

For International Labor Action, Not Protectionist Poison!



Espartaco Photo
Mexican workers fight "multinational" companies. May Day 1991: Combative auto workers march in Mexico City.



WV Photo
Latino workers have sparked militant labor struggle in U.S. Above, construction workers protest police repression in San Diego last January.

No to NAFTA!

Wall Street's Takeover of Mexico

Congress is preparing to vote on November 17 on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has broad ruling-class support from the Wall Street banks to the Detroit auto bosses. The pact is an attempt by the U.S. rulers to carry out a giant neocolonial takeover of the Mexican economy and impose Washington's "New World Order" throughout the Americas, while vastly increasing capitalist exploitation of the workers of Canada, Mexico and the U.S. A *Los Angeles Times* editorial

crows: "Herald a Glorious Market—From Yukon to Yucatan."

But despite the bourgeois propaganda about "free trade," this "glorious market" represents a profoundly protectionist measure aimed at enhancing the power of U.S. imperialism against its

German and Japanese trade rivals through the creation of a "Fortress North America." In the auto industry, the largest single area of U.S. investment in Mexico, NAFTA will impose heavy tariffs against vehicles without "North American content" (read Japanese and

German). It is a step toward *trade war* and the further redivision of the world by the imperialist powers, ultimately through the means they have always employed—shooting wars.

Seeking to garner Congressional votes for the pact, Clinton pushes unalloyed anti-immigrant and anti-Asian racism, vituperating against Japan "as the most severe threat to American jobs," and warning of "a flood of illegal immigrants" if the trade pact is defeated.

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French Government Reeling

Air France Strikers Ignite Class Struggle

"The government is not afraid of the Air France strikers, what it fears is that everybody may take to the streets and say 'Enough!'"

—striking Air France worker

"This is not a strike but a revolt."

—French minister of transport Bernard Bosson

For nearly two weeks, a strike of Air France ground crews against threatened layoffs and wage cuts threw Paris airports into chaos. The struggle electrified the French working class as the bourgeoisie reacted in fear of labor militancy. When on October 25 the new right-wing French government of Edouard Balladur backed down,

Air France strikers battle cops on airport runway in Paris.



spokesmen for the interests of capital throughout the world responded with dismay. The *New York Times* (26 October) lectured that "Mr. Balladur has no stomach for conflict at a time when he judges France to be ripe for a social explosion of the sort that rocked the

country a quarter-century ago."

The stage was set when the management of the national airline announced a "restructuring" plan entailing 4,000 layoffs to gear up for intensified competition after the 1 January 1997 deregulation of the European airline industry.

Starting with a "day of action" by workers in the public sector on October 12, the mechanics and freight workers of Air France decided not to return to work the next morning, beginning a militant strike that crippled air traffic throughout

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Hands Off NAMBLA!

Stop the Witchhunt of Peter Melzer!

The morality vigilantes are at it again. Their latest target is Peter Melzer, a tenured teacher of physics at the Bronx High School of Science, who is a member of the Steering Committee of NAMBLA (North American Man/Boy Love Association). For this alone, school district officials have removed Melzer from the school and reassigned him to a desk job at the Board of Education while pushing for his outright dismissal. Also under investigation is a school librarian who is a NAMBLA member.

Peter Melzer has been a teacher for 31 years without a single complaint lodged against him, and his association with NAMBLA has been known to school officials since 1984. But he became the object of unwanted notoriety in March of this year, when NBC-TV's New York affiliate ran a sensationalist series entitled "The NAMBLA Tapes," a contrived "exposé" of NAMBLA and several of its individual members (see "WNBC's Anti-Gay Witchhunt: Defend NAMBLA!" WV No. 571, 12 March). In

this inflammatory piece of so-called "investigative reportage," NBC-TV's yuppie "crimebuster" John Miller foamed at the mouth over the supposed infiltration of the New York City educational system by "pedophiles." Like a page out of the McCarthy witchhunt of the 1950s, Melzer and other individual members of the organization were accosted at home and at their workplaces by scandal-mongering "news teams," threatened with violence and loss of their livelihoods for their supposed "advocacy" of child molestation.

Although he has not been accused of any crime, Melzer continues to be pilloried by the tabloid press as well as the reactionary New York City School Board. This same board virulently opposed condom distribution and AIDS education in NYC schools, and arranged the palace coup in which former Schools Chancellor Joseph Fernandez was deposed earlier this year for championing the "Children of the Rainbow" curriculum, which promoted tolerance of gays and lesbians. Calling his views "repugnant," the *New York Times* (9 October) reluctantly defends Melzer from dismissal on First Amendment grounds, while a hateful piece in *U.S. News & World Report* decries "creeping tolerance" