

## Clinton's Colonial Occupation Threatens Cuba, Haitian Masses



# U.S. OUT OF HAITI!

SEPTEMBER 27—For the second time this century, the U.S. has occupied impoverished black Haiti. On September 19, U.S. Marines landed in Port-au-Prince to the cheers of desperately oppressed slum-dwellers hoping for the return of exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and for protection against the murderous Haitian military and paramilitary *attachés*. In a deal worked out by former U.S. president Jimmy Carter with military strongman Raoul Cédras, leader of the junta that overthrew Aristide in 1991, the Haitian "army" offered no resistance to the Marine landing. "Operation Uphold Democracy" had begun with "permissive entry" into Haiti. U.S. imperialist chief Clinton's standing in the polls rose for the first time in memory.

But just one day later, the cruel reality of Clinton's occupation was shown in televised images of Haitian soldiers pummeling scores of people chanting

## Aristide Invites Imperialist Invasion

pro-Aristide slogans as U.S. soldiers, under orders not to intervene, looked on. Afterward the body of a dead 43-year-old house painter, Benykel Dede, lay in the street, the first victim of the new U.S. colonial rule. There was a strong negative reaction in the American population, a majority of which already opposed a U.S. invasion. Even many of the U.S. troops were disgusted. In his nationally televised September 15 speech to drum up support for the invasion, Clinton had denounced Cédras' "reign of terror, executing children, raping women, killing priests." A week later, Cédras was praised for "cooperative behavior" with occupation forces. "Restoring democracy" was just a fig leaf for racist U.S. imperialism's real agenda, which is to restore *order*, and

clamp down on Haitian emigration to the U.S.

But what Washington wants is a *stable and pliable* neocolonial regime. To get that they may be willing to sacrifice a few of the top killers, while they proceed to rebuild the police forces. And the White House has to worry about the "home front." With Clinton's ratings in danger, the Pentagon quickly issued new rules of engagement, allowing U.S. occupation forces to intervene to control the Haitian police. But in the volatile situation in Haiti, as soon as the first steps were taken to rein in the hated military rulers and their death squads, with the slightest crack in the wall of repression, the impoverished masses surged into the breach, thirsting for justice.

On the evening of September 25, U.S. Marines fired at soldiers holed up in a police barracks in Cap Haïtien, surrounded by anti-Cédras demonstrators. Eight of those inside the police station were killed. The next morning, residents of the city ransacked the police building and paraded through the streets with seized weapons. (Hundreds of the guns were later handed over to the U.S. forces.) During the last two days, in towns throughout Haiti, soldiers are reportedly abandoning the streets to jubilant supporters of Aristide. As the junta's authority collapses, Marines are beginning to assume a police role, for instance taking over police headquarters in Port-au-Prince on September 26. It will not be long before the new authorities, the U.S. occupation forces, are firing on the crowds.

Yet their most powerful "crowd control" weapon is the mass support for the exiled president, who gave his approval

to the U.S. occupation, even though the deal with Cédras was designed to tie Aristide's hands. Standing on the steps of the Pentagon with U.S. war secretary Perry and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Shalikashvili, Aristide received a 21-gun salute and said "thank you"—four times—to the U.S. rulers. The scene inevitably recalled the installation of Panamanian "president" Endara during the December 1989 U.S. invasion, when he was sworn in at an American air force base. The Haitian president may not be

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**Young Spartacus**  
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### SYC Protests Against U.S. Invasion of Haiti



Young Spartacus



Romero/NY Times

Port-au-Prince, September 20: Haitian murdered by junta's police while U.S. troops looked on.



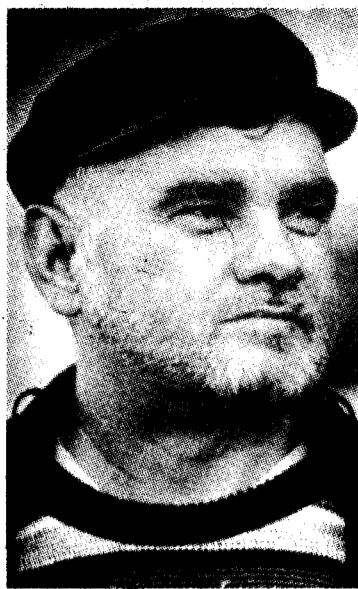
## Free UMWA Militant Jerry Dale Lowe!

On September 6, United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in prison, framed on charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County in the summer of 1993. Lowe was singled out by the authorities because he was a militant defender of the picket line. Coal miners, the UMWA and the entire labor movement must demand freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

The scab who was killed was part of a convoy leaving the mine, shot in the

back of the head from the direction of the bosses' thugs. Lowe was never charged under state laws, for murder or anything else. So in order to make an example out of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a lone local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the eight Logan County miners accepted plea-bargains and received \$500 fines with 120 days of jail time.

The feds had the fix in from the beginning. Running the show is Clinton's U.S. Attorney for Charleston, West Virginia,



Charleston Gazette

Jerry Dale Lowe

Rebecca Betts, who was recruited to the "Justice" Department from the law firm of King, Betts & Allen, which represents Arch Mineral. Turning a blind eye to Arch Mineral's armed goons from Elite Security, who daily attacked UMWA pickets with tear gas and bullets, Assistant U.S. Attorney John Parr triumphantly hailed Lowe's June 24 conviction, saying that the government was going after "violence on the labor strike lines" (Charleston Gazette, 25 June) by railroading him to a long prison stretch.

Shackled by the UMWA tops' capitulation to the bosses' laws, the miners union has gone down to defeat after defeat in the past 20 years. Where the once mighty UMWA once brought coal production to a standstill and faced down government troops brandishing rifles and bayonets, the union misleaders now give lectures on picket line etiquette, i.e., standing idly by as the company terrorizes pickets. As Trumka & Co. bow down in fear of the almighty RICO, the

old Wobbly tradition "an injury to one is an injury to all" that guided this union for generations has been replaced by the bureaucrats' principle "an injury to one is no skin off my nose."

Hiding behind the anti-labor Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO), Trumka refused to mount an official union defense of the strikers. This backstabbing follows the union misleaders' betrayal of four Kentucky miners framed up during the A.T. Massey strike ten years ago; these union men remain in prison for up to 40 years. In the 1993 strike, the contract specifically excluded miners facing federal charges from an amnesty, abandoning the eight Arch miners. But that didn't stop Arch Mineral, which employed the gun thugs, from filing a RICO suit against the union for "strike violence." As part of the strike settlement the company dropped its RICO suit against the UMWA, but the government's labor board, the NLRB, which is seeking up to \$5 million in damages and fines from the union for "illegal" picketing activities, has refused to drop its charges against the UMWA.

As UMWA Local 5958 safety committee chairman and as a picket line militant, Jerry Dale Lowe fought to protect his union brothers. His victimization without a fight by the UMWA imperils the union that his family has lived and fought for. It is the elementary duty of all of labor to fight for his freedom. Free Jerry Dale Lowe and all the Arch 8 miners!

The Partisan Defense Committee has contributed to the defense of the Arch 8 and has sent a protest to the U.S. Attorney demanding that all charges be dropped. Lowe has asked that donations to his legal defense be sent to: Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Avenue S.E., Charleston, WV 25304, earmarked for "Ruffner miners."



TROTSKY

### Labor Defense of Class-War Prisoners!

As the capitalists pursue their union-busting offensive, labor militants are increasingly being thrown into prison for defending their strike picket lines. In fighting for class-struggle defense of victimized strikers, the Partisan Defense Committee bases itself on the practices of the early International Labor Defense (ILD) led by veteran Communist James P. Cannon, who subsequently founded the American Trotskyist

movement. Writing of the heroic 1926 strike in Passaic, New Jersey, where thousands of immigrant textile workers striking under the leadership of the Workers (Communist) Party faced tremendous repression, Cannon argued for a united-front defense based on the mobilization of the labor movement.

The Passaic strike teaches over again in a most impressive manner an old lesson well known to experienced militants. That lesson is the part played by the state authority in conflicts between workers and bosses. The experiences at Passaic are also demonstrating the absolute necessity for a permanently organized and always ready non-partisan labor defense organization which we had in mind when we founded the ILD last June. The ILD has played its part in Passaic and will play a yet bigger one before the fight is over.

Any worker who has learned the ABC of the class struggle can tell you that the state authorities—the courts, police, etc.—side with the bosses in time of struggle. This is a settled and correct theory which has been confirmed a thousand times in practice. But it is not often that they do it so brazenly and ferociously and in such open defiance of their own laws as they have done it in Passaic.

The picket line, the living symbol of the power of the strike and its greatest weapon, was the first target of the "impartial servants of the people." Streams of ice cold water were turned on the picketers one bitter winter day. Men, women and children were knocked down by policemen's clubs without even a pretext of legal justification. Tear gas bombs were thrown into crowds of strikers, and in the confusion and panic that followed they were ridden down by mounted police. Oh, some great lessons in "democratic government" were taught at Passaic!...

A great wave of protest spread through the labor movement and even the most conservative labor leaders were compelled to give expression to it. This powerful and many-sided support of the embattled strikers had its effect and the authorities were compelled to beat a retreat, at least for the time being.

—James P. Cannon, "The United Front at Passaic," *Labor Defender*, June 1926, reprinted in *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism* (Prometheus Research Library, 1992)



LENIN

## U.S. Prisons: Racist Hellholes

On September 13, Clinton signed into law his draconian new crime bill, providing billions for more cops and more prisons, and the death penalty for 60 additional federal "crimes." As Democrats and Republicans fight over who can fill these jails more rapidly, state legislatures around the country are on the warpath to make the inhumane prisons even more unbearable. This has an unmistakable racist undertone against black and Hispanic prisoners, who are the majority of those in jail.

At the head of the pack is Mississippi, where a law enacted in August prohibits inmates from having a radio, television, stereo, or computer. Weightlifting equipment is banned, and beginning on January 1 inmates are to start wearing striped uniforms. The *New York Times* (17 September) reported that during the debate over the bill, "there was talk of restoring fear to prisons, of caning, of making prisoners 'smell like a prisoner,' of burning and frying, of returning executions to the county seat and of making Mississippi

## 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

7:30 p.m. at P.S. 41, 116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Avenue)  
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New York City

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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30 September 1994

# Workers League Scabs on Defense of West Virginia Miner

With United Mine Workers (UMWA) member Jerry Dale Lowe now sentenced to nearly *eleven years* in federal prison on an anti-union frame-up, it is urgent for all supporters of labor to redouble their efforts in fighting for his freedom. That includes raising the large sums of money needed to carry out a legal appeal to overturn his conviction.

As part of our efforts to defend Jerry Dale Lowe and seven other Logan County, West Virginia strikers, *Workers Vanguard* has warned miners and other supporters of his cause to beware that "a dubious outfit called the Workers League has tried to stop money from going to Lowe's defense fund" (WV No. 603, 8 July).

Now this "Workers" League—which publishes its newspaper *without a printers' union label*—has confirmed its scabby role in the case of Jerry Dale Lowe. A smear piece in the WL's *International Workers Bulletin* (18 July) accuses us of being "accomplices" of the UMWA bureaucracy, because we call on our readers to send contributions to the place Jerry Dale Lowe wants them to go, the UMWA Region II Defense Fund. This, according to the Workers League, is "How the Spartacist League Aids the Frame-up of a Miner!"

The Workers League has written several articles on the outrageous frame-up of Jerry Dale Lowe. So why are they going out of their way to stop contributions being sent to his legal defense? An article in their 9 May *Bulletin* says that any money sent to the union defense

fund would be used "for the purpose of further isolating the Logan County miners and ensuring their conviction." Yet that is where Lowe himself has asked that donations for his defense be sent. The Workers League offers no alternative for how to raise money for his defense and dismisses any attempt to mobilize the union to free this victimized striker.

Why? The *Bulletin* (4 July) writes that Lowe's case demonstrates the "transformation of the UMWA and the entire AFL-CIO into agencies of big business and the capitalist state." Union members who have seen their wages slashed, their working conditions destroyed, their jobs decimated and their strikes sold out, are increasingly and painfully aware that their union "leaders" operate as the labor lieutenants of the bosses in enforcing the capitalist status quo. But the Workers League openly declares that it *does not defend the UMWA or any other union* against the bosses and their government—because it equates the unions with the bosses and government. The WL tells workers to "break with this apparatus and build new organizations of struggle." But far from promoting class struggle, these appeals for workers to junk their unions neatly dovetail with those of the union-busting bosses.

The Spartacist League defends the unions as elementary defense organizations of the workers, while fighting to get rid of the pro-capitalist misleaders. Every strike brings home the fact that a new, class-struggle leadership is needed

for labor to get off its knees and fight. But you can't win any labor battles by scabbing on defense of the unions.

The Workers League willfully *refuses to distinguish between the unions and the sellout bureaucrats*. So they attack us as "accomplices" of the bureaucracy and claim that we "promoted the lie that the UMWA bureaucracy was defending Lowe." Let's see who's lying. When Lowe and seven other miners were indicted last year, we denounced UMWA president Trumka for his statement that violence "has no place in the coal fields" and his pledge to aid the frame-up by giving "whatever support and assistance we can give in that investigation." At the same time we demanded:

"The Mine Workers union must mobilize its strength to defend these victimized union men. But that will take a sharp fight *inside* the UMWA against the leadership that has sold out union conditions, sold out union militants and presided over the decimation of a union that was once proud to be the shock troops of American labor."

—WV No. 589, 3 December 1993

Who does fit the description of "accomplices" to the UMWA bureaucracy? When Arnold Miller and his "Miners for Democracy" invited the capitalist government's Labor Department to "clean out" the UMWA in the early '70s, a betrayal which led to decisively weakening the union, *nobody cheered louder than the Workers League*. The WL's *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) called on "all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate," hailing it as "a real alterna-

tive to the Boyle leadership" (see "Workers League vs. the Unions," WV No. 580, 16 July 1993). In contrast, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 17, March 1973) headlined: "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election." A few years later, miners were burning effigies of Miller in the 1978 coal strike, as the WL's "real alternative" knuckled under to strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunctions and tried to shove giveback contracts down the miners' throats.

And when it comes to financial shenanigans, why should anyone believe the Workers League? In 1991 the WL's phony "International Labor Defense Committee" launched a "Vorkuta Miners Relief Fund," supposedly to raise money for medical supplies for workers in northern Russian coal fields. (Curiously, the "Vorkuta miners" had well-documented links to the CIA through the notorious National Endowment for Democracy and the AFL-CIO, which had itself just set up a "relief fund" for Soviet miners.) In April 1992, the WL's affiliate in Australia declared that "more than \$40,000 worth" of supplies had been sent to Vorkuta. Yet one month later, the WL's paper admitted that they never delivered anything to the miners. The supplies ended up instead with a doctor in the Ukraine...or so their story goes (see "Workers League's 'Vorkuta' Fund," WV No. 563, 13 November 1992). The WL has given no public accounting of donations to its "relief fund."

Whether tailing the pro-capitalist union misleaders or undermining defense of unions in the face of capitalist assault, the political bandits of the Workers League are always up to something dirty. The WL's undermining of Jerry Dale Lowe's defense is one more treacherous example. And the next time these fake-socialists pop up, ask them where is the union label on their *IWB* rag. ■

'the capital of capital punishment,' as Gov. Kirk Fordice, a Republican, put it." This is an echo of the White Citizens Councils, yearning for the days of the chain gang and contract prison labor to keep black people "in their place."

A Mississippi state representative, Charles Smith, complains of a "life of luxury" in the prisons, saying "we want to make prisons a place you don't want to go to"! Eighteen of the Mississippi prisons Smith & Co. find too luxurious were cited by the U.S. Justice Department last year for their despicable conditions—four of them were shut down. In some jails plumbing sent human waste back into the cells, shower stalls were crawling with roaches and insects, maggots were found around toilets and wash basins, rodent and roach droppings in stored food. The Justice Department study was triggered by the deaths of 47 inmates, characterized as "suicides" by Klan-infested prison authorities.

While the Mississippi prisons are a throwback to conditions in the Jim Crow South, a number of states are assiduously trying to design high-tech hellholes. At the Security Housing Unit in California's Pelican Bay prison, described by Assistant Warden Harlan Rippertoe as "a prison for the '90s," over 1,400 prisoners are kept in 8'-by-10' cells 24 hours a day, with an optional 90 minutes alone in an exercise cage, and given three five-minute showers per week.

The capitalist rulers of this country know very well that filling the prisons has nothing to do with fighting crime spawned by the unemployment and poverty rooted in the capitalist system. In the 1980s the prison population grew by 168 percent, with no change in the crime rate. The U.S. is already the world's biggest jailer, housing 1.3 million men and women in its dungeons. Only Russia, where the poverty and desperation brought by capitalist counterrevolution have spurred an enormous increase in crime and the formation of organized crime syndicates, has a higher rate of incarceration.



Periman/AP

**"Face to face" contact through mirrors: prison seeks to dehumanize inmates. More than 1.3 million people are behind bars in U.S. today.**

In the U.S., with the decaying economy unable to provide jobs, the capitalist rulers have written off a whole generation of black youth. There is a direct relation between the fact that unemployment rates for young black men now top 50 percent and that some 25 percent of

them are in prison or on parole. And as wages are driven down, welfare mothers thrown out on the street and inner-city schools turned into virtual jails, the ruling class wants to make its prisons even more vicious in order to keep pace.

While the capitalist rulers draft their

blueprints for ever bigger and more terrifying prison hells, we remember the declaration of the courageous inmates of New York state's Attica prison on 9 September 1971: "We are *men!* We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." Four days later, 29 of them lay dead, cut down in a hail of bullets. Today, the authorities are preparing new Attica massacres. The real criminals of Attica, the racist authorities whose hands dripped with blood, were never brought to justice. That requires a revolutionary workers government.

\* \* \*

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

## Toronto: Defend the Left Against Fascist Attacks!

TORONTO—On September 24, a gang of two dozen Nazi skinheads launched a bloody attack on leftists distributing literature on a street corner in the east end of Toronto. In an assault that was clearly planned in advance, fascist thugs brandishing Confederate flags swooped down on supporters of the International Socialists (I.S., co-thinkers of the American ISO) who were selling newspapers and leafletting at the corner of Pape and Danforth in the heart of the city's Greek community. One I.S. supporter was slashed with a knife. Another had to be hospitalized after a Nazi kicked him in the head.

The past two years have seen a surge of fascist atrocities in Canada, includ-

ing murders of gay men and nighttime assaults on South Asians and other immigrants. In June 1993, skinheads coming from a Nazi "concert" in Toronto jumped a Tamil father of three in an alley behind the restaurant where he worked, beating him so badly he was left partially paralyzed. Now the fascists have staged an orchestrated attack on leftists in broad daylight in a heavily immigrant area where socialist literature is traditionally distributed.

The Nazi rampage must be stopped! United labor/left/minority action is needed to defend socialist newspaper sales and meetings from fascist assault. Militant protest action centered on Toronto's integrated union movement—auto, city, postal, hospital work-

ers and more—can show that Toronto is a labor and minority city with *no room for Nazis*. A mobilization of labor power is key to sweeping the Nazi raceterrorists off the Danforth and other immigrant neighborhoods and back to their rat holes.

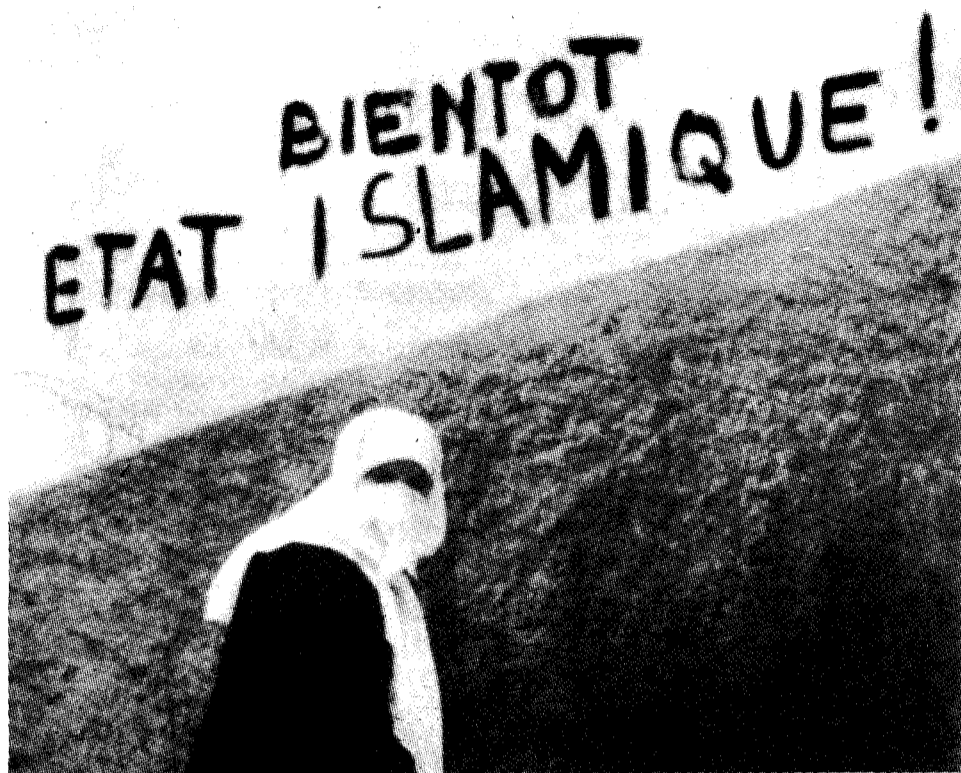
This fascist assault is an attack on every socialist, every immigrant, militant worker and opponent of racist terror. The I.S. has called a protest demonstration for Saturday, October 1, planning to march through the east end to the site of the skinhead attack. The Trotskyist League of Canada calls for united defense of the left, minorities and the workers movement to drive off the fascists. Mobilize the power of labor! Stop Nazi terror!

# Algeria

## Military Seeks Deal with Islamic Fundamentalists



Merillon/Turpin/Gamma-Liaison



DPA

Algerian army "ninjas" terrorize public transport riders, fundamentalists target unveiled women for assassination. Wall slogan reads, "Islamic state coming soon!"

## Women, Leftists, Workers in Peril

The following article is translated from *Le Bolchévik*, No. 130 (September-October 1994), published by our comrades of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

SEPTEMBER 25—After two and a half years of increasingly open civil war, the military regime in Algeria has entered into negotiations with the leadership of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) with the aim of forming a coalition government. The Islamic fundamentalists are advancing rapidly toward their goal of setting up a theocratic state in which women must wear the veil, leftists are branded as apostates and shot down mercilessly, and medieval obscurantism would reign supreme. The army-backed High State Council (HCE) sought to squelch the fundamentalists by canceling the second round of parliamentary elections in January 1992, in the face of an impending FIS sweep, and imposing a state of emergency. The FIS tops and thousands of their followers were thrown in jail and desert concentration camps. But government terror is only pushing even greater sections of the population to embrace the Islamic reactionaries.

On September 13, the government headed by retired general Lamine Zeroual freed three fundamentalist leaders and transferred historic FIS chiefs Abassi Madani and Ali Belhaj from jail in the city of Blida to a government residence. While the fundamentalist chiefs are not participating in the latest attempts by the regime at "dialogue" with the opposition, negotiations are clearly taking place behind closed doors. One of the armed Islamic groups close to the FIS has floated the possibility of a three-month truce. But the carnage continues as fundamentalists gun down leftists, trade unionists and secular political leaders, while the military forces carry out nighttime raids in the urban slums where the "holy warriors" hold sway.

As the country lurches into the "Islamic night," to use the expression of historian Mohamed Harbi, Algeria is like

a bird fixated before a snake, watching the spectacle of its own ruin. The number of victims is now running at between 200 and 300 per week; 10,000 people are officially estimated to have been killed. Algeria seems to spend its time in the macabre counting and recounting of the victims.

There have been assassinations of women who do not wear the veil, attacks on villages in the Berber region of Kabylia, holdups by the dozen, and scores of foreigners murdered by the fundamentalist groups. Over 40 educators have been killed, and some 500 schools have been bombed and burned since June by the "bearded ones," along with numerous factories, farms, schools and government offices, while airports, trains and buses have been attacked and destroyed. Scores of doctors, writers, professors, trade unionists, journalists, foreign workers and unveiled women have been slain by the fundamentalists' guns and knives.

Meanwhile, the police, army and paramilitary death squads linked to the regime take daily revenge through mass arrests, torture of prisoners, and summary executions of suspected fundamentalist supporters or their families. Masked "ninjas" in uniform ride through the streets sowing terror. Villages and impoverished urban areas are sealed off and combed, even bombed with napalm. Residents often wake to find the mutilated bodies of the night's victims displayed in the streets. There is no longer a family which does not shudder, every day, for the lives of its own. Tens of thousands of Algerians have quit the country lately for France, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia and elsewhere.

### Fundamentalist Cutthroats and Army Torturers

As throughout North Africa, the precarious bonapartist regime in Algeria, unable to confront the profound economic crisis which is crushing the mass of the population, is utterly incapable of

stemming the rise of the fundamentalists through government repression. How can fundamentalism be fought on the military level when it is being nourished on the economic and social level by the growing despair?

Despite savage repression, the fundamentalist insurgency has the upper hand in increasingly large areas of the country. In Blida, the fundamentalists have enforced the veil, ransacked bars and beauty parlors, banned the sale of cigarettes and newspapers, and imposed the separation of men and women in schools and on public transportation. In many villages and urban slums, the police and army barricade themselves in their barracks after dusk, leaving the fundamentalists as the "daoulat allil" ("night power").

The looming threat of a medieval Islamic state in Algeria is a deadly danger for labor, women and oppressed minorities. Despite conditions which are so dangerous that many people normally are afraid to leave their homes, tens—sometimes hundreds—of thousands of people have repeatedly come out in Algiers and especially in Kabylia to demonstrate against the fundamentalist threat. Yet the feminist groups, trade unions and political parties which have initiated these mobilizations have invariably turned toward the armed forces as their "savior," seeking to pressure a wing of the officer corps to pursue the fight against the fundamentalists.

On March 22, mass demonstrations "against terrorism and negotiations" were called by women's organizations with the support of the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), a bourgeois party centered in Kabylia, and Ettahaddi (Challenge), a rump of the former Communist Party. Some 50,000 people, many of them young women refusing to wear the veil, marched in the capital—and thousands more marched in other cities—behind banners reading "To Negotiate with the FIS Is to Negotiate the Army's Surrender!" A one-day general

strike called by the UGTA trade-union federation completely shut down the capital. The march organizers declared their intention to organize self-defense groups and called on the military to give them arms.

The UGTA trade-union bureaucracy, like the miserable, fractured Stalinists of the since-dissolved PAGES and virtually the entire left, positively embraced the army in 1992 when it canceled the elections and suppressed the FIS, and they still do. This is the same army which, in October 1988, massacred hundreds of youth in Algiers and other cities who revolted in protest against the hated regime. Since the heroic Algerian people defeated French colonial rule and achieved independence from France under the National Liberation Front (FLN), the Algerian bourgeois state has tried to regiment the population under its bonapartist rule. We have repeatedly warned that the policy of turning to the army to fight the fundamentalists is *suicidal* for the working class and all the oppressed of Algeria.

It would be naive to pretend to ignore the possibility of an agreement between the Algerian army and the fundamentalists. As we wrote following the first test of strength between the FIS and the regime in 1991:

"The army, or a section of it, could very well apply all or part of the FIS's reactionary program. The forces of repression could very well not limit themselves to imprisoning leaders and activists of the FIS and, in particular, turn against the working class."

—*Le Bolchévik* No. 112,  
July-August 1991

This spring, Zeroual replaced many hardline "éradicateurs" in the regime with "conciliateurs," supporters of a "political solution" with the FIS, sacking Prime Minister Redha Malek and Interior Minister Selim Saadi, as well as the heads of the national police, the air force, and five military regions. The regime wants the FIS to declare a cease-fire, but

Madani reportedly has demanded that a commission be set up to govern the country and prepare new elections, with an immediate referendum for an Islamic state. But it is uncertain that the FIS leaders could control the insurgents, even if they come to an understanding with the regime. Among the various armed fundamentalist bands—the MIA, AIS and GIA—there is a whole layer that will never lay down arms until they have “exterminated the infidel.”

The GIA (Armed Islamic Group) includes many veterans of the U.S.-backed *jihad* (holy war) in Afghanistan against the Soviet Army, where the fundamentalists tortured schoolteachers to death for the “crime” of teaching young girls to read. These *afghanis*, who were trained and armed by the CIA as part of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, are today the most bloodthirsty warriors fighting to impose medieval obscurantism. The fundamentalist armed bands have singled out journalists for kidnapping and assassination. Since May, at least 15 journalists have been slaughtered. Last month, the GIA threatened to kill any students or teachers who did not immediately stop attending school and declared that any school which did not shut down would be “burned or blown up.”

### Algeria in the “New World Disorder”

The dramatic situation which the country is enduring is the fruit of a century of pillage and direct colonial oppression, followed by three decades of neocolonial exploitation. The military-backed regime serves as the lackeys for the IMF bloodsuckers and the international banks. In April, the IMF and the major imperialist powers imposed an even deeper austerity plan on Algeria which includes cutting the state budget, slashing salaries, and eliminating price supports on food and other basic necessities. Yet it is precisely the desperation of large sections of the population, crushed in the vise of imperialist exploitation, that is driving them into the arms of the FIS, whose demagoguery seems to offer a “radical” solution to the crisis.

With the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, imperialism wants to impose draconian dictates on the neocolonial countries, many of which, like Algeria, were able to achieve a (limited) breathing space by playing off the Soviet Union as a counterweight to the imperialists. Proclaiming a “New World Order,” Washington threatens to ride roughshod over anyone it pleases, as was shown in the “Desert Slaughter” of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the Gulf War. But the U.S. is worried that the mounting force of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria could produce a regime hostile to its interests. So while France has taken a hard line against the FIS, the Clinton administration has met with FIS representatives and is pushing for a coalition. A 17 January report to the CIA contained assurances that the FIS would guarantee oil and gas contracts with the U.S. (*Afrique-Asie*, June 1994).

In fact, there is not-so-veiled competition between U.S. and French imperialism over Algeria. At the G-7 meeting of imperialist powers in Naples in early July, the U.S. (over objections from the French) got a call for dialogue with the fundamentalists in Algeria inserted in the final communiqué. Earlier, in a June 7 TV interview together with French president Mitterrand, Clinton called on the Algiers regime “to broaden its base” and “reach out to dissident groups who are not involved in terrorism.” But Washington has ties not only with the “moderates.” Djaafar El Afghani, the leader of the hardline GIA who was killed in Algiers in February, fought for years in Afghanistan with the CIA’s favorite *mujahedin* leader Masud. Burned by American experience in Iran, the White House and State Department stupidly

Army roundup during “anti-terrorist” street sweep in Algiers.



Der Spiegel

think they can get out of being the “Great Satan” this time around by conciliating the FIS.

Meanwhile, the French government of “socialist” president Mitterrand, conservative prime minister Balladur and his sinister interior minister Pasqua has been fanning the flames of racist hysteria. Immediately upon coming to power in 1993, the new cabinet declared a policy of “zero immigration,” particularly from North Africa. Pasqua has organized a vast campaign of identity controls in Paris and other cities, in which riot police stop and humiliate dark-skinned people by the thousands in subways, train stations and on the street. Many have been rounded up and imprisoned or expelled from the country. When French youth revolted against a subminimum wage this spring, the government responded by deporting two students of Algerian descent. They were eventually forced to retreat by integrated youth mobilizations.

In fact, there is a large “immigrant” component of the French industrial proletariat strategically placed in key sectors such as auto. And it will take internationalist class struggle by workers on both sides of the Mediterranean to break the influence of the fundamentalists over the dispossessed plebeian masses, whose hopelessness is a product of untrammelled imperialist oppression. But to achieve this, the working class must break the bonds of class collaboration which tie it, through its treacherous misleaders, to the capitalist rulers. To carry out this fight, it is necessary to forge Trotskyist parties in France and Algeria as sections of a world party of socialist revolution.

### Algerian Women Mobilize Against Fundamentalist Reaction

The Algerian revolution brought independence to the country, but it did not free the worker and peasant masses from exploitation and social oppression. The weak Algerian bourgeoisie cannot achieve the elementary democratic tasks of past bourgeois revolutions. This is shown most strikingly by the condition of women, who are chained to the Islamic yoke. Women have been a sig-

nificant force in the mobilizations in the streets against the fundamentalists, despite the mortal danger of being singled out for retribution. On International Women’s Day (March 8), more than one thousand women chanting “No dialogue with the killers!” courageously marched in Algiers in opposition to “political dialogue” with the fundamentalists.

The most chilling assassinations have been those committed against young women, who have become a prime target in the reactionary war between the fundamentalists and the government security forces. Early this year, death threats against women who did not wear the veil (*hejab*) were posted in mosques, and letters threatening retribution were sent to school administrators and teachers, who read them in class. The threats were quickly put into practice. In just over a month, three women, including a 17-year-old high-school student, were gunned down for not wearing the veil. But ever since demobilizing women fighters following independence, the FLN-army regime has trampled on women’s rights.

Already under FLN presidents Houari Boumediene (1965-78) and Chadli Bendjdid (1979-92), certain *walis* (prefects) prohibited alcohol, miniskirts and long hair for men. The government campaign in the 1970s and ’80s to impose the Family Code (legislated in 1984), which is inspired by Koranic law and relegates women to the status of permanent minors, and its “Arabic only” campaign eliminating the use of French in education, provided an enormous impetus to the Islamic fundamentalists.

The question of the oppression of women is strategic and explosive in Algeria. At bottom, the military regime and the fundamentalist opposition share the same Islamic conceptions. The liberation of women can only take place with a deepgoing social transformation through working-class revolution. We Trotskyists fight for abolition of the Family Code and complete separation of mosque and state. As the Algerian comrades of the Tendance Plateforme Trotskyiste, left oppositional militants subsequently expelled by the PST (Socialist

Workers Party), wrote in their tendency document (March 1992):

“The fight for the liberation of women, which will be accomplished by the revolution, will have as its basis the fight against all forms of sexual discrimination! Against the veil! Equal pay for equal work! Free and accessible abortion for all women, including minors! For 24-hour childcare centers!”

This Marxist perspective was ridiculed by the callow French poseur Damien Elliott of the JCR (Revolutionary Communist Youth), who called the program of free abortion on demand and 24-hour day care “ultraleftist imbecility” (his attack and a reply are reprinted in our bulletin series, *Hate Trotskyism, Hate the Spartacist League* No. 7, October 1992). In fact, Elliott is expressing imperialist disdain for women of Third World countries. Not only are these elementary demands for women’s rights perfectly understood by large numbers of emancipated women, even the bourgeois press (*Horizons* and *Le Matin* in particular) was campaigning for abortion in Algeria. And even under imperialist-dominated capitalist rule in Tunisia, a Muslim country, abortion is legal and free!

Genuine, all-sided liberation of women requires a program for quality health care for all, for social services laying the basis for replacing the family and for full participation of women in social labor. For women’s liberation through socialist revolution!

### Defend the Rights of Berber-Speaking People

Another key component of the mobilizations against the Islamic fundamentalists has been the Berber-speaking population, largely concentrated in Kabylia, who have traditionally opposed Islamic fundamentalism. Berbers have been a particular target of the regime’s reactionary “forced Arabization” program to impose Arabic in education and the state administration—a chauvinist attack on non-Arabic speakers and a rallying pole for the Islamic fundamentalists. They also risk being a prime target if the fundamentalists come to power.

It is not accidental, then, that the largest anti-fundamentalist demonstrations have been held in Kabylia. Hundreds of thousands of people marched on January 17 against Islamic terror and for official recognition of the Berber language (Tamazight) in a demonstration called by the RCD in Tizi-Ouzou, which was also shut down by a one-day general strike. Protesters chanted, “Down with fundamentalism—Down with the regime that produced it!” This was followed one week later by another day of strikes and protest demonstrations, called to coincide with the opening of the regime’s ill-fated conference.

On April 20, thousands of Berbers marched through central Algiers and tens of thousands throughout Kabylia to mark the anniversary of the massive 1980 popular uprising in Kabylia known as the “Berber springtime.” The demonstrations were called by the RCD and the Socialist Forces Front (FFS), a bourgeois Kabyle-based party which split from the FLN in the early 1960s. These parties

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FIS supporters during attempted power grab, June 1991. Fundamentalist zealots attack unveiled women, leftists, unionists, Berbers and foreigners.

# Young Spartacus

## SYC Protests Against U.S. Invasion of Haiti



Spartacus Youth Club speak-outs at Howard University (left), City College of New York (center) and SF State.

Young Spartacus photos

The day after Clinton launched the U.S. colonial invasion of Haiti, Spartacus Youth Clubs across the country sprang into action, organizing campus speak-outs to demand, "U.S. Troops Out of Haiti! Defend Cuba!" On campuses from New York and Washington, D.C. to Illinois, the San Francisco Bay Area and Los Angeles, students and campus workers gathered to protest, and to discuss the socialist fight against imperialist wars and racism.

At Los Angeles Community College on September 21, dozens of students, including members of the Student Organization of Latinos, gathered as SYC members denounced the invasion of Haiti. SYCers raised signs demanding "Imperialist Fleet Out of the Caribbean!" and "Defend Cuba Against U.S. Imperialism!" Focusing on the historic role of the Democratic Party and the racist anti-immigrant campaign, currently running full-blast in California, SYC member John Barnard called for full citizenship rights for immigrants and noted:

"By appearing to defend working people, the Democrats actually play an important role in being able to mobilize the population for imperialist war. All the major American imperialist wars of this century were initiated by Democrats: World War I, World War II and Vietnam. Domestically, the Democrats, like [Senator] Dianne Feinstein and [gubernatorial candidate] Kathleen Brown, are actually leading the anti-immigrant charge along with Republican Wilson. Just as imperialist war abroad is reflected in racism at home, anti-imperialism means class struggle at home."

The campus administration, shocked that anyone would speak out against Clinton's "humanitarian" invasion, sent its cops to shut down the protest. But a crowd of outraged students went with SYC members to the student activities office to protest this outrageous censorship.

In the Bay Area, Spartacists joined demonstrations in San Francisco and at

### Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

UC Berkeley, and the SYC initiated a speak-out at SF State. SYC speaker Keith Hill exposed the U.S. ruling class' brutal record of war crimes against dark-skinned peoples internationally:

"The U.S. imperialists are not bothered a bit by the fact that Cédras brutally slaughtered thousands of Haitian dissidents. After all, who are they to talk? This is the same vicious ruling class that dropped two A-bombs on Japanese civilians, slaughtered two million Vietnamese workers and peasants, and has propped up death squads everywhere from El Salvador to Iran."

Outside the Student Union at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, SYC members held a lunchtime speak-out, bullhoming against the invasion. Recalling the last U.S. occupation of Haiti—which lasted 19 years!—Champaign SYCers also stressed the importance of defending Cuba against the new U.S. war moves. This is an escalation of Washington's 30-year campaign to strangle Cuba, the only workers state (albeit bureaucratically deformed) in the Western Hemisphere. A couple members of the International Socialist Organization were observed skulking around the protest. One ISOer hid behind a statue and listened in, but refused to join with the SYC in denouncing Clinton's invasion. The ISO supported imperialist sanctions against Haiti and refuses to defend Cuba against U.S. imperialism (see "ISO: Gusano Socialists?" WV No. 606, 16 September).

In New York, a Spartacist contingent participated in a Times Square protest the day after the U.S. invasion. SL speaker Ray Bishop addressed the rally, emphasizing the important link between opposition to U.S. troops in Haiti and defense of the Cuban Revolu-

tion. Noting that the ISO cheered on counterrevolutionaries in Cuba, he said: "We defend the Cuban workers state against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. The working class has to take it up as its fight here, in Haiti and in Cuba. We are with the people who came out to put down the scum who wanted to overthrow the Cuban Revolution on August 5. ISO, which side are you on?"

Under a banner reading "Yankee Imperialists—Hands Off Haiti, Cuba!" the SYC held a speak-out at the City College of New York in Harlem. SL spokesman Len Meyers blasted U.S. imperialism's bloody role in training and installing dictators like Cédras to enforce the merciless exploitation of Haitian workers. He called for internationalist solidarity between American and Haitian

workers to bring down capitalism in the "belly of the imperialist beast." Our speak-out drew the line between the reformists who have tailed Aristide since his election, and the Spartacists who denounce Aristide's support for the U.S. invasion.

At Howard University in Washington, D.C., the SYC speak-out in front of the Administration Building received front-page coverage in the *Hilltop*. The article quoted SL speaker Brian Manning: "Howard students ought to be in the forefront against U.S. imperialism. It's time for black people and workers to take a stand against imperialism."

SYC members in Boston and Atlanta also initiated protests and joined in anti-invasion demonstrations. Pointing to U.S. imperialism's history of suppression of workers and peasants in Central America, a student supporter of the Los Angeles SYC declared, "What is necessary is a workers revolution that truly answers to the needs of all people who have been oppressed and marginalized for too long." ■

#### THE HILLTOP —23 September 1994

#### Spartacists protest Haitian injustices

By Crystal D. Davis  
Hilltop Staff Writer

Just two days after United States and Haitian leaders reached an agreement to halt a U.S. invasion of Haiti, members of the Spartacist League and Howard University's Spartacus Youth Club protested outside the Mordcaid Wyatt Johnson Administration Building Tuesday, urging students to help end a "brutal U.S. regime" in Haiti.

"Howard students ought to be in the forefront against U.S. imperialism," Spartacist League representative Brian Manning said. "It's time for Black people and workers to take a stand against imperialism."

In his speech to passing students, Manning asserted that the U.S. is unconcerned with restoring democracy in Haiti, but interested in con-

tinuing Haitian oppression.

"They call it a humanitarian effort," he cried through a bullhorn. "[But] if the U.S. was so concerned, they wouldn't be starving Haitians with their embargo."

Manning charged that Haitians were already being brutally exploited by the U.S., and compared the Haitian crisis to previous U.S. situations in Panama, Vietnam, Iraq, Somalia, and more recently, Cuba.

"The U.S. military puts butchers into office," he argued. "[Raoul] Cédras was bought and paid for by U.S. training camps in... Foggy Bottom."

Manning also blamed democracy and "bloody, racist capitalism" for Haiti's miserable condition. He reiterated continuously that democracy was for the rich, and hell was for everyone else.

"Capitalism means war," he con-

tinued simply. "From Los Angeles to Haiti, the U.S. rule has killed Blacks. Look what happened to Rodney King."

The fact that the U.S. has called off an invasion of Haiti has not changed the protesters' stance.

"They still deployed 15,000 troops to Haiti," William Green argued, President of the Howard Spartacus Youth Club. "That's provocative use."

Kevin Taylor, a freshman from Jamaica, was one of several students to take a flyer, and pick up the *Workers Vanguard*, a Spartacist paper.

"I have some communist views," Taylor admitted. "I'm disappointed, though, that Blacks don't care about the Caribbean."

Sophomore Virgil Southerland, however, took a different standpoint.

"Blacks don't run the government," the computer science major pointed out. "Therefore we have no control over the government. The government is going to do what it wants."

The Howard Spartacus Youth Club, consisting of only a handful of members, is a socialist reform chapter of the Spartacist League, which has chapters all over at major universities including New York University, Columbia University, and the University of California-Berkeley. The Club and its league representatives planned to participate in a protest in front of the White House later that same afternoon.

"We want more students to raise their voices in protest," League member Cesar Lozano said. "[And] we intend to make our voices heard."

Howard University *Hilltop* ran front-page coverage of Spartacist protest two days after the U.S. invasion.

# "Youth Against Racism in Europe" Summer Camp

## Mud, Thought Police and the Ghost of Willy Brandt

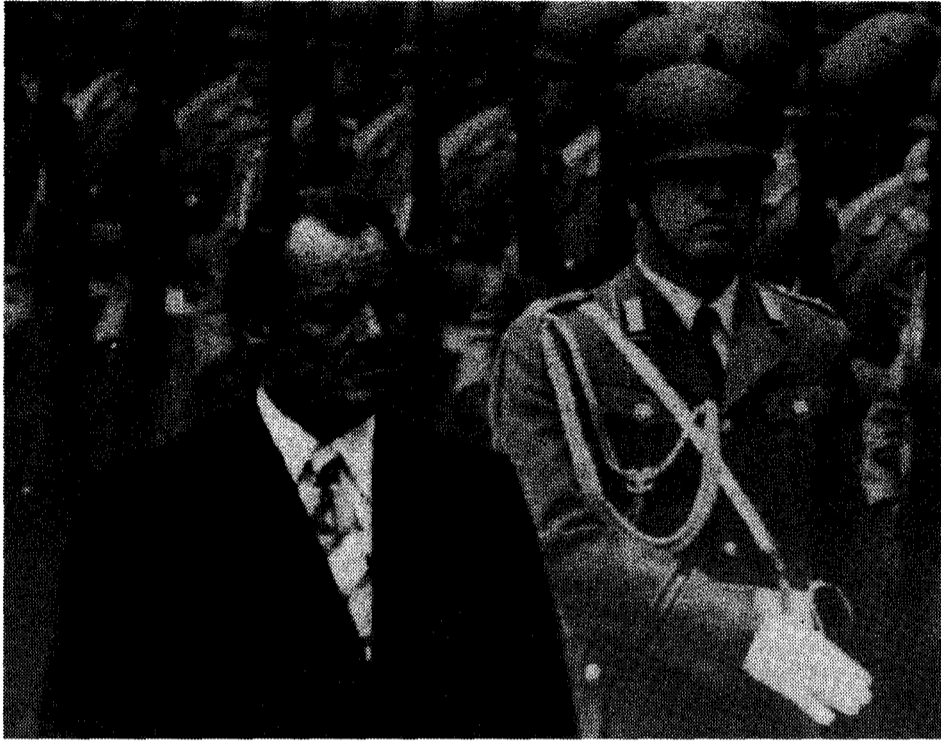
Throughout Europe a new generation of youth has taken to the streets to fight the ominous rise of Nazi terror, particularly in Germany. Some have joined Youth Against Racism in Europe (YRE), seeking a program to really stop the fascists. This summer the YRE—led by Militant Labour in Britain and its co-thinkers internationally, including the Voran (Forward) group in Germany and Gauche Révolutionnaire/Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires (JCR) in France—held a camp for anti-fascist youth August 13-20 in Reinwarzhofen, Bavaria. Spartacist youth activists from Germany, Ireland, Italy and France attended, intervening to win young militants to our Trotskyist perspective.

The Militant and YRE claim that the bosses' cops are a potential anti-fascist "ally" of the working class. Our Marxist opposition to this suicidal position, and attempts to suppress our arguments with thuggery, sharply polarized the camp. The social democrats of Militant exposed themselves as aspiring political police for the bourgeoisie in the workers movement. One of our comrades reported an incident heavy with symbolism. During a storm on the night of August 17, a sign reading "No pasarán" that Militant had put up in the main camp square blew away. The camp's real name then came to light on the sign underneath: this was the "Willy Brandt" campground, named after the former Social Democratic chancellor of West Germany.

The following account is adapted from an article in the Spartakist-Jugend youth pages in Spartakist No. 114 (September-October 1994), newspaper of our German section.

About 1,400 youth from all over Europe came to the camp to discuss how to stop the Nazis and racists. So you can be sure we Spartacists went to take part in hot political debate. We wanted to present our perspective of mobilizing the working class with its strategically important immigrant component, which together with anti-racist youth has the power to stop the fascist murderers. Militant/Voran/YRE place their faith in the bourgeois state, its cops and laws, and their politics are diametrically counterposed to a Marxist strategy. Indeed, they showed their social-democratic perspective in every aspect of this weird camp, from beginning to end.

The camp took place the same week



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YRE campground was named for Willy Brandt, the former Social Democratic chancellor of imperialist West Germany.

the fascists announced provocations in numerous cities to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Rudolf Hess, Hitler's right-hand man. Wunsiedel, where fascists have staged mobilizations every year, was only 70 kilometers from the camp. Reinwarzhofen itself was a Nazi stronghold until 1945. In the area there is a Mengele estate, belonging to the brother of the notorious Nazi "doctor" who murdered thousands in the Auschwitz death camp. In the woods near the tents, youth found implements used by Nazis for "training." Thus an attack on the camp was a real possibility. Many youth took the camp slogan "stop Nazis and racists" literally.

In fact, Nazis did attack the camp on the anniversary of Hess' death—and that is just what Militant/Voran were not prepared for. At a security meeting two days earlier, anti-fascists reported small groups of Nazis sneaking around the camp, and were told by the head of security, "don't panic, people—the Nazis are not going to attack us." One Voran leader even said that "in Germany" fascists had "never attacked an anti-fascist meeting as big as this." Voran/YRE's dismissive attitude toward fascist attacks is of a piece with their support for the "chains of light" in Germany in early 1993—

impotent, pacifist candlelight vigils against fascism. Their participation in these vigils was counterposed to our call for united-front action to defend an immigrant hostel in Berlin from threatened Nazi rampages on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's takeover.

The YRE leadership had planned to hold the "biggest and best-organized anti-fa camp in Europe." But as in Goethe's "Sorcerer's Apprentice," Voran could hardly master the spirits it called up. Why? Because the fight against fascism cannot be separated from the fight against the capitalist system which itself breeds the fascist menace. Thus the debates at this camp necessarily focused on the question of reform or revolution.

We of the International Communist League issued a pamphlet, *Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State*, in English and French, as well as an excerpted German version in a Spartakist packet. The pamphlet includes the text of a slanderous piece by the French JCR aimed at the ICL and also the centrist Workers Power group, together with our polemical response. The JCR article reveals their blatant anti-Marxist position on the cops, who in their eyes are "workers in uniform." The JCR even

supports the hated French CRS riot police! In 1961 the CRS was responsible for the massacre of hundreds of Algerian workers in Paris. During the May 1968 general strike, "CRS = SS" was the slogan of embattled workers and students.

Intervening at a camp meeting on "The State and Fascism," a member of our French section emphasized: "For militants who want to fight fascism, our stance on the police and thus on the capitalist state is key. But Militant/Voran would like to 'win over' the cops since they are 'workers in uniform' who should be brought into the workers movement." Our comrade underlined that the cops are *the fist of capital against the workers*.

Trotsky's analysis that "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state, is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" (*What Next*, 1932) was countered vehemently by Militant/Voran with examples of "Realpolitik": how sensible the Czech YRE is to work with private cops, and how the Belgian YRE is proud of putting its faith in cop protection against the fascist Flemish Bloc. In London, they argued, it was right to appeal to the local council to close down the fascist BNP headquarters (to which the translator piquantly queried, "Is that really our position?"). The leader of a police attack squad was even allowed to use the YRE's megaphone at an anti-fascist mobilization in Copenbrügge, Germany.

This surreal practice, or rather, suicidal policy, understandably frustrated camp participants who hadn't dreamed that the anti-Nazi camp was going to become a forum for fraternization with the cops. In contrast, our comrades described our work in the U.S. building the labor/black mobilization in Springfield, Illinois, where the Ku Klux Klan had announced plans to march on January 16, the weekend of the Martin Luther King holiday. We highlighted the worker/immigrant mobilization in defense of a hostel in Berlin on January 30 of last year, a mobilization which showed the potential of powerful working-class action.

Revolutionary Trotskyists understand, as do many immigrants and youth, that the cops are the paid goons of the capitalist rulers. In contrast, Voran/YRE support "unionization" of the same cops who club down anti-fascist youth. The camp—which included youth who had

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Workers Hammer



Independent

London, 16 October 1993: Riot police block anti-racists from marching on fascist BNP office. While Militant Labour appealed to the local government to close down the fascists, Spartacist League/Britain contingent called to mobilize power of unions and minorities.



## "Youth Against Racism" ...

(continued from page 7)

come from as far as Sweden and Spain—divided sharply over this question. Our sale of over 100 pamphlets, as well as subscriptions to *Spartakist*, *Workers Hammer*, *Espartaco* and *Le Bolchévik*, confirmed that camp participants were very interested in these issues. But instead of open, sharp debates, campers were subjected to encounters of a very peculiar sort.

From the outset the camp was beset by organizational chaos as far as food, finances and security went. Not surprisingly, hardly any youth initially volunteered for security duty. After all, what were they supposed to do? Their job was not to defend themselves against the Nazis but to discipline youth at the camp (no alcohol allowed until after 6 p.m., etc.).

Campers were also given a practical lesson in the role of the social democrats, whom Trotsky described as political police in the workers movement. It began on the second day when JCR leader Damien Elliott struck one of our French comrades because a young YRE member from France had the political curiosity to buy Spartacist literature. When the YRE woman loudly protested the attack, Elliott's goons dragged her away. Avoiding debate inside the workers movement by resorting to physical violence is an age-old practice of social-democratic and Stalinist "thought police," who resort to cowardly suppression of revolutionary criticism when they have no political answers.

In a grotesque attempt to muzzle the Spartacists, camp leaders then launched a slanderous "Big Lie" campaign against the target of the violent attack. The next morning we put out and distributed 500 copies of a leaflet titled, "What Is the JCR's Damien Elliott Afraid Of?" We said: "Don't let Damien Elliott get away with being the 'left' cop who will decide what you can read and who you can talk to!" A lot of people had seen the assault, and there were numerous protests against these gangster methods, including from the International Trotskyist Committee (ITC), whose American group is the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). Members of the youth group of the (former West German) Communist Party also stepped forward in our defense. The Voran security team listened to the protest and did nothing. The camp leader

**June 1992  
Berlin march  
against extending  
reactionary  
West German  
abortion law  
to former  
East Germany.  
Spartakists fought  
against capitalist  
reunification, while  
Voran hailed SPD,  
the Trojan horse of  
counterrevolution.**



even threatened to expel our French comrades!

Increasingly, the threats to exclude us served to polarize the camp. Even some groups whose first instinct was to join the anti-Spartacist red-baiting—in order to paint themselves as a "reasonable" opposition to the Militant/Voran reformists—had to change their line. Thus on Sunday evening the centrists of Workers Power announced they would defend our rights—after their spokesman had taken the floor that very afternoon to say "the only sad thing at the camp... was the provocative role of the Spartacists"!

Many YRE supporters were appalled by Elliott's attack and made a point of visiting our literature table. They wanted to discuss our German-language leaflet, "Voran: Champions of *Anschluss*," which exposed Voran's support for the counterrevolutionary annexation of the East German workers state by West German capital in 1991. At the time, Voran stood with the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), which acted as the Trojan horse for counterrevolution. Voran issued calls like "SPD go on the offensive" and "expropriate SED property." (The SED was the ruling Stalinist party in East Germany; it has since been transformed into the Party of Democratic Socialism, or PDS.) Voran supporters told us that their leadership had admitted internally that these positions were a "mistake."

Today, Voran/YRE not only call for a vote for the SPD but for the PDS as well. This is an apparent contradiction. After all, they have cheered on the SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt, acting as the grandchildren of Willy Brandt, whose

*Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) of détente paved the way for the Fourth Reich to annex East Germany. But since the PDS has committed itself to helping the SPD into office, it is now acceptable to Voran, which has tried since its founding to draw youth into the social democracy. Voran originally wanted to hold election rallies at the camp. But these bombastically announced meetings fizzled, like so many others.

The camp leadership's methods flowed directly from its politics. In addition to condoning physical attacks on the Spartacists, Voran tried to inoculate the youth against "theory." But when camp leaders tried to conduct a salvage operation, calling for more "practice-oriented" public meetings under the motto "how do I form a YRE group," the youth voted with their feet. They preferred to stay in their tents or go to the coffee shop in town. Instead, messages turned up in the toilets and at the information stands about meetings for youth interested in quitting the YRE.

For 21 years Voran was a loyal opposition inside the SPD; Militant played the same role in the British Labour Party for over four decades. But other, more left-talking groups at the camp were also incapable of presenting a revolutionary alternative. The ITC, for example, organized a camp meeting for blacks, Asians and other minorities, and obscenely excluded white anti-fascists. Our comrades alone protested this policy and underlined the ITC's lack of a proletarian orientation. We argued against their sectoralism, pointing out that the integrated power of the working class is necessary to sweep away the fascists.

Although the ITC presented a motion calling on Militant/YRE to reject all formulations calling for reforming the police, in the U.S. the RWL makes sure in practice that anti-fascists deliver themselves up to police "protection." For example, the RWL led demonstrators into a police pen and accepted metal-detector searches at a mobilization against the Ku Klux Klan in Columbus, Ohio on January 15. This was also a key question in Germany: on the first day of the camp, 200 anti-fascists in Rudolstadt were led into a police encirclement by leftists and a union security team. The ITC's German supporters even explained to our comrades that you "have to discuss" with Nazis!

Of course Voran/YRE are also deep in the campaign to "talk to Nazis/skinheads." The YRE says that "youthful fascists are victims of this society insofar as they are reacting to unemployment and the housing shortage" (Voran, December 1993-January 1994). This understanding attitude drove them to elect a "former" Nazi, who surrounds himself with characters in bomber jackets and jackboots, to their leading body in Mönchengladbach. And they're proud of it!

By Wednesday night, heavy rain had

reduced much of the campsite to a muddy swamp. Placards announcing a disco including Oi! "music" lured a layer of skinhead fans to the camp. Voran distributed hooded T-shirts so campers could tell the "good" skinheads from the others. But if you invite an Oi! "band," you had better be ready for vicious company. Oi! "music" was the battle cry of anti-Asian skinheads in Britain—it's just another version of the "*Sieg heil*" the Nazis yell. While many campers rightly wanted nothing to do with all this, self-styled "red" skinheads tried to distribute a leaflet titled "Skinhead yes—Fascist no."

A comrade from the Dublin Spartacist Group described how the mood at the camp helped to fuel a dangerous situation:

"People were shaving off their hair in preparation for the concert. Undercover police were seen at the camp, as were fascists. But it was very difficult to tell who wasn't a fascist and who was. Some of these people looked really sinister. Late that afternoon, the English had a football match with the Germans. After the first chants of 'England, England!' you didn't want to hear the rest. Things got out of control. The football match was just before the Oi! concert, and this was going on at the same time as shots were fired."

What happened that night? Chaos reigned as semi-anarchist *Autonome* youth built barricades—against the instructions of the YRE security team, of course—in anticipation of Nazis storming the camp. Various reports were circulating: that ten fascists were driven out of the camp; that a fascist had been captured and freed by his "comrades." A 15-year-old told her father on the phone how she was jerked out of her tent at 4 a.m. and sent out against 50 presumed fascists in the woods at the camp's edge!

In the atmosphere of confusion, it's not surprising that the camp quickly emptied. The Voran/YRE debacle was prepared by their social-democratic politics of lulling youth into thinking the police can become an "ally" of the working class against fascism. The Trotskyist strategy of mobilizing the workers to stop the fascists is a necessary part of the political organization of the proletariat to defend its class interests and struggle for its own state power, sweeping the capitalist system and its repressive apparatus away. These are the burning questions for anti-fascist youth and class-conscious workers. The politics pushed by Militant/YRE at their camp are an obstacle on this road.

But the camp was good for one thing—through our intervention we built up the core of the Spartacist Youth in Germany. We are developing the future cadre of the Leninist-Trotskyist party which is necessary to lead the working class to power through international socialist revolution. Fight for the communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky! ■

### Spartacist Pamphlet

## Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

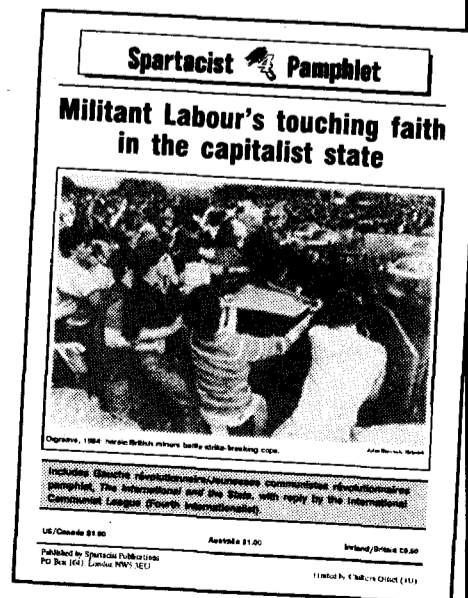
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# UC Berkeley Sets Up SWAT Team No Campus Gestapo!

Their faces are covered with ski masks and frogman goggles to conceal their identities. They're dressed head-to-toe in black. They're armed with high-powered semi-automatic assault rifles. They may sound like the creatures of some paranoid Reaganite's "terrorism" fantasy, but these terrorists are for real...and they're employed by the University of California.

The campus administration has assembled and trained its very own SWAT team. This summer they could be found creeping around the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory at UC Berkeley in practice exercises. Now they're ready to strike.

Thirty years ago, Berkeley was the cradle of "New Left" campus protests that swept the country. Today it is described by the *San Francisco Chronicle* (6 July) as being "at the helm of the trend" in which "university police departments are becoming more specialized, expanding and strengthening their own police force instead of relying on city police for assistance."

This SWAT team is only one of the heavily armed and highly trained tactical squads that are appearing on college campuses across the country, including Ohio State University, the University of Illinois, and UC Davis. At Berkeley, this "Special Response Unit" supplements the existing campus police force, which already has at its disposal shotguns and 9mm pistols, tear gas and mace, canine units and motorcycle patrols, as well as a firing range, bomb squad and detective bureau. In addition to \$10,000 in start-up costs, the university has budgeted an extra \$2,000 a year for the new SWAT team, "mostly for ammunition."

What's behind this accumulation of firepower? The *Chronicle* opined that at "UC Berkeley, where the radical protests of the '60s have forever etched the reputation of lawlessness in people's minds, demonstrations nowadays are often muted and uneventful.... Nonetheless, UC police want to be ready. After all, it is Berkeley."

In 1964 the Free Speech Movement

demanded the right for students to assemble and the right of political advocacy on campus, and for this it was met with massive cop repression. By the late '60s, amid a burgeoning civil rights movement and growing opposition to U.S. imperialism's savage war in Vietnam, the battle lines on campus were clearly drawn: a mass radicalization of students on one side, California governor Ronald Reagan's National Guardsmen on the other.

In 1969, during a vicious assault on students demonstrating in support of "People's Park," the cops killed James Rector. Then a protest on campus was bombed with nausea gas from a helicopter. Edwin Meese, then state attorney general, declared that "James Rector deserved to die."

Meese went on to direct the state's campaign to wipe out the Oakland-based Black Panther Party through racist victimization and murder. Former California Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) is still behind bars after 24 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit.

## From the "New Left" to "New" Democrats

Three decades later, UC Berkeley was this year removed from a roster of "top 10 radical campuses." Indeed, many students who go to Berkeley expecting radical student activism are shocked at how docile and conservative the campus has become. Yesterday's "Yuppies" have become today's pro-Democratic Party yuppies, voting for death-penalty Democrat Bill Clinton. Now they're marching in lockstep with the racist rulers' "war on crime." The baby-boomers who once bragged of a "People's Republic of Berkeley" are now selling Berkeley as a place for "business" not the "people," and especially not for black youth.

In the 1960s, students mobilized not only for the civil rights movement in the South but to break down racism at stores and hotels in the Bay Area. Nowadays, the *Daily Cal* student newspaper reads like a cop blotter, running



Chester King

UC Berkeley SWAT team carries out practice raid at the university's Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

"crime" scare stories with headlines like "Thrill-seeking Teen 'Rat Packs' Plague City, Students."

"Rat pack" is the all-purpose code word for a racist police crackdown against black teenagers on the streets of Berkeley. Telegraph Avenue, which runs from the south edge of campus into the heart of the largely black working-class city of Oakland, has long been an itchy spot for the city and university cops (whose jurisdictions overlap there). Since 1985, merchants have anxiously reported a drop in business, which they blamed on "gangs" of "hooligans" and "ruffians" from Oakland and Richmond. In response to this crime scare, the campus cops have conjured up a bogus "dramatic rise" in assaults on the Southside of UC Berkeley, spearheading a frenzied "Save Our Southside" campaign.

As UC Berkeley increasingly becomes an elite preserve open only to those who can afford tuition fees, which have risen by over 250 percent since 1989, the university administration has been one of the main forces behind the drive to "clean up" Telegraph Avenue. The administration got a particular jolt in April 1992 when black high school youth from Berkeley ignited campus protests against the racist acquittal of the L.A. cops who brutally beat Rodney King. This sparked a march of 400 protesters who blockaded the Bay Bridge and tied up trans-bay traffic for over three hours.

The California Board of Regents and their cops don't want these "outsiders"

stirring up "their" students. And the ever-smaller number of blacks and Latinos who get admitted to UC Berkeley are largely treated as potential "criminals." Last September, cops used tear gas to bust up a Mexican Independence Day celebration sponsored by MEChA at International House. Earlier this month, the cops used full force to break up a crowd of youth hanging around outside a dance sponsored by an East Bay gospel group at the Uitas Campus Christian Ministry!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs understand that the cops are the armed fist of a racist capitalist ruling class, the enemies of the working class and oppressed—or anyone else they perceive as getting in their way. And the ruling class of this country wants university education to be a bastion of the "privileged" (white) elite—i.e., their sons and daughters. Black, Latino and working-class youth are kept out by budget cuts, tuition hikes and police billy clubs. Now they have added a SWAT team.

We say that education is a right, not a privilege for those who can afford it. We demand open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students! Down with racist "law and order"! Disband the Berkeley SWAT team! Abolish the Board of Regents! For student/teacher/worker control of the universities! We understand that this is part of the broader fight for a socialist revolution to get rid of this whole rotten system which the cops "serve and protect." Join the SYC! ■

## Defend Reiko Obata!

# Teacher Fired for Trying to Show Zoot Suit

A teacher in San Diego County wanted to show the film *Zoot Suit* to her students last May as a way of "opening their eyes" to racism in the United States. Reiko Obata, a popular Japanese American teacher at Santana High, was seeking to counter racist remarks against Mexican Americans by students in her mainly white English classes. As a result, she was charged with being "insubordinate" and fired from her job.

In line with school policy, the teacher asked her students to bring permission slips from their parents to attend the video presentation. But when she sought approval from the principal, Obata was told she couldn't show the film because

of its "excessively violent nature" and "off-color language." The principal suggested as an accurate depiction of "barrio life" and "gang living" the 1961 musical *West Side Story*!

Broad-shouldered, baggy-pants "zoot suits" were a style popular in the '40s, particularly with young Mexican Americans and blacks. In the same way that certain styles popularized by minority youth today are labeled "gang attire," the racist establishment linked the zoot suit to ghetto life and the underworld. The 1981 film *Zoot Suit*, set in Los Angeles in 1943, depicts the "Sleepy Lagoon" case in which a dozen Mexican American youth were framed up for murder. It

shows the street clashes known as the Zoot Suit Riots, which were instigated by racist Navy sailors, and depicts the harsh realities of life for minorities in capitalist America.

In today's climate of anti-immigrant hysteria, showing a movie about anti-Mexican racism can get you fired. *Zoot Suit*'s star, Edward James Olmos, and its director, Luis Valdez, founder of the acclaimed Teatro Campesino, expressed support for Reiko Obata and applauded her stand against censorship. Over 200 students at Santana High signed a petition demanding the school reinstate their teacher. Beyond trying to destroy Obata's career, the Santana High administration



Gatley/L.A. Times

San Diego County teacher Reiko Obata lost her job after attempt to show *Zoot Suit*.

is carrying out a policy of racist censorship. We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Down with censorship! Reinstate Reiko Obata!

By the way, if you want to learn something about anti-Mexican racism in this country, you've got to see *Zoot Suit*. ■

# Algeria...

(continued from page 5)

have used the banner of Berber rights to mobilize support for the military as a supposed bulwark against rising fundamentalism. The RCD is a stalking horse for the "éradicateurs" in the army. But today, FFS leader Ait Ahmed is desperately calling for "dialogue" with the FIS in the name of "national cohesion" (*Le Monde*, 27 January). In June, he even traveled to Washington to meet with Clinton administration officials to get their imprimatur.

We Trotskyists have intransigently opposed the regime's "forced Arabization" drive. We put forward the demand for full equality of all languages used in Algeria: Arabic, Berber and French. The Berber-based bourgeois parties like the RCD and FFS, as well as the leftists which tail them like the Pabliste Socialist Workers Party (PST), limit their demands to calls for Berber to be made an official language. As Marxists we uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of the Berbers, including for regional autonomy if they request it. The several regions of Algeria speaking dialects of Berber have not consolidated a nation, but if an Arab-chauvinist fundamentalist regime takes power, a Berber nation could well be crystallized under the tremendous pressure of savage repression.

As the reactionary Islamic guerrilla bands have attacked Kabyle villages, local self-defense units have sprung up in some places. However, even where they are not set up by the army, they are tolerated by it and the local authorities (some of the *wilayas* [prefectures] are headed by RCD chiefs). It will take a workers revolution led by an authentic Leninist party to liberate the oppressed nationalities and put an end to the recurrent bloody attacks on the Berber people (1963, 1980 and today).

## Imperialism and Fundamentalist Reaction

The establishment of an Islamic state in Algeria would send a shock wave across North Africa, where the discredited neocolonial regimes face widespread discontent. It would certainly have a profound impact in Tunisia, where the powerful union movement has been shackled by the support to longtime Tunisian strongman Bourguiba by its misleaders, including the Stalinists. This allowed the Islamic demagogues to gain a powerful mass base following the bloody suppression of hunger riots in January 1984. The current president, Ben Ali, has brutally suppressed the main fundamentalist group, Ennahda, imprisoning hundreds and driving its main leader into exile. Ben Ali's heavy-handed regime has also cracked down on leftists.



Belghoul/Le Matin  
**50,000 people, including many unveiled women, demonstrated March 22 in Algiers denouncing Islamic guerrillas and opposing army negotiations with the FIS.**

Even more so in Hassan II's Morocco, militant unionists and socialists have repeatedly been thrown into the monarchy's dungeons where torture is rife. In February, the king headed off a general strike by arresting 15 leaders of the CDT labor federation.

A fundamentalist victory in Algeria would embolden the Djamaa Islamiya (Islamic Group) in Egypt, which has waged a two-year campaign of assassinations against the brutal Mubarak regime. It would also strengthen the Islamic reactionaries in power in Sudan, who are waging a war against the non-Muslim peoples in southern Sudan, which over the past several decades has left an estimated one million dead and driven 400,000 refugees into exile. France has provided considerable support for the Sudanese Islamic junta against the southern guerrillas, just as it supported the genocidal Rwandan government against Tutsi-led rebels and the government of Chad against insurgents backed by Sudan and Libya. Meanwhile, the U.S. cloaks its imperialist interventions in "humanitarian" rhetoric under the aegis of the United Nations. We demand: Down with the French gendarmes of neocolonialism! U.S./UN out of Africa!

Meanwhile, the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria has been seized upon by the Mitterrand/Balladur/Pasqua government to whip up anti-immigrant reaction in France, where workers of North African origin are a key component of the working class. Like all the countries of Europe, Mitterrand's France—both under a "socialist" cabinet and now a rightist government—has tightened racist barriers to immigration, making North African workers the scapegoats for capitalist unemployment. The French government's virulently racist policy can lead some sons and daughters of immigrants to seek in Islamic fundamentalism an illusory shield against indignity. Thus the struggle against the influence of Islamic fundamentalism is

intimately linked to the fight against racist terror and segregation in Europe. We say: Stop racist identity controls! Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!

The considerable class power of the Algerian proletariat has been driven home by the numerous strikes which have been carried out, despite the state of emergency and the expanding civil war, since last summer when Algiers dock workers completely closed down the capital's port for more than a week

Socialism) cynically obscure their responsibility for decades of active support for the FLN regime by their predecessor, the PAGES (Party of the Socialist Vanguard). During the Algerian War, the Stalinists were the main barrier to revolutionary working-class struggle by Algerian and French workers against French colonialism. The PAGES and its successors have always sought to distinguish between the "progressive" and reactionary "comprador" wings of the bourgeoisie, the former being identified with the army. Today, the decomposition products of Algerian Stalinism all look to military hardliners, but the PADS wants to compete with the FIS on the terrain of Islam.

The PADS newspaper, *Le Lien* (September 1994), argues that the fundamentalists who burn down schools are "criminals acting in the name of Islam," since for Islam "knowledge is sacred and the prophet taught its divine revelation with 'Iqra' (Read)," the first word in the Koran! In an appeal to "youth fooled by the FIS and terrorism," the PADS writes that in the 1988 revolt the PAGES "did not appear as an alternative" to the brutal Chadli regime, because it did not want to "disturb the few progressives who were in power." But the PADS appeal, "What Alternative?" (*Le Lien*, March 1994), calls for a "popular progressive



Audureau/Le Parisien  
**French CRS riot police surround Paris district, singling out immigrant families for expulsion, August 1993. In 1961, CRS massacred hundreds of Algerian workers in Paris.**

(see "Algeria in Turmoil," WV No. 588, 19 November 1993). Following a national strike of office workers, Algerian teachers waged a week-long strike last November. However, the UGTA union leadership, historically integrated into the corrupt, anti-working-class FLN apparatus, has sought to keep the strikes centered on purely economic issues instead of mobilizing a broad offensive against the regime and its IMF-imposed austerity policies.

Last December, a general strike of the 28,000 workers at the giant Rouiba industrial zone near Algiers against the firing of trade-union representatives and other workers at several plants was headed off at the last minute by the UGTA national leadership, arguing that a strike would be used by "the opportunists, for political aims" (*Liberté*, 5 December 1993). In other words, it might weaken the government while it carried out negotiations with FIS leaders! Now 500,000 public workers (including construction and water workers) are threatening to strike on September 27 protesting against five months of unpaid wages. To win such a battle, which directly confronts the IMF austerity policies, a class-struggle leadership must be built in struggle against both the government and the Islamic reactionaries, who are sworn enemies of labor.

The wretched Stalinist hacks in the leadership of Ettahaddi and the PADS (Algerian Party for Democracy and

movement" which will "join together with other patriotic and democratic forces within and outside the regime."

What this means was spelled out in a PADS declaration in April, in which "the formation of self-defense and vigilance committees" is described as "the best way to back the action of the patriotic forces of the Army engaged in wiping out the terrorist bands and to preserve the democratic process" (*Le Lien*, July 1994). As if the thinly disguised military dictatorship were some kind of democracy!

The Algerian groups falsely claiming the mantle of Lenin and Trotsky hardly constitute a revolutionary alternative to the miserable Stalinists. The forerunners of the PST, sympathizing section of the "United" Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel and Alain Krivine, subordinated themselves politically to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FLN during and after the Algerian War for independence. The USec gave the government of Ahmed Ben Bella (1962-65) their seal of approval, labeling this bonapartist bourgeois regime a "workers and peasants government." It even declared: "The Ben Bella-Boumediene duo, with the forces each represents, was and remains the most advanced incarnation of all the Algerian leadership, of the line oriented toward socialism" (*Quatrième Internationale*, March 1963). But a couple of years later, Ben Bella was thrown out by the forces represented

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## From the FIS to the IMF

Strange happenings on February 7 at 700 19th Street NW, Washington, D.C., the headquarters of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The global bankers' cartel was visited by a delegation of 21 people organized by the "International Liaison Committee for a Workers International." This is the current self-designation of the tendency led by Pierre Lambert of the French Parti des Travailleurs (PT—Workers Party). In the U.S., this current is represented by the Socialist Organizer group of Alan Benjamin, one of several decomposition products of the Socialist Workers Party. For two hours, a representative of the IMF engaged in a surreal "close encounter of the third kind" with the Lambertiste delegation.

The host, Murray Seeger, presented a half-hour film highlighting the IMF's role in the "transition" to capitalism in Poland, showing how display cases in Polish shops are filled with meat. Seeger, for many years the press officer for Cold Warrior AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, slyly pointed out that the Polish president is a trade unionist. His interlocutors lamely responded that Walesa "was a unionist." Neither side said a word about the fact that the "transition" in Poland, as elsewhere in East Europe and the Soviet Union, was a *social counterrevolution* that has spelled untold misery for the working masses. And no wonder, for both the Lambertistes and the "AFL-CIA" supported Walesa's *Solidarność* in its counterrevolutionary bid for power in 1981.

The delegation members politely asked (being careful, they said, to avoid "creating an incident") about jailings of union militants in Bangladesh for protesting IMF plans, about the drastic cutting of real wages in Mexico—as if the imperialist purveyors of austerity plans were ignorant of the consequences of their starvation policies. In the discussion, the Algerian "delegate," Louisa Hamoune, complained that the IMF recipe for privatization of state enterprises meant shutting down numerous plants and "the people don't want this program applied." Seeger archly replied, "The IMF doesn't speak with peoples, but only with governments" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 16 February). Indeed, and what kind of "socialists" go around hobnobbing with the IMF, which is despised throughout East Europe and the Third World for immiserating the working masses in the service of imperialist profits?

For several decades, Lambert presented himself as a Trotskyist, in the French OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste), later renamed the PCI, and now submerged as the "Communist Internationalist Current" of the PT. After several decades of calling for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, on 19 June 1993 the Lambertistes

November "against war, exploitation and privatizations."

The final demand was deliberately chosen in order to include representatives of the bourgeoisie in their little popular front. In Mexico, for example, the Lambertiste group called at its November meeting for a committee "against NAFTA [North American Free



The Organizer

Lambertiste delegation poses in front of IMF headquarters in Washington, D.C., 7 February 1994.

"reproclaimed" themselves the Fourth International. But simultaneously, the Lambertiste-led PT has joined with a hodgepodge of social-democratic tendencies in the "International Entente of the Workers and Peoples," which they curiously render in English as the "International Liaison Committee for a Workers International."

What is this curious creature with many names, and many political hues? Apparently with the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled deformed workers states of East Europe during 1990-92, Lambert & Co. decided that it was time to resuscitate a caricature of the First International of the pre-imperialist period, eradicating the gulf between labor reformism and proletarian revolution. The Lambertistes' "International Entente" explicitly models itself on the International Workingmen's Association founded in 1864, and claims to include "all the tendencies of the international workers movement" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 30 June 1993). But with their concentric circles of interlocking front groups, the Lambertistes want to extend their "entente cordiale" well beyond the workers movement, and to that purpose they called for an international day of action last

Trade Agreement] and privatizations" aimed at enlisting the support of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, an openly capitalist party. And among the participants in the delegation to the International Monetary Fund on February 7 was one Jack Demóstenes Muñoz, a PRD deputy in the state congress of Chiapas. So while the Indian peasants of Chiapas were rising up in arms against the NAFTA rape of the Mexican working people, the Lambertistes were parading a Mexican bourgeois politician at the headquarters of the IMF.

Even as the class struggle is exploding and the masses seethe with rebellion, Lambert & Co. look to "lobbying" bourgeois and social-democratic parliamentarians. In France last November, while Lambert's PT filled the pages of its newspaper trumpeting its own "day of action" against privatizations, it virtually ignored the fact that the working class was electrified by several thousand Air France strikers massing on airport runways, halting planes and fighting police, to stop planned mass layoffs as part of privatizing the national airline!

One inconvenience these inveterate opportunists face is that the particular

calling for creating a "social movement against the local 'Yeltsins,'" who are selling the country to imperialism. This is particularly cynical coming from a group which openly sided with Yeltsin in his counterrevolutionary bid for power that led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The PST's parliamentary cretinism (without a parliament!) is a recipe for continued class-collaborationist "unity" with bourgeois forces like the FFS. It is a criminal illusion to imagine that a stable parliamentary democracy can be set up in a country like Algeria, where the thin layer of rich capitalists and corrupt bureaucrats, backed up by the military, lord it over the impoverished masses in the service of imperialism. The proletariat must fight, through independent class struggle, for the fullest democratic rights. But this must be part of the struggle for proletarian power, rather than an illusory attempt to achieve "democracy" without overthrowing the capitalist state.

In Algeria the most appalling expressions of social backwardness coexist with a sizable proletariat in modern industries,

financed by oil money. But bourgeois nationalism in power has manifestly been unable to break the stranglehold of imperialism, to carry out genuine economic development, or to achieve democratic gains for women and other oppressed people. This is a confirmation—in the negative—of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution, which encapsulates the lessons of the Russian October Revolution of 1917: in the colonial and neocolonial countries, only the working class led by a Bolshevik party can, despite its relative weakness numerically, lead all the oppressed in achieving democratic gains, by installing the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will necessarily take on socialist tasks as well.

The fight to forge an Algerian Trotskyist party requires the regroupment of cadre through intransigent struggle for Bolshevik internationalism. A socialist revolution in Algeria must necessarily extend to all of North Africa, and must be interlocked with the workers' struggle in the former colonial power, France. The perspective of revolutionary unity between French and Algerian workers is

forces they tail after are often determined by the national terrain. Thus in France, Lambert's PT is notorious for taking the demand for secular education and turning this into the be-all and end-all of left politics, thus dovetailing with social democrats and bourgeois radicals of the popular front. ("Secularism" has also been used lately as a chauvinist bludgeon against Muslim schoolgirls wearing the headscarf, or *hejab*.) But in Algeria, where Islamic fundamentalism is on the rise, Louisa Hanoune's PT is notorious for having joined with the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in a June 1991 insurrectionary "strike" against the military-backed Chadli regime. The PT called for "unity to finish off Chadli," met with FIS leader Abassi Madani (who praised the PT in a press conference), and explicitly refused to denounce the FIS' reactionary aims (*Informations Ouvrières*, 12 and 19 June 1991). This is not surprising coming from the Lambertistes, who in 1980 called for arming the Islamic anti-communist guerrillas in Afghanistan following the Soviet intervention.

Lambert & Co. imitate the Stalinists in trying to hide behind innocuous-sounding "democratic" façades. But ultimately what these politics of deception lead to is *counterrevolution*. Again, their focus on privatizations is telling. As Cold War II heated up during the 1980s, Lambert's Stalinophobic OCI/PCI/PT joined with Mitterrand, Reagan and the Polish pope Wojtyla in proclaiming "Solidarity with Solidarity" while the international Spartacist tendency warned, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution." The Lambertistes, in order to disguise their *refusal to defend the degenerated/deformed workers states* against imperialism and internal counterrevolution, instead pretended to "defend nationalized industry"—in the manner of many a good social democrat in a capitalist state.

When the crunch came with the botched coup by ex-Gorbachevites in Moscow in August 1991, Lambert's "International Entente" "placed itself in the vanguard of the struggle" by calling for "united struggle against the State Committee" (*Tribune Internationale*, September 1991)—that is, for *unity with Yeltsin*, the spearhead of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the USSR.

The Lambertistes have nothing in common with Trotsky's Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, or for that matter with Marx's First International. From tailing the Islamic fundamentalist FIS in Algeria to "dialoging" with the IMF autocrats of austerity, these social democrats place themselves not in the vanguard of the working class but in the rearguard of the bourgeoisie and its reformist labor lieutenants. ■

by Boumedienne—the Algerian army.

Today the PST centers its program on the suicidal illusion of pressuring the army-backed regime to institute "democracy." Last January, while the hated regime was trying to organize its "National Conference" to put together a coalition government with the fundamentalists, the PST published a declaration over the signature of its founding leader Salhi Chawki (*El-Khatwa*, January-February 1994). "To negotiate with the army, it is necessary to be a force," warns the PST. "We will struggle...to construct a force capable of imposing change."

The PST leaders dream of one day wheeling and dealing with the country's power brokers in the corridors of parliament. Their talk of "fighting to prepare the political conditions which will permit democracy" is divorced from the fight for workers revolution. Their 1991 election campaign and party offices were paid for with government subsidies. They sympathetically portrayed the short-lived "audacity" and "populism" of former prime minister Bélaïd in refusing to sign an accord with the IMF. Now they are

key to the future of both countries. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, is fighting to build a vanguard party of the multiethnic working class which will link the struggle for socialist revolution in Europe to the struggle across the Mediterranean. ■

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# Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

the open puppet Endara was, but on fundamental issues he must do the bidding of his U.S. patrons.

Aristide, a popular priest who was the main spokesman for "liberation theology" in Haiti, was elected president in 1990 on the basis of his radical populism. But in order to get reinstated by the U.S., he has now explicitly accepted the dictatorship of international finance capital. Washington is dictating the terms of restoring the Haitian economy which, backward as it was, ground to a halt under the U.S.-enforced starvation embargo. In August, Aristide agreed to a plan drawn up by the World Bank stipulating that he must "invite" the International Monetary Fund to Haiti when he returns to office. The plan calls for slashing the 45,000-member civil service in half, massive privatization of state-owned property in the name of fighting "corruption," and rewriting Haiti's business laws. This is the same proposal Aristide had rejected earlier and dubbed the "Plan Americain."

The American plan is to reinforce its domination of the Western Hemisphere, beginning in what Clinton calls "our neighborhood" (i.e., what jingoist U.S. leaders used to call "our backyard"). In justifying a U.S. invasion, Clinton brandished the racist nightmare of hordes of "boat people" hitting the beach in south Florida ("5 percent of their entire population...could be the next wave of refugees at our door"). Clinton also made clear that military action in Haiti was aimed at Cuba, claiming that these are "the only nations left in the Western Hemisphere where democratic government is denied"! Even the party of the Haitian death squads, the FRAPH, warned Aristide supporters fooled into believing the American forces would help them that they would "die like worms" because the U.S. is really "looking for a route into Cuba" (IPS, 22 September).

The U.S. occupation of Haiti poses pointblank the need to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution. Although bureaucratically deformed, the Cuban workers state produced tremendous gains for the population and for more than three decades has been an inspiration to the Latin American masses and a thorn in the side of Yankee imperialism. But with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the cutoff of Soviet trade and aid combined with an intensified U.S. embargo has caused terrible privations for the Cuban people. Now many in the U.S. ruling class see the opportunity for counterrevolution to "finish off" the "Cuban threat," whether by economic strangulation and military pressure or



Crowley/NY Times



**Ousted Haitian president Aristide (above, center) pledges support to colonial invasion at Pentagon ceremony, while junta chief General Cédras (far left) cordially greets U.S. imperialist forces.**

AP

by flooding the besieged island with dollars to undermine the economy.

With the demise of the deformed workers states in East Europe, American rulers proclaimed a "New World Order." From the 1989 Panama invasion to the Desert Slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the 1991 Persian Gulf War to the "humanitarian" intervention in Somalia, they have assumed the role of global gendarmes in a "one superpower world." Amid increasing interimperialist rivalries, the U.S. wants to shore up control of its Latin American hinterland, through the "North American Free Trade Agreement" and the military buildup in the Caribbean. It is urgently necessary to defeat these imperialist marauders by mobilizing the power of internationalist class struggle throughout the hemisphere. In demonstrations and rallies around the U.S., the Spartacist League has demanded: *Yankee imperialists out of Haiti! Hands off Cuba!*

## "Upholding Democracy," Pentagon-Style

The deal which led to the "permissive entry" of U.S. troops was worked out with Cédras by a delegation of former president Carter, Senator Sam Nunn and former U.S. military chief of staff Colin Powell as planes carrying the invasion force were already in the air. The piece of paper, which effectively tore up the previous Governor's Island agreement for the military leaders to get out, was signed by the junta's figurehead president Emile Jonassaint. Asked if Jonassaint had any authority to carry out the deal, one U.S. official remarked, "That's irrelevant. With 15,000 U.S. troops on the ground, we don't need anyone to guarantee the deal" (*Los Angeles Times*, 20 September). Carter assured Cédras that he would not even have to leave Haiti, declaring "it's a serious violation of inherent human rights for a citizen to be forced into exile"! Carter was so impressed with this blood-soaked "man of honor" that he invited him to teach at his Sunday school in Georgia!

Under the pact, the structure of Haiti's brutal armed forces will be maintained. Haitian "constitutional" law will determine who replaces Cédras, chief of staff Biamby and police chief François, who runs the death squads known as the *attachés*. This means the new chiefs will be chosen from senior military officers, notorious butchers who all backed the coup against Aristide. The "new" police force will be chosen from the ranks of the military and trained by U.S. personnel, while the sadistic military leaders

will be granted a blanket amnesty by the Haitian parliament. Refusing at first to voice approval for the agreement, Father Aristide succumbed to pressure from the White House, gave his blessing to the pact, and told his followers to be vigilant against "provocation."

The occupation forces are quickly moving to implement the plan. Clinton has already begun returning Haitian refugees from a concentration camp at the U.S. Navy's base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. In classic colonial fashion, U.S. forces plan to ring the Haitian parliament, which has been summoned to meet by Aristide from his Washington exile to approve the amnesty deal. Pro-junta Haitian senators "elected" in 1993 "will not be allowed to attend," according to Embassy spokesman Stan Schrage, while exiled pro-Aristide congressmen will be flown in from the U.S.

The Haitian masses may not be so pliant about amnesty for the military thugs who have terrorized them for decades. So far the demonstrations have been aimed at pressuring the American forces. On September 24, hundreds marched toward the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, chanting "Handcuff Cédras" and "Jail for the Macoutes," referring to the Tontons Macoutes thugs of the Duvalier dictatorship (overthrown in 1986), many of whom then became *attachés* under the military junta. Once again, the protesters were violently dispersed by cops using tear gas, clubs and rifles, while U.S. troops watched. But the illusions in the "democratic" imperialist occupiers will not last.

Briefing reporters at the White House after these latest beatings of Aristide supporters, General Shalikashvili voiced "concern" that U.S. troops would be drawn into "Haitian-on-Haitian violence." This vile racist apology for the junta killers was dutifully repeated by television reporters. Warning against what is now, after the U.S. fiasco in Somalia, called "mission creep"—American troops being drawn into a "police role"—a senior officer remarked: "The only institution in Haiti that works is the military. Essentially civil order has always been maintained by a system of intimidation, and clearly the only way it was, is, you thumped people" (*New York Times*, 21 September). The Pentagon should know: Cédras and François as well as their potential replacements were trained in American military academies. And now U.S. troops will directly supervise—or carry out—the "thumping."

In gearing up to "uphold democracy" in Haiti, Navy ships replaced normal stocks of anti-armor weaponry with "crowd control" matériel such

as gas masks, shields and clubs. An article in the *Nation* (3 October) quoted a U.S. intelligence officer, who said that the goal of the occupation should be "to do it right, which means people don't resist and people don't go up the hill" to the villas of the Haitian elite in the posh suburb of Pétienville. The article points out that ICITAP, the U.S. agency responsible for building a Haitian police force of 5,000, "was created in 1986 to provide training for the security forces of El Salvador and Guatemala." Moreover, the "new" Haitian police will have access to U.S. immigration authorities' lists of applicants for political asylum and other American intelligence about potential "troublemakers."

