

THE ORGANIZER



For a Labor Party, For a Workers' International

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CLINTON vs. TRUMP: NONE OF THE ABOVE!



**The Time Is Now for
Independent Working
Class Political Action!**

EDITORIAL

As we go to press, the nation — or, to put it more aptly, the dwindling number of people across the nation who bothered to tune in — was treated for a third time to the sorry spectacle of a “debate” (call it mud-slinging) between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. Hot words about “rigged votes” and “acting as a puppet of Putin” were bandied about, with little, if any, discussion of the substantive issues facing working people.

Throughout the 18-month presidential election campaign, the working class majority expressed its deep-seated rejection of the traditional politicians of the twin parties of capitalism: the Democrats and Republicans. This took many forms.

Inside the Democratic Party, Bernie Sanders, who presented himself as an “outsider” (but was really an insider), was seen by a large number of discontented voters, primarily among the youth, as a means of expressing their aspirations.

Fourteen million people turned to Sanders

**Freedom Manifesto
Points Way Forward!**



**(See Excerpts and Interview
with Nnamdi Scott, pp. 7-10.)**

because they wanted single-payer healthcare, a real wage increase, an end to Wall Street hegemony over the body politic, a halt to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement, and more.

Within the Republican Party, Trump presented himself as the outsider, the “non-politi-



**SOUTH AFRICA:
Special Report on the
“Fees Must Fall”
Student Strike**
(see pp. 14-15)



“Shoot Down Fees, Not Us!”

cian,” which earned him a stronger following than most people expected.

All the traditional G.O.P. politicians — from Jeb Bush to Jon Kasich — fell by the wayside, as a rightwing populist upsurge, fueled by massive job losses and white-su-

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THE ORGANIZER

WHO WE ARE & WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Organizer is the publication of Socialist Organizer, the U.S. fraternal section of the Fourth International.

Since we began publication of *The Organizer* in February 1991, we have focused the newspaper on helping to advance the struggle for independent political action by the working class and all the oppressed — at home and abroad.

That focus governs all the activity of Socialist Organizer. It is the reason behind our persistent advocacy of a Labor Party based on the trade unions and rooted in struggles of the working class and all the oppressed sectors of society, a Labor Party that charts a clean and decisive break with the twin parties of the bosses, the Democrats and Republicans.

Consistent with this view, *The Organizer* is a **Forum that is open to all individual and currents** in the workers' movement seeking to build a Labor Party and a Workers' International.

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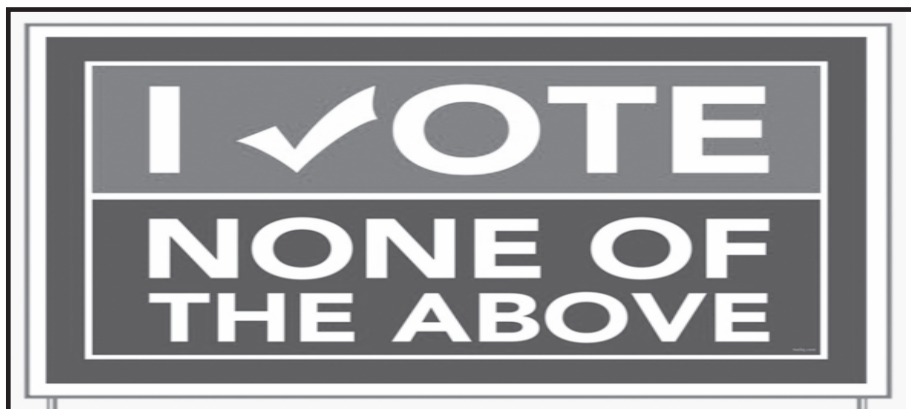
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We welcome contributions from our
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necessarily reflect the positions of
The Organizer.

Time For a New Party!

(from a statement by the Labor Fightback Network)



[*Note: Following are brief excerpts from a statement by the Labor Fightback Network titled, "It's Time for a New Political Party."*]

With each passing year, elections in the United States have been increasingly insulating of working people's intelligence. In 2016 working voters are fed up to the teeth, and they are unleashing their anger on the political elites of both major political parties.

In polling, both Clinton's and Trump's disapproval ratings exceed their approval ratings; Trump's net disapproval exceeds Clinton's. It is clear that in 2016 the voters will be voting *against* a candidate rather than *for* a candidate, and the campaigns are reflecting the negativity, as Trump rants about "Crooked Hillary," and Clinton counters with "Dangerous Trump." It's the same old political game, and American working people are sick of it.

If there was ever an opportunity for an electoral alternative to Big Business's twin parties, it is staring us in the face, *right now*.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the labor movement, of the African-American community and other communities of color, and even challenger candidate Senator Bernie Sanders, have chosen the route of "defeat Trump at all costs" and are calling on working people to vote for Secretary Clinton.

Polls have indicated that while most Sanders voters will likely vote for Clinton, the campaign *activists*, those who phone-banked, canvassed, and fund-raised for Bernie Sanders, are not coming around to support Clinton in the numbers that the Democratic leaders had hoped. It was visible at the Democratic convention in

Philadelphia, where anti-Clinton street marches brought together hundreds of people, including Sanders delegates who had walked out of the convention. The Democratic National Committee did its best to stage-manage its convention so that those protests were invisible, but they had limited success.

The largest independent electoral initiative — not counting the right-wing Libertarian party — is the Green Party, whose candidates are Dr. Jill Stein for president and Ajamu Baraka for vice president. Various polls show Green support at between four and eight percent, considerably higher than the support that the Green Party received in 2012.

The Green Party platform raises many important issues. But what we need today is a political party that is based upon and represents the organized working class, through its own organizations, the trade unions. It is up to social-justice-minded trade unionists to fight within the unions for the perspective of such a new political party, rather than trying to use one of the big business parties in a vain attempt to win a few concessions.



... Clinton vs. Trump: None of the Above!

premacist racism, came to the fore.

But now that's all a thing of the past: Sanders has delivered on his promise to turn over his 14 million voters to the candidate supported and financed by Wall Street and Big Business: Hillary Clinton.[1] Long forgotten is Sanders' tirade against Wall Street. For her part, Clinton has made little effort to court the Sanders voters or even voice their concerns.

Meanwhile, the Trump campaign is imploding.

As the election campaign comes to a close, the Republican Party, to quote *The New York Times*, is "on the verge of civil war," with G.O.P. leaders distancing themselves from Trump as fast as they can run. Trump's rating are dropping so quickly that the G.O.P. leadership is now worried that their party will lose its majority in the House and Senate on November 8.

Trump's tirade against Republican House Speaker Paul Ryan is no less vicious than his tirade against Hillary Clinton, expressing Trump's growing understanding that his ship is sinking. Even his own ticket is in shambles: While Trump warns that he may not accept the outcome of the November presidential election, his running mate, Mike Pence, has stated that, of course, the G.O.P. will honor the results of the vote.

This unprecedented election campaign — where a largely unknown Bernie Sanders took the Democratic Party frontrunner almost to the wire and where a TV celebrity outscored all the Republican Party frontrunners — is a sign of the growing discontent with the two-party system, but it is also a refraction of a capitalist system in deepening crisis.

Karl Marx wrote that, "government is nothing but a committee for managing the affairs of the whole capitalist class." Today, this administrative committee in the United States is in profound disarray, with a much-reviled, unpopular presidential candidate as its only viable candidate.

Ruling-Class Drive to Elect Clinton in Full Throttle

As we approach the final weeks of this seemingly interminable 18-month presidential election campaign, the U.S. ruling class is putting its electoral machinery into overdrive to get Hillary Clinton elected to the nation's highest office. From the vantage point of the ruling class, Trump is a serious liability.

According to an op-ed piece in the October



10 issue of the *New York Times* by Steven Rattner, a Wall Street executive and *Times* contributing opinion writer, "not a single chief executive of a Fortune 100 company has donated to Trump's campaign or endorsed it,"

while more than half have supported and donated generously to Clinton's campaign, particularly in recent weeks.

A *Wall Street Journal* survey of 45 former members of the White House's Council of Economic Advisers found not one who would endorse Trump. All are supporting Clinton.

If anyone is still not convinced that Clinton is *THE* candidate of Wall Street in November, the recently released emails in the files of Clinton campaign chairman John Podesta should put those doubts to rest.

In the documents made public by WikiLeaks — none of which has been disavowed — Clinton tells a gathering hosted by Goldman Sachs that "as a Senator I represented and worked with so

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"A Hard Rain of Increased War Is About to Fall"

If there were even the slightest doubt about the increased war drive being prepared by the top brass of the U.S. military, with the approval of Hillary Clinton, one need only read the speech by Army Chief of Staff General Mark A. Milley on October 4, 2016. Warning that wars will be spreading across the globe, Milley threatened to crush militarily any nation or force that might oppose U.S. policies. He targeted in particular those voices that have spoken out in favor of "dismantling NATO and the European Union."

Milley went on to add:

"All the countries, Russia, China, Iran, and North Korea went to school on us. They closely watched how we fought in 1991 and 2003. They studied our doctrine, our tactics, our equipment, our organization, our training, and our leadership. And in turn, they revised their own doctrines, and they are rapidly modernizing their military today to avoid our strength in hope of defeating us at some point in the future. ...

"Unfortunately, war between nation states, in my view, is very unlikely to remain relegated to the history books. And because there is no higher authority, and

because security is the primal interest of each State, conflicts between nation States are virtually guaranteed at some point. And today, today we are in the middle of yet another major geopolitical change. ...

"So in short, the next 25 years are not going to be like the last 10, and not like the last 25. The keen challenge that we face is the changing character of war; it is unlike anything our actual force has ever experienced in intensity and lethality.

"A noted class historian (Victor Dadid Hanson), recently wrote that he sees an increase in nationalism and regional armed forces, unresolved territorial claims, sectarian and disputes, and return to 18th Century balance of power politics of spheres of influence. And he concluded that there is a light breeze in the air, and it may turn into a storm. And he concluded at the end of his essay that a 'hard rain is about to fall'."

This warning could not be clearer. Both presidential candidates are tearing each other apart. But the Army Chief of Staff knows full well that whichever of the two candidates is elected, this war without end will continue and deepen.

... None of the Above!



many on Wall Street, and I did all I could to make sure that they could prosper.”

At another moment, Clinton told the Wall Street banksters not to worry about her public declarations in opposition to TPP or in support of Social Security. In her line of business, she insisted, it is necessary to have a “public” posture and a “private” one. She needed to take a “public” stance on many issues dear to the working class majority to get elected, she told them, but once in office she would carry out her “private” policies, in sync with her Wall Street donors.

This last point is particularly important to the trade union movement. Throughout her presidential campaign, Clinton has insisted that, “I oppose the TPP. I’ll oppose it after the election. And I’ll oppose it as president.” But in a \$225,000 speech to the Wall Street banksters in San Diego, she said that her “dream is a hemispheric market, with open trade.”

Can there be any doubt that Clinton, once in office, will do everything possible to enact the TPP — mind you, with a few cosmetic changes to make it appear that she is really on the side of the working class?

Can there be any doubt that she will move to promote the “reforms” to Social Security that the speculators have all been demanding, or that she will continue to promote, even deepen, the privatization and deregulation policies of all past administrations, including that of Bill Clinton?

Can there be any doubt that she will accelerate the drive toward war, with more U.S. troops on the ground, throughout the Middle

East?

A Crisis Rooted in the Capitalist System Itself

The dispute between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump is not over ultimate objectives; rather it’s over how to implement them. The crisis that has dislocated the summits of political power in this country is due to the fact that the economic basis of the capitalist system itself has been profoundly destabilized by the 2008 crisis, with no recovery in sight.

It’s a fact: Despite the Obama administration’s \$8 trillion-plus bailout of the major banks and financial institutions, despite the astronomical sums injected into the economy in the name of Quantitative Easing, despite the massive number of jobs cut in industry after industry, despite all budget cuts in social services — despite all of this, there has not been an economic recovery.

The IMF has recognized this situation, declaring: “The U.S. economy has lost its vitality over the course of the most recent trimesters; the expansion predicted for the second semester of 2016 did not materialize.” Even the \$5.4 trillion invested in shale oil have only gone to inflate a speculative bubble that is even greater than the sub-prime bubble.

The root of it all is the very crisis of the capitalist system. It’s a system that’s incapable of developing anything other than parasitic fuel rods to keep the economy afloat: the military-industrial complex and war, on the one hand, and unbridled financial speculation, on the other.

The ruling class’s inability to surmount the

crisis of the capitalist system is what spurs its growing political crisis.

Once Again on “Lesser-Evilism”

In this context, it is especially troublesome to see the top trade union leadership, even its most progressive wing, urge its members to mobilize to elect Hillary Clinton.

Josh Pechthalt, president of the California Federation of Teachers (CFT), one of the most progressive unions in the country, wrote the following in an editorial published in *California Teacher* (Sept-Oct 2016):

“We can’t be cavalier about who will be the next president. ... Unfortunately there is no viable labor party in this country, so we know the next president will either be a Democrat or a Republican. Electing Donald Trump would be a catastrophe. Hillary Clinton is our best choice to advance a progressive agenda, and her election must be our number one goal.”

And Pechthalt concludes: “We can’t be complacent about our vote for president. Even if our electoral votes are not in doubt, this is not the time to squander a vote on Jill Stein or any third-party candidate.”

This decades-old “lesser-evil” argument has been used time and again to justify support for one candidate of the corporate class against the other. Today it’s the fear of Trump’s “hate-filled views” that is being raised to justify a vote for Clinton.

There can be no doubt that Clinton and Trump have sharp disagreements on a number of subjects. Trump openly spouts the most reactionary, racist, and war-mongering rhetoric. Clinton’s discourse is different.

But once elected, will Clinton not pursue the war without end, will she not continue the very same policies of social and racial discrimination which, under the Obama administration and all previous administrations, have triggered the police killings of Black people?

Isn’t it a fact that the reactionary wave that has lifted Trump is simply the result of the anti-working class policies implemented over the past eight years by the outgoing Democratic Party president?

The inconvenient truth (for some) is that Clinton is really a traditional Republican masking as a “centrist” — at times even as a “progressive” — and that she only has a chance of winning this election because she is facing a buffoon named Donald Trump.

The inconvenient truth is that we are faced in this election with a choice of two of the most unpopular political figures in U.S. history because of the continued policy, pursued over decades by the top leaders of the U.S. labor movement, of “lesser-evilism.” With each consecutive election, “lesser-evil” politics has only pushed the political spectrum fur-

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ther and further to the right.

The view that Clinton will be a vehicle for workers to “advance a progressive agenda,” as Pechthalt argues, could not be further from the truth.

How Do We Get There From Here?

Like many progressive labor officials, Josh Pechthalt is in favor of a Labor Party, at least in theory. But if this is your goal, the question becomes, how do you get there from here?

Many labor partisans of a Clinton vote argue that we must first stop Trump, and only then can we confront Clinton and compel her administration to meet working people’s most pressing demands, including the demands of the Black Lives Matter movement. This, they argue, will ultimately create a mass social protest movement that can become the cauldron for the creation of a third-party movement, including for a Labor Party.

But this logic is not borne out by historical experience. The record shows that when the Democrats are in office, the top leadership of the labor movement exerts all the pressure it can muster to quash all social protest movements.

The lesser-evil arguments used to rational-

... None of the Above!

LABOR PARTY ADVOCATES

ize a vote for Clinton in November will be wielded, in a different form after her election. Social protest movements will be urged to hold back in their criticisms of — and mobilizations against — Clinton, lest this add fuel to the grist of the Trump rightwing forces. Any actions that could be seen as “destabilizing

Clinton” will be portrayed as doing the work of Trump and his minions.

No! If the working class — and especially its most oppressed Black and Latino sectors — is to prevail in defending its rights and interests, and if it is to make new gains, it will have to affirm its independence at all times; it will have to act on independent class grounds both in the electoral arena and in the streets. This has to happen *before* and *after* the November 8 election

Working people are ready and looking for a change. Reports from our readers speak of general scorn in the workplace for the two mainstream candidates. They speak of widespread unwillingness by labor activists to take Hillary Clinton door-hangers when getting out the vote for ballot propositions and candidates for local, state and national office. They speak of anger by Black activists, particularly Black youth, with all politicians, whatever their political stripe.

While it is a fact that this aspiration for an authentic working class political alternative cannot be expressed at this time in the electoral arena for all the reasons explained above, these reports from our reader — and there are countless others — underscore a simple truth: the deep aspiration for independent working politics is not going away; in fact, it will continue to seek every avenue to find a way forward.

