution, armed only with wooden clubs and steel pipes. Significantly, the photos show that black Cubans were prominent in the front lines defending the revolution.

The *gusano* scum were dispersed by

a mass mobilization of those who understood that the fate of the revolution is at stake. And this was followed up two days later by a mammoth commemorative rally of 700,000 in honor of the black policeman who was killed by the would-be hijackers on August 5. There have since been demonstrations of tens of thousands in Mariel, Camagüey, Guantánamo, and on repeated occasions in Havana.

As for the I.S.' talk of "socialism from below," what they would like is a Labourite gloss on capitalist exploitation, but the actual content of their "democratic" counterrevolution is a witches' cauldron of crazed nationalist hatreds. Just look at Romania, where "freedom" unleashed an orgy of terror against Gypsies, Jews and Hungarians. Their favorite example of "anti-Stalinism" is the counterrevolutionary nationalist Solidarność led by Lech Walesa. Solidarność was inspired by Wojtyla the Pope and financed by the Vatican Bank and the CIA, mostly through the AFL-CIO and a host of West European social-democratic conduits.

This is the I.S.' idea of "socialism from below": counterrevolution in all its ugly manifestations. And the victory of Walesa & Co. has led to the immiseration of the Polish working masses. Cuban working people are holding on against terrible odds, suffering from lack of food and medicines as a result of the imperialist embargo. And the smarmy I.S. social democrats spit on them.

Castro's Cuba is not "socialist," but rather a deformed workers state in which a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste sits atop the collectivized economy and deprives the working class of direct political power. As we did in Poland, we fight in Cuba for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermines the defense of the revolution. As we wrote last issue:

"We Trotskyists, who fight for revolutionary proletarian democracy based on workers councils (soviets) to replace the bureaucratic regime, stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Our defense of the socialized foundations of the Cuban deformed workers state is part and parcel of our fight for international socialist revolution."

Defend the Cuban Revolution!

After Castro's 1959 overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator Batista and the expropriation of foreign and Cuban capitalists the following year, the Yankee imperialists provided a safe haven (and staging base) for the counterrevolutionary scum fleeing the social revolution. For more than 30 years, Washington has kept its borders open to "Cuban refugees," who were accorded privileged treatment and automatic asylum denied any other national group. In contrast, Haitian refugees who make it to Florida have long been locked up and returned to the brutal military dictatorship propped up by the U.S.

In mid-August, facing a wave of *balseros* ("raft people") made desperate by the U.S.' starvation embargo and encouraged to head into the Florida Straits by Washington's Radio/TV Martí, Clinton cut off the automatic right of asylum for Cubans. This was applauded by the most rabid counterrevolutionaries around the Cuban American National Foundation headed by Jorge Mas Canosa, who want to stoke up internal tensions in Cuba. But many other Miami exiles oppose this, including Republican Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (a prominent defender of the *gusano* terrorist who blew up a Cubana airliner), and Republican Congressman Lincoln Díaz-Balart (who incites assaults on the pro-Havana Antonio Maceo Brigade). The ISO, along with these right-wing Republicans, wants to return to the pre-August

18 U.S. policy, which is to "destabilize" Cuba by encouraging a mass exodus. No less than the policy of Mas Canosa and Clinton, this is a line of fostering counterrevolution.

This should come as no surprise from the likes of the ISO: their British mentor Tony Cliff in the early 1950s refused to defend Stalinist-ruled North Korea against the war by "democratic" U.S. imperialism. The Cliffites have similarly scabbed on the Cuban Revolution from Day One, calling Cuba a "state-capitalist" regime not qualitatively different from impoverished Haiti. And when Boris Yeltsin staged a countercoup in August 1991 in Moscow, unleashing the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state and destruction of the remaining gains of the 1917 October Revolution, Cliff & Co. hailed this counterrevolution as a "New Russian Revolution!"

The Cliffites share a common, scummy heritage with Max Shachtman,



Bohemia

Counterrevolutionary scum riot in Havana, August 5, hailed by ISO.

the renegade from Trotskyism whose politics gave rise to the earlier incarnation of the International Socialists in the U.S. In April 1961, Shachtman supported Democratic president Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba. Left Shachtmanite Hal Draper denounced his former mentor as a "State Department socialist," and the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League refused to let Shachtman speak at their meeting. Cliff's I.S./ISO have long been State Department "socialists." Now, with this further example of their counterrevolutionary appetites, they can aptly be called "*gusano* socialists."

The Stalinophobic I.S./ISO fundamentally identify with capitalist imperialism. In making common cause with the bourgeoisie against Stalinism in the name of "democracy," they end up in league with every known brand of fascism and nationalist bigotry, because that's what counterrevolution produces. Their alliance with Miami *gusanos* was prefigured by their fulsome support to Yeltsin's coup, which has called forth a zoo of anti-Semitic blackshirts, from Pamyat to Zhirinovskiy. This is the real content of the ISO's "socialism from below."

The Spartacist contingent at the SF protest took the side of Cuban workers and peasants against the U.S. drive for counterrevolution. Our signs declared: "Defend the Gains of the Cuban Revolution! Down With the Imperialist Embargo!" "Stalinist Bureaucracy Undermines Cuban Deformed Workers State—For Workers Political Revolution!" and "Defense of Cuba Begins at Home! For Class Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism!" ■

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South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

fraction of the country's productive wealth and financial capital.

The ANC is beginning to pursue the same path. In the past two years the number of senior black managers in South Africa's corporations has doubled. The SACP's *African Communist* (2nd Quarter 1994) reports, "hundreds of ANC cadres" are "now being promoted, with varying degrees of sincerity, by the private sector in the name of affirmative action." The Congress alliance now contains both union officials leading strikes and corporate executives and senior police officials trying to break these strikes. And that kind of contradiction cannot last long. Indeed, a few weeks ago Mandela described the ANC as "in tatters." And the Communist Party will tend to split between its petty-bourgeois nationalist elements and others tied to the workers movement.

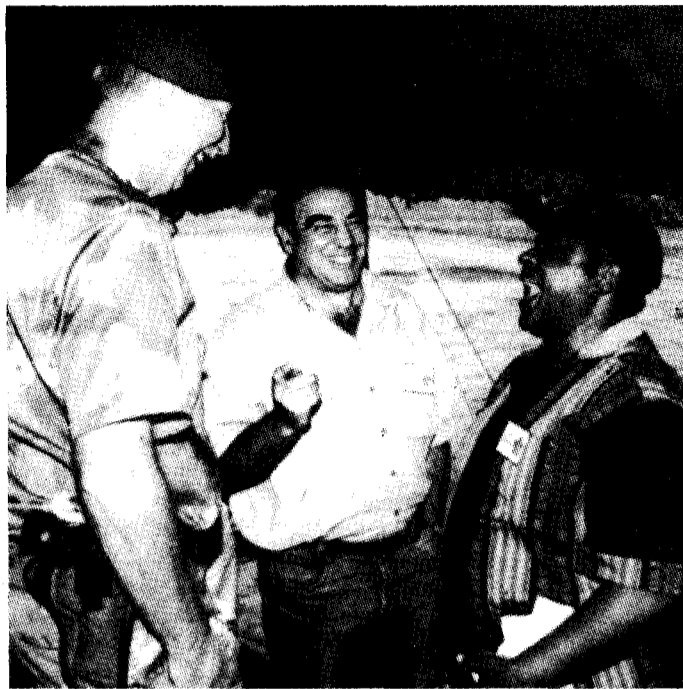
For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

Even before the installation of the Mandela/De Klerk/Slovo "Government of National Unity," class tensions were already straining the ANC/SACP/COSATU "tripartite alliance." The spring 1993 congress of the Metalworkers union adopted resolutions calling for the nationalization of industry without compensation and for a "working class party." According to Moses Mayekiso, then president of NUMSA, the delegates were "mainly supporters of the SACP." Nonetheless, these union activists manifestly believed that the Communist Party was not representing the interests of the working class. (For a discussion of this debate on a workers party, see "South Africa: Mandela/De Klerk's Neo-Apartheid Fraud," *WV* No. 587, 5 November 1993.)

The cause of a union-supported workers party was actively taken up by Neville Alexander's Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) which formed the Workers List Party to run in the April elections. We gave critical electoral support to the Workers List, pointing out that it "does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC" (*WV* No. 599, 29 April).

But what kind of workers party? Mayekiso and WOSA want a party that would in its political substance, though not in strict organizational form, be similar to the British Labour Party—a broad social-democratic party acting centrally as the political agent of the trade-union movement. More immediately, they and others look to the Brazilian Workers

Party (PT), whose leader, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, is a leading candidate in the upcoming presidential elections. As it did already in 1989, the PT is campaigning in a "popular front" together with various bourgeois forces, thus negating the possibility for political independence of the working class and tying it to its class enemy. But even in the absence of such an explicit class-collaborationist alliance, a workers party built on a program of reforming capitalism cannot answer the needs of the working masses, neither in Brazil nor elsewhere.



ANC/SACP former guerrilla leaders Joe Modise (on right), now defense minister, and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils (center), share a laugh with their new "comrade-in-arms," South African army commander Georg Meiring.

In South Africa, Mayekiso, a member of the Communist Party central committee, envisages liquidating the SACP into a broader political formation "together with left sections of the ANC as well as other left forces like WOSA and many independent socialists and social democrats" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, July/August 1993). WOSA hopes that "all pro-worker, pro-democracy and pro-socialism forces will converge in order to establish an independent mass party of the workers" (*Workers List Party National Conference*, March 1994). Mayekiso/WOSA are advocating a present-day South African version of Karl Kautsky's old concept of "the party of the whole class." Such a party would range from the most moderate social democrats to self-declared Marxist-Leninists, their main common denominator being defense of the economic interests of the unionized labor force within the framework of neo-apartheid capitalism.

While the industrial working class in South Africa numbers in the millions, it is dwarfed by the large numbers of urban poor and a sizable (non-unionized) agricultural proletariat. Among the key struggles against the Mandela/De Klerk

regime in which a revolutionary workers party would intervene will be township revolts over issues such as housing and police brutality, or forming ethnically integrated workers defense guards linking the slums to the factories. A revolutionary workers party, building on a core of the industrial proletariat, would also incorporate significant plebeian sectors of township youth. But a party based on the unions would be structurally too narrow to encompass such layers and lead such struggles. Rather it could become a vehicle for protecting the sectoral interests of industrial workers

who are relatively privileged compared to the impoverished township and rural masses.

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin emphasized that a revolutionary socialist aims to be not a trade-union official but a "tribune of the people":

"[H]e is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that 'the Communists support every revolutionary movement,' that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasize *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions. He is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice his obligation to be *ahead of all* in raising, accentuating, and solving *every general democratic question*." [emphasis in original]

Lenin's injunction has special force in South Africa, where the oppression of the black African people by the white ruling class dominates economic, social and political life.

The resolution passed in favor of a "working class party" at the 1993 Metalworkers' congress was not simply a spontaneous response of the union ranks to the ever more openly pro-capitalist stance of the ANC/SACP leadership. NUMSA has long been the stronghold in the black union movement of the so-called "workerist" current, which represents an amalgam of semi-syndicalist and left social-democratic politics. Since its inception in the late 1970s, this tendency has included a definite dose of anti-Communism in its ideological mix. One of the early "workerist" leaders, Joe Foster, argued for trade-union independence of the ANC/SACP by pointing to Polish Solidarność as a positive model of such independence. In reality, Solidarność was not a trade union at all but rather a multi-class counterrevolutionary movement actively supported and financed by Western imperialism to undermine the Soviet bloc.

Despite occasional expressions of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, the union-based "workerist" current was generally to the left of the SACP, which in the name of the "national democratic revolution" openly *opposed socialism and workers power* as an immediate goal. Nonetheless, the SACP benefited mightily from broad sympathy among the black masses for the idea of communism and socialist revolution. Capitalism in South

Africa is deeply identified with the white racist police state, with the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, Robben Island prison and the hellish conditions in the gold mines and on the desolate bantustans. During the township revolt of the mid-1980s, the young "comrades" held up the red flag with the hammer and sickle as a symbol of defiance against the rulers of the apartheid state. Of course, in the South African context the term "communism" has taken on a nationalist-populist coloration—the division of the wealth owned by the whites among the black masses.

As the Kremlin bureaucracy was collapsing under Gorbachev, Stalinist parties around the world scrapped any pretension to Leninism and presented themselves as born-again social democrats. But in South Africa communism evokes a far more positive response than the wishy-washy formula of "democratic socialism." So while Slovo & Co. condemned Stalin and "Stalinism," they did not formally repudiate Leninism. The party's premier organ continues to be called the *African Communist*. Red flags still abound at SACP rallies where speakers are cheered for declaring solidarity with Castro's Cuba against American imperialism.

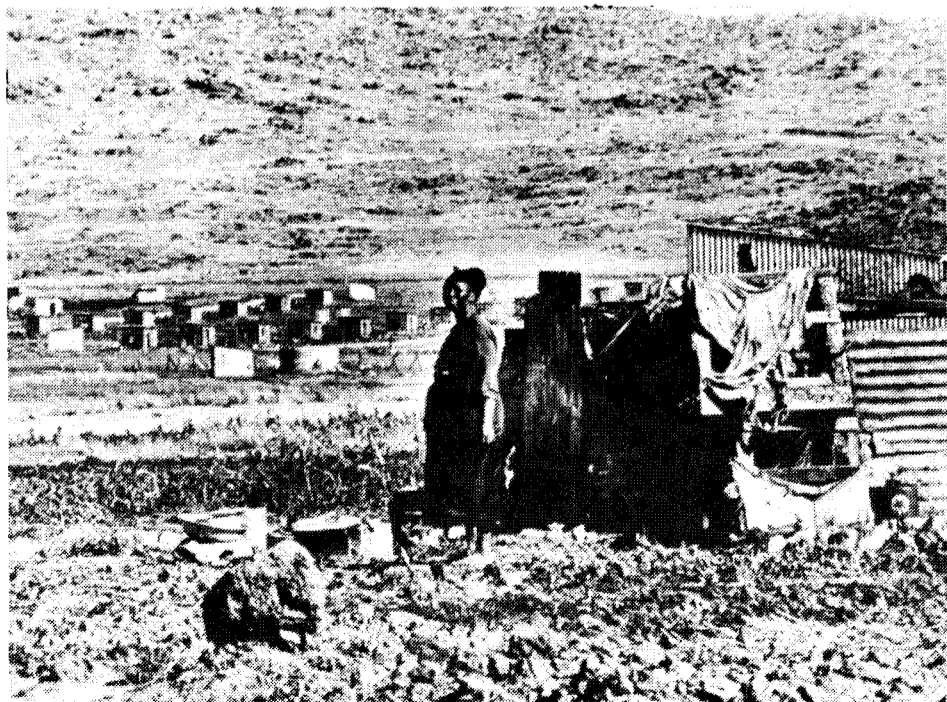
While Slovo & Co. are cynically exploiting the black toilers' enthusiasm for red revolution, many SACP cadre take their party's Leninist pretensions as good coin, pretensions which so glaringly contradict their leaders' groveling before the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange. The *African Communist* (4th Quarter 1993) contains a resignation statement from Theo Molaba, the Cape Town branch secretary, protesting "the abandonment of a PROLETARIAN ATTITUDE towards armed struggle, negotiations, the alliance and the role of the party." "What has happened to the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT," he asks. That the party's leading organ saw fit to publish this statement indicates that Molaba is not an isolated left dissident but represents a significant current of opinion in the SACP. A note appended to the resignation reported it was subsequently withdrawn but this does not change the force of Molaba's political indictment:

"To me, the last CC [Central Committee] report was an occasion, not a cause for my resignation. It was so liberal, so moral, so completely devoid of class analysis and working class perspectives. In essence it was insulting. This report to me represented a pattern which has evolved since our unbanning—i.e., a gradual but definite process of moving away from the revolutionary proletarian perspective."

However, the abject class collaborationism which so disgusts Molaba is not something that suddenly developed since the SACP was legalized in 1990. What he sees as the abandonment of a revolutionary proletarian perspective is the *logical culmination* of the Stalinist program of two-stage revolution—the illusory aim of achieving a democratic, socially progressive *capitalist* society through an "alliance" between the working class and the "patriotic" bourgeoisie. Moreover, in the mouths of Slovo & Co. even the slogan of a "national democratic revolution" was fraudulent. The real aim of the South African Stalinists has long been a "power sharing" deal with the rulers of the apartheid state.

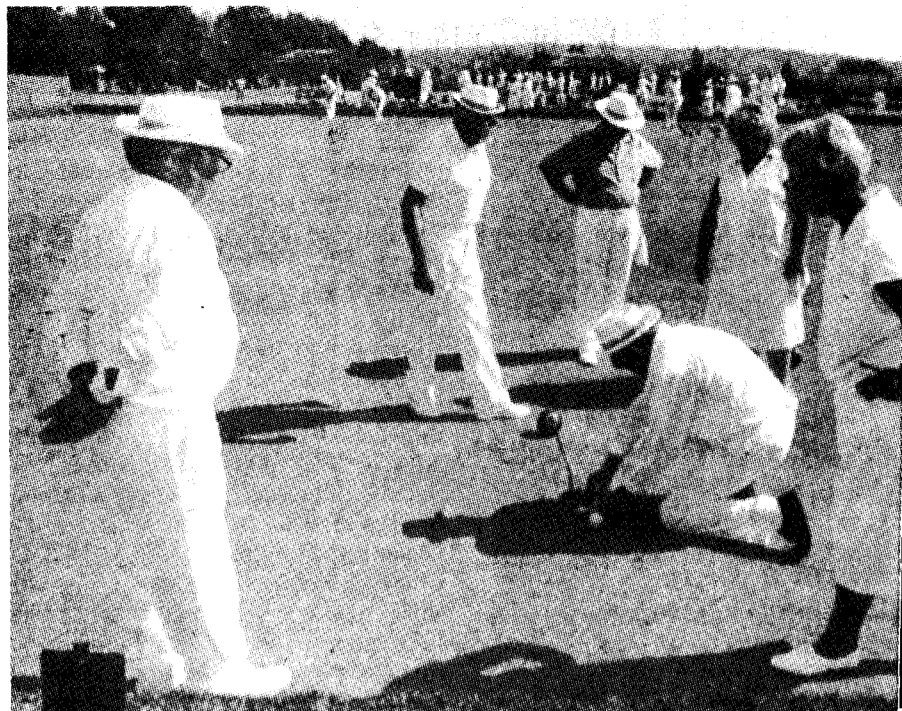
Recall that in 1986 the ANC leadership—which included Slovo, Chris Hani, Modise and the other SACP tops—not only met publicly with "liberal" white capitalists like Tony Bloom and Gavin Relly but also opened up *secret negotiations* with the Botha regime! We wrote at the time:

"There is, in reality, *no contradiction* between what [then ANC president] Tambo tells Tony Bloom or Gavin Relly, head of the giant Anglo American mining and manufacturing empire, and what he broadcasts over Radio Freedom. The ANC's policy of 'making the townships



John Seymour

Bantustan hellholes are home to 7 million black Africans, mainly women and children.



Muhammad/NY Times

Black Sash says council lacks proper policy regarding squatters

Shack demolition slammed

HOMELESS people left in the open after armed officials demolish illegal shacks in Jack Mincer Square

BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Late-night demolition of squatter shacks in Jack Mincer Square this week has been strongly condemned by the Black Sash, which accused the Johannesburg City Council of lacking a proper policy to deal with the problem.

Scores of squatters were forced to sleep in the open on the coldest night of the year after the council flattened illegal shacks in the city's central business district on Monday.

Yesterday groups of squatters were guarding their belongings on the square. None knew where to turn. All were fearful of future council action.

John Mokoena said armed officials arrived without warning at about 11 pm. "They told us to wake up, get out and remove our belongings. Then they ripped down the plastic, wood and steel and threw it on to trucks. They told us to ask Mandela for houses. Then we were left



Homeless... this family face the cold without shelter after their shack was demolished.

PICTURE JACOB RYKLIFF

sleep in the park or go to Park Station," he said.

Freddie Thame said: "They came with guns and gave us 10 minutes to remove our things. They said the new Government told them to smash our shacks."

Acting town clerk Dr Emile Horak said the move was in line with the Illegal Squatting Act after an influx was noted on May 19 and ahead of reports that a large-scale land invasion was planned on the site.

Despite earlier claims by head of security Hugo Germishuys that attempts would be made to accommodate the squatters in a transit camp since it was not council policy to merely send in the bulldozers, Horak said the

provincial authorities had been unable to provide facilities for a temporary site. The Black Sash found the evictions unacceptable and asked why the council had not involved the Red Cross.

Affluent whites enjoy lawn bowling at racially exclusive country club while millions of blacks live in shantytowns. Now SACP/ANC ministers are evicting black squatters from their homes.

ungovernable' is designed to *pressure*, not overthrow, the white ruling class. Tambo & Co. are saying to the masters of apartheid capitalism that only by coming to terms with us can you restore social peace in South Africa." [emphasis in original]

— "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" WV No. 395, 17 January 1986

This is exactly what Mandela and Slovo are now trying to do—setting the police on striking workers and on squatters in the townships.

There now exists a broad and increasing base of support to form a revolutionary workers party in South Africa through political regroupment. COSATU militants and officials are outraged at the sight of police attacking striking black workers at the Pick 'n Pay supermarket chain. Communist Party cadre are shocked at the spectacle of their leaders hobnobbing with the Anglo American bosses as they conspire to make South Africa more profitable for multinational sweatshops. But the strong impulse for a party to the left of the SACP must not take the direction of social-democratic economism or quasi-Stalinist black nationalism.

What is needed is a Bolshevik workers party capable of leading the workers movement in a socialist revolution in South Africa and extending the revolution internationally, which alone offers a progressive solution to all of the national and democratic tasks. This is the heart of Trotsky's concept of permanent revolution. Only such a party can overcome the terrible poverty of the millions of black Africans living in the countryside while militantly defending the unionized, industrial working class. Only such a party can bring about a rapid improvement in the living standards of the black toilers while upholding the democratic rights of the coloureds (mixed-race) and Indians and of those whites who accept a government centrally based on the black working masses.

For the Socialist Reconstruction of South Africa

What would the program of such a revolutionary workers party be? It must center on seizing power from the fabulously wealthy capitalist conglomerates who are the true masters of neo-apartheid South Africa. It must fight for the *expropriation without compensation of industry, mines, banks, and the capitalist class as a whole*. To carry this out requires the formation of a *black-centered workers government* based on *workers councils* that incorporate the vast numbers of urban and rural poor. These councils can grow out of powerful struggles by the black workers movement, going beyond simple trade-union demands to pose *factory occupations* and *workers control* of industry. Such examples of dual power at the plant

level will be necessary to combat the attempts by the apartheid bosses to squelch labor militancy, even sabotaging production rather than give in to the demands of "their" wage slaves. Likewise it will be necessary to organize ethnically integrated *workers militias* linking the factory to the township in fighting off repression and violence instigated by the capitalist rulers and their dogs of war.

But the revolutionary program for a socialist reconstruction of South Africa is not limited to demands for and actions by the industrial and mining proletariat. In a struggle that has been driven by the battle against the brutal institutionalized racial discrimination and degradation of apartheid, democratic issues will also play a fundamental role in mobilizing the oppressed masses.

Thus women often took the lead in the struggle against the pass-laws and in township struggles against repression. Historically, as in Algeria, nationalist movements have sent women back to the home after the fighting stopped. But, as did the Bolsheviks in the Russian October Revolution, Trotskyists in South Africa today must champion full equality for women. This includes fighting for *equal pay for equal work* and the *full integration of women in the workforce*, as well as demanding *free, safe abortion on demand* and *an end to tribalist patriarchal practices oppressive to women such as polygamy*. These are highly controversial issues. For years, the ANC has waffled on these issues, fearing to antagonize traditional rulers, although even Buthelezi's Zulu-tribalist Inkatha supported legalizing abortion. It wasn't until the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP) was approved early this year that the ANC finally came out for women's right to choose, under threats of a women's boycott of the election, and

even then this wasn't mentioned in its election platform.

The housing question is a burning issue in South Africa today. *One out of every four blacks* lives in so-called "informal housing"—backyard shacks, garages and shantytowns constructed of cardboard and plastic. The figure is much higher in the major urban areas. Almost 70 percent of all black Africans in Durban have no houses, almost half in the PWV (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) region. In the past, government moves to level squatter settlements produced major battles with the black masses. This was a key element in the 1984-86 township revolt, which also gave rise to the biggest and longest rent strike in history. For good measure, black township dwellers also stopped paying property taxes, electricity bills, garbage collection fees, etc.

Significantly, the hot seat of housing minister in the "government of national unity" was given to the principal leader of the Communist Party, Joe Slovo, for it is here, along with the labor front, that the sharpest conflicts between the ANC leaders and their mass base are going to take place. The ANC and SACP cadre who a decade ago led the township revolt have now become the chief rent collectors for the Jo'burg banks. But theirs is not a happy lot. One of them, Soweto Civic Association head Isaac Mogase, complained:

"It was all very well when we told people not to pay. Back then, people raised their fists and said, 'Viva the struggle, viva!' But when you turn around and tell people who have been living rent-free for years that now it's time to pay, you sort of put your head on the chopping block."

—Washington Post, 29 July

Even more so than the issue of rent collection, the squatter camps are a source of hard confrontation between the "government of national unity" and the

impoverished black toilers. Believing that Mandela's election opened a new era of freedom and equality, blacks have been constructing "informal housing" at a furious pace extending far beyond the boundaries of the segregated townships. Shantytowns have even appeared in downtown Johannesburg, once the exclusive province of white businessmen.

In words identical to Botha and De Klerk, Slovo proclaims that the government "is committed to respect constitutional rights in land against any unlawful infringement and unlawful occupation. Squatting cannot be condoned" (*New York Times*, 6 July). And acting exactly like Botha and De Klerk, Slovo has set the police on "unlawful occupations." Black squatters have responded to these words and actions by the Communist housing minister of the "new" South Africa just like they did to his white-supremacist predecessors—with defiance and courage. "Slovo and the police must go to hell," exclaimed an embattled squatter in Cato Manor near Durban. "We are staying here. This is our place."

Of course, militant defense of their shantytowns, while admirable, is no solution to the desperate need for housing for the black African populace. A spokesman for Canana, a settlement near Johannesburg, stated: "If the Government wants to remove us from here, they must build houses where there are services where poor people are satisfied." But the government of Mandela/De Klerk/Slovo—committed to defending the property of the white ruling class—is not going to do that, whatever the empty promises it makes. What is needed is to *nationalize all urban land* while launching a *massive program of racially and ethnically integrated residential construction*.

The land question in rural South Africa is also explosive. Despite the substantial urbanization in recent decades, ten million black Africans—40 percent of the total population—remain in the countryside. Three million are farm laborers and their families. The other seven million—mainly women and children—are those still trapped in the barren bantustans, scratching out an existence in subsistence agriculture while depending for survival on remittances from family members working in the mines and factories.

As for South African commercial agriculture, the *Wall Street Journal* (4 May)—not given to painting the exploitation of labor anywhere in stark colors—described it in these terms:

"In a feudal-like system of farm labor, labor tenants in South Africa are black family groups who live on land officially owned by white farmers. In exchange for the right to grow crops and raise livestock on a small portion of the land,

continued on page 10



Mozambican migrant laborers are hired to work in South African gold mines. ANC government has now deployed army to stop "illegal" immigrants. We demand full citizenship rights for migrant workers.

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

the family members provide the farmer their labor, in the fields or as household help."

Fearing land seizures by their black laborers and/or expropriation by an ANC government, since 1990 white farmers have been systematically evicting tenants from the land.

However, the ANC leaders in this respect as in all others have been extremely "moderate," i.e., defending the interests of the white exploiters against the black toilers. To begin with, land redistribution is to be limited to those blacks who can document that their families were driven from their land by the post-1948 apartheid regime. Moreover, this land will not be expropriated but purchased by the government at a price acceptable to their current white owners. Thus the main beneficiaries of the ANC's "land reform" scheme will be white farmers charging inflated prices for their property so the Mandela government can make a token show of "land reclamation"!

Moreover, South Africa's commercial farms are highly mechanized and capital-intensive. Almost no blacks have the money to operate such farms competitively even if they were given the land for free. The first recipients of land reclamation were members of the Mfengo tribe who this spring got back title to 15,000 acres of what are now dairy farms in the Eastern Cape purchased by the government for \$10 million. But the Mfengo have no money to buy herds, tractors, milking machines or fodder. They therefore have to sell or lease some of the land back to the white farmers or mortgage it to the banks.

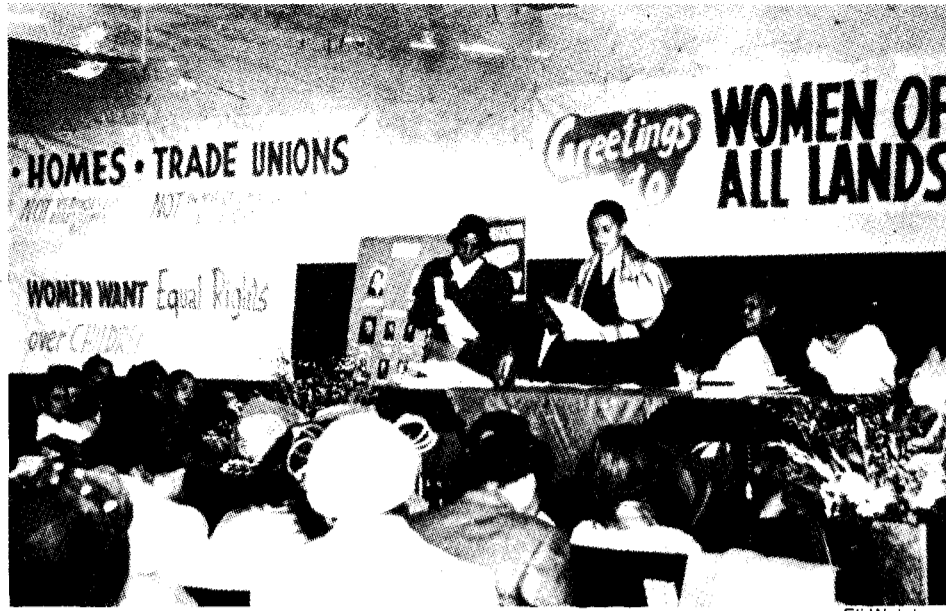
In South Africa today there are 67,000 white farmers and over 1 million black farm laborers. These large commercial white-owned farms must be expropriated. What then? There is no economic rationale in South Africa and little popular sentiment to create a class of black agricultural smallholders. A workers government would establish cooperative and state farms, which alone can provide a decent life not only for the blacks who currently work there but for the millions more living on the desolate bantustans, as well as supplying the food and other agricultural produce needed by the urban population.

For a Proletarian Internationalist Perspective

The British imperialists and the Afrikaner Nationalist regime sought to artificially retribalize the black African population while playing off the divisions between black Africans, coloureds and Indians. Hence opposition to tribal and ethnic consciousness and loyalty came to be seen as a central element in the struggle against white-supremacist rule. The call for a "unitary" South Africa in the name of "nation building" became a doctrine, even a dogma, espoused by all wings of black nationalism and the left. However, whereas in the past the Afrikaner regime insisted that the various peoples of South Africa were separate nations in order to justify apartheid, today the white bourgeoisie uses the rhetoric of "national unity" to perpetuate its exploitation of black African, coloured and Indian toilers.

It is entirely possible that under proletarian class rule a South African nation will evolve through widespread intermarriage and the development of a common culture and language or languages. However, "nation building" is in no sense the supreme goal of the socialist revolution, nor will national integration be confined to the peoples now living within the borders of the South African state.

The ANC/De Klerk "Government of National Unity" has now deployed the



Eli Weinberg

Federation of South African Women in Johannesburg, 1954. Black women played leading role in the struggle against apartheid.

"South African National Defence Force" to the borders to stop the influx of "illegal immigrants" from neighboring countries. Indeed, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, now minister of home affairs, told parliament that foreigners are taking jobs from South Africans. This shows the reactionary face of South African nationalism, which is here directed against neighboring black African peoples.

Anglo American and the other Randlords economically dominate all of southern Africa. A large percentage of the gold miners on the Witwatersrand—the key value-producing proletariat in the region—comes from *outside* the borders of South Africa, mainly from Lesotho and Mozambique. All such workers and their families should have access to *full citizenship rights in South Africa*. Clearly, a democratic, egalitarian and rational solution to such questions can be worked out only in the framework of a socialist federation of southern Africa.

The boundaries of almost all African states, including South Africa, are arbitrary and have no national legitimacy. Hence the artificiality of any "nation building" project within the confines of the 1910 Union of South Africa. Central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is the understanding that in the colonial and semicolonial countries the historic tasks achieved by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions in West Europe and North America can be achieved only through proletarian revolution. Such revolutions do not aim at the forced assimilation of diverse peoples into a unitary "nation," but rather to secure the democratic rights of all nations and national groups.

A democratic solution to the national question in southern Africa should take as a model the Bolshevik program for Central Asia. Just as the Western imperialist powers subjugated and colonized *prenational* peoples in southern Africa (e.g., the Zulus, Shona, Ovimbundu), so the Russian tsarist autocracy subjugated and colonized *prenational* peoples in Central Asia (e.g., Bashkirs, Tatars, Kazakhs). In his 1913 "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin called for "self-governing and autonomous regions" to be "determined by the local inhabitants themselves on the basis of their economic and social conditions, national make-up of the population, etc.," *not* the internal administrative divisions of the tsarist empire. Lenin pointed out that regional autonomy did not contradict the Marxists' upholding of the need for a centralized state.

These principles became the basis for the formation of the Soviet workers state. The Bolsheviks did not proclaim as their aim the forging of one single Soviet nation, melding together Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Azeris. While encouraging the intermingling and unity of all Soviet peoples, they formed a federated state with constituent national republics and autonomous

regions. Lenin and Trotsky understood it was necessary to demonstrate to the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs and Tatars, for example, that the Russian-centered Soviet workers state was not a new and disguised form of the Russian empire, that the unity of Soviet peoples did not mean forced Russification.

To be sure, the national question in pre-1917 Russia was posed differently than in South Africa. The minority peoples of the tsarist empire were oppressed by a despotic government based on the numerically dominant nationality, the Russians. In South Africa, the black African majority has been oppressed and fragmented by the white, European-derived minority. However, socially backward Zulu villagers, still steeped in tribal tradition, might experience forced assimilation into a "unitary" South African nation ruled by the ANC as a form of ethnic oppression at the hands of a Xhosa political elite.

A socialist federation of southern Africa should be modeled on the early, pre-Stalinist Soviet federation. In such a framework, the Ovimbundu in Angola and Namibia, the Ndebele in Zimbabwe, Zulus in Natal and all other peoples who so desire should have the right of regional autonomy. There is a fundamental difference between the enforced tribalization imposed by the apartheid state and the voluntary exercise of limited political autonomy by distinct peoples in the areas they inhabit. Such limits would include, among other things, guarantees for the democratic rights of the minorities living in these regions. Thus, a Zulu autonomous region in Natal would not be permitted to expel or discriminate against Indians or Xhosa-speakers.

Our support for the right of regional autonomy in a *future South African workers state* in no way implies support for reactionary Zulu separatism in Natal today. *In the present context*, we would oppose a move to secession by Inkatha, which would undoubtedly be allied with a revolt of right-wing whites to form a bitter-end apartheid *volkstaat*. But things can change, and quickly. As previously noted, the dominant elements of the South African bourgeoisie and their Western imperialist partners are already turning against Inkatha in favor of the ANC.

More generally, South Africa is not exempt from the Leninist principle that overcoming national, racial and religious divisions among the toiling masses demands that the communist vanguard fight for the democratic rights and national equality of all peoples. This is relevant not just for backward rural regions but in order to forge solid inter-ethnic *working-class unity* in the urban areas where there is a tremendous intermingling, not just of Zulu and Xhosa, but also minority peoples such as the Tswana, and the relatively more privileged coloured and Indian populations whose democratic rights must also be defended.

Especially given the vast material inequalities between black and white, a productive, just and egalitarian society cannot be constructed within the narrow framework of South Africa or even southern Africa besieged by world imperialism. In conditions of enforced poverty, the struggle for the means of survival will quickly become very brutal and divisive. Moreover, a black-centered workers government in South Africa would from the outset face not only all-out economic warfare but the threat of military attack on an even greater scale than the U.S. devastation of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. It would not take a fascist like Adolf Hitler to nuke South Africa, killing millions of black people: it's not hard to envision a nasty, racist "democratic" imperialist like Winston Churchill doing it.

The bourgeois order in South Africa, long based on direct white-supremacist rule, has entered a deepgoing crisis at a time when the cause of proletarian socialism has suffered a world-historic defeat—the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, sapped for decades by Stalinism. Indeed, this was a crucial development underlying the ANC/SACP's abject capitulation to the masters of the Jo'burg stock exchange.

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. But the world situation today is very different from that facing the Russian October Revolution of 1917—precipitated by the mass slaughter of the first imperialist world war—which set off revolutionary struggles throughout Europe, centrally Germany. A proletarian revolution in South Africa today would confront relatively strengthened and emboldened Western imperialist powers determined to obliterate any obstacles to their proclaimed "new world order."

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 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.

A socialist revolution in South Africa would find *strategically powerful allies within the imperialist centers*. In particular, it would have an enormously radicalizing impact on blacks in the United States, who have strongly identified with the struggle against white supremacy in the apartheid state. And it would reverberate in particular among the non-white masses throughout the Western Hemisphere (notably the millions of black people in Brazil), West Indians and South Asians in Britain, and North Africans and black Africans in West Europe.

The struggle for a socialist federation of southern Africa linked to international proletarian revolution is the road to the social and economic emancipation of the continent, which requires a massive transfer of resources from the former colonial metropolitan powers, which have looted Africa, Asia and Latin America for centuries. Use of the industrial and mineral wealth of a revolutionary South Africa will not be limited to south of the Limpopo River, but must be used to enable the impoverished masses of all of Africa to escape famine and destitution. This road is far from easy, the vicissitudes of the struggle cannot be predicted, but it is the only road to the future of justice and equality that the South African masses are fighting for. ■

Northern Ireland...

(continued from page 5)

area of Belfast, unemployment ranges to 50 percent. Significantly, the Loyalist paras recruit heavily from unemployed and lumpenized youth whose fathers once worked in now decimated shipyards and engineering plants.

The Loyalist stranglehold over the Protestant workers will only be reinforced by liberal bourgeois "solutions" that promise to spread the endemic poverty more evenly. In a situation of increasing economic desperation, fighting over a shrinking slice of pie only stokes up the fires of sectarianism. Thus, while we fight relentlessly against all forms of anti-Catholic discrimination, we demand jobs for all through work sharing on full pay, which can only be realised through a struggle which smashes the capitalist order. Contrary to nationalist lies, the working masses have at times been able to achieve unity in struggle, such as the Belfast shipyard and engineering strike of 1919 and the unemployment battles of the 1930s. Recently, Protestant workers in key plants have struck in outrage over the murder of Catholic workmates by Loyalist thugs. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, such class unity cannot be other than transient.

In Northern Ireland the 600,000 Catholics and 900,000 Protestants coexist in a common territory, while across the border there is an overwhelming majority of Catholics. Any attempt to forcibly incorporate the large and relatively well-armed Protestants into the Irish clerical state could only precipitate a wholesale communal conflict. While Irish Republicans usually present their struggle as fundamentally directed against British imperialism, the more hardheaded IRA nationalists acknowledge that the Protestant Loyalists are the ultimate obstacle to their programme of reunification with the South. As one Belfast IRA commander told an American journalist:

"This is not about peace. This is about getting the referees off the playing field, about finding a way for the British to leave with some semblance of dignity. The real war has always been between us and the Loyalists. That has not changed, and that's what we're getting ready for."

—New York Times, 2 September

The bloody logic of this nationalist line is currently being played out in the former Yugoslavia.

The current IRA cease-fire settles nothing in Northern Ireland. The "troubles" will not end short of a workers revolution which wrests power from the blood-drenched British bourgeoisie and its lackeys in Dublin and Belfast. What is critically necessary is the forging of Leninist parties on both sides of the Irish Sea, rooted in the proletariat of all the peoples of these isles. ■



Workers Hammer

Spartacist League/Britain demands "British Troops Out" at London demonstration in 1980. Chauvinist Labour Party tops support bloody occupation of Northern Ireland.



WV Photo

Supporters of New York City transit worker James Frazier (far right)—framed up on phony gun possession charges and fired from his job after surviving a racist cop shooting last October—continue to mobilize in his defense. Over 30

transit workers, socialists and other militants came out to Brooklyn Criminal Court September 9 for the conclusion of the evidentiary hearing, where the cops who nearly killed Frazier testified. The next court date is October 28.

Baseball...

(continued from page 3)

salary was a mere \$6,000.

But in 1969 the first challenge to the lords' domain came from the courageous black athlete Curtis Flood. Flood was a fleet centerfielder and a sparkplug for the 1964 world champion St. Louis Cardinals. As David Halberstam points out in his recent book *October 1964*, the '64 Cards changed the face of baseball with its younger, smarter, faster and more powerful black and Latin ball players, winning the mantle from the New York Yankees, one of the last franchises to be integrated.

After helping St. Louis to two more pennants and another World Series ring, Flood felt he had the right to refuse to be sold "down river" to Philadelphia. He wrote the baseball commissioner, "I do not think I am a piece of property to be bought and sold irrespective of my wishes." For this and his later court suit against baseball, Flood was basically blacklisted, playing only 13 games with the hapless Washington Senators. But his stand, a players strike in 1972 and the threat of another in 1973 forced the first changes in the reserve system.

Baseball is big business, and like all sports in America, it is a racist business. Look at what the Mets and the New York media did to star pitcher Dwight Gooden

after he pitched them to victory in the 1986 World Series. Smearred in the press, suspended and forced to undergo drug "rehabilitation," Gooden was savaged because he was too "uppity" to be a pliable "role model." With their high visibility, black athletes in all sports have been frequent victims of the anti-drug witchhunt, part of the government's program to regiment all workers and youth.

The owners have always acted as if they were a law unto themselves—because they are. Baseball is the one industry specifically exempted from antitrust laws. As Ted Turner said in a moment of candor at an owners' meeting, "Gentlemen, we have the only legal monopoly in the country and we're fucking it up."

Yankee great Don Mattingly, for whom a strike-postponed season would perhaps deny the only chance at post-season play in his illustrious career, has said he would rather retire than knuckle under to the owners. The players should use their clout to form a common union to bring up living standards for all who toil for the Lords of Baseball, from shabbily treated minor-leaguers to the umpires, ushers and vendors. And they could strike a blow for humanity by defending the incredibly oppressed Haitian women who stitch baseballs for a dime an hour. Victory to the players strike! ■

Spartacist League Forum

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

Black Workers Strikes Shake Mandela/De Klerk "Power Sharing" Deal

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.
Dwinelle Hall, Room 155
UC Berkeley

BERKELEY

For more information: (510) 839-0851 or
(415) 777-9367

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forum

New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism

CUBA IN PERIL

- U.S./Canada Hands Off Cuba!
- Bureaucratic Castro Regime at a Dead End—Defend Cuba Against Imperialism and Counterrevolution!

Guest Speaker: Peter Stevens, member
Canadian Auto Workers Local 1459

For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

Saturday, October 1, 7:30 p.m.

Bloor St. United Church
300 Bloor St. West
(at Huron, between Spadina and
St. George subways)

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

**Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

Speaker: Brian Manning, Spartacist League

Wednesday, Sept. 28, 8 p.m.
Howard University
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room

Tuesday, October 4, 7 p.m.
University of the District of Columbia
Building 44, Room A03
For more information: (202) 872-8240

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, October 1 and Monday, October 3

For more information: (404) 521-9338

ATLANTA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Introduction to Revolutionary Marxism

Second class: Imperialism: The Death Agony of Capitalism

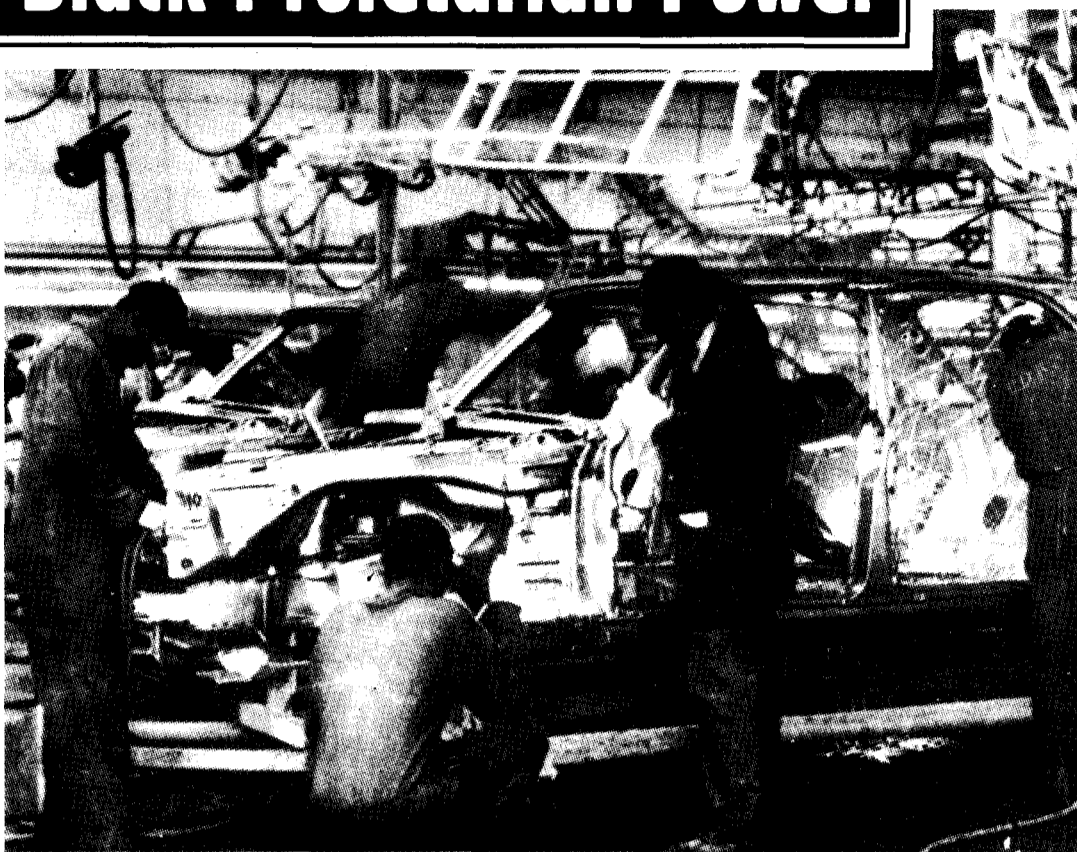
Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.
Next class: September 28

University of Illinois
Illini Union, Room 211

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA For more information: (217) 362-3359

WORKERS VANGUARD

Program for Black Proletarian Power



Der Spiegel photos

1987 strike at Mercedes-Benz (left). Black South African workers have built one of the most combative trade-union movements in the world, but union/SACP tops shackle working class to ANC rulers.

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

A wave of strikes has shaken South Africa since the "Government of National Unity" headed by Nelson Mandela was installed following the April 27 election. The walkout by the Metalworkers union (NUMSA) beginning in early August against six major auto manufacturers (including Mercedes, VW and Nissan) cost the companies \$700 million. The 25,000 strikers went back on September 5 after the government ordered a cut in import duties on cars, a clear threat to their jobs. At the same time, strikes continued in the gold mines, where mine guards used stun grenades and tear gas against workers who were occupying the shafts.

Now the government is threatening to order in the army to break a militant shutdown by truckers, who have used their rigs to block the main Johannesburg-Durban highway. The *Weekly Mail* (26 August) described the blockade as "a remarkable sign of worker solidarity, cutting across racial lines as black, white, Indian and coloured workers vented their frustrations jointly." The unprecedented outpouring of labor militancy threatens the bloc between the now bourgeois-nationalist African National Congress and the powerful black union movement.

This is the concluding section in a series, of which parts 1, 2 and 3 were published in WV Nos. 603, 604 and 605 (8 July, 5 August and 2 September). Readers may obtain the previous installments by sending US\$1.25 to Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

All Stalinist parties in colonial and semicolonial countries have pursued political blocs with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois nationalist parties in the name of the "anti-imperialist national front" or the "national democratic revolution" or some such formula. Such nationalist

popular fronts are invariably short-lived and usually end with the nationalists turning on and butchering their erstwhile Communist allies—China in the 1920s, Iraq in the early 1960s, Indonesia in the mid-'60s.

PART FOUR

South Africa, however, appears to be an exception to this historical rule. The bloc between the reformist Stalinist Communist Party (SACP) and African National Congress has not only lasted 60 years but has resulted in an intermingling of cadre. Policy differences have

usually found SACPers on both sides of the issue rather than pitting Communists against non-Communists in the so-called Congress alliance. Today, leading ANC/SACPers hold key posts in the Mandela government—e.g., Joe Modise as defense minister, Sydney Mufamadi as police minister, Joe Slovo as housing minister.

What accounts for the longevity and solidity of the ANC/SACP bloc? The explanation lies in the total absence of a black African property-owning class, which would form the crucial social base for anti-communist nationalism. The whites own not only all the mines,

factories and banks but also all the farmland. There are no middling black African landlords exploiting black peasants, no wealthy black moneylenders and traders. Even small shopkeepers are predominantly Indian. There is no black African class which has a vested interest in the existing distribution of wealth and property in South Africa. For decades, the prospect of blacks becoming members of the board of the Anglo American mining and manufacturing conglomerate or even owning a local bank or supermarket appeared just as remote, if not more so, than the dictatorship of the proletariat. The totalitarian nature of white-supremacist rule in South Africa created conditions for a black national liberation movement which encompassed within its ranks aspiring corporate executives, would-be military bonapartists, reformist trade-union officials and militants who really wanted red revolution and proletarian state power.

Now, however, the ANC's participation in governmental office provides the crucial opportunity and mechanism to develop a black African bourgeois layer with a direct material interest in exploiting their "own" people. This perspective was clearly stated by the president of the National African Chambers of Commerce, Archie Nkonyeni: "We can use the same method as the Afrikaners, utilizing the state to help nurture business" (*London Financial Times*, 18 July). When Verwoerd's Nationalist Party displaced the British imperialists in 1948, almost all of South Africa's mines, factories and banks were owned by English-speaking capitalists, including many in London and New York. Over the next four decades the Nats used their control of the state apparatus to promote an Afrikaner bourgeoisie, which now owns a sizable

continued on page 8.



Black metal workers raise communist red flag as symbol of defiance against apartheid capitalism.

Afrapix