

Exploiting Oklahoma Bombing, Clinton Launches New COINTELPRO

Feds Target Everybody

With consummate cynicism, President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno have claimed the men, women and children buried under the rubble of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City as their martyrs in a sinister crusade to beef up the government's arsenal of police-state measures. The capitalist media dutifully join in beating the drums for a new "war on extremism," justifying a wholesale attack on fundamental constitutional guarantees—like the right to bear arms and freedom of speech and association—by pointing to the growing danger of armed right-wing fanatics in the "militia" movements. But the feds, who over the decades have turned a blind eye to or abetted Ku Klux Klan bombers and anti-abortion terrorists, are not about to stop the fascists.

At the same time, in the absence of any real social struggle, U.S. rulers currently don't need a fascist movement to move toward a bonapartist "strong state." They're already implementing many such measures within the present framework. They're seeking to expand and legitimize the methods of state terror, surveillance and harassment used against left-wing, black and trade-union militants and extend them in order to regiment the population as a whole. As we warned last issue: "In the name of combatting 'terrorism,' the government wants to give a legal cover to a wholesale abrogation of everyone's rights—authorizing them to open your mail, listen in on your phone calls, keep tabs on who you associate with, and assert a state monopoly of armed force."

Bill Clinton's Democrats and Newt Gingrich's Republicans are pushing a



Paul Hosefros/NY Times

Federal drug raid in Washington, D.C.: "war on drugs" targets black people.

slew of new repressive measures. Justified as a response to the horrendous bombing in Oklahoma City, they were all laid out long before. The new "anti-terrorism" package includes all the measures they couldn't get through in Clinton's draconian "anti-crime" bill passed last year, and then some. This is a continuation of the juridical counter-revolution inaugurated by the Rehnquist Supreme Court in the 1980s, which has increasingly laid siege to the elementary legal tenet of Anglo-Saxon common law, "innocent until proven guilty." Currently, there is a concerted effort to roll back the *habeas corpus* right to legal appeals and sharply restrict the Bill of Rights.

The campaign to regiment the population comes amid a rising tide of anti-immigrant racism, an all-sided assault on the ghettos and barrios, a speedup on death row. It reflects sharp shifts in the profile of the American capitalist system, whose massive redistribution of wealth over the last 15 years has impoverished whole layers of the population and made the filthy rich far richer. Today the U.S. has the greatest disparity of income and wealth of any major industrial country. The income distribution here is beginning to look more and more like Latin America—with an impoverished base at the bottom and a tiny layer of super-rich at the top—and so, increasingly, is the repressive apparatus.

Today both capitalist parties are busy shredding any and every social program which benefited the poor and working people. While demagogically playing the race card—portraying desperate immigrant workers and black welfare mothers as a "drain" on the economy—they're also going after Medicare, Social Security and unemployment insurance. After pouring trillions into the "war against

Communism," the U.S. is the most massively indebted country in the world. Meanwhile, its imperialist competitors invested in modern productive plant and equipment. Now Wall Street and Washington are trying to pay off their debt load by taking it out of the hides of workers and minorities. And accompanying an increased rate of exploitation is intensified state repression.

Despite the lack of any real social struggle, the rulers are cognizant that they have generated a seething mass of anger at the bottom of this society. De-industrialization in the '80s followed by the "demilitarization" of the '90s has produced a huge number of permanently unemployed or marginally paid workers, not only blacks and Hispanics but also among whites. The multiracial L.A. upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who brutally beat Rodney King shook the ruling class. Fearing future explosions of plebeian discontent, to preserve their rule they must bring the iron heel of state repression down harder.

That's what is behind the "war on drugs," the "war on crime" and now the "war on extremism."

The government's attack on civil liberties is an object lesson in the nature of the capitalist state, an instrument of repression and terror aimed at keeping working people and minorities "in their place." Proclaiming a "New World Order" over the corpse of the Soviet Union, the masters of U.S. imperialism vow that there will never again be another proletarian revolution like in October 1917, whose precursor they see in the Jacobin terror of the French Revolution. Around the world, bourgeois figures are taking aim even at the legacy of the *bourgeois* revolution, from the French Enlightenment to the American Bill of Rights. However, an outbreak of sharp class struggle could tear to shreds the capitalist rulers' designs to straitjacket political dissent and opposition. The social upheavals of the 1960s in opposition to Jim Crow segregation in the South and

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AP

Clinton uses Oklahoma bomb atrocity to push police-state measures.



**50 Years After
Red Army Smashed
Nazi Regime**

**Fourth Reich
in the
"New World Order"**

SEE PAGE 8



For International Workers Action Against Bolivian State of Siege

The following statement was distributed at a demonstration in London on April 25 protesting the brutal repression of trade unionists in Bolivia. On May 1, bowing to the state of siege, the COB union federation called off its general strike, and soon after, the teachers also returned to work after 50 days of hard struggle. As we go to press, several hundred unionists and leftists are still being held under military law.

The state of siege decreed by the Bolivian government at midnight, April 19 is an assault on the trade-union movement

and a frontal attack on the rights of the working people and horribly impoverished masses of this Andean country. This act of force is aimed at smashing the general strike under way for the last three weeks, which in turn was called to back up the 80,000 teachers, on strike for a month and a half against the government's plans to "privatize"—i.e., liquidate—public education.

That these "exceptional measures" are intended to behead the workers movement was clearly shown by the police raid on a national meeting of the Central Obrera Boliviana in the capital of La



Thousands of striking teachers demonstrated in La Paz, March 1995. Over 1,000 workers, students and others have been arrested in current wave of repression.

Paz, where over 100 COB leaders were arrested and loaded onto trucks, hauled off to the military airport of El Alto and then flown to internal exile in disease-ridden jungle areas of the country. Altogether, more than 1,000 workers, teachers, students, peasants and others have been arrested, and according to official figures more than 300 are presently being held in jails and places of detention around Bolivia.

Above all, this is a brazen attempt to install a "virtual dictatorship"—as COB leader Oscar Salas managed to exclaim before being dragged off—in order to implement draconian "neo-liberal" austerity policies made in the U.S.A. Bolivia is touted as the model for the vicious "shock treatment" of Harvard's expert in capitalist starvation, Jeffrey Sachs, who, based on his "success" in decimating the already miserable living standards in Bolivia, went on to devise similar plans to consolidate counterrevolution through impoverishing the workers in Poland and the USSR. Dreamed up in academic think tanks, endorsed by Washington and Wall Street, ordered by the IMF, these monstrous schemes are now being enforced by riot sticks and automatic rifles of the Bolivian government. In this, they are assisted by the DEA drug squads, who have trained the notorious drug-trafficking "anti-drug" units of the Bolivian military to unleash terror against peasant coca growers. We demand: U.S. imperialist agencies and "advisers" out of Bolivia now!

The mass arrest of the COB leadership took place even before the "exceptional measures" were announced. Earlier that day, a squad of the Bolivian navy arrested peasant union leaders who were meeting in the town of Copacabana. And news dispatches report a raid by more than two dozen heavily armed police on the residence of Guillermo Lora, leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party). The martyrdom of his brother, mine workers leader César Lora, vilely murdered by the military 20 years ago this July, is vividly remembered by Bolivian workers, as is the murder of union and leftist leaders when the García Meza junta assaulted and demolished the COB headquarters in 1980. And around the world, the Bolivian army is reviled for its mercenary role in the CIA assassination of Ernesto Che Guevara.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a message to the Bolivian embassy denouncing the raids and arrests, demanding the state of siege be lifted and all victims of the reactionary crackdown released. We call on working-class organizations and defenders of democratic liberties around the world to join in protesting the Bolivian government's dictatorial measures and assault on the labor movement. The international working class holds the government of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada responsible for anything that happens to those it has seized.

President Sánchez clearly intends to repeat his "exploit" of 1985-86, when after defeating a march on La Paz by the

militant tin miners, the government in which Sánchez was then the economic czar simply closed down the state-owned mines. In March 1985, at the height of a general strike, the unions had effectively occupied the capital. But as in any real general strike, the question was sharply posed: which class shall rule? The COB leadership under veteran caudillo Juan Lechín did nothing, and eventually voted to disband the occupation. Nor did Lora's POR wage the crucial fight to build workers militias and workers councils (soviets) as the vehicle for a proletarian fight for power.

In the aftermath of this ignominious defeat, the number of miners of the state Comibol corporation was reduced from 30,000 in 1986 to less than 3,000 today. The rest were driven off the Altiplano and forced to cultivate coca to survive. Meanwhile, under the watchword of "capitalization" President Sánchez and his family bought up the most lucrative mines to line their own pockets. Today the Bolivian government seeks to bludgeon the workers, teachers, students and peasants into submission to its starvation plans dictated from Washington. But even propped up on the bayonets of its mercenary army, the regime of looter-in-chief Sánchez de Losada will not rest easy. The U.S. will not stand by its "democratic" would-be dictator when his usefulness is at an end any more than it did with earlier American puppets, from Trujillo to Somoza.

The proletariat of the Altiplano has given magnificent examples of heroic struggle in the almost half a century since the tin bosses of *la rosca* were driven from their palatial mansions. But at the height of the 1952 uprising by workers and peasants, the possibility of workers revolution was aborted as the COB gave its backing to the same National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) that is today in power. At that crucial time, Lora's POR called for all power to the left wing of the bourgeois-nationalist MNR (led by Lechín) rather than fighting for a workers and peasants government. Two decades later, in 1971, the POR formed a "revolutionary front" with army general Juan José Torres as the fraudulent "answer" to the coup by dictator Hugo Banzer. (Torres quickly laid down his arms.) In the name of Bolivian exceptionalism, such all-too-typical class collaboration has over and over been the bane of the Bolivian proletariat.

What is necessary is a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the class-conscious Bolivian workers, at the head of the oppressed Aymará and Quechua Indian masses and aided by their allies around the globe, in the struggle to put an end to the capitalist tyranny which has meant that ever since colonial times the base of the silver mountain of Potosí has been surrounded by Indian laborers' hovels. The wealth of this long-suffering land belongs to those who produce it! For an authentic Bolivian Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International! ■

British Labourism vs. Socialist Revolution



TROTSKY

The reformist leadership of the British Labour Party remains today, as it has been since its inception, the chief internal obstacle to the socialist aspirations of the British working class. A key influence in the early development of the Labour Party was the reformist Fabian Society of Sidney Webb, who authored the 1918 party constitution's famous Clause Four, calling for "common ownership" of the means of production. This



LENIN

socialist fig leaf was adopted to co-opt the radical sympathies of many workers for the 1917 Russian October Revolution, while covering up Labour's loyal service to the British capitalist state. In a scathing 1925 polemic, Leon Trotsky underscored the need to politically defeat the social-democratic ideologists in the course of splitting Labour's working-class base from their pro-capitalist leaders, the key to forging a revolutionary party.

There is no other country in the world in which the class character of socialism has been so objectively, obviously, unquestionably, empirically revealed by history as in England. For in this country, the Labour Party grew out of the parliamentary representation of the trade unions, i.e., the purely class organizations of wage labor....

Reformists who resist the proletarian class consciousness are, in the last analysis, a weapon in the hands of the ruling class. Throughout the history of the English labor movement we find a pressure exerted on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie through the radicals, intellectuals, parlor and church socialists, Owenites, who deny the class struggle and advance the principle of social solidarity, advocating collaboration with the bourgeoisie, confusing, weakening, and politically debasing the proletariat....

The insipid, optimistic Victorian epoch, in which it was believed that tomorrow will be somewhat better than today and the day after tomorrow still better than tomorrow, has found its most perfect expression in the Webbs, Snowden, MacDonald, and other Fabians. They may therefore be considered as an awkward and useless survival of an epoch that has already been definitely and irrevocably destroyed.... The proletariat is being restrained precisely by its own leading ranks, i.e., by the Fabian politicians and their mental offspring.

These inflated authorities, pedants, conceited and pompous cowards are systematically poisoning the labor movement, obscuring the consciousness of the proletariat, paralyzing its will. Thanks only to them, Toryism, liberalism, the Church, the monarchy, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, continue to maintain themselves and even to feel secure in the saddle. The Fabians, the Independents, the conservative bureaucracy of the trade unions, are now the most counterrevolutionary power in Great Britain and perhaps in the entire present stage of the world situation. The driving out of the Fabians will be equivalent to a liberation of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat of Great Britain, to socialism's conquest of the British fortress of reaction, to the freeing of India and Egypt, and to a mighty stimulus to the movement and growth of the peoples of the Orient.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD



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19 May 1995

Balkan Cauldron Heats Up

The latest in a series of "permanent ceasefire" agreements among the warring Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in the former Yugoslavia officially expired at the end of April. The next day, the Croatian Army swept past the impotent UN "peacekeepers" stationed in the Serb-controlled western Slavonia area. In two days, the Croatian forces seized over 200 square miles of territory, which has historically been inhabited by Serbs but was inside the borders of the Croatian republic when the Yugoslav federation broke up and the latest Balkan war began in 1991. More than 5,000 Serbian refugees fled the advancing Croatian Army as hundreds were killed. In the towns of Pakrac and Okucani, the Croatian Army rounded up over a thousand men from the Serbs left behind, supposedly for "interrogation about war crimes."

In response, local Serb forces sent rockets crashing into the heart of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. In the east, tanks of the rump Yugoslav Republic headed by Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic moved toward the Croatian border. Meanwhile, Bosnian Muslim forces exploited the Croatian offensive to launch an attack on the strategic Serb-held Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia, which is the lifeline between Serbia and the Serbian regions of western Bosnia and Croatia. The Serbs responded by shelling the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. As the four-year-old conflagration heats up again, the possibility looms of all-out war engulfing the Balkan peninsula, stoked by the bloodthirsty nationalists on all sides.

The latest outbreak of communal warring was long foretold, ever since the Zagreb regime under its fascistic leader Franjo Tudjman issued an ultimatum in January demanding the exit of UN "blue helmets" stationed on the cease-fire lines between Serb and Croat forces. At the same time, Jimmy Carter had brokered a "truce" in Bosnia, which however was used by all sides to rearm and reorganize their military forces. As Tudjman's deadline expired, UN troops stepped aside as Croats raided UN arms depots for machine guns and anti-aircraft artillery. This time the Western media, which has generally blamed the Serbs for all the atrocities of the war, couldn't hide the mass killings of Serbs by Croatian forces. The *New York Times* (8 May) reported that half of the 15,000 Serbs living in and around the town of Stara Gradiska had been driven out, adding "it is clear that a good deal of killing took place. The whiff of death lingers in the early-summer air, mixed with the smell of detergent used by Croatian authorities to clean the road."

Western Imperialist Propaganda and the Left

For the last four years, the media have kept up a steady drumbeat about Serbian "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia, ignoring the atrocities by the other sides in the



Reuters photos
Serbian civilians (left) held in detention center by Croatian army (right), which drove out thousands in recent offensive. "Ethnic cleansing" is carried out by all sides in Balkan nationalist war.

territorial conflict among the three South Slav peoples. To justify their call for imperialist military support to the Sarajevo regime, Western liberals have even talked of "genocide" of Muslims by Serbs. A key example was supposed to have been the shelling of a Sarajevo market that killed 68 people in February 1994, which provided the pretext for the first NATO air strike against Serb forces. A suppressed UN report has since indicated that the Bosnian government launched the rocket attack against its own people to draw in Western military support.

Amid the cacophony of comparisons to the Nazi Holocaust, a debunking of this war propaganda has come from an unexpected source: none other than George Kenney, the former State Department official who resigned in 1992 to protest the Bush administration's failure to strongly support the Bosnian Muslims. At that time, Kenney and many others bandied around the figure of 200,000 dead in Bosnia. Now, he admits that these figures were grossly and intentionally exaggerated:

"Bosnia isn't the Holocaust or Rwanda; it's Lebanon...."

"The notion of hundreds of thousands of deaths emerged late in 1992, when 'ethnic cleansing' was in full swing...."

"The Red Cross has confirmed well under 20,000 fatalities on all sides. Extrapolating from that and from the observations of experienced investigators in Bosnia, its analysts estimate total fatalities at 20,000 to 30,000, with a small chance that they may exceed 35,000."

—*New York Times Magazine*,
23 April

Kenney noted that the accounts of "genocide" had a purpose: "In the West, it

meant political support; in the Islamic world, much-needed donations to lubricate the Bosnian war machine." This particularly served the interests of Washington's policy of economic sanctions against Serbia and surreptitious support to the Bosnian Muslim government.

On the left as well, there has been a hue and cry to defend "poor, little" Bosnia from Serbian "aggression," implicitly (and sometimes openly) appealing for NATO imperialist intervention. Various pseudo-Trotskyists, including Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) and Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party, have been up to their necks in a so-called "Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign, a cynical ploy to use sympathy for the plight of the working people in this former Yugoslav republic to promote support to the Bosnian Muslim government (see "What's Behind 'Workers Aid for Bosnia,'" *WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

To disguise this, they claim to be supporting "multi-ethnic" Bosnia against "Great Serbian aggression" (USec resolution, February 1993). Thus they highlighted that the first "Workers Aid" convoy was sent to "the industrial and multi-ethnic city of Tuzla" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1994). However, what residual cross-communist unity and secularism may have survived in cities like Tuzla have been swamped by nationalist and communalist forces on all sides. The social-democratic journal *Uncaptive Minds* (Fall 1994) reported: "In Tuzla, dissatisfaction is increasing, due to the emerging national inequality, pressure, and even threats. The number of Croats and Serbs who

are leaving or want to leave Tuzla is increasing."

The Mandelites' support for a "democratic and multi-ethnic Bosnia" is a cover for their tailing of "democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe. But far from bringing democracy, the re-introduction of capitalism has set off an orgy of national-communist slaughter. The counterrevolutionary breakup of the multi-national "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" along national lines necessarily entailed forced population transfers and communalist massacres. Even USec Balkans "expert" Catherine Samary is finding it hard to locate any Bosnian "multiethnic democrats" these days: "The left's inability to mobilise a solidarity movement with democratic forces in former Yugoslavia is partly the result of a thorough confusion over who is who, and who we should support. This is especially true in Bosnia, where the relationship between anti-chauvinist and democratic currents and the Islamic leadership of the state is complex and impenetrable" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1995).

U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

Marxists and proletarian internationalists take no side in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. We oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycotts to "peacekeeping" troops. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and augmenting national claims.

The descent into a seemingly interminable civil war in Yugoslavia is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the U.S., Germany and the other NATO powers. Reunited German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Russia wants to reassert its "great power" status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

Unlike Germany, which covets the mineral wealth of Yugoslavia, the U.S. has little intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics are divided among the contending Balkan

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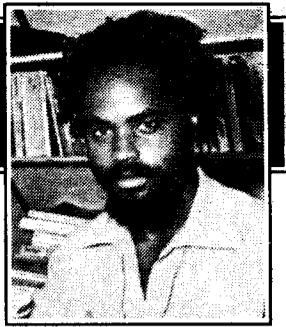


Der Spiegel photos
Above: Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. Right: Fascistic Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman (second from left).



From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Oklahoma!



The April 19th, 1995 earth-shattering car-bombing in Oklahoma City is still reverberating throughout America.

What is of most interest to the writer, are the initial responses of the American public and its polity.

An ear tuned to various talk radio stations revealed madness:

"What we need to do, is send some B-52s over there and nuke Tehran!" quoth one caller.

"I'm tellin' ya, We needta bomb Eye-ran (Iran) until it's glowin' in the night!" said another.

"I'm sick 'n tired of them camel-jockeys! First the World Trade Center—and now this! I say we bomb the bastids back into the stone age!" bellowed a third.

No matter what city you reside in, if you've listened to talk radio, I'm fairly certain you heard words similar to these—haven't you?

Nor did the words of the so-called enlightened politicians sound any saner.

Within hours of the bomb blast, politicians issued calls for new immigration procedures, new, more

repressive laws that bar members of international "terrorist" groups, and the like.

Within hours, the revelation of who were primary suspects silenced the anti-Arab sentiment, and political opportunism spewing out of talk-radioland and Washington about "foreign terrorism."

For what rocked Oklahoma, was not Arabs, was not foreigners, but was...Americans—white militiamen, some supremacists, so-called "nativists," who gouged out the heart of Oklahomans, by this one desperate act.

The President of the United States was hardly wrong when he condemned this act as "evil" and "cowardly."

But, one is forced to wonder: Isn't it fitting that this act of uncivil barbarity occurred on the same day, two years afterward, of the barbarous attack on the Branch Davidian Mt. Carmel headquarters in Waco, Texas, by the U.S. Government?

Was this action in Oklahoma "evil and cowardly," but the gassing, shooting, burning and killing of the

men, women and children of Waco "unevil" and "uncowardly"?

There is a hint, from some sources that the Waco disaster may, in some way, have been the impetus for the Oklahoma bombing.

Time will tell.

What is clear, however, is that the State is not without some guilt in this affair, for Waco is still a wound in the psyche of America, in the same way that the murderous massacre of MOVE people in Philadelphia, on May 13th, 1985 was a wound on Philadelphia's psyche.

How can the government kill babies with impunity, all across the country, and call others "baby-killers"?

Oklahoma is not an end—it is a beginning of a dark American era.

24 April 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

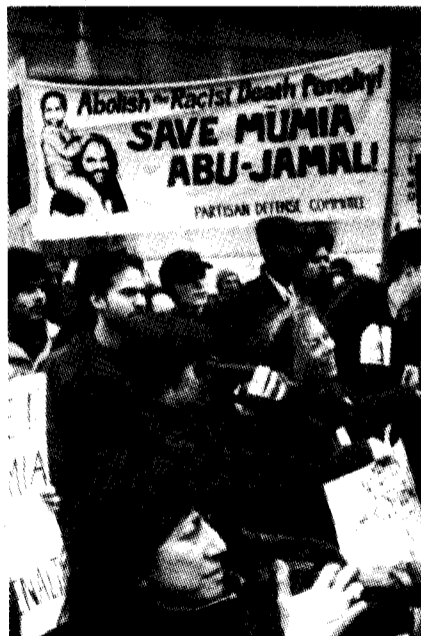
The Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal Is at a Critical Point—You Can Help!

The May 2 execution of Keith Zettlemyer by the state of Pennsylvania was the first in the state in over 32 years. Since taking office in January, right-wing governor Tom Ridge has carried out his pledge to speed up the death machine and rapidly sign execution warrants. Ridge has already signed seven death warrants. High on Ridge's hit list is Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent journalist and MOVE supporter framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman.

Send \$\$\$ for Jamal Legal Defense Now! Jamal's attorneys, led by Len Weinglass, are preparing to file a petition in the Pennsylvania courts for a new trial. The petition will set forth evidence pointing to Jamal's innocence and will expose the multitude of violations of constitutional rights which paved the way to Jamal's conviction and death sentence.

This is only the beginning of a costly process: Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money raised through rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. This year some \$20,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

Prepare for Emergency Demos! At any moment, Governor Ridge could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. If a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City, Oakland and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest



WV Photo
Protest to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at inauguration of Pennsylvania governor Ridge, January 1995.

possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

Join the Campaign! Take petitions; ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

Send Protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120; fax (717) 883-1396; phone (800) 932-0784.

Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

Letters

On the Assassination of Zapata

4 May 1995

Dear Editor:

I have appreciated your recent articles on the crisis in Mexico, but I wanted to make a correction on one point ("Mexico City: Union-busting at Gunpoint," WV 621, 21 April 1995).

Emiliano Zapata was not assassinated after accepting a presidential invitation to "talk." He refused to recognize Venustiano Carranza just as he had refused to recognize previous presidents. Zapata was the victim of an ambush prepared by General Pablo González, who had conducted a scorched earth military policy in Morelos and had presidential ambitions. Carranza approved the plot, which used the "defection" of an army colonel to lure Zapata to the ambush.

Although your political point is valid—the reformist leanings of one wing of the Zapatista leadership may have contributed to the success of the



Casasola Archives
Mexican revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata.

plot—still, it seems important to be completely accurate about an event that has acquired virtually mythological proportions in the history of Mexico.

Sincerely,
Dana Markiewicz

WV replies: Your point is well taken. We appreciate this correction on an important historical event.

Women's Rights and the Maquiladoras

Boston
9 May 1995

To the Editor:

The article, "Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras," (which appeared in two parts, in WV No. 620 [7 April] and WV 621 [21 April]) recognizes that "the woman question is in fact central to the *maquiladoras*." But it should have mentioned the fight for abortion rights. The article describes the horrible situations in which women workers are forced to prove to the factory owners that they are not pregnant, and the ways in which the bosses get around the paid maternity leave required by Mexican law. Demands are raised for 24-hour day-care services, for worker safety committees with the power to stop pro-

duction, and for an end to company pregnancy tests that are used by employers as grounds to refuse to hire and grant permanent status to women workers. But particularly in a country where complications from illegal abortions are a major cause of death for women, there must be a fight for free, safe abortion on demand.

Leticia Castillo

WV replies: Comrade Leticia is quite right, and this demand is an essential component of the program raised by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. For more information on this, we refer readers to our article, "Mexico: Women's Rights Activists Face Torture, Jail," *Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91.

Philly Racism

The following remarks were made by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at a Spartacist educational forum on "Communist Defense Work in America," held in Oakland, California on April 29.

If you know something about the sociology, more specifically the racist character of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, you'll know why Mumia Abu-Jamal is in jail. And I know something about it because I was born and raised in Philadelphia. I lived there until I was 22, when I was drafted into the army in 1959.

Throughout my entire life there, the black population of Philadelphia was something around 30 percent, if I remember. And it was as segregated as a Southern city. I lived in a white working-class neighborhood in North Philly. There was a line at 6th Street. That's where the black ghetto started. And from there, for miles, was the black ghetto. All blacks on one side, all whites on the other. I think I found out much later there was a small integrated area out near the University of Pennsylvania in West Philly, the Powelton Village area. When I was a little kid, there was a movie on one side of 6th Street, the Aurora Theater, all black. There was a movie on the other side of the street, the Diamond Theater, where us white kids went.

Philadelphia's racist character goes back to the Civil War, when it was heavily pro-South. You saw the movie "Glory"

Police brutality in Philadelphia: Rizzo's cops beat blacks during 1967 protests.



about the 54th Massachusetts regiment of heroic black soldiers. When the organizers came in to Philadelphia to recruit to it, they had to operate in secret and leave with their recruits in the dark of night, because if they were found out they would have been beaten up. Pennsylvania itself was one of the most Klan-infested states in the whole country in the 1920s, when the Klan had something like over two million members in this

country, mainly in the North, directed at immigrants and Catholics who represented the current wave of immigrants.

Today, Pennsylvania has two major cities: Pittsburgh at one end, Philadelphia at the other end in the southeast corner. The state is mainly white. That governs the politics of the state. Forty percent of the welfare budget goes to Philadelphia. Philadelphia is now about half black. There's been a white migra-

tion out of Philadelphia. The cops ran that city when I lived there like a plantation. And any political expression, any kind of organized expression whatsoever on the part of the black population was viewed with fear by the racist establishment and stopped.

That's what this guy Frank Rizzo meant. He was a real racist pig. When he took over the police force, he proceeded to terrorize the black neighborhoods. He had special roving arsenals stationed in the black areas, so that buses full of riot cops could intersect the arsenals full of machine guns and tear gas and heavy stuff, and not lose a minute in smashing some political demonstration. And they raided the Panthers' offices in the '60s.

Those guys had to be really courageous to be Panthers in Philadelphia. Most of them were teenagers. In 1970, the cops had these guys out on the street stripped naked, laughing at them, stripped naked on the street to humiliate them. This is like out of the South! This is the city where Jamal became a conspicuous spokesman for black people and against white racism. His very effectiveness is what has put him behind bars. He was targeted by Rizzo when Rizzo was chief of police and then became mayor.

What really tipped it over was MOVE. MOVE was just a "back to nature" black commune, it wasn't a political organization. But Jamal's defense of MOVE against police repression made him a target, and so they went after him and they got him on this frame-up. So when we say that his case represents the racist character of the death penalty, you put that in the context of that incredibly racist city, in that racist state, then you'll know why he's behind bars. ■

In Philly Transit Strike

Communist Party Hails "Support" from Racist Cops

You can count on the reformists of Gus Hall's Communist Party U.S.A. to follow every twist and turn of the labor bureaucracy, spicing it up with "fight the right" rhetoric to sell their support to "lesser evil" liberal Democrats. But the 8 April issue of the CP's *People's Weekly World* struck a new low for recent times: prominently displayed in large type next to the article "Philly Transit Workers Get City-Wide Support" was a statement by "policemen's union President Richard Costello to his members," calling for unity between the transit workers and the Philly cops!

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is no "union," but a notoriously racist gang of armed thugs, and like all cops, the hired strikebreakers for the capitalist class. These are the same cops who persecuted the Black Panther Party; they're the same uniformed killers who ten years ago bombed and burned alive eleven men, women and children of the MOVE organization; and today they are engaged in a national campaign to kill death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Moreover, on a different page in the same issue of the *PWW* was a photograph of striking members of the Transport Workers Union being arrested by the Philly cops! But the CP sings the cops' praises for declaring their "solidarity" with the TWU strike!

From the beginning, the cops' "support" was the kiss of death for the

strike, whose success depended on waging a sharp struggle to unify the multiracial union with the ghetto poor. From the first night of the strike, TWU bureaucrats tied the union to the cops. Local 234 president Harry Lombardo appeared at the headquarters of the Fraternal Order of Police seeking "strike support" from these hired strikebreakers and racist thugs. The bureaucracy's alliance with FOP president Richard Costello was their guarantee to the city fathers that this was a strike that would play by the bosses' rules.

Philly transit workers were in a powerful position to win against the Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA), and to deliver a blow against the union-busting privatization campaign by Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell and Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. The more than 5,000 subway, bus and trolley workers stayed solid for two weeks.

But on April 10 the executive board of TWU Local 234 caved in, agreeing to a miserable contract settlement. With "backloaded" (delayed) wage increases, reduction in health benefits and givebacks in workers compensation, SEPTA is bragging it will save millions. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (11 April) described it as "a typical '90s contract," which "requires workers not only to acknowledge their employer's financial trouble, but help solve them."

The TWU bureaucracy and their "'90s contract" received praise from a gaggle

of other reformist outfits as well. At a rally of New York transit workers on April 18—called by the dissident bureaucrats of the "New Directions" outfit, who control almost half the seats on the executive board of TWU Local 100—a speaker for the International Socialist Organization (ISO) called the Philly strike a "model." She was echoed by a speaker for the Revolutionary Socialist Group, a local group at the College of Staten Island. Of course for

the social-democratic ISO, the racist, strikebreaking cops aren't the enemy—the ISO says they belong in the labor movement! At the recent May 6 pro-Democratic Party rally called to protest the "Contract on America," the ISO was deliberately selling their press to the NYPD—and bragging about it!

The assorted reformists are so craven in their pursuit of the union tops that they act as publicity agents for the police! We warned during the Philly transit strike: "Mobilizations by the cops, in whatever guise, reflect their own agenda and are sinister attempts at police bonapartism, to slip the leash of civilian control.... Any attempt to gain support from Philly's black workers and ghetto poor is doomed as long as Local 234 is 'united' with the bloody enforcers of the bosses' law and order" ("Victory to Philly Transit Strike!" *WV* No. 620, 7 April). We added: "The FOP's threat to kill Philly's 'voice of the voiceless,' Mumia Abu-Jamal, is also a threat against labor." For the CP to hail the would-be executioners of Jamal is obscene. ■

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British Labour Party Drops Socialist Fig Leaf

At a special conference on April 29, Britain's Labour Party repudiated its verbal commitment to socialism—even as an ultimate goal—enshrined in the party constitution's famous Clause Four. The nearly two-to-one vote by delegates representing Labour's trade-union base and local constituency parties capped 35 years of efforts by a parade of Labour "moderates," from Hugh Gaitskell to Tony Blair, to dispense with the party's socialist fig leaf. The latest assault on Clause Four was initiated by Blair at last October's annual conference, shortly after he was elected party leader. With the Conservative (Tory) government going down the tubes, the Labour Party—out of office for the past 16 years—is redoubling its efforts to put itself forward as worthy guardian of wretched British capitalism.

The bourgeois press predictably hailed Blair's victory. But among the Labour Party's working-class base, the campaign to dump Clause Four provoked a wave of internal opposition unseen in recent years. Only weeks before the special conference, both the Unison public employees union and the million-strong Transport and General Workers dramatically announced that they would oppose Blair's move. Rank-and-file party members and trade unionists turned out for hundreds of meetings around the country to register their defense of Clause Four.

Clause Four is hardly a revolutionary proclamation such as to inspire passionate divisions. In fact, it was drafted by Fabian socialist Sydney Webb in 1918 to head off the wave of working-class radicalization inspired by the 1917 Russian October Revolution. This rather pallid reformist statement, printed on the back of every party membership card, vows: "To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." Blair has now succeeded in replacing this statement with one which extols "the enterprise of the market and the rigour of competition," combined with some gobbledygook about placing wealth and opportunity "in the hands of the many and not the few."

Whether in government or in opposition, the Labour Party has more than amply demonstrated its commitment to the capitalist "free enterprise" system, Clause Four notwithstanding. Blair has repeatedly assured the City of London

Labour Party leader Tony Blair (center) dumps "socialist" Clause Four, seeking to fashion "New Labour" Party.

Glynn Griffiths



financiers that a Labour government would not even reverse the widescale privatizations carried out by the Tory governments of Margaret Thatcher and Major, much less proceed to place the means of production as a whole under "common ownership." And when it comes to defense of British capital against workers' struggle, during the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, the right-wing Labour Party leadership under the ignominious Neil Kinnock openly joined Thatcher in denouncing strikers' "violence." And Blair now proclaims his admiration for the "Iron Lady."

Why, then, the uproar over Clause Four? To Labour's working-class ranks, this statement symbolized that this is their *class party*, however pro-capitalist the leadership. To the "Blairheads," as the new party leader's yuppie coterie is known, Labour's lip service to the cause of socialism was seen as an anachronistic albatross around their necks.

Blair has set out to fashion a "New Labour" Party modeled on the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S. The allusion to Clinton's "New Democrats" is hardly coincidental: Blair & Co. have turned to Clinton advisers like James Carville as they seek to appeal to disaffected supporters of the right-wing Tories and the smaller bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party.

To be sure, the Labour Party is not about to cease being, in Lenin's words, a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly pro-capitalist in its program and leadership but organically based on the workers organizations. On two occasions

prominent leaders split to the right from Labour—Ramsay MacDonald in the 1930s and the group around Roy Jenkins which launched the Social Democratic Party in the early 1980s. But both these splits went nowhere.

Labour parliamentarians of the right and the "left" continue to be heavily dependent upon the financial and electoral support of the trade unions, who finance half of Labour's general expenses and all of its campaign funding. For its part, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy relies on the Labour Party's pretensions of representing working people as a pressure valve to channel working-class discontent away from class struggle. How many strikes have been sold out on the grounds of not hurting Labour's electoral chances, or not embarrassing a Labour government!

However, the Labour tops, particularly within the Parliamentary Labour Party, have for decades chafed at the influence exercised by the trade-union bureaucracy. By picking and winning a fight with the Labour/TUC lefts over Clause Four, Blair believes he will gain the authority needed to crack down on the unions when the time comes. An editorial in the London *Independent* (15 April) commented: "What is being defined in the current battle is not just the wording of a once obscure and largely ignored part of Labour's constitution...but the public's perception of how Labour will handle the unions once in power."

And, in fact, the day after ramming through his change to the party constitution, Blair announced a whole series of measures aimed at weakening union

influence—reducing union representation on the party's executive committee and at party conferences and escalating a longstanding campaign against the trade-union block vote. The block vote, in which an entire union's delegation at Labour conferences is committed to a certain policy, has more often than not been used by the union bureaucracy to obstruct the democratic will of the membership. But the Labour tops' attack comes from the right, aimed at stifling the voice of the union membership entirely.

As the Spartacist League/Britain wrote a few months ago:

"The fight over Clause IV, albeit in a distorted way, reflects a class divide in the British labour movement. The fact that the open opponents of the great miners strike of ten years ago are opponents of Clause IV speaks volumes.

"Revolutionaries have a side in this fight, against Tony Blair. The defeat of Blair's plan would put a big spanner in the Labour right wing's works, and would widen and deepen the debate in the labour movement on the true nature of socialism, and the means necessary to achieve it. It would strengthen the prospects for working-class struggle to transcend the parliamentary dead-end of a future Labour government."

—*Workers Hammer* No. 144, January-February 1995

At the same, our comrades emphasized that Clause Four was "at best a statement of reformist parliamentary 'socialism'" and a "pink' fig leaf" for the Labour traitors.

Clause Four and the Labourite Bureaucracy

The British Labour Party developed in the first years of this century as a bloc dominated by the trade-union bureaucracy, which advocated liberal social and economic reforms under capitalism, along with various petty-bourgeois reformist socialist groupings, notably the Fabians. The adoption of Clause Four in 1918 in no way changed the basic character of the Labour Party as an agency by which the union bureaucracy subordinated the working class to the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

During the interwar period, there were two Labour governments, both of them dependent on the bourgeois Liberal Party for support. Thus the Labourite bureaucracy could hide behind parliamentary cretinism to justify its failure to implement the "common ownership" promises of Clause Four. Nonetheless, it was quite clear that the Labour leaders were no more committed to socializing the econ-

Workers' Liberty

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library



Post-WWII nationalizations of British industries by Labour government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee (right) amounted to giant capitalist bailout of unprofitable industries.

omy than were their Liberal allies. The Liberals' leading ideologist, John Maynard Keynes, asked rhetorically in 1939: "Why cannot the leaders of the Labour Party face the fact that they are not sectaries of an out-worn creed, mumbling moss-grown demi-semi Fabian Marxism, but the heirs of eternal Liberalism."

The leftward radicalization of the working class internationally at the end of World War II—during which Labour was in a coalition government with the rabidly right-wing Tory, Winston Churchill—manifested itself in Britain in a massive electoral victory for Labour in 1945. For the first time, British social democracy had a solid parliamentary majority. At the same time, Britain emerged from the war deeply in debt to the U.S., with much of its industry obsolete and uncompetitive in world markets.

Faced with this situation, the Labour government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee and left-winger Aneurin Bevan maintained and even extended wartime economic controls. As the TUC leaders cracked the whip for Labour, strike activity (in terms of workdays lost) fell to one-sixteenth of the level after World War I (Carl F. Brand, *The British Labour Party* [1974]). Needless to say, a Tory government could not have maintained such class peace amid general economic deprivation.

In the context of an overall corporatist economic program, the postwar Labour government nationalized the Bank of England, the railways, civil aviation, electricity, telecommunications, the coal mines and the steel industry. To this day, Labour lefts like Tony Benn and miners' leader Arthur Scargill portray the postwar nationalizations as the first installment of the "common ownership" promised by Clause Four. In reality, the nationalization of the Bank, transport and utilities simply brought Britain into line with the norm of capitalist West Europe.

In fact, the postwar nationalizations amounted to a giant *capitalist bailout*, generally limited to failing industries that the bourgeoisie had given up on. Even veteran left Labourite Ken Coates concedes:

"The nationalisation measures all involved substantial compensation for the original private owners. Since most of the industries concerned were unprofitable, and some were on the brink of actual bankruptcy, their compulsory purchase represented a veritable renewal of the dynamism of capital. Phoenix-like, capital was liberated to seek more profitable areas in which to grow, leaving behind the husks of the derelict industries upon which it had already preyed."

—*Workers' Liberty*
(February 1995)

The clearest indication that these nationalizations served the interests of British capitalism at the time is that except for steel they were *retained* when the Tories returned to power in 1951 and ruled the country for the next 13 years.

After losing three elections, in the late 1950s Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell argued that the party could regain its role as administrator of the British capitalist state only by renouncing its working-class character and openly

repudiating any socialist goals. Declaring "our object must be to broaden our base" and "to avoid becoming small cliques of isolated doctrine-ridden fanatics," he called for getting rid of Clause Four. Gaitskell's "revisionism," as it was called, provoked outrage among the party ranks, especially among the core of older trade unionists.

A majority of the Labourite bureaucracy, including many of Gaitskell's close collaborators, therefore backed down. A compromise was cobbled together at the 1960 party conference, in which Clause Four was retained, but a further statement of aims was added which called for "an expansion of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy." David Howell, in his critical history of the Labour Party, *British Social Democracy* (1980), explained the cynical calculations behind this outcome:

"[M]oderate figures opposed the venture because they regarded it as tactically ill-conceived. It was simply not worth an argument, since for several years the party had existed amicably with a combination of specific policies that implied acceptance of the mixed economy and a constitutional clause that did not. Such ambiguity was valuable—so why destroy it?"

Among the leading figures of the "moderate" Labour left defending Clause Four was Harold Wilson, who became party leader when Gaitskell died in 1963 and the head of the second postwar Labour government the following year. But in office Wilson made no attempt to nationalize anything other than steel (whose owners were generously compensated) once again. Moreover, this erstwhile Bevanite leftist became a staunch supporter of the U.S. imperialist war in



Protest against anti-union "social contract" of the 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan.

Vietnam. On the plane of domestic policy, the Wilson government proposed a series of measures to weaken and suppress strikes.

The 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan was even more right-wing. Callaghan decreed a "social contract" to hamstring the trade unions. Toward the end of its term, the Callaghan government joined in a Lib/Lab coalition



Labour Party leader Kinnock stabbed British miners in the back in 1984-85 strike, denouncing "violence" by strikers facing massive cop attacks.

with the openly capitalist Liberals, having launched one vicious assault after another on the working class, including the use of cops and troops to break strikes by firemen and other unions. Callaghan was finally swept out of office after a series of bitter strikes during the 1978-79 "Winter of Discontent."

For the Revolutionary Expropriation of British Capitalism

Now that the Tories, increasingly faction-ridden and widely despised, are about to vacate office, the new Labour leadership has pledged itself not to reverse the ravages of Thatcherism on

piece of legislation, flies in the face of all historical experience. But it reflects Militant's outlook that the capitalist state is the instrument for fundamental social change. This is also clear in its view that the bourgeois cops are "workers in uniform" (see the Spartacist Pamphlet, "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State," August 1994).