No doubt, many, if not most, of the unionists and activists will vote for Clinton, but their contradictory attitudes express a great frustration with ruling class politics and a search for a real working-class alternative.[2]

The road to independent working class party will not be linear. The formulation by Karl Marx that the emancipation of the working class will be the task of the workers themselves rings true.

The working class will need its historic organizations — primarily the trade unions —

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WikiLeaks Confirms that Hillary Clinton Sold Weapons to ISIS



Julian Assange, the founder of WikiLeaks, revealed publicly that Hillary Clinton and her State Department were actively arming Islamic jihadists, which includes the Islamic State (ISIS) in Syria.

Clinton repeatedly denied these claims, including during multiple statements while under oath in front of the U.S. Senate. But the WikiLeaks documents, which have not been disavowed, tell another story

In Obama’s second term, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton authorized the shipment of U.S.-made arms to Qatar, a country beholden to the Muslim Brotherhood, and friendly to the Libyan rebels, in an effort to topple the Libyan/Qaddafi government, and then ship those arms to Syria in order to fund Al Qaeda, and topple Assad in Syria.

Clinton took the lead role in organizing the so-called “Friends of Syria” (aka Al Qaeda/ISIS) to back the CIA-led insur-

gency for regime change in Syria.

Under oath Hillary Clinton denied she knew about the weapons shipments during public testimony in early 2013 after the Benghazi terrorist attack.

In an interview with Democracy Now, WikiLeaks’ Julian Assange stated that 1,700 emails spanning the time from June 2010 to August 2014 contained in the Clinton cache directly connect Clinton to Libya to Syria, and directly to Al Qaeda and ISIS.

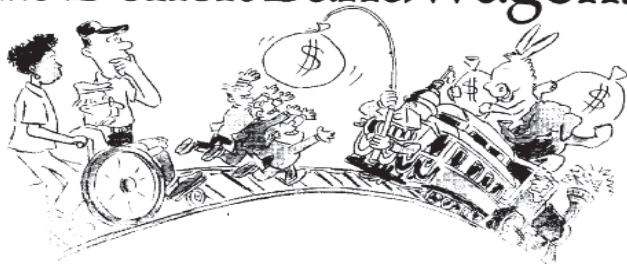
Assange stated, in part:

“The Hillary Clinton emails create a rich picture of how Hillary Clinton and the U.S. Department of State operated. So, for example, the disastrous, absolutely disastrous intervention in Libya, the destruction of the Qaddafi government, which led to the occupation of ISIS of large segments of that country, weapons flows going over to Syria, being pushed by Hillary Clinton, into jihadists within Syria, including ISIS, that’s there in those emails. There’s more than 1,700 emails in Hillary Clinton’s collection, that we have released, just about Libya alone.”

For all the details concerning this important disclosure, go to the WikiLeaks website.

... None of the Above!

Why worry about Medicare and Social Security? Because both parties are on the Deficit Bandwagon.



to break with their reliance upon the Democratic Party to champion the interests of the working class majority and chart the way forward toward a Labor Party.

Linked to this struggle, Blacks will need a Black working class party to advance their immediate and national interests, such as advocated by Nnamdi Scott, the independent Black candidate for city council in Baltimore of the Ujima People's Progress Party (UPP).

"It is necessary to understand the relationship of the Black workers to capitalism," Scott

stated in the interview with *The Organizer* published in this issue. "What this means is that the political organization of Black workers as a class needs to take place. It is not enough to have a movement. There will be no Black liberation without our organization."

Scott argued for stopping to "petition or leverage the capitalist parties" and to "plot our way toward independent political struggle, be that in the electoral arena or in the grassroots arena; there has to be a conscious effort by Black workers to have their own political in-

dependence and confidence in their own strength as a class."

These words apply not only to Black workers, but to the entire working class. Never has the task of advancing independent working class political action been more urgent.

Endnotes

[1] Whether Sanders succeeds in his venture of turning all his voters over to Clinton is far from certain, however. While most Sanders voters will no doubt "hold their noses" and vote for Clinton, many others will vote for other candidates running for high office — or they will simply not vote at all.

[2] Others will vote for Jill Stein, not necessarily because they support the Green Party, but because they see a Stein vote as the most effective protest vote against the two-party system. Others still will vote for one of the many socialist candidates running for president — be it the Socialist Party, the Party of Socialism and Liberation, or others.

But Stein and the Green Party are not the alternative that working people need if they are to win their demands. The Green Party is not a working class party; it does not view society as divided into opposing social classes with contradictory interests; the Stein and Green platforms are based on the notion of a "civil society," where class lines are blurred.

Although many of the planks put forward by Jill Stein point in the direction of progressive social change, working people — especially the oppressed Black masses fighting against police brutality and for self-determination — will need a class party to prevail.

Response to a MoveOn Posting on the "Political Revolution"



By COLIA L. CLARK

I received a posting from MoveOn urging me to keep the "Political Revolution" going by supporting Hillary Clinton.

But Clinton is the most anti-revolution candidate in this race. It is regrettable that Bernie Sanders has sold the people out.

Trump is a right-wing bigot and unacceptable as president, but Hillary is a right-wing butcher: Libya and Iraq are just two to her credit. There are more, like Honduras and Haiti.

When the Democrats took office in 2008, there were fewer than 100 nations across the world with U.S. occupation troops. Today more than 150 nations have U.S. troops on the ground. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was instrumental in this U.S. military expansion.

Every time the images of Black men being hanged come to mind, I see Libya under invasion and the scores of Africans from south of the Sahara who were housed in Libya being hanged and slaughtered because of Clinton's and Obama's policies.

The United States funded and controlled the illegal invasion of Libya, while France

and NATO invaded — with mass lynchings and murders of non-military Africans working in the oil fields. This was no different from the lynch-mob antics in the U.S. South."

Thanks to Clinton and Obama Africa is now the site of 28 U.S. military bases: AFRICOM. At home, meanwhile, Africans in the United States were subjected to the Bill and Hillary Clinton Omnibus crime bill and the destruction of the welfare system. Today there is a legal slave system in place; it's called the school to prison pipeline.

There is a never a righteous human moment when we must decide between which of two evils. MoveOn, we who believe in liberty, justice, and human rights want real change. Words do not make revolutions. We demand more!



Nnamdi Scott: "We must plot our way toward independent political struggle, be that in the electoral arena or in the grassroots arena"

[*Note: Following is an interview conducted by **The Organizer** with Nnamdi Scott, independent Black candidate for City Council in District 7 in Baltimore, Maryland.*]

The Organizer: Since our last interview with you [see July-August issue of *The Organizer*] the police killings of Black people have continued unabated. First it was Terence Crutcher in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the list goes on. What is the state of the movement against police brutality? Here in the San Francisco Bay Area, the national anthem protest by Colin Kaepernick has caught on; the entire Mission High School team took a knee to protest the police killings.

Nnamdi Scott: The consciousness of the general masses is being heightened. We see it within the Black Lives Movement, which initially didn't have a very clear understanding, let alone goals, about how to deal with police brutality in a capitalist state. But now this movement has kept growing and has become more consistent in its messaging. The movement is taking its first steps in summing up what they are trying to do. And this has impacted athletes, artists, and musicians.

T.O.: The Policy Table of the Movement for Black Lives Matter, the united front of more than 50 organizations that was forged in Cleveland just a year ago, just put together a policy paper titled "A Vision for Black Lives." What is your assessment of the document?

Scott: This document represents an important step forward. As I said, initially this movement did not have any clear goals and objectives. Now you have a movement that is

articulating a vision. This is an important step in advancing consciousness.

Still, in my view, there has to be a more active participation of the Black radical left in helping the young cadre that are emerging in the Black Lives Movement to have a stronger analysis of the contradictions of capitalism and the rule of Capital over working people.

T.O.: There is a plank in the Visions document around community control. There is a plank demanding independent Black political power. There is a plank around Black self-determination. These are all very advanced notions. My next question has to do with the role that you feel the Black Left Unity Network (BLUN), of which you are a member, can play in helping to advance the political thinking and actions of this emerging movement.

Do you see the document that BLUN is putting forward — the "Freedom Manifesto" [see excerpts in this issue] as a contribution to the broader discussion that is taking place within the Black Lives Movement? In your view, can your Freedom Manifesto help these activists clarify and concretize some of the ideas presented in their Vision document?

Scott: Yes, absolutely. We think that our Freedom Manifesto can help these emerging forces. We took the older version of our own document and added more content to make it more relevant today to the Black Lives Movement, as a way of addressing what we think are some of the weaknesses still present in their Vision movement.

This whole question of class, for example, really hasn't been addressed in any depth yet by this movement. And yet is of vital impor-

tance to understand the key role of the working class as the leadership of the anti-capitalist struggle. It is important to understand that the workers themselves are victims continuously of direct harassment, whether it turns into police murder or brutality. This is the day-to-day interaction that most African workers have, because they as a class bear the brunt of police containment and force.

It is necessary to understand the relationship of the Black workers to capitalism. And what this means is that the political organization of Black workers as a class needs to take place. It is not enough to have a movement. There will be no Black liberation without our organization.

T.O.: This raises the issue of building an independent Black political organization, an independent Black political party.

Scott: Exactly. This is very important, so that we decide not to just petition or leverage the capitalist parties — which I am not an advocate for — but that we actually start to plot our way toward independent political struggle, be that in the electoral arena or in the grassroots arena. There has to be a conscious effort by Black workers to have their own political independence and confidence in their own strength as a class.

T.O.: This poses the question of the leadership of the Black working class, but it also poses the question of its alliance with the anti-racist white working class, which is also exploited under capitalism and has to be won over as an ally in this struggle to overthrow

(continued on page 10)

Freedom Manifesto: A Draft Manifesto To Rebuild the Black Liberation Movement

[*Note: Following are brief excerpts from a document published in August 2016 by the Black Left Unity Network. The full text can be obtained by writing to Twenty-first Century Books and Publications at tcbchg@aol.com or to the Ujima People's Progress Party at uppm Maryland@gmail.com.]*

The Black Liberation Movement has reawakened. Militant activists are fighting against police terror, for jobs and a livable wage, for housing for the homeless, against environmental racism, for quality education, for human rights for our LGBT brothers and sisters, and more. This manifesto is a contribution toward uniting our diverse forces into one mighty movement for Black liberation and the transformation of the entire society.

Our movement has been powerful and it is becoming powerful again. We just have to sum up our practice in struggle — past, present and future — and think together about the problems we have and how we can solve them. This manifesto, read and talked about by people and groups all over, can contribute to a national consensus to be ratified at a National Assembly for Black Liberation.

Our Fight Is Against Capitalism

The Black left is fighting on all fronts against all forms of oppression. A central point of unity is that all of our struggles can advance only to the extent that we mount a full assault on the capitalist system as a racist system of class exploitation, national oppression, patriarchy, and imperialism. Capitalism is how the 1% control society and the world economy. It is the source of our misery.

What is capitalism? Capitalism is an economic, social, and political system that exploits the labor of working people and feeds the greed of the corporations and the rich who own the factories and the machines. People work and create value by turning raw materials into usable products. We are paid far less than the value we create — just the minimum. Most of the rest is surplus taken by the corporations as their profit. Workers and owners struggle over who gets this surplus. They live



fat while we starve. In its monopoly stage of development, capitalism became imperialism, a global system of exploiting countries all over the world.

How is the origin of U.S. capitalism based on slavery? The wealth needed for the origin of the industrial system in the U.S. was created out of the super profits taken from the sale and labor of the slaves, especially in the cotton fields. This slave-based wealth has funded many corporations and banks. This wealth has propped up wealthy families that inherit and maintain control over social and cultural institutions such as private universities, especially in the Ivy League.

How does capitalism exploit us? Today capitalism is transforming and replacing human labor with “smart” machines. If people are not working for a wage, the market system for circulating goods and service breaks down. Without a job, you can’t buy what you need, and they can’t sell it.

So capitalism has turned to making money on death. That includes bad food. Bad health care. All varieties of drugs and alcohol. TV culture that kills the mind. The military-indus-

trial complex produces weapons for imperialist wars and all forms of military aggression including the violence in our cities. All too often our churches become appendages to this, preaching money over morality.

How does capitalism exploit the world? The 1% uses military interventions supported by global organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization. Everywhere they capture cheap labor and important raw materials. They use the United Nations and NATO to justify imperialist military aggression. This way they keep moving wealth from poor countries to rich ones.

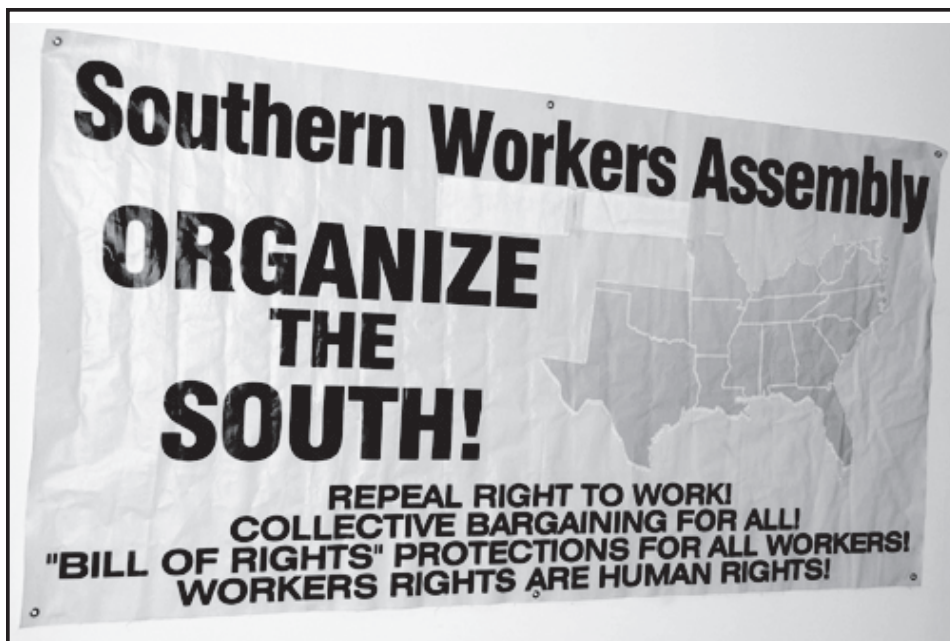
Can we defeat the capitalist system? Nothing lasts forever. Slavery ended. Feudalism ended. Capitalism will end as well. More and more, humanity has no stake in the capitalist system and is rapidly growing to hate it and struggle against it. Outside of the U.S., resistance is explicit in rejecting capitalism. But here we face the soft terror of media and government. They are obsessed with putting a gag rule on any alternative discourse. The end of capitalism will only come with our militant unity of action among and between movements of resistance by the working class and oppressed nations and people, including the movements of Afro-American people.

Strategic Working Class Unity Includes the Leadership of the Black Working Class

Why the working class? The majority of people in the U.S. are working people. We are all exploited by the capitalist system. People know this and spontaneously oppose it in so many ways.

Of course there is a racist national chauvinism that turns some white workers into enemies of Black people and other people of color, especially working and poor people. Mainstream media broadcasts the lie that we Black workers are the cause of their misery. As people fight in their own interest against the bosses, conditions are created to expose the role of white supremacy to divide the working class, defend white privilege, and justify the exploitation and oppression of Black people. We have the chance to win significant numbers of white workers to an anti-racist working-class unity. This is worker’s solidarity.

Thinking globally, more allies of the Black Liberation Movement are the militants in the



international working class movement, especially from the oppressed nationalities and peoples. The enemy of my enemy is my friend.

Black labor organizations. The first Black worker organization was the 1866 Colored National Labor Union. Frederick Douglass was one of its early leaders. Working class activists have engaged in every stage of organizing the Black liberation movement. We have witnessed the struggle for inclusion of Black workers in the CIO unions of the 1930s, the largest, most significant organizing of U.S. workers. We have seen the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (1969), the Black Workers Congress (1971), the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (1972), Black Workers for Justice (1981), and the Black Workers Unity Movement (1985). Today we have many rank-and-file Black caucus groups, workers centers, and the Southern Workers Assembly.

Anti-imperialist unity with Latinos. National oppression and extreme capitalist exploitation of Latinos makes them close allies of Black people. This is especially true for people with roots in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere in the Caribbean and the Americas.

The capitalist strategy is to divide workers and play them against each other. The most desperate among us take the lowest wages. Our class unity must take a strong position against this capitalist ploy and unite Black and Brown workers in a common cause. To defeat imperialism we must unite struggles against class exploitation and national oppression at home and abroad.

Class struggle and Black liberation. Initially, the fight of workers is first and foremost a fight to make wages and working conditions better. This includes benefits and pensions. People fight as individuals, work teams, workplaces, and entire industries. All of this is necessary. And we can go further and link these

reform struggles with the vision and coordination to end the capitalist system once and for all. We are in an all-out war: capitalists against the masses of workers and poor people. They will always cheat us. Capitalism means exploitation. That's how their game is played.

Our Fight for Reform Is Linked to a Revolutionary Strategy

The day-to-day struggle. The idea of a revolution is abstract, but the fight for one is not. People fight back in daily life, at workplaces, the unemployment office, the grocery store, school, church and more. Big political ideas take shape in on-the-ground practice. When the fight intensifies everybody can get educated, get political, and begin to think about the link between the reform struggle and the revolutionary leap that is necessary. In this context a Black left can be grounded in our people, in the very fight they wage themselves. We join them. We embrace their leadership. We link their fight with the fight of others. We help sum up and learn lessons from victories and defeats. We train militants to increase their ability to sustain the struggle.

Fight back every day! Link the fight for reform to revolutionary goals!

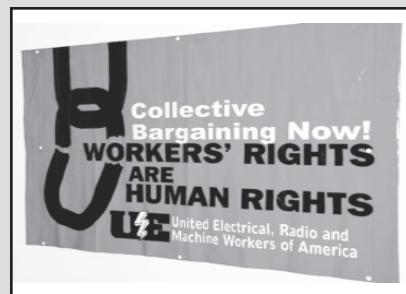
The response to racist attacks. Every racist attack must be opposed and mass resistance built to end it, just as we raised the slogans No More Trayvons! and Black Lives Matter! We do this as part of massive nationwide mobilization. So must we continue on higher and more coordinated levels. This is a key task of rebuilding a national Black liberation movement.

The electoral struggle. The capitalist state is a rigged game controlled by the ruling class. They don't play fair and we can't win by getting in it and trying to reform things. All too often we have been lured into local politics as mayors and city council officials, only to try

and fix a broken system that can't be fixed with minimal reforms.

But electoral politics is a terrain of struggle where debate and discussion can raise the consciousness of people. This can present people with an alternative to the hypocrisy and illusions of mainstream politicians. The movement must remain autonomous from state and NGO control. On the other hand, Black power at the local level can be used by the movement, especially if we build the independent power of the forces in struggle for unionization, livable wages, eminent domain to house the homeless, money for public schools not charter schools, and so on.

The Strategic Role of the South



The majority of Black people have always lived in the Southern region of the US. This has also been the region of the most oppression against Black people. It continues to be the region most hostile to organizing workers with right-to-work anti-union laws. Increasingly capital from all over the world joins US capital in patterns of extreme economic exploitation in the South. But more than that there is the structural patterns of racism, and the lowest quality of life in all areas of human existence.

The southern region is a strategic location for the Black liberation movement, the workers movement, and the general revolutionary forces because it is so crucial for the existence of the capitalist system. The social, economic and political extremes of the region make the fight for reform an essential component to building a movement for fundamental social change.

On the one hand it is essential for the Black liberation movement's fight for African American self-determination, while at the same time advancing the role of Black workers in leading the movement.

This class perspective strengthens the anti-capitalist character of the national Black liberation movement and is an essential part of fighting for the unity of the multi-national working class.

... Nnamdi Scott on Independent Politics

the capitalist State.

Scott: We have done something here in Baltimore that is an attempt to be the first Black workers-led electoral party. It's a party that is open to all nationalities to participate in, but we do not hide that we have a leadership that is from the Black working class. This is something that is hard for even white liberals to digest. They are so used to a certain kind of relationship to Black workers, a relationship that for too long has created a kind of welfare mentality for Black workers.

The question of Black working class leadership is critical. The history of our struggle in America shows that Black people, Black workers, fighting for social justice, for human rights, has opened the door to all other social forces, whether it's women, or gays, or people with disabilities. The strategies and tactics that we've used, the very example of our tenacity, has opened the doors for everybody.

There needs to be an understanding about how capitalism impacts us all differently. Yes, there are ways in which we are impacted similarly as a class, but the ways we are impacted differently are not always understood by white workers. Black workers are the most devastated, most incarcerated, most oppressed sector of the working class. We can't build a movement where everything is glossed over. We have to understand what motivates different social forces correctly.

It can't just be freedom for white workers while everyone else is still being incarcerated and attacked by capitalism.

We try to do this in Baltimore, to make our work open to all social forces. The relationship we have built with left-leaning non-Black



organizations is already very positive.

T.O.: How is your own campaign going? Has it caught the attention of workers and organizations elsewhere across the country?

Scott: Yes it has. We've been lucky to get some support from different parts of the country. And we are very thankful to your organization and to *The Organizer* newspaper for getting information out about our campaign. Local media forces have been able to help. Left-leaning media have helped. We've been able to get material and financial support.

Locally this has raised our profile. We've been invited to speak at rallies to get our message out. The response has always been very warm, which has reaffirmed that it's the right politics.

In these elections in a capitalist system you also need money. We're not able, of course, to run the same kind of campaign as the Democrats in Baltimore. We recognize what will happen at the end of the day in terms of the vote.

But our goal is to help people get connected to our platform. Our goal is to help organize those people and help them understand that

what we're struggling for is not going to be solved through the electoral process, that we have to get organized to fight for our demands every day of the week. Our goal is to help people get involved with the Ujima People's Progress Party.

T.O.: Is there anything you would like to add, especially in relation to how people can get involved and help out your campaign?

Scott: We're not running a protest election. We're trying to run a principled, strategic election to help chart a way forward.

We would like our campaign to provide other Black left radical forces with a blueprint for how we

can go out and engage people more widely. We are now able to go to churches, to recreation centers, to people's homes with our politics.

We haven't changed who we are. I think this is a perfect example of what the left needs to do if we want to be more influential, not just during election time but more important in organizing a movement.

We are still fighting for the \$15 minimum wage, which didn't get passed, so we need to continue that struggle. We just had the city give \$660 million to Kevin Plank, the billionaire owner of Under Armour, a company that does not pay its workers a livable wage. So there is a lot of work that needs to be done.

And, yes, we're always calling for resources, for volunteers. If you have readers in our area, please have them get in touch with us. We can be reached at our website at www.nnamdiscott2016.com. You can also send messages to:

nnamdiscott4baltimore@gmail.com
and/or visit the UPP facebook page at:
[UPPMarlyand/](https://www.facebook.com/UPPMarlyand/).



Aiana-Koli: "The People Are Tired of Oppression!"

[Note: Aiana-Koli, aka AniLi-Mars, is a 23-year-old Black Lives Matter activist in Philadelphia. She is also a

musician and videographer. She is one of many U.S. delegates who will be attending the Mumbai Open World Conference Against War, Exploitation and Precarious Labor. Following are excerpts from an interview with InfoInter, the weekly newsletter promoting the Mumbai conference.]

InfoInter: Hundreds of thousands of Black people and their supporters have been demonstrating for months to the cry of "Black Lives Matter!" What are the causes behind the development of your movement?

Aiana-Koli: Police killings have been happening for a very long time. When a Black person is killed every 28 hours by law enforcement, we must look at the system that is allowing this to continue.

The government is not upholding the principles of the Constitution, which are supposed to cover ALL citizens regardless of race, class, sexual orientation, etc.

As Martin Luther King said:

"You know, my friends, there comes a time when people get tired of being trampled by the iron feet of oppression."

The people are angry and are tired of the corruption and oppression.

The people DEMAND JUSTICE and EQUALITY for ALL.

Our government is supposedly fighting for democracy and human rights overseas, but how can this be when at home it tramples upon the rights and very lives of Black people.

We Stand with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe! Indigenous Rights are Workers' Rights! #NoDAPL!

SOLIDARITY WITH STANDING ROCK
STOP THE DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE



JOIN US SAT OCT. 1ST
3333 COUNTY ROAD X28, KEOKUK, IA
JOIN THE 24HR ENCAMPMENT

**OIL & WATER DON'T MIX
STOP THE OIL PIPELINE**

A TUNNEL IS BEING DUG BENEATH THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER FOR THE DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE (AKA BAKKEN PIPELINE) RIGHT NOW!

IN 2016 THERE WERE 19 PIPELINE SPILLS INCLUDING EXPLOSIONS & UPWARDS OF 45,000 GALLONS OF OIL SPILLED INTO A NEARBY RIVER.

THE PIPELINE IS PROJECTED TO BE FULLY INSTALLED IN IOWA ON OCT. 31ST

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While news of the fight at Standing Rock has not infiltrated the mainstream media, on the ground and throughout the country, solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe continues to grow. Supporters have flocked from all over the world to stand in solidarity with the tribe at Standing Rock as they protect their lands, water, and sacred grounds. Indigenous leaders as far as the Amazon have joined the ranks of the Sacred Stone and Red Warrior camps, proving that indigenous struggles are ones without borders.

The Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is a massive 1,150-mile project of Dakota Access LLC meant to carry crude oil from North Dakota to Illinois. The DAPL, and many like it across the world, is a recent example of the lengths the ruling class will go to ensure their profits. The DAPL threatens the Missouri River and its many tributaries. It will destroy

ecosystems in its path along with the flora and fauna inhabiting them. It will destroy the very resources humanity depends on for life.

The strength of the movement led by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has highlighted the role of government in protecting corporations over its own citizens. While the Obama administration and the Army Corps of Engineers symbolically back injunctions and declare support for the Tribe, North Dakota Governor Jack Dalrymple has called on the National Guard to threaten the water protectors. Dakota Access has continuously harassed and violently attacked water protectors, including children.

Although portrayed as a battle for water rights, what's really at stake at Standing Rock is much larger. Standing Rock represents the forefront of indigenous struggle in the United States. A struggle for sovereignty and against

the continued genocide of Native peoples waged for the past 500 years on this continent. The struggle against colonization and indigenous rights goes hand in hand with the struggle for workers' rights. Like the liberation struggles of Blacks, Chicanxs, women, and other oppressed groups, the fight for indigenous emancipation is a fight against capitalism.

Many individual workers have joined the ranks at Standing Rock and workers' organizations have also expressed their solidarity with #NoDAPL including the National Nurses United (NNU), Communication Workers of America (CWA), the United Electrical Workers (UE), and SEIU 503. Despite this, AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka declared the AFL-CIO in support of the Dakota Access Pipeline. It exposed the shortsightedness of union leadership and their capitulation to corporate interests. The AFL-CIO statement regurgitated the corporate narrative that pits workers and their families against Native rights.

We join the ranks of those calling on the AFL-CIO to retract this statement and declare solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. We, Socialist Organizer, declare our own solidarity with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, with the water protectors, and with the indigenous peoples fighting against capital and its colonizing forces all over the world.

- **No Dakota Access Pipeline!**
- **Clean and safe water for all!**
- **Sovereignty of all Native peoples!**

Activists Protest Police Murder of Joseph Mann in Sacramento, Calif.

By LINDSAY CURTIS

For decades, October 22nd has become known more and more as a national day of protest against police brutality. Sacramento, California had plenty to protest this year, with the focal point of Saturday's protest and rally highlighting the police murder of Joseph Mann.

Mann was experiencing a mental health crisis when he was shot by police 14 times in July. He was armed with a knife and acting erratically, which police are using to justify attempts by officers to run him down with their vehicle before putting 14 bullets into his body.

A rally was held in South Sac to draw attention to yet another example of police murder, as well as to the fact that it took Sacramento



PD more than two months to release the footage and audio of the murder. Not even the family were allowed to view it.

The *Sacramento Bee* newspaper eventually obtained and released alternative footage from another source. Almost immediately after that, the police department finally released what

tapes they had (including the 911 calls). There is no doubt the *Bee's* move forced the reluctant hand of Sac PD.

Sacramento activists and general community members will not forget what happened to Mann and numerous others at the hands of untrained and/or egomaniacal police officers acting as tools of the ruling class.

Multiple groups and individuals have come together to form a list of demands, currently taking on the form of a petition. Its goal is to change public policy at the state level.

The proposed changes would alter the hiring and training processes of officers, would give communities a say in how they are policed, and would ensure that officers who discharge their weapons at people go through an investigation, testing, and oversight process.

18-19-20 Nov. 2016

**World
Conference
Mumbai**
Against War,
Exploitation and
Precarious Labour

Toward the Mumbai World Conference Against War, Exploitation & Precarious Labour (November 18-20, 2016)

U.S.-NATO Out of the Middle East Now!

By DOMINIQUE FERRE

The governments of the Western powers, with presidents Barack Obama and François Hollande in the lead, are denouncing the slaughter in Aleppo —but their hypocrisy knows no bounds. Let us not forget that these major powers (United States, France, and Britain) and its allies in the region (Gulf monarchies and the Turkish government) were the ones that initiated the war of aggression against Syria in the first place.

In September 2015, the military intervention of Putin's Russia (which seeks in particular to defend its only military base in the Mediterranean port of Tartus) simply followed the lead of the military intervention by the coalition led by the United States, which has bombed Syria since August 2014. How dare they try to make us believe that only Russian bombs are hitting the civilian population, while U.S., French and British bombs are saving lives?

The hypocrisy of Obama and Hollande goes even further. Just as Aleppo is being destroyed by bombs, the U.S. and French governments are overseeing a major assault against the Iraqi city of Mosul. This is a city of more than 1 million people that was taken over in June 2014 by Daesh [ISIS].

Using the presence of Daesh as a pretext, a broad coalition of heavily armed forces with often-conflicting interests has launched the assault against Mosul.

UN diplomats in the region warn that a major humanitarian disaster is about to be unleashed. "If more than 150,000 people are displaced in the coming days and weeks, no institution in the world can handle them; the risks are huge and there has been very little preparation," said the humanitarian coordinator of the UN in Iraq.

In addition to jihadist militias entrenched in the city, the coalition forces led by the United States are on the ground, reinforced by the arrival of 600 additional U.S. GIs.

The U.S. administration does not hide the fact that it needs the "trophy" of taking Mosul to justify an intervention that has been increasingly rejected by the American people. U.S. Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter has declared this "a decisive mo-



Iraqi refugees cross the Tigris River in Northern Iraq in 2014 en route to Syria. Today the massive numbers of displaced peoples from the offensive initiated by the imperialist powers in Mosul are expected to create an unprecedented humanitarian crisis.

ment."

The U.S. military and its allies are not alone in this attack on Mosul. Other military forces include the Iraqi Army, formed by the United States; the armed forces of the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan; Shiite militias (some supported by Iran and others not), Sunni militias; and the Turkish Army, which is allied with Iraqi Kurdish forces, but which seeks to establish a back-up post against Kurdish forces linked to the PKK in Syria and southeastern Turkey.

This is an explosive cocktail of military forces, especially given the fact that Mosul, according to a Kurdish military official, is "a city populated by a large array of ethnic and religious minorities. If one of them is marginalized in one way or another, a new Is-

lamic State-type formation will be created."

All these forces, each driven by their own objectives, risk turning a so-called "liberated" Mosul into a battleground of bloody score-settling that will transform the city into a mass cemetery.

"The only thing that we can say for sure," stated a politician in the region, "is that after the first shot is fired, nobody knows what is going to happen."

From Aleppo to Mosul, from Yemen to other "theaters" of war no longer on the front pages of our press, the tragedy befalling the peoples of the Middle East and Africa has one and only one origin: foreign imperialist intervention spearheaded by the U.S. administration and its proxies.

U.S.-NATO Out Now!

Healthcare Activists Mobilize Across Mexico on Oct. 23 To Defend their National Public Healthcare Systems



Doctors, nurses and other healthcare workers in 70 cities across Mexico staged marches and rallies to demand the repeal of the “Sistema Universal de Salud” (Universal Healthcare System) — a healthcare privatization law enacted by the government of Enrique Peña Nieto at the behest of the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Everywhere banners could be seen calling for the defense and improvement of the national public healthcare institute (IMSS) and the public sector workers’ healthcare system (ISSSTE).

In the town of Palenque, in the state of Chiapas, the local chapter of Section 50 of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (SNTSSA) has been out on strike since May 23 to press for their community’s healthcare demands [see accompanying story]. Marches and rallies were held in five other towns in Chiapas and across

Mexico’s southeast region in support of the striking healthcare workers under the banner of #TodosSomosPalenque (We Are All Palenque).

Messages of support were sent to the rallies in Chiapas and Mexico City from the organizers in India of the Mumbai Open World Conference Against War, Privatization and Precarious Labor, as well as from healthcare unions and officers in France, Germany, Canada and the United States (where the California Nurses Association, the National Union of Healthcare Workers, and Labor for Single Payer Healthcare national organizer Mark Dudzic, among many others, sent solidarity messages).

On Sunday, September 25, an estimated 300 trade unionists and activists gathered at a rally in Palenque, Chiapas, in support of the members of the local chapter of Section 50 of the national healthcare workers’ union (SNTSSA) who had been out on strike to demand a halt to the healthcare “counter-reform” law aimed at privatizing healthcare in Mexico. (At this writing, the workers in Palenque are in the 155th day of their strike.)

In Chiapas the implementation of this law has led to the drastic reduction of medicines and medical supplies for patients, with the request that patients help cover the costs of these scarce items — when all healthcare costs at the Mexican Institute of Social Security (IMSS) and at ISSSTE (for government workers) had been free up till now.

The striking healthcare workers were joined by public-school teachers from Sections 7 and 40 of the National Teachers Union, or SNTE-CNTE. Nine speakers addressed the gathering [see accompanying photo].

Among those assembled was a contingent of Ch’ol indigenous people from the “comunidades de base.” As a result of the healthcare “counter-reform,” they have received no medicines or supplies for the past six months at



Speakers at the September 25 Solidarity Rally with the Healthcare workers in Palenque, Chiapas are (from left to right: Mayra Ocampo de la Torre, Daniel Martinez, Melquiades Velueta (standing), Russell Aguilar Brindis, Alan Benjamin, Helena Caeri Baca Leon (behind), and C. Callejas.

Striking Healthcare Workers in Chiapas (Mexico) Support Mumbai Open World Conference

their outposts, and their children are dying. Many of them walked up to six hours to the main roads, where they took buses or jumped on trucks to get to the rally.

A Rich and Far-Reaching Discussion

Alan Benjamin, editor of *The Organizer* newspaper and member of the Organizing Committee of the Mumbai Conference

Against War, Exploitation and Precarious Labor, was invited to address the Palenque rally as a keynote speaker. He explained the fundamental problems with the U.S. healthcare system, which is based on the U.S. private-insurance model. The Mexican government, in the name of “healthcare reform” and the creation of “universal healthcare,” is seeking to impose the U.S. model and to destroy the Mexican public healthcare system.

Because the rally participants were convinced that only the working class, at a national and international level, is capable of forcing the bosses and the government to bend to their demands, the assembly issued an International Appeal addressed to workers and their organizations in Mexico and internationally, calling on them to support the struggle of the healthcare workers in Chiapas and throughout Mexico.

Also, because the question of the independence of the trade unions was posed, the participants in the Palenque rally agreed to endorse the Mumbai Open World Conference and to mandate a representative of the rally to attend the conference in India. The rally chair noted that the Mexican delegation to Mumbai was being put together from within the struggles and mobilizations of the workers and their community allies.



Urgent Appeal in Support of Striking South African Students from Mumbai Conference Organizers

Fall”! They have received support from the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA). [See interviews on this struggle in this issue.]

Their struggle is legitimate.

But the government’s answer has been to unleash brutal repression. On October 14, in Johannesburg, the police gunfire sent several students to the hospital. Four days later a trial began in Johannesburg involving several students, including Busisiwe Cathrine Seabe, one of the spokespersons for the students.

Delegates from South Africa to the Mumbai Open World Conference sent us a message to inform us that, “all over the country, students are being arrested, and the movement is deepening to demand, ‘Release Bu-

sisiwe Cathrine Seabe and All Our Comrades Now!”

Please join us with actions and delegations to embassies and consulates of South Africa across the globe to demand that the South African government stop the repression against the students immediately, that they release and drop all charges against the arrested students, and that they repeal the tuition fees’ increase, so that the promise of free higher education can be fulfilled.

In struggle,

Nambiath Vasudevan

On behalf of Organizing Committee of the Mumbai World Conference Against War, Exploitation and Precarious Labor (November 18-20, 2016)

[Note: Following are excerpts from an interview with Mandla Phangwa, a young activist in South Africa (Azania) and delegate to the Mumbai Open World Conference. The interview is reprinted from InfoInter No. 11.]

Question: A new wave of student demonstrations involving mostly Black youth has swept South Africa (Azania) against the increase in university fees. What is the meaning of this movement that is standing up to fight the ANC government?

Mandla Phangwa: The attitude of the party in power, the ANC, regarding the students’ fight against the increasing cost of education is an anti-youth and anti-Black working class attitude. It seems to mirror the policies of the previous regime under the white National Party [of Apartheid]. The struggle for free education is in opposition to the ANC’s policies, which are driven by profits and the exploitation of the Black working class majority.

Question: Black students are up against the Minister of Higher Education, Black Nzimande, who is also the general secretary of the Communist Party (SACP), which is a member of the coalition in power, the ruling Tripartite Alliance, together with the ANC and COSATU. But the Communist Party is in crisis.

Mandla Phangwa: The Tripartite Alliance in power is on the verge of imploding. On the one hand, the leaderships of the SACP and the COSATU trade union federation

“Fees Must Fall!”



have promised to back the general secretary of the SACP — Blade Nzimande, the Minister of Higher Education — who announced the increase in university costs.

And on the other hand, there is a confusing situation inside the Young Communist League of South Africa (YCLSA) over the question: Should we defend the general secretary of the SACP, or should we defend the demands of the students? This crisis has exposed the cracks in the Stalinist bureaucracy that has been running the SACP and has led to class collaboration with the henchmen of imperialism.

Question: A delegation sent by young people and workers in Azania will be attending the Mumbai Conference Against War, Exploitation and Precarious Labor. What is the relevance of “against war and exploitation” in Azania?

Mandla Phangwa: This slogan is fully relevant to the youth and student movements in Azania as it echoes #Fees Must Fall. For university workers who are subjected to extreme exploitation with meager wages and unsafe working conditions, this slogan echoes theirs: “Out-sourcing must fall!”

“Against War and exploitation” also speaks to the unemployed youth of Azania, who, through desperation, find themselves being subjected to precarious labor as a refuge against poverty.

We also understand that South Africa is much involved in imperialist wars and troop deployment in the neighboring countries, and it is the same youth who are recruited to the Army to represent imperialist interests in the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Mali, where such deployments result not only in the escalation of crises in those countries but also have an agonizing impact on the working class and the youth there.

The slogan also speaks to the efforts we have been making as Trotskyist youth activists in trying to call for a united front that must put at its center the solidarity among the youth, workers and the students’ movements towards a real fight for a Black Workers Republic of Azania.

Former COSATU General Secretary Zwelinzaneli Vavi Speaks Out in Support of Striking Students



[*Note: Following is an interview conducted by **La Tribune des Travailleurs** (Workers Tribune) with Zwelinzaneli Vavi, past general secretary of the Congress of Trade Unions of South Africa (COSATU). **La Tribune des Travailleurs** is published weekly by the Democratic Independent Workers Party of France (POID). This interview was published in Issue No. 61, Oct. 26.*]

Workers Tribune: The staff of the unions fighting for a New Union Federation, as well as the National Union of Metworkers (NUMSA), have taken a clear stand in defense of the South African students and their demand for free education — as well against the repression by the government. Could you explain why it was important that the organized labor movement in South Africa took this stance.

Vavi: These students are our children. We, the fathers, provide for their school fees; we cannot afford them and as a result, many of us are victims and living testimonies of the impact the high university costs and registration fees will have on the students. We know this as parents and as former students ourselves. So that's why we are supporting the students.

This is a working class battle. Workers, and the Black majority in South Africa, are the victims of the exclusions — even though there has been an increase in the intake of working class and Black students as a result of the government's intervention through NSFAS (Na-

tional Student Financial Aid Scheme).

But NSFAS is not a solution. It is a loan that gets paid back at the end of the term of the students, and therefore we are asking that a free education be introduced. We are arguing that free education is possible in South Africa. We are arguing that the government has sufficient resources now to do something about free education. It's not a matter that can wait until a commission reports back, and all of that rubbish. We want free education now.

WT: What is your characterization of the politics of this government?

Vavi: There is a general political crisis in South Africa, a crisis of legitimacy and a crisis of representation. The government itself, led by the ANC, the former liberation movement, no longer has the moral authority that it once enjoyed; there is no Nelson Mandela. More and more people in South Africa no longer participate in the formal elections. The majority stays at home as the majority feels unrepresented.

There is a crisis also in the representative system of students. Most of the students consider that the School Representative Councils, or SRC's, are not legitimate. They have had played no role whatsoever in the recent struggles.

The trade union movement is going through its worst crisis, a crisis of representation as well. COSATU has imploded. The once-powerful trade union federation has been divided by the ruling elite. We plan to form an alter-

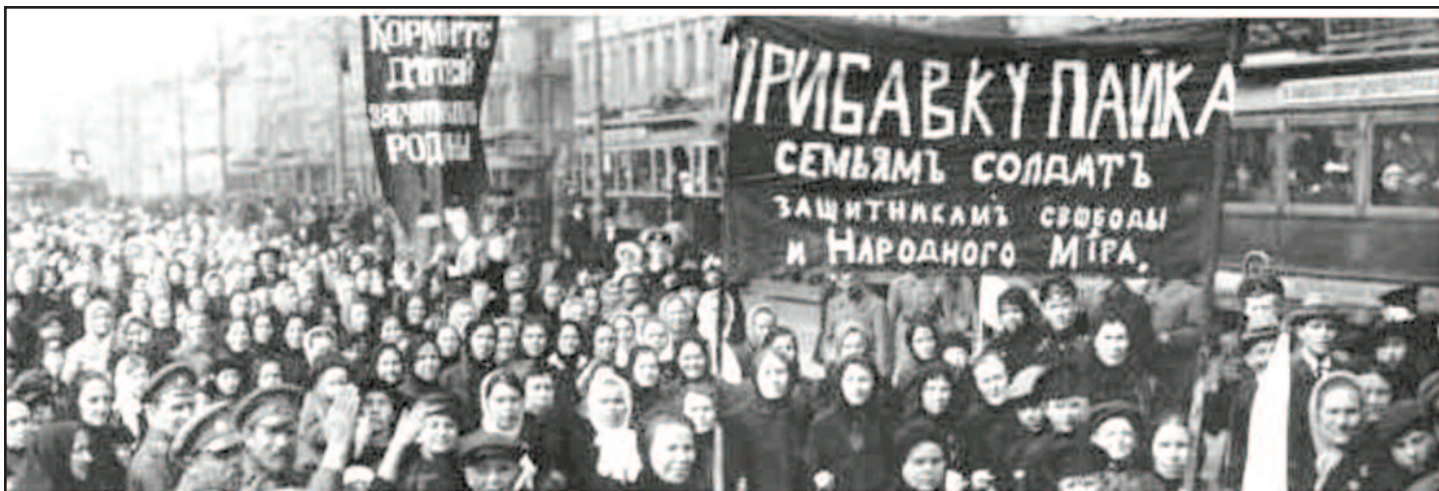
native federation; we are still in the embryonic stages.

So there is a general crisis of representation and legitimacy. That's why there is not a single forum where there could be direct negotiations between the students, the parents, the government and even the employers. We are on autopilot politically in this country, and that's why this university protest is a manifestation of a broader political crisis in South Africa today.

WT: These past few days, there has been an important increase in the international solidarity with the South African students and their struggle — from students groups but mainly from working class organizations around the world. Do you think this is important?

Vavi: We are absolutely encouraged by the increasing demonstrations and picketing of South African ambassadors all over the world, including in France. This is quite encouraging. We welcome and appreciate these very important messages of solidarity for the students in South Africa. And we would like to encourage other student formations and movements all over the world to take up this struggle.

This is not a South African struggle; this is a struggle of all working people all over the world. Those who cannot afford the punishing, high education fees must now join hands, both in the poor and the most developed countries, to say: Education is not a privilege, but a right that must be enjoyed by all the citizens of the world!



WOMEN IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

WOMEN IN REVOLUTION

APPEAL FROM RUBINA JAMIL

Dear Comrades, Sisters and Brothers,

As you all know, by celebrating International Women's Day on March 8th, we commemorate and pay tribute to those brave women who took up the struggle for bread, peace, and freedom — and also for an end to the war — in Russia in 1917. We all are proud that women workers were in the leadership of those struggles.

Comrades, as a woman activist and trade unionist in Pakistan, I would like to celebrate with you the 100th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, which remains a great benchmark for all the working class, for all the peasants, for all the oppressed peoples, for all the youth and women workers. The Russian Revolution remains a great inspiration to all of us.

Today, we women are victims of violence by the State, in our homes, and by the wars. In my country, Pakistan — and also in Afghanistan, India, and Sri Lanka — women are facing the worst kinds of violence. Thousands of women are killed in terrorists attacks — a terror that imperialism is responsible for — at the same time they are victims of traditional and social norms only applicable to women,

as the patriarchal and feudalistic system makes them third-rate citizens of society. Women also face heightened violence at home and in the work place.

So let us join together to break all those chains, and let us celebrate March 8th with great zeal and raise our voices against all forms of discrimination, exploitation and injustice. Let us join together to pay great tribute to the working women in Russia who, in 1917, rose up to demand bread, peace and freedom.

I call on all women the world over to mobilise massively to fight for peace and to break all our chains of bondage. Let us celebrate International Women's Day on March 8th, side by side with all workers, by raising our voices to say, "Women do not want war! They want peace and freedom!"

I call upon you to join with me in setting up an International Committee to organise these rallies and actions on International Women's Day against war, exploitation and injustice — in continuity with the Mumbai Conference Against War, Exploitation and Precarious Labour on 18-20 November 2016.

Let us join together in the struggle — side by side — to put an end to violence, war and exploitation.

Long live the working class!
Long live international solidarity!

PHOTO ABOVE: Mass demonstration of women in Petrograd on March 8, 1917. On front lead banner, one can read, "Increase the rations for the families of the defenders of freedom and peace among the peoples." On the back banner, one can read, "Feed the families of the defenders of the homeland!"



Initial List of Supporters of this Appeal:

BELGIUM: Françoise Cambie, worker; Laetitia Coucke, student activist; Nathalie Leloup, trade unionist; Monique Lermusiaux, retired trade unionist; Laura Moraga Moral, teacher unionists; Claire Thomas, teacher trade union delegate. **BRAZIL:** Christiane Granha, member Workers Party (PT), member, Justice Committee for Anderson. **BRITAIN:** Jane Doolan, Public sector trade unionist; Doreen McNally, Secretary, Association of Dockworkers' Wives. **FRANCE:** Julie Beguerie, teacher, feminist trade union and political activist; Katel Corduant, trade unionist; Christel Keiser, city council member, POID; Christelle Leclerc, trade unionist; Geneviève Marchal, trade unionist, Collective of Widows and Wife of Mineworkers; Isabelle Michaud, city council member, PCF; Marie-José Montout, activist for the defense of medical gynecology; Marie-Luce Mouly, activist for a break with the European Union and the 5th Republic. **GERMANY:** Sidonie Kellerer, Academic (Köln). **GREECE:** Vassiliki Frangou, writer (Athens), Eva Kallitsi, student (Athens); Maryse Le Lohé, activist in Laiki Enotita (Athens); Sotiria Lioni (Naples). **HUNGARY:** Anyiszonyan Klára, retiree, chemistry; Somi Judit, editor of *Munkas Hirlap*. **ITALY:** Valeria Busicchia, teacher; Monica Grilli, teacher trade union delegate; Elisabetta Raineri, teacher trade union delegate. **MEXICO:** Liliana Plumedá (Mexicali), Alejandra Rivera (Tijuana). **RUS-**
SIA: Aliona Glazkova, activist and left-wing journalist. **UNITED STATES:** Colia Lafayette Clark, National Coordinator, Judicial Violence Symposium, civil rights activist; Nancy Wohlforth, Secretary-Treasurer Emerita, OPEIU; Lindsay Curtis, Editorial Board, The Organizer newspaper; Melina Juarez, student; Itzel Calvo Medina, immigrant rights activist; Millie Phillips, Socialist Organizer.