Some liberal commentators are now crying "betrayal" over the Carter-Clinton deal with Cédras and the U.S. military's "non-interference" against the regime's bloody repression. They buy the imperialist lie that American intervention could somehow support "democracy." But the history of U.S. depredations in Latin America and around the world shows, as Leninists have always said, that capitalist-imperialism necessarily means the violent suppression of its neo-colonial subjects, whether directly or through local satraps.

## For Class Struggle Against the U.S. Invaders!

Haiti's impoverished masses are in truly desperate straits. The U.S./UN embargo has decimated what existed of a working class. Textile plants in the "free trade zone" have closed, and production of baseballs (one of Haiti's major exports, along with blood plasma) has moved to Costa Rica. The poor are lucky to eat one meal a day. A recent casualty of the deadly embargo was the bassist for the internationally popular music group Boukmans Eksperyans, who died when he could not get an antibiotic to combat bacterial meningitis. Precisely because such conditions cry out for insurrection to root out the oppressors, the U.S. occupiers are prepared to put the Haitian people down in blood, again.

The last time the Marines landed in Haiti, in 1915, they stayed for 19 years and killed 15,000 Haitians. That was in the days when Democrat Woodrow Wilson called to "make the world safe for democracy"...and the profits of American capitalists. Clinton will "uphold democracy" just as ruthlessly. Revolutionaries call unconditionally for U.S. out of Haiti and warn that if and when Aristide returns to the Presidential Palace, he will be the figurehead for American neocolonial rule. In recent days, various reformist leftists in the U.S. have protested against occupation. Yet the Workers World Party, Socialist Workers Party and International Socialist Organization have all given political support to Aristide, who in turn sanctioned first the imperialist embargo and now the "permissive" invasion.

A few groups on the U.S. and Haitian left are critical of Aristide, now that he has revealed his impotence and subservience to the White House. But they don't go beyond the perspective of a (bourgeois) "democratic" revolution, which is the same program that led them to support Aristide's popular front in the first place. The left-wing Haitian newspaper *Haiti-Progress*, whose publisher Ben Dupuy was Aristide's ambassador without portfolio until resigning in 1993, became critical of Aristide after last year's Governor's Island accords—which called for amnesty for the junta killers—and has denounced the U.S. occupation. But in a recent series on Aristide's *Lavalas* (flood) movement, the paper says:

"It's true that it will be difficult for the people to impose the return of its president in the short term, but this is no reason to adopt an ultra-left position of total rejection of President Aristide with whom the people largely continue to identify."

—*Haiti-Progress*, 31 August

The problem, the article says, is that Aris-

## Correction

The introduction to the quote on "British Imperialism in Ireland" in our last issue (WV No. 606, 16 September) erroneously stated that Irish revolutionary James Larkin was executed along with James Connolly by the British following the 1916 Easter Uprising. In fact, Larkin was not in Ireland at the time of the uprising. Between 1914 and 1923, he was active as a revolutionary socialist in the U.S. labor movement. In June 1919, Larkin was elected to the national council of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party, a key component of the future Communist Party. He was imprisoned in New York the following year for his participation in the publication of the Left Wing Manifesto in *Revolutionary Age*. On his release, Larkin was immediately deported back to Ireland. In 1924 he went to Moscow, before returning to a long career as a trade-union leader in Dublin, where he died in January 1948.

# Wohlforth on Haiti Invasion: Give Colonialism a Chance

Last year, the social-democratic magazine *In These Times* (26 July 1993) carried a call for U.S. military intervention in Bosnia. The title: "Give War a Chance." The author of this grotesque appeal was one Tim Wohlforth, the one-time leader of the Workers League who has now become the latest guru of the anti-communist "God That Failed" crowd. Now this "born again" apologist for racist U.S. imperialism has hit the road rallying support for Clinton's colonial invasion of Haiti.

On September 20, Wohlforth invaded cyberspace on the "peacenet" (!) computer bulletin board to hail the imperialist occupation of the tiny black republic as "progress: unclean, partial, but progress." "That's the best we can get in this world," he opined in a sadder-but-wiser tone, "but we must fight on within those parameters."

Five days later, Wohlforth addressed a Berkeley forum on "Intervention in the '90s" to again argue for imperialist occupation of the Caribbean island.

## Pimping for Imperialism

"Until the American troops entered Haiti," he declaimed, "there was no opportunity, no possibility for development or change.... But once we (!) went into Haiti, it opened up possibilities." Right, possibilities like colonial occupation and perhaps mass murder.

Wohlforth's speech was so flagrantly pro-imperialist that he stood way to the right of even the burned-out "left" types that made up most of his audience. Another of the speakers, Tahan Jones, a black former Marine who was imprisoned for refusing to serve in Bush's Gulf War slaughter, exposed the "humanitarian" justification for the U.S. intervention in Somalia, pointing to the massacres carried out by American troops.

Wohlforth is part of a layer of erst-

while antiwar activists of a generation ago who have become the "new interventionists" (see "Clinton's Little Drummer Persons: Rad-Libs for Imperialist Intervention," WV No. 604, 5 August). He intoned in Berkeley: "Some of us on the left believe that we need to build a constituency in the United States and internationally that favors humanitarian intervention when there is no other way...we can prevent the slaughter, the murder, the genocide of millions of defenseless people."

From Bosnia to Somalia to Rwanda, Northern Ireland and now Haiti, the "humanitarian" interventionists peddle the lie that the imperialists will "stop the bloodshed." This appeal is directed to the ruling class which A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtered

millions in Korea and Indochina and most recently carried out mass murder in Iraq!

A Spartacist League spokesman intervened from the floor at the Berkeley forum to denounce this pro-imperialist toady. Noting that Rudyard Kipling, "the poet laureate of British imperialism," spoke of the "white man's burden" to justify the colonial rape of Africa and Asia, he called Wohlforth "a latter-day Rudyard Kipling who pretends to be a leftist." By Wohlforth's lights, perhaps the British should have intervened in the U.S. Civil War to "stop the bloodshed"!

The SL speaker responded to Wohlforth's claim that it was "morally indefensible" for American leftists to oppose U.S. intervention in Somalia, saying:

"If it was morally indefensible for us to oppose it, presumably it was also morally indefensible for the Somalis to oppose it. So this line of argument is a justification for the massacre of the Somalis yesterday, and for the Haitians tomorrow."

Max Shachtman earned the epithet "State Department socialist" for his support to the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Castro's Cuba. Does Tim Wohlforth's push to extend the long arm of U.S. imperialism today qualify him as a "Langley liberal"?

tide allowed *Lavalas* to be under the "control" of bourgeois forces, and that there were no mass organizations that could pressure Aristide in the other direction.

Following the model of Allende's *Unidad Popular* in Chile in 1970-1973, the petty-bourgeois leftists around Aristide in *Lavalas* allied with capitalist figures like Antoine Isméry (who was dragged out of a church memorial service and assassinated by the regime last year) in order to reassure the Haitian bourgeois elite that the movement would not challenge capitalist property or "uproot" the military and *attachés*. And just as Allende appointed the "constitutionalist" general Pinochet to head the Chilean armed forces, who then led the coup to overthrow the UP government, so Aristide appointed Cédras head of the Haitian army. When he was overthrown by Cédras, Aristide turned straight to the imperialists. At no time has he called for a mass uprising against the junta killers, and now he is openly in the pocket of the U.S. occupiers.

Haiti's working people, peasants and unemployed, starving under the U.S./UN embargo, are thirsting for retribution for the horrendous crimes dealt them by the military, police and *attachés*, the guard dogs of the mulatto bourgeois elite. In the turbulence sweeping Haiti today, as happened when "Baby Doc" Duvalier fled in 1986, there will certainly be

demands for "*dechoukaj*" (uprooting) of the military rulers. Thousands of victims will seek revenge against the death squad butchers, most likely by means of *Père Lebrun* ("necklacing," or putting a flaming tire around the neck of the culprit when caught). A workers and peasants government would avert an orgy of random bloodletting by organizing popular tribunals to mete out justice against these pathological killers. But for such tribunals to be anything but an isolated phenomenon, it is necessary to defeat the U.S. colonial occupation through revolutionary action.

For the American forces will attempt to smash every serious opposition against the military machine which they themselves created (during the 1915-34 occupation) and have sustained ever since. In order to root out imperialism's local henchmen, and to break the chains of imperialist oppression, it is necessary to break politically from Aristide's *Lavalas* popular front, which has tied Haitian peasants and workers to the few bourgeois liberals in Haiti and the "democratic" imperialists in Washington. From the beginning, Aristide had a *nationalist bourgeois program* to "democratize" capitalism in Haiti. But to end imperialist domination and liberate the Haitian masses from the rule of the bloody military requires *internationalist socialist revolution*, in which the hundreds of thou-

sands of Haitian workers in the diaspora will play a crucial role.

A *workers and peasants government*, simply to survive, must spread the flames of revolution from Haiti's half of the island of Hispaniola to the Dominican Republic, where Haitians slave away in the sugar plantations and there is a small industrial and mining proletariat. Above all, the fight must be taken to the U.S. and Canada. In contrast to petty-bourgeois leftists, like the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, who raise a nationalist perspective of peasant guerrilla warfare, we Trotskyists look to the numerous Haitian workers along the Eastern seaboard of North America, from

Montreal to Miami, who can be won to a proletarian revolutionary program.

Three years ago, over 100,000 Haitians marched through Wall Street in what was effectively a general strike of Haitian workers in New York City. Yet that tremendous power was squandered in the service of liberal pro-Aristide, pro-Clinton leaders, who today support the U.S. occupation. It is necessary to break from the class-collaborationist politics of the popular front to fight for the class independence of the proletariat. Haitian workers must not fight alone, but together with militant workers throughout North America, to forge a world party of socialist revolution.

The International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and for asylum for Haitian refugees. We mobilize to defend the Cuban Revolution, whose gains are increasingly under attack by internal counterrevolution and the Yankee military buildup in the Caribbean. We honor the tradition of the great Haitian revolutionary Toussaint L'Ouverture—who saw the struggle against slavery and for Haitian independence as part of the worldwide revolutionary movement of his time, the French Revolution, and whose struggle in Haiti inspired black slaves throughout the Caribbean and the Americas to struggle for freedom. We follow the path of the Russian Bolsheviks Lenin and Trotsky, who built the revolutionary vanguard party that led the working people to power against world imperialism in 1917. This is the only road to liberation for the impoverished masses, from the slums of Port-au-Prince to the imperialist heartland. ■



Workers in Panama City dig out mass grave where 123 bodies were dumped by U.S. military during 1989 invasion which slaughtered 2,000 Panamanians.

# Flint...

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strikers have GM by the throat.

The current strike is the fifth against GM this year, preceded by walkouts at a plant in Shreveport, Louisiana, another in Dayton, Ohio, the GM Technical Center in Warren, Michigan and, most recently, at the Anderson, Indiana electrical and bumper parts plant. In just three days, the strike by Local 663 in Anderson in late August shut down 15 GM plants with almost 50,000 workers. But with GM on the ropes, the UAW International settled, agreeing to the company's demand to "outsource" some parts production to low-wage plants in exchange for some short-term job "guarantees."

Even as sales, profits and executive bonuses skyrocket, the company continues to slash away at production jobs. For the bosses, it is far cheaper to exploit the hell out of a smaller workforce than to rehire any of the hundreds of thousands of laid-off GM workers and have to pay pension and health benefits. The recent strikes come in response to a GM master plan to sell or close outright over 20 percent of its parts factories in North America, leading to the elimination of 50,000 more jobs—one-fifth of the entire GM workforce—by late 1996.

But the UAW International, which keeps a stranglehold on local strikes, is only contesting "how—not whether—to restructure GM's enormous parts-making operation" (*New York Times*, 27 August). The massive job losses at GM have gone unopposed by "Solidarity" House, which, even under the terms of its own sellout contract, is supposed to be able to demand that the company hire one new worker for every two who retire



Wayne State University  
**Sit-down strikers at Fisher Body in Flint, February 1937. Plant occupations forged the union at General Motors.**

or leave. The *Times* smugly notes that this is "a fact that neither side mentions, perhaps because it might embarrass the UAW leadership."

But the gang that runs "Sacrifice House" has enforced the concessions and mass layoffs that extracted billions in givebacks out of a dwindling workforce. The job cuts at GM have been paralleled throughout the Big Three—at Ford, the workforce has been slashed by more than half in the last 15 years, while production increased. The resulting decimation of labor and black cities like Flint and Detroit was captured in Michael Moore's film *Roger and Me*.

Particularly since the plant closings and concessions at Chrysler in 1979, the UAW bureaucracy has acted as ruthless company cops intent on helping the Big Three become more "competitive,"

which means driving up the rate of exploitation. Health care concessions, mass layoffs, wage givebacks, two-tier contracts are the toll extracted by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants. From 1.5 million members in 1979, the UAW now represents less than half that number. In the Midwest rustbowl, grinding overtime exists side by side with widespread unemployment, especially among blacks. What is needed is a fight for jobs: 30 hours work for 40 hours pay—reduce the workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work.

The Flint strike in this pivotal GM industrial complex could be a springboard for industry-wide action by all auto workers to roll back the decade and more of givebacks and job losses. Spread the strike!

Instead of fighting the auto bosses, the UAW bureaucracy pushes the most grotesque, racist protectionism against Japanese and Mexican auto workers with the claim that they are "stealing American jobs." The strike at Buick City is a chance to sharply repudiate this poison which pits U.S. workers against their class brothers and sisters in other countries. By linking their fight for jobs to the struggle of auto workers in Canada and Mexico, workers in Flint and throughout the UAW can counter the labor traitors who only aid the U.S. capitalists in their NAFTA rape of Mexico.

The Caterpillar, Staley and rubber workers defending their jobs against scabs in the Midwest are up against the same class enemy as Ford workers at the giant Cuautitlán plant in Mexico battling violent company and police terror.

In the context of a sharp drop in living standards and union organization over the past 15 years, there has recently been a spurt of strikes, from the Midwest to rail in New York and transit in L.A. But in every case striking workers have been held back by the shackles placed on them by the labor misleaders. *Business Week* (23 May) brags: "Over the past dozen years, in fact, U.S. industry has conducted one of the most successful anti-union wars ever." The catastrophic defeats inflicted by this one-sided class war are the result of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy tying the working class to the bosses' laws and politicians, like "open shop" president Clinton.

A fight for jobs for all requires the forging of a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. What is needed is a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government that will do away with the irrationalities of capitalism and create a socialist planned economy. ■

## Spartacist Events



### Spartacist League Forums

#### Yankee Invaders Ride Roughshod in Caribbean

## Defend the Cuban Revolution! U.S. Out of Haiti!

- Aristide Invites Colonial Invasion
- Castro Regime at Dead End—Selling Off Gains of the Revolution
- New World Disorder and the Collapse of Stalinism
- Fight Imperialism Through International Workers Revolution!

Speaker: Marjorie Stenberg

SL Central Committee, Workers Vanguard Editorial Board

Saturday, Oct. 1, 7 p.m.

Emerson Hall, Room 305  
Harvard University  
(in Harvard Yard)

For more information: (617) 492-3928

**BOSTON**

Sunday, Oct. 2, 3 p.m.

Room: West Lecture Hall  
Bldg: Franklin Patterson Hall  
Hampshire College

For more information: (617) 492-3928

**AMHERST**

Thursday, Oct. 6, 7:30 p.m.

P.S. 41

116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Ave.)  
For more information: (212) 267-1025

**NEW YORK CITY**

Wednesday, Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m.

Undergraduate Library Lecture Room  
Howard University

For more information: (202) 872-8240

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, Spartacist League Central Committee

Saturday, October 8, 7:30 p.m.

**CHICAGO**

Regency Room, Blackstone Hotel  
636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)

For more information: (312) 663-0715

### Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Forums

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

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

Alternate Wednesdays, 7:30 p.m.

Next class: October 12

*Black Liberation Through  
Socialist Revolution*

University of Illinois  
Illini Union, Room 403

For more information: (217) 352-3359

**CHAMPAIGN/URBANA**

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.

First class: October 6

*The Basics of Marxism*

Spartacist Public Office  
161 W. Harrison, 10th floor

For more information: (312) 663-0715

**CHICAGO**

#### The ABCs of Communism

Alternate Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

Next class: October 12

204 Dwinelle  
UC Berkeley

For more information: (510) 839-0851

**BERKELEY**

Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.

First class: October 6

Student Union, Room B114  
San Francisco State University

For more information: (415) 777-9367

**SAN FRANCISCO**

#### The Fight for Socialism

Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.

Next class: October 8

*State and Revolution*

**NEW YORK CITY**

Spartacist Public Office  
41 Warren St.

(One block south of Chambers between  
Church and West Broadway)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

# Barry...

(continued from page 16)

on the streets and institute the death penalty for a host of "federal" crimes. Most recently, Congress ordered the District to cut \$140 million from its budget and eliminate 2,000 workers from its payroll. This is on top of the 2,500 jobs already slashed by Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly over the past four years.

When Kelly came into office four years ago in the wake of Barry's arrest and conviction, she was the darling of Congress. But the honeymoon didn't last long. The D.C. government's perennial fiscal crises soured her relationship with Capitol Hill. City labor unions hated her union-busting policies, and the city's poor and oppressed masses had no use for her because she was cold, aloof and rich. Kelly went so far as to try to build a guard shack on the sidewalk in front of her house, but even her neighbors in upscale Upper Northwest Washington thought this was a bit much.

Black D.C. had had it with Kelly, and with the federal government. So Marion Barry saw his chance for a comeback. It's not that things were so great under Barry. He was mayor for 12 years, during which time he was the willing instrument of the real estate moguls against the black unions, infant mortality rates were astronomical, and he presided over the drug witchhunt until it witchhunted him out of office. In November 1982, when the Ku Klux Klan said it would march in the capital for the first time since the 1920s, Barry just skipped town. The Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization of 5,000 that stopped the racist terrorists cold.

But blacks are still furious about how Marion Barry was set up. The feds ran a massive operation against him for eight years, costing millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of man-hours, trying to "get something" on the black mayor. They sorted through his American Express bills, staked out his house, examined city contracts he had signed, analyzed his bank accounts, checked his tax returns—and came up with zip. So then they ran a classic honey-trap, getting an old flame to lure him into a wired room in the Vista Hotel. When she got a crack pipe from the feds holed up in the next room and the mayor took one puff, the FBI burst in the door. The mayor was publicly humiliated, as a videotape of the bust was played over and over on TV. Although they could only get a jury to convict him on a misdemeanor possession charge, he was given the maximum sentence in a federal penitentiary.

After his release, Barry cleaned up his act, got himself a small apartment in the poorest ward in the city, and started rebuilding his base. He was "born again," remarried, started going to A.A. meetings and took to wearing African garb. Two years ago, voters in his ward elected him to the city council. This year,



As Mayor, Marion Barry supervised racist "war on drugs," shown here in 1989 police raid and eviction of black residents in SE Washington. Johnston/Washington Post

Barry put his experience in the civil rights movement to use, as his supporters canvassed the streets all summer long, registering thousands of new voters. He could tell the poor and oppressed that he's been down and out too, and his message came across. But his political program is the same as the rest of the Democrats and Republicans: "get tough on crime, balance the budget." In other words, more arrests and less jobs.

Barry has also hooked up with a coterie of right-wing religious leaders, pushing for prayer in the schools and spurning gay voters, whom he used to court. He touts his friendship with the sinister demagogue Louis Farrakhan to boost his "street" image. When most black leaders abandoned Barry after his arrest in 1990, Farrakhan supported him. Now Barry is hanging out with the likes of Rev. Willie Wilson, who organized vicious anti-Korean protests in Southeast D.C. in 1988, and with Farrakhanite hustler Malik Zulu Shabazz, who has been organizing anti-Semitic rallies at Howard University.

In many ways, Barry is the quintessence of that wing of the civil rights movement who put their black militant credentials in the service of the ruling class. These "dashiki Democrats" were installed as mayors of cities from Detroit to D.C. to clamp the lid back on the ghettos after they exploded in anger in the late 1960s. When he was first elected mayor, Barry was a tool of the real estate interests seeking contracts to rebuild the city. Today, with no more contracts to deal out, Barry pushes economic "self-help" programs like Project Ujamaa, which urges blacks to switch bank accounts from white-owned to black-owned institutions. But getting a decent life for the mass of black people is not a matter of getting a loan to set up a dry cleaner's or buy a franchise for a fast food outlet. Blacks cannot "pull themselves up by their bootstraps" because the white racist ruling class has its boot on their necks.

On election day, Barry swept the poor wards of the city, but also did quite well

in black middle-class areas of the city that the pundits thought would go to his opponents. A black lawyer explained why: "I voted for Barry to give the powers that be the finger, to let them know that there is a palpable rage even among the middle class. Marion Barry is unbowed in the face of all that he has been through. He is the slave that was beaten by the slave master and didn't shed a tear" (*Washington Post*, 15 September).

The indigenous working class in Washington is overwhelmingly black. Whites who live in D.C. tend to be professionals. At the time of his arrest, Barry was dropped like a hot potato by the liberal whites who used to be part of his old constituency. During the campaign they treated him like a leper. Now they are appalled. The day after the election, Barry was asked by a reporter what he had to say to whites who did not support him. Barry replied, "Get over it." This defiant statement now has the racists fuming, even though Barry leans over backward to reassure the capitalists once again he will defend their profit system: "I know best how to protect their investments, their homes, their businesses. I know best how to balance this budget. I know best how to save our city from financial collapse" (*Washington Post*, 15 September).

The white racists' fury over Marion Barry recalls the hysteria over Harlem Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr. For his high-living and defiant advocacy of his black constituency, Congress stripped Powell of his Congressional seat in 1967. Despite (or because of) this, Harlem re-elected Powell time and again, seeing a vote for him as an act of pride and repudiation of the white racist establishment. Marion Barry deserves the right to exercise the perquisites of office, like any other elected official. We denounce any attempt to put shackles on the already limited democratic rights for black D.C. But Marion Barry, like Adam Clayton Powell, cannot change the conditions of black life in the ghettos and inner cities of America. That will require getting rid of the racist capitalist system

which has held black people in thrall, from chattel slavery to wage slavery. Today these rulers have not only turned black D.C. into a wasteland, but have destroyed industry across the country in the interest of corporate greed.

The road to black freedom will not come through electing black Democrats such as Marion Barry, who have no choice but to carry out the cutbacks ordered by the white rulers. On the outs with the Clintonite "New Democratic" yuppie racists, black capitalist politicians, including the dwindling number of "BEOs" (black elected officials), have taken up a posture of defensive "black unity" with the likes of Farrakhan, for example in the National African American Leadership Summit in Baltimore last June. But the occasional militant posturing and even talk of forming a black party from this layer is only a means of pressuring the partner parties of American capitalism. These black bourgeois leaders are viscerally hostile to the fight against black oppression, in fact they're part of its superstructure, they feed off it.

Thus ex-NAACP head Ben Chavis—like Barry a former civil rights activist become "mainstream" politico, only to be brought down when he was deemed an embarrassment to the white rulers—responded to outrage over Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's restaurants by demanding a black person be seated on the corporation's board of directors and contracts and franchises for black businessmen. It was the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League who called coast-to-coast protests to demand equal treatment, good service and food for all at Denny's, and unionization of its low-paid workers. Faced with the devastation of the education system and the isolation of a whole generation of black inner-city youth from the means of production, what's needed is a fighting workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed.

The racist double standard of capitalist America is infuriating. A big-time criminal and convicted felon like Ollie North—who organized mass murder, lied to Congress and waves the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror—is a respectable candidate for Senator from Virginia. But let Marion Barry, who was entrapped by the FBI and sent to jail for nothing, get elected to the relatively powerless mayor's office, and the racists want to take away the vote! The racist press screams about how Washington is the "murder capital" of the U.S., but it doesn't say much about how it's the infant mortality capital of the country. Today the rate of babies dying from malnutrition and other diseases in Washington, D.C. is double that of Cuba, even under the imperialist starvation blockade. The American capitalist system is built on a bedrock of racist oppression, and it will take socialist revolution to achieve genuine social emancipation for black people. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD



Susan Meiselas photos  
Marion Barry after recent Democratic primary victory (top), four years after being arrested while mayor in 1990 FBI entrapment operation.

## —Racist Establishment Fumes— Black D.C. Elects Marion Barry, Again

**Break with the Democrats, Enemies of Black Freedom!**

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a stunning rebuke to the white capitalist rulers who run this country, black voters in Washington turned out in record numbers to give Marion Barry a solid victory in the Democratic mayoral primary election on September 13. The racists thought they had buried Barry politically four years ago, when after a massive FBI operation they entrapped the black mayor in a grotesque hotel room sting and sent him to the federal pen on a *misdemeanor* drug charge. Now their conspiracy has backfired, and Barry is back. But make no mistake. As mayor, the “reborn” Marion Barry, no less than the “rogue,” will be pushing through vicious cutbacks and ordering cop assaults on black youth on behalf of the White House and Congress.

For the American bourgeoisie, the fact that the national capital is an overwhelmingly (two-thirds) black city represents an important strategic weakness to its imperial rule. For decades, Southern Dixiecrats in Congress like Mississippi Senator Bilbo ran D.C. like it was their plantation. They only allowed black Washington to elect a toothless mayor and city council as a result of the ghetto explosion which shook the city in 1968. As the FBI was stalking Mayor Barry during the Bush administration, Barbara Bush said “everyone” she knew wanted to “get our city back.” The ruling class would like to “fight crime” in the capital using police-state measures in the black wards never seen by the tourists. If they have to have a black mayor, they want him to be a doorman—to usher in visiting dignitaries—or a doormat.

But the black residents of the District are also fed up. There is no end in sight to the joblessness, homelessness, discrimination and crime that is suffocating the city. The entire school system was ordered to remain closed this fall until unsafe conditions were remedied.

(No problem for the Clintons; Chelsea goes to an exclusive private school.) Thousands of desperate black people, young and old, hang out on the streets with nothing to do, day in and day out. The Maryland and Virginia suburbs, already among the wealthiest communities in the nation, are getting richer as jobs flow out of the city. Congress is trying to move federal agencies, long a mainstay of black employment, out to the Beltway and beyond.

The vote was an across-the-board repudiation of the white “establishment,” not only by Barry’s base in the desperately poor Ward 8 in Anacostia, but also by middle-class blacks. Many voted for Barry because the haughty liberal *Washington Post* endorsed his opponent in the primary, John Ray. The word on the street was, “We’re not going to let *them* tell us what to do.” In response, a racist backlash is underway. Congress already decreed that “statehood” is a dead letter, and following Barry’s election (his victory in the November general election is taken for granted) there are now threats to repeal the 1973 limited “Home Rule” Act, or at least slash the D.C. budget to ribbons. Jim Saxton, a Republican member of the House D.C. Committee, threatened:

“If Marion Barry does somehow manage to ascend to the mayoral seat, we must examine the D.C. governing process and whether it is a truly effective use of taxpayer funds.”

—*New York Times*, 15 September

Two years ago, amid a wave of racist “crime” hysteria, they tried to foist a death penalty on D.C. A referendum on the issue was handily defeated, but now the Democrats and Republicans have passed their national crime bill, which will put hundreds more cops

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## Fed Up With Speedup and Forced Overtime

# Flint GM Workers Shut Down Buick City

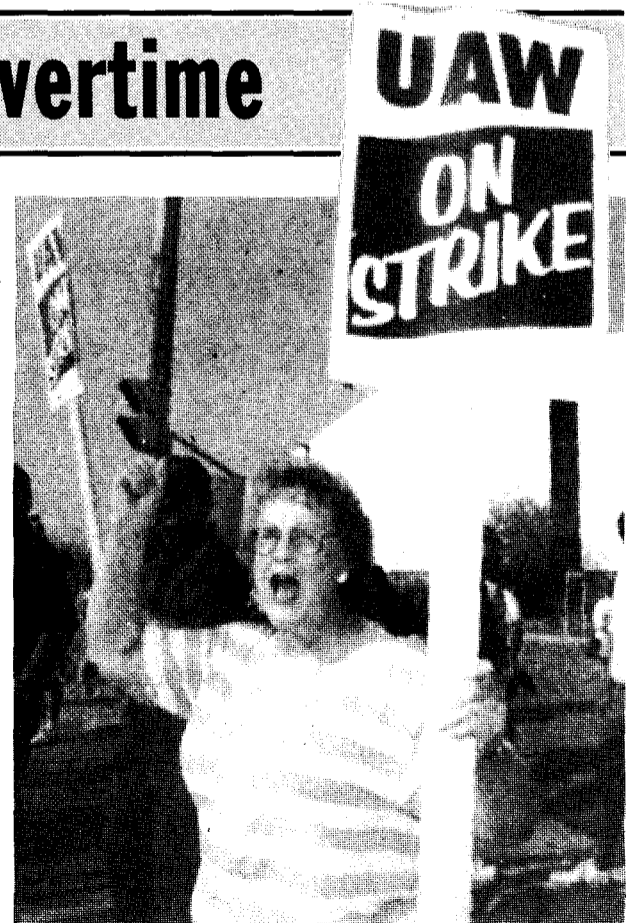
SEPTEMBER 27—Production ground to a halt at the 25 plants in General Motor’s huge Buick City complex in Flint, Michigan today, as 11,500 members of United Auto Workers Local 599 walked out in the middle of the day shift over speedup and unsafe working conditions. The union is demanding that GM open up new jobs in the scores of plants the company has padlocked in recent years. Workers from other area plants joined Local 599 members on the picket line on Tuesday. Flint Locals 659 and 326 have also demanded their own strike authorization from the UAW International.

Flint workers are seething. A Local 599 spokesman told *Workers Vanguard* that Buick City hasn’t added a single permanent new-hire since 1979. One woman picket said every day on the assembly line feels like a day and a half. No wonder! Management has been

imposing an average of 17 hours overtime a week to keep up the nerve-wracking pace of production. Meanwhile, GM slashed more than 230,000 jobs between 1979 and 1993, 50,000 of them just in the last three years.

If the UAW bureaucrats don’t cave in to a rapid “settlement,” this strike will have immediate repercussions throughout the GM empire. Buick City produces key parts for every GM car and most trucks. Plants on four continents, employing over 100,000 workers, will quickly run out of transmission components made in the Buick City Powertrain facility and be forced to close in a matter of days. With the company’s “just-in-time” inventory system, where parts go directly from factory to assembly line without being stockpiled, the

*continued on page 14*



AP  
Auto strikers shut down GM’s Anderson, Indiana plant in August.