Far from posing a genuinely socialist alternative to Blair & Co., the Labour lefts act as the glue which binds disaffected workers to the right-wing Labour leaders. Even as he led the hard-fought miners strike in defiance of open scabherding by the Labour/TUC tops, Scargill never once called for a split with Kinnock. And as the Labour lefts go, so go their "Clause Four Trotskyist" camp followers. The bottom line for all of them, as succinctly put in a piece titled "The Diary of a Clause Four Activist" in Sean Matgamna's *Workers' Liberty* (February 1995), is: "'Loyalty' is important in the labour movement and Blair is Party leader." Come the next election, one and all, they will campaign for a Blair victory. Already, the perennial appeals are being trotted out: "Vote Labour but Organise to Fight!" (*Workers Power*, May 1995), "Get the Tories Out—Don't Trust Blair" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April), etc., etc.

A revolutionary party, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, will be built through splitting Labour's working-class base away from its pro-capitalist misleaders in the heat of class struggle. As Spartacist League/Britain spokesman Alastair Green said in reply to Scargill at a February 24 "Defend Clause Four" rally in London (*Workers Hammer* No. 145, April-May 1995):

"If you look at 1945 or any of the Labour governments—the Labour Party has never touched a hair on the head of capitalism.... You will only have socialism through the working class in this country and every country on earth taking power in its own name on the basis of workers councils.... And you need a party which will fight for the interests of the workers to the end, that is, to the seizure of power." ■

British working people. That's what is behind Blair's campaign to scrap Clause Four. His Labour left opponents like Benn and Scargill have sought to evoke a quasi-religious fervor by glorifying Clause Four as Labour's "socialist soul." This is echoed by supposedly "revolutionary" alternatives to Labour like Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party, which rhapsodizes that "Clause Four represents the urge for a better society, a yearning for peace, security and a decent life" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April).

The Labour Party has never had a "socialist soul." Even taken at face value, Clause Four was at best reformist utopianism. A quintessential expression of this is the perpetual call for an "Enabling Act in Parliament" to nationalize "the top 200 monopolies including the banks and insurance companies which control the 'commanding heights' of the economy," promoted by the Militant Labour group of Peter Taaffe, which for decades was buried deep inside the Labour Party. The idea that the bourgeois Parliament can serve as a vehicle for socialism, and that the blood-drenched British imperialist ruling class will allow itself to be driven from the stage by a



Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

1929 Labour cabinet, including Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald (front row, left) and Fabian Society leader Sydney Webb (front row, right).

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Fourth Reich in the "New World Order"

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 118, May-June 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).

On 8 May 1945 the Red Army crushed the Nazi regime, liberating Europe and humanity from the nightmare of Hitler's genocidal ter-

PART ONE OF TWO

ror. This is a day of celebration for working people internationally. But only 50 years later and five years after the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the East German deformed workers state, reunited German imperialism wants to usurp May 8 for its own purposes and to celebrate Germany's reborn "national identity." German chancellor Kohl dictated how and where the observances of May 8 were to be held in Europe, making sure that his visit to Yeltsin in Moscow would not include the traditional liberation parade (U.S. president Clinton boycotted only the military part). The time is past when German imperialism genuflected before the victims of the Third Reich, as Willy Brandt did 20 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto. The president of Poland, Lech Walesa, was disinvented from the planned observance in Berlin. With breathtaking *herrenmenschen* (master race) arrogance Kohl declared that otherwise they would have to invite *all* the countries Nazi Germany invaded and leveled.

The masters of imperialist Germany with their new great-power strivings don't intend to "commemorate" the Reich's defeat. Instead they are celebrating the "regaining of complete sovereignty" and their economic power. Already last September Kohl & Co. orchestrated a *russenrein* (Russian-free) celebration on the occasion of the withdrawal of the American, British and French troops with a full Bundeswehr ceremonial sendoff complete with a military torchlight parade through the Brandenburg Gate. (The Russians had been dispatched separately.) Meanwhile, *Spiegel* magazine kicked off 1995 with a photo history called "Rise from Ruins"—50 years of growing prosperity in the anti-Communist bulwark of West Germany.

Five years after capitalist reunification and the subsequent destruction of the Soviet Union, the German rulers are rewriting history. Bonn is acting like victors, celebrating "liberation" from 45

50 Years After Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime



8 May 1945

Sovfoto

Soviet flag flies over Berlin Reichstag, marking Red Army's victory over Hitler's Third Reich.

years of "imposed Soviet rule" in East Germany. The appeal "Against Forgetting"—signed by Christian Democrat (CDU) extreme right-winger and Eastern Front veteran Alfred Dregger, the increasingly noisy ultra-right-wingers around Alexander von Stahl (FDP), Republikaner Nazis as well as East German civil libertarian Siegmund Faust—calls for the "consciousness of a self-confident nation." The appeal opposes the "one-sided" characterization of May 8 as "lib-

eration," since it "at the same time also meant the beginning of the terror of expulsion and new oppression in the East and the beginning of the partition of our country." This appeal is the ugly offspring of a growing German nationalist current, linking mainline conservatives with ultrarightists, to "relativize" liberation: the doors are wide open for new and old Nazis in the service of a new nationalist awakening.

Liberals and Social Democrats got

very exercised over this declaration; former Social Democratic (SPD) defense minister Hans Apel withdrew his signature under pressure from his party. But the "opponents" of the appeal share its central tenet. The Bonn press spokesmen for the Greens, SPD and PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) only groan about the "endless embarrassment" over May 8 because they are worried about the "image" of (export-dependent) Germany abroad. Thus, Baroness Marion Dönhoff, editor of the social-democratic-oriented liberal *Die Zeit*, headlined on 21 April: "The Fight About May 8: Liberation—Yes and No." The SPD prime minister of the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Johannes Rau, seconded this with a proposed consensus "that expulsion, wartime imprisonment and the Communist dictatorship in East Germany had a prehistory beginning with the invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 and the seizure of power by the National Socialists on 30 January 1933" (*tageszeitung*, 19 April).

Dregger & Co. only articulate what Kohl himself said ten years ago in the Bundestag (parliament). At that time Kohl and Reagan reaffirmed their anti-Soviet drive and in Bitburg saluted before the graves of the SS and the Division "Das Reich," responsible for the bloody massacre of Oradour in France. The Social Democrats also wrung their hands over this obscene spectacle. But their nationalism reflected the development of the SPD from an American-oriented (and even CIA-financed) bourgeois workers party expressing the dominance of U.S. imperialism after the end of the war, to the social-democratic party of the *German* bourgeoisie. Bitburg gave a green light to the fascists, and with the wave of German nationalism that accompanied the counterrevolution in the DDR, racist terror against immigrants escalated sharply. The

SPD joined the CDU in adopting the fascist demand to abolish the right to asylum.

Today the German-nationalist revision of history is being displayed in numerous historical exhibitions. In the capital of Berlin, across from the *Gedächtniskirche* (Memorial Church) the official exhibition on the 50th anniversary of the end of the war is now showing. Under the watchword of "differentiation," it is conceded that "objectively the end of the war was, of course, liberation." Nevertheless, one must not force "people who did not feel like they had been liberated or who experienced the atrocities of the occupying army" to declare "they were happy at the time," declared historian Rürup, head of the exhibition (*tageszeitung*, 11 April). On the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps, commemorations have taken place including in Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. But the German concentration camp memorials have been redesigned since *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, the East German deformed workers-state, ostensibly to commemorate "all groups of victims." In Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald, side by side with the hundreds of thousands of victims of Nazi



Spartakist

April 23: At memorial at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, survivors greeted Spartakist Workers Party banner which proclaims, "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime."

extermination, the Nazis who were imprisoned in Soviet camps after the end of the war are presented as "victims."

The PDS tops also participated in the search for the ostensibly new "national identity" and appeal to "Germany's increased international responsibility." In 1990, the SED/PDS gave away the DDR under Modrow's motto, "Germany, One Fatherland." To seal the sellout, Modrow took over the imperialists' "collective guilt" thesis and declared that the DDR shared responsibility for the "worst crimes against the Jewish people" under Hitlerite fascism. With this stroke of the pen, the newborn social democrats of the SED/PDS sought to extinguish the anti-fascist foundation of the DDR and accepted one of the central theses of the anti-Communist witchhunt.

In Modrow's speech about May 8 at the recent PDS congress (*disput*, February 1995), he praised the "DDR's achievement of creating friendly ties with the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and, not least with the peoples of the USSR.... If Willy Brandt's thought that that which belongs together should grow together has a deeper meaning, then it should above all refer to bringing together, transferring to united Germany, those formerly one-sided friendly ties maintained by each of the two German states that pointed in only one direction." By the DDR's "friendly ties" Modrow is referring to the Warsaw Pact, which was created under the Soviet nuclear shield in order to defend East Europe against the NATO imperialists. Today, after the counterrevolution he promoted, Modrow offers these "ties" to the reunified Reich so that it can pursue its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East).

The PDS pushes its profile as the spearhead for heavier intervention by the German government in Russia: thus the PDS conference demanded that Kohl/Kinkel ensure "the end of the war" in Chechnya. PDS delegates in the Bundestag voted for an all-party resolution on Chechnya, thus taking responsibility for German imperialism and seeing this as a means of achieving their own goals. But by this they serve Bonn's ominous imperialist thrust into East Europe. Already in 1991 Kohl/Genscher pushed through unilateral recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, thus putting into motion the carving up of Yugoslavia and the bloody nationalist slaughter in the Balkans.

At the same time, it is certainly not yet decided how far Bonn can go. The working class in Germany with its strategically important immigrant component is a powerful force standing in the path of the bourgeoisie. And as historian Gordon Craig recently stated: "It has often been remarked that World War I arose out of the circumstances that the newly united Germany of 1871 was both too big for Europe and not big enough to be a world power" (*New York Review of Books*, 20 April). As the "chancellor of unity" of this century, Helmut Kohl likes to be compared with Bismarck, not least because reunified Germany still faces the same problem.



Der Spiegel



A. Schoelzel

Nazi Blutrichter (bloody judges) of the Third Reich continued on the bench in postwar "democratic" West Germany. Capitalist reunification in 1990 led to anti-Communist witchhunt, including against PDS successor to former East German ruling party. Left: Police seizing PDS files.

Bonn's drive on all fronts—to run Europe under the dictate of the D-mark as it pulls in different directions, exploit all of East Europe including the lands of the former Soviet Union, again be master of the Balkan cauldron and slice off a big share of the Asian markets for itself—faces enormous problems. The European Monetary System—the D-mark in disguise—collapsed at the starting line, while the international capitalist financial world lurches toward disaster. Constitutionally sanctioned "out-of-area" Bundeswehr interventions outside Europe seek to compete with the U.S. as world policemen under the motto, "Create peace with German weapons." This time the German imperialists want to avoid the mistake of two lost world wars—they want to push through their new *Drang nach Osten* with the D-mark. But still, behind the Deutsche Bank are panzers and the Luftwaffe, except that today a new world war brings the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The Class Line Divided Germany

With liberation by the Red Army, the basis was laid in East Europe to eliminate the capitalist system and establish workers states, albeit bureaucratically deformed and Russian-dominated. The social transformation in East Germany went deeper than in most of the other East European countries. A resurgence of fascism in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany which later became the DDR was deprived of any social basis. From

the outset, every Nazi bigwig and little fish who could fled to the West into the arms of the Americans and British rather than fall into the hands of the Red Army. In trials following the formation of the DDR in 1949, some 12,881 Nazis were convicted; in the West, with four times the population, it was half that number (*Der Spiegel*, 9 May 1994). While the West German state, with the outbreak of the Cold War, quickly shifted over to the persecution of Communists and anyone connected with them—from 1951 to 1968, legal proceedings were undertaken against some 150,000 to 200,000 alleged Communists (7,000 to 10,000 of them were convicted)—the DDR sentenced more than 350 Nazi mass murderers to death or to life imprisonment. Whereas the state apparatus in the West was shot through with Nazis, big and small, the DDR state apparatus consisted mostly of former prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps, and many of its most prominent figures came from Jewish families, although the top echelons came from the Ulbricht group of Moscow's Hotel Lux fame.

We Trotskyists have always emphasized that the social gains of the deformed workers states belonged to the international working class, not the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined them and finally surrendered them. That is the reason we defended them unconditionally against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. When Stalinist rule in the DDR collapsed in 1989-90, the International Communist League mobilized its cadres worldwide to fight

for proletarian political revolution and against *Anschluss* of the DDR to the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. In January 1990 over 250,000 people protested the desecration of the Soviet war memorial in Treptow and in defense of the Soviet Union and the DDR, a protest initiated by us and taken up by the SED/PDS. At this demonstration, probably the largest anti-fascist protest in the history of postwar Germany, the enormous power of the working masses of the DDR was clear for all to see, and this deeply frightened the bourgeoisie as well as the SPD and the SED/PDS. What was lacking was a strong revolutionary workers party which could have organized the workers and led them to victory. The gains of the October Revolution could only have been defended by extending them—through proletarian political revolution in the East and their extension to the West through social revolution. That is what our slogan "For a Red Soviet Germany in a socialist Europe" meant.

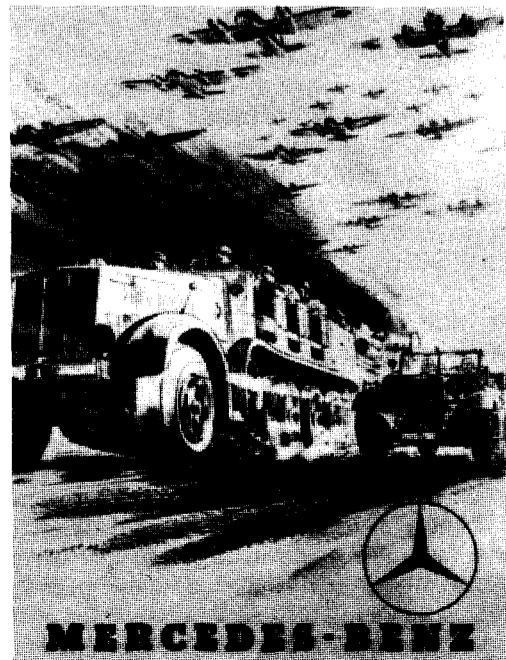
German imperialism never reconciled itself to the emergence of the DDR, which removed one-third of the country from its grip. With *Anschluss* it unleashed a furious, vindictive witchhunt against everything reminiscent of the DDR and the Red Army's victory. Over 250,000 trials and administrative procedures are pending against citizens of the former DDR because of the "crime" of "proximity to the system," and on the same grounds even larger numbers of retirees' pensions were cut. Only a few days after reunification, the anti-fascists Gerhard Bögelein and Karl Kielhorn were arrested, having lived up to then in the DDR. They were dragged into court in SPD-run Hamburg on charges of having killed a Nazi war judge who had executed over 100 Soviet partisans, civilians and Wehrmacht soldiers. Kielhorn was acquitted; the seriously ill Bögelein, who had deserted from the Wehrmacht and gone over to the Red Army, died after months of incarceration. The consistent criminalization of anti-fascism continues.

Current foreign minister and former justice minister Klaus Kinkel laid down the line at the German Judges' Conference in 1991: "We must successfully delegitimize the SED regime, which until the bitter end derived its justification from anti-fascist sentiment, ostensibly higher values and the claim to absolute humanity, while under the cover of Marxism-Leninism it built a state which in broad areas was as terrible as the fascist Germany that had been combatted, and—rightfully—should never again be allowed to arise" (quoted in Kurt Libera, *Zum deutschen Neuanfang 1945-1949*).

Those of Hitler's henchmen who met justice at the hands of the Red Army and in the DDR are now honored as "victims of totalitarianism"; at the same time, top DDR functionaries are dragged into court because they defended the borders of the DDR. DDR espionage chief Markus Wolf, a Communist of Jewish origins, was even indicted for "treason against the fatherland." Former Stasi chief Erich Mielke was dragged through a show trial on the basis of witnesses' testimony extracted by Hitler's Gestapo. He was convicted for the death of two policemen who were celebrated by the Nazis as martyrs. We Spartakists defend all representatives of the DDR regime against Fourth Reich prosecution. They have been tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. The defense of the DDR was no crime—selling it out was!

The revolutionary working class has its own score to settle with the Stalinists: for destroying the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, which carried forward Lenin's internationalist policies; for capitulating, without a fight in 1931-33, allowing Hitler to march to power unhindered; for murdering virtually every Bolshevik leader remaining from the 1917 October Revolution in Stalin's blood purges of the late '30s; for beheading the Red Army General Staff on the eve

continued on page 10



Der Spiegel photos

Above: Heads of industrial giants Mercedes Benz and Siemens saluted Nazi regime. Leading capitalist figures under Hitler remained in place despite token U.S.-sponsored postwar "de-Nazification."

Feds...

(continued from page 1)

the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam ripped apart the conservative, anti-Communist "consensus" of the day.

Down with the New COINTELPRO!

The government wants an updated version of the notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) of the 1960s. Masterminded by fanatically anti-Communist FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, COINTELPRO was a license for massive infiltration and disruption of left, liberal, antiwar and civil rights organizations. Under its cloak of secrecy, the capitalist government waged a murderous vendetta against black militants, killing dozens of members of the Black Panther Party and imprisoning hundreds more. Among the victims of this "domestic counterterrorism" terror operation are death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, framed for the killing of a Philadelphia cop, and Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who remains imprisoned in a California hellhole 25 years after being framed for a crime the government knows (from its own wiretaps) he did not commit.

Today, Clinton/Reno's man Louis Freeh is being billed as the new Hoover, a "no nonsense" cop who is "the most intensely hands-on boss since the FBI's founder." And now Larry Potts, the FBI official who oversaw the murderous assault on the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco and the bloody siege of the Randy Weaver home in Idaho, has been rewarded with the position of deputy director. After getting flak over its plans for new FBI "terrorism guidelines" to do away with minimal restrictions imposed on the agency in the aftermath of the Watergate and COINTELPRO revelations, the Clinton administration simply decreed a new "interpretation" of the old guidelines, to the same effect. On May 3, Freeh announced that any group which "advocated violence or force with respect to achieving any political or social objectives" could now be subject to "broad investigation." The feds don't even have to claim any evidence of "imminent violation" of the law to justify their spying.

This expansion of FBI powers comes on top of Clinton's Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill. Under this legislation, as we reported last issue, immigrants would be subject to deportation on the basis of secret trials and citizens could



FBI/BATF baby-killers: government sent tanks against integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas, in assault that killed 86 people, including 25 children.

face up to ten years in jail for donating money to an organization deemed "terrorist" by the government. As a Center for Constitutional Rights spokesman remarked before a Senate hearing, this would "make 'guilt by association' a guiding principle of criminal and immigration law." And the general population is worried: a recent *Time/CNN* poll reported that 52 percent of those interviewed think "the Federal Government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens" (*Time*, 8 May).

The escalation of repression today is not narrowly directed against the left—which is too small to much worry the bourgeoisie—but rather is more broadly aimed at "disciplining" and intimidating the population. It takes little imagination to see how this will be used against labor and minorities. A foretaste was last year's deployment of regionally coordinated police SWAT teams to bust up Teamsters strike picket lines. Reno's Justice Department has already used "interference with interstate commerce" as bogus grounds for framing West Virginia UMW miners' striker Jerry Dale Lowe and putting him behind bars for eleven years. The "war on drugs" has meant the imprisonment of literally hundreds of thousands of ghetto blacks. And now it turns out the FBI has for years "kept watch" on the AIDS coalition ACT UP and the leftist Haitian paper, *Haiti Progrès*.

Big Brother's Big Lie

In his speech to an April 23 memorial meeting for the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton invoked the biblical injunction that "those who trouble

their own house will inherit the wind." In effect, he is seeking to smear all opposition to the government as "terrorism." At the same time, the capitalist press has embarked on a grotesque propaganda campaign to put an equal sign between leftist opponents of this racist capitalist state and the fascistic network of "patriot militias," abortion clinic bombers and KKK/Nazi killers.

In the last few weeks, there has been a steady barrage pushing this lying amalgam. A front-page *New York Times* (7 May) commentary headlined that the "Violent Right" was a "Legacy of the 60's." A day later, *Times* columnist (and former Nixon aide) William Safire labeled the New Left Weathermen and the Black Panthers as the "domestic terrorists" of the '60s. *U.S. News & World Report* (8 May) featured "A Brief History of Zealotry" which extended this amalgam to heroic pre-Civil War abolitionist John Brown and revolutionary anarchist and socialist labor organizers at the turn of the century. The yuppie *New York* magazine (8 May) railed against Leonard Bernstein "indulging" the Black Panthers. And the liberal *Village Voice* (2 May) ran a disgusting front page superimposing over the image of the bombed-out wreckage in Oklahoma City the headline: "You Say You Want a Revolution."

The *Times* commentary remarked that "there is a sense that Vietnam War-era turmoil tore a hole in the post-World War II social fabric, and that although it was the left that opened the rift, it is the right that has driven a truck through it." The "social fabric" they so prize was the anti-Communist "consensus" of the 1950s that was shaped by McCarthyite witch-

hunting and die-hard segregationism. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie yearns for a return to that era of social regimentation. But the "Vietnam syndrome"—the result of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina, which has made Washington wary of embarking on military interventions which could entail American casualties—has also had its effect on the home front: the population doesn't trust the government.

The brazen rehash of the Cold War shibboleth that "communism equals fascism" is hardly subtle in its intent: to identify militant struggle against capitalism and racism with the bloodthirsty fascist fanatics who revel in the slaughter of innocent men, women and children. In fact, the violence of the '60s was perpetrated by the capitalist government and its fascist henchmen. There was a direct line from the FBI to segregationist Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor to the KKK nightriders. These are the antecedents of today's fascistic militias, only today these ultraracist reactionaries also think the federal government is dominated by a bunch of liberal "draft dodgers" and feminists. The principal Oklahoma City bombing suspect, Timothy McVeigh, was reportedly driven by virulent bigotry against black people and hatred for affirmative action and abortion rights. As Mumia Abu-Jamal writes in his column (see page 4), "Oklahoma is not an end—it is a beginning of a dark American era."

At bottom, the fascists are the creatures of the American ruling class, growing in the fertile soil of the economic misery and increasingly emboldened racism of U.S. imperialism. But the U.S. rulers do not presently need to unleash their fascist dogs of war, as the German rulers did with Hitler's storm troopers in the 1930s, because they do not face any real internal challenge to their rule. On the contrary, for the past two decades they have smashed unions, totally impoverished and decimated the inner cities and driven down living standards for the overwhelming majority of Americans...and gotten away with it.

Today it's almost a cliché to say that most Americans think that their children will be worse off than they were. Even what's called the middle class despairs of the "American Dream" (which was always "whites only" anyway). The fascistic elements who have organized the militias are feeding off this sense of despair, particularly from the base of Ross Perot's right-wing populist movement in the "white flight" suburbs, the home of the tax revolt. Frustrated in their

Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 9)

of Hitler's invasion, as well as handing over hundreds of German Communists to the Gestapo during the Hitler-Stalin pact; for sabotaging the fight for socialist revolution throughout Germany after the victory of the Red Army in 1945; for putting down the June 1953 East German

workers uprising, as well as systematically suppressing socialist-minded oppositionists (including inside the ruling "Socialist Unity Party").

Bureaucratic rule made life incredibly stultifying for the East German population. The motto was: we know what the people need. Ulbricht-Honecker sought to control what could be read and heard, from trying to ban reception of Western TV through the early 1970s to the 1988

ban on the Soviet magazine *Sputnik* (because of its Gorbachevite line). The all-intrusive State Security had tens of thousands of informers, creating an atmosphere of generalized snooping. The bloated security apparatus also acted as a brake on the collectivized economy. Meanwhile, endless bottlenecks and shortages caused by a ponderous central bureaucracy gave planned economy a bad name. Under Honecker, the heavy-handed repression eased, but instead of communism they tried to sell the DDR population consumerism. And in that competition they inevitably lost out to the economically stronger German imperialist state.

The greatest crime of the Stalinists was the destruction of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. In contrast to the bourgeois revolutions of the past, socialism can only be built consciously, by a proletariat acting as a class for itself. The DDR regime, in order to keep itself in power, had to stamp out any vestiges of Lenin's internationalist program and shape the Communist Party into an apparatus of bureaucratic rule. So they kept the proletariat atomized, fearful and deeply alienated, while schooling the population by rote in an anti-Leninist, nationalist perversion of "Marxism." This had the addi-

tional effect of making the DDR's claimed "real existing socialism" unappealing to West German workers, and thus strengthened the hand of the pro-capitalist Social Democratic bureaucracy in the West.

But in fact the Stalinists did not want to spread workers revolution to the West, rather preaching the reformist program of the popular front, which aided in propping up capitalism ever since the mid-1930s. They justified this, and their own bureaucratic grip, with the lie of building "socialism" in one-third of a country. Decades of Stalinist anti-Marxism affected SED loyalists and dissidents alike. When the Honecker regime began to disintegrate in 1989 under the weight of its own internal contradictions and relentless imperialist pressure, would-be Leninists in East Germany had been so inoculated against proletarian internationalism that they viewed the Trotskyist program of fighting for a revolutionary reunification of Germany in a socialist Europe as utopian. As in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the deformed workers states, Stalinism paved the road to counterrevolution. A proletarian fight to oust the bureaucracy was the only practical program.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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aspirations, feeling powerless in the face of "Big Government" and economic instability, they invent racist, anti-Semitic fantasies about a "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government) as a scapegoat. Meanwhile, the rich WASPs who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations think they can do anything to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic populations.

While outright fascist elements remain a relatively small force, their racist, bigoted outcry has steadily moved into the "mainstream" of American capitalist politics. It can be heard in the virulent campaign by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to see Mumia Abu-Jamal executed. It can be seen in the overwhelming influence exercised in the Republican Party by the far-right Christian Coalition of Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed, who can now "virtually dictate an important part of the congressional agenda" (*Time*, 15 May). It can be felt in the chilling winds of anti-immigrant hysteria which buffet the country and in the bipartisan drive to destroy social welfare for the ghettos which amounts to the policy, as we have termed it, of "Genocide U.S.A."

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Fight Racist Reaction!

The present assault on civil liberties is spearheaded by liberal Democrats rather than the more traditional "law and order" Republicans. *Newsweek* (8 May) observed that "Congress is rife with a new breed of Hoover Democrats—as in J. Edgar, not Herbert." It's not surprising that the Republican right is currently touchy because of the attention directed at its fascist fringe. The front page of the same issue of *Newsweek* advertised a plea by right-winger Rush Limbaugh, "Why I'm Not to Blame." But there are deeper reasons why the Democrats are running point on this issue.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, and in the absence of any significant social or labor struggle in this country, the right wing's obsession with a "clear and present Communist danger" is off the agenda, for the moment. In this era of heightened interimperialist rivalries, the old ideological bogeyman of a "red threat" is increasingly being replaced by "yellow peril" racism, as the U.S. gears up for trade war with Japan, sowing the seeds for imperialist war. This is fed by the union bureaucrats' poisonous Japan-bashing protectionism. And the Democrats are the traditional *war party* in recent American history. With the exception of Bush's one-sided slaughter in the Persian Gulf, it is the Democratic Party which has taken this country into every major war this century, from World Wars I and II to Korea and Vietnam.

Nor is it surprising that liberals would be lining up behind their man in the White House, albeit with the occasional moan about "excesses" in the "war on extremism." They, and their reformist hangers-on, look to the capitalist government as an agency for social progress. It is a short and logical step from their perpetual calls to "fight the right" and "ban the Klan" to marching in lock-step in the current offensive against democratic rights in the name of combatting right-wing terror. It is the liberals who have been in the front line of the crusade for gun control, which asserts the capitalist state's right to a monopoly of armed force. This was the battle cry under which the FBI and BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) set off the fiery Waco holocaust. On top of that, Reno raised the "politically correct"—and utterly false—charge of child abuse to justify slaughtering more than two dozen children at Waco!

Two years ago, the Democratic White House claimed widespread popular support for its mass murder of the Branch Davidian religious group. But today they're acting distinctly defensive: Clinton chief of staff Leon Panetta called new Congressional hearings on the Waco massacre "despicable." In fact, as the capitalist press has lately been grudgingly admitting, millions of people around the country—not just a handful of far-right "gun nuts"—were horrified by the deliberate incineration of 86 men, women and children in a display of arrogant state terrorism.

The National Rifle Association, in a national May 15 full-page newspaper ad, effectively detailed how the BATF acts as black-uniformed stormtroopers, breaking into people's homes and brutalizing them while flouting constitutional rights. Unusually for the NRA, they took the government strongly to task for racism and sexism, citing for example a suit against the BATF by black agents who exposed egregious racist provocations against them by their white colleagues—even as the ad attacked the Black Panther Party for exercising its right to self-defense!

At the time of the Waco inferno, when most of the left took a dive or obscenely echoed Clinton/Reno's line, the Spartacist League organized protest demonstrations against this mass murder and exposed the government's fraudulent account in our article, "Waco and the White House—First the Massacre, Now the Lies" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993). Marxists understand that this racist capitalist state is the archenemy of social progress. We look to mobilizing the social power of those who are today its victims and will one day be the gravediggers of this system of exploitation and oppression, the multiracial working class.

We oppose gun control in particular

because it is aimed at disarming working people and minorities while leaving guns in the hands of the cops, criminals and fascists (see "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms: The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution," *Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Today, the government and media claim they are out to stop right-wing militias, but the kind of laws they have in mind will be used above all against *workers militias* defending strike-picket lines and black communities against fascist attacks. In the 1960s, the FBI and government authorities at local, state and national levels went into a frenzy over the Black Panther Party's determined assertion of the right to armed self-defense. The capitalist rulers loathe the idea of black and working people in this country being able to defend themselves.

We fight the *political disarming* of the working class by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and the black misleaders, who seek to keep workers and minorities tied to the capitalist Democratic Party. Following the Republican victory in last November's elections, the liberals and reformists have redoubled their efforts to reforge the New Deal coalition with the Democrats. This was exemplified by the recent May 6 demonstrations against the Republican "Contract With America," which served as a platform for Democratic Party politicians. We fight to forge a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. Against the drive toward police-state repression, it's necessary to mobilize the proletariat, independently of and in opposition to the capitalist state and its parties. To eliminate the economic immiseration which is the breeding ground of the fascist terrorists, and to do away with racial and sexual oppression, requires sweeping away the capitalist system through socialist revolution. ■

Balkans...

(continued from page 3)

nationalisms. Anxious to avoid any American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. The *New York Times* (15 April) reported that: "The Clinton Administration has chosen to ignore a series of weapons shipments from Iran to the Muslim-led Bosnian Government that in the last year has added considerably to its military firepower."

The three-sided war in the northern Balkans could easily spread beyond its current confines, drawing in the rival imperialist powers on different sides. The Balkan Wars of the early 20th century were a prelude to World War I. During World War II, the resistance to the German Nazi occupation, led by Tito's Communist Partisans, was also a civil war against the murderous nationalists of the fascist Croatian Ustasha and the Serbian monarchist Chetniks. Today, the sharp policy differences among the NATO powers which have come to the fore during the present Balkan war point toward future interimperialist conflicts in this tinderbox region.

Only under workers rule can this bloodsoaked region of interpenetrated peoples cease to be a killing field, because only on the basis of a collectivized planned economy can the nationalist antagonisms bred by the capitalist system of nation-states be transcended. But although Tito's Partisan forces succeeded in forging a pan-Yugoslav movement, the workers state which resulted from their victory was bureaucratically deformed, and the Stalinist perspective of "socialism in one country" prevented the national question from being fully resolved.

Only extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impover-

ished Balkans. As it was, Tito's "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling nationalist fissures within the bureaucracy. The bloody conflict in Yugoslavia underscores the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans in a socialist United States of Europe. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

cooperation." In Latin America, the AIFLD is so infamous for its anti-labor, pro-coup activities that its parent organization is widely known as the "AFL-CIA." AIFLD organizers went ashore with the Marines in Santo Domingo in 1965 and with Reagan's 1983 invasion of Grenada, while in Guyana in 1961 and in Chile in 1973 they played a key role in CIA "destabilization" efforts to bring down left-wing governments.

With unmitigated racism and anti-Communism, the Clinton administration announced earlier this month that the U.S. would admit the 20,000 Cubans at the Guantánamo naval base, but leave behind the 450 Haitian refugees there. Most will be forcibly repatriated to Haiti, including 230 unaccompanied minors. Following the wave of counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union—which directly influenced the 1989 ouster of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the disarming of the Salvadoran rebels—U.S. imperialist rulers are emboldened, carrying out a colonial occupation of Haiti and stepping up the drive to "roll back communism" in Cuba. And as the Castro regime makes concession after concession to the dollar economy, mass layoffs are now posed, which can only aid the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Cuban-deformed workers state.

The left was virtually unanimous in

hailing Aristide's electoral victory in December 1991, while we uniquely warned that in power he could only be a puppet of U.S. imperialism. The leftist *Haiti-Progrès* at first deliriously hailed Aristide, but was sharply critical of his support to U.S. intervention. Today, *Haiti-Progrès* (19 April) calls for "de-Macoutization of the institutions," "disarming of the paramilitary bands" and "ending the foreign occupation." In Haiti, on March 13 a speakout sponsored by the Solidarite ant Jen and Konbit Veye Yo groups echoed such demands, proclaiming: "President Aristide never stops saying, 'Hope makes you live,' but today, we realize that that kind of hope is only making the macoutes and bourgeoisie live. The American imperialists are mocking us. Organization and action for the liberation of Haiti!" But with a perspective confined by nationalism, they have no program to mobilize the power that can *defeat* imperialism and

its domestic lackeys. Ultimately they do not go beyond impotent pressure politics.

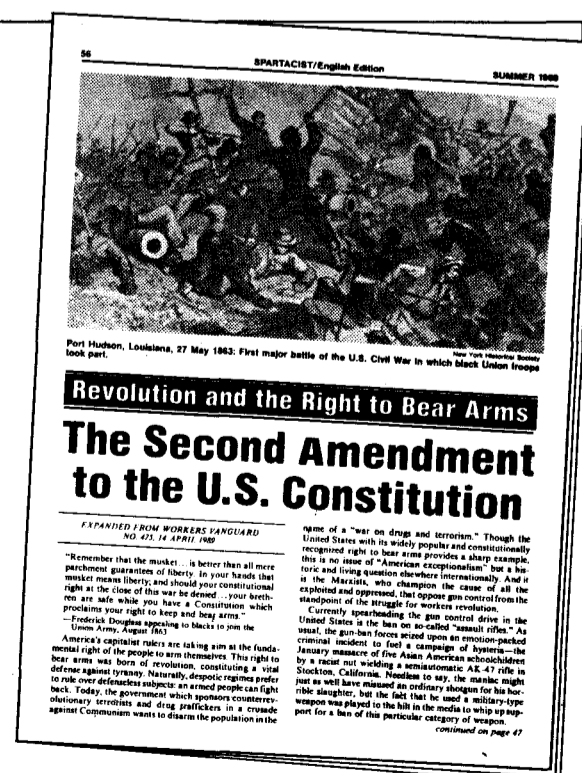
The key to the liberation of Haiti lies in proletarian revolution throughout the hemisphere, in which the mobilization of the sizable Haitian proletariat *in the diaspora* can play an important role. In addition to the brutally oppressed Haitian sugar cane workers in the Dominican Republic, hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers now live in cities from Montreal to Miami. These workers can be a vital link to class struggle by the powerful North American proletariat. Communists in the U.S. must seek to win from among these workers the cadres for a Haitian Trotskyist party. We fight to mobilize the American workers in defense of their Haitian class brothers and sisters here and in Haiti against the U.S. protectorate, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./UN Troops Attack Strike Support Rally

Haiti: CIA Protectorate

On May 9, U.S. and United Nations troops in Haiti brutally attacked a student demonstration in support of striking teachers, arresting several students and wounding more than two dozen, some seriously. The teachers, in the first major challenge to the U.S.-installed government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, are demanding a 300 percent increase in their miserable wage of \$53 a month. Their fight against budget restrictions on public education symbolizes for many the struggle against the Aristide government's IMF-imposed austerity program. When striking public school students in Port-au-Prince tried to spread their movement to a private junior high school, a fight broke out. After the police fired multiple rounds of tear gas at the students for over four hours, U.S. troops and UN "peacekeepers" moved in with their guns drawn.

Defiant protests against the occupation force and puppet regime have grown apace in recent months as illusions that Aristide would bring a better life have evaporated. According to *Haiti Info* (25 March), on March 14, U.S. soldiers arrested peasants who had taken over land in Quartier-Morin, in the Cap-Haitien region. Six days later, several hundred people took to the streets of Cap-Haitien to protest the U.S. occupation, high prices and privatization of state enterprises. Signs proclaimed, "IMF = High Prices" and "Down with Smarck Michel." Aristide's pro-business prime minister. And on March 24, over 200 nursing students in Port-au-Prince held a sit-in demanding reforms and were sprayed with tear gas by UN troops.

The American invasion of Haiti last September was cynically presented as a "humanitarian" mission to rid that country of the brutal military regime, successor to the earlier dictatorship of "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier. But, not surprisingly, the reality has been very different. While the top generals were sent into retirement, many of the sadistic killers in uniform were simply reassigned to the "new" police force set up by the U.S. occupiers. These gun-toting killers routinely patrol Haitian cities side by side with U.S. special forces, carrying out arrests together and brutalizing the population. While Washington's puppet president Aristide repeatedly calls for "reconciliation" with the hated Duvalierist "Tontons Macoutes" murderers, the paramilitary thugs and death squads continue to sow terror and death among the population with impunity.

The Haitian masses are dismayed to see their oppressors remain, now protected by the U.S. occupation force, while they yearn for justice for the thousands who were brutally killed under military rule. But all Aristide has offered is legal assistance to those who want to sue their former tormentors! Stung by popular criticism for not bringing a single prominent Duvalierist to justice, the Aristide government persuaded Washington to arrest Emmanuel Constant, founder of the paramilitary FRAPH. Constant, whose father was a military



Reuters

American soldier assaults Haitians seeking work at government office in January (left). Banner of striking teachers in Port-au-Prince, May 3, reads: "Workers, Teachers, Students, Peasants, Same Fight Against IMF Privatization."



Haiti Progrès

henchman of the Duvaliers, was on the CIA payroll after the 1991 coup, carrying out a wave of bloody terror against the population and setting up the FRAPH with the help of U.S. intelligence. This notorious mass killer was allowed to enter the U.S. last December after Haitian officials issued a warrant for his arrest. Now his former paymasters intend to deport him to Haiti so that Aristide can claim to have done something to combat the Duvalierist butchers.

Many leftists and liberals were taken in by Clinton's "humanitarian" pretensions and gave open or implicit support to the military occupation of Haiti. As with the U.S. military intervention in Somalia two years ago, allegedly to combat starvation, many reasoned that things are so bad in Haiti that they could hardly get worse. But U.S. imperialism is the most powerful force for reaction in the world. Nowhere is this clearer than in Haiti today, where the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere is being further ground under the boot of racist colonial oppression. This is the inherent logic of imperialism, which is driven by the need to export capital

in the inexorable search for profits.

As we go to press, a U.S. officer, Captain Lawrence Rockwood, has been court-martialed at Fort Drum, New York for taking Clinton's "humanitarian" pretensions at face value. Shortly after arriving in Haiti, Rockwood was shocked to learn of the inhuman conditions in Haitian prisons, and, after unsuccessful efforts to get his superior officers to investigate, went on his own to inspect the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince. He has now been discharged for "conduct unbecoming an officer" and other charges. Rockwood should be defended by the workers movement. But we do not share illusions in this imperialist military fostered by those such as supporters of the Workers World Party, who organized an April 27 defense meeting for Rockwood in NYC. There the assembled leftists cheered virtually every statement by this 15-year counterintelligence officer, even as he declared the U.S. Army "the most effective enforcer of human rights this planet has ever known!"

The Clinton administration is using "human rights" as a cover to expand its global military operations, particularly

seeking to reinforce its hegemony over the Western Hemisphere. Starting with the NAFTA rape of Mexico, Washington seeks a Latin American hinterland organized as a low-wage "free trade" sweatshop to compete with Germany and Japan. The Yankee imperialists want to make Haiti "safe" for U.S. exploitation by imposing a stable "human rights" puppet regime to keep down the already pitiful standard of living, as they have done in Grenada and elsewhere in the Caribbean. But there is a basis for common resistance. Last week, workers in the Dominican Republic, next door to Haiti, staged a general strike for higher wages, during which a worker was killed. The imperialist system, which imposes grinding poverty on its semicolonial subjects, must be swept away through international proletarian revolution.

The CIA's Invasion of Haiti

Following close on the heels of the U.S. military, an army of CIA operatives flooded the Haitian countryside, rapidly setting up the "infrastructure" for a high-tech, brutally efficient machine of repression and exploitation. They have been funneling money to "opposition" groups like the FRAPH, while seeking to buy off peasant leaders, politicians and popular organizations. Tens of millions of dollars have been allocated by the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to encourage the formation of a "moderate center" of Duvalierist leftovers for parliamentary and local elections scheduled for this summer. Tens of thousands of people have been given jobs on "development" projects as a way of organizing them under U.S. influence. Meanwhile, untold numbers of those who remain defiant continue to "disappear" in the night, faceless victims of the still-active death squads.

Funding for this vast operation flows from Washington through CIA conduits like A.I.D., the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the Center for Democracy. The key recipient of CIA funds in Haiti is the Integrated Program for the Reinforcement of Democracy (PIRED), led by a U.S. anthropologist with close ties to the former military leaders. PIREDA accumulated a data base containing extensive personal details on 60,000 Aristide supporters and other activists by helping the INS conduct interviews of those seeking political asylum in the U.S. Another vast hit list was compiled by the Centers for Development and Health (CDS), funded by A.I.D. and employing a number of prominent FRAPH goons.

Also active in Haiti has been the AFL-CIO's notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD chief William Doherty came to Haiti on October 12 shortly after the U.S. invasion. According to *AFL-CIO News* (31 October 1994), AIFLD is seeking to sponsor a federation of Haitian trade unions and to form a "tripartite organization" with U.S. and Haitian businessmen to "improve labor-management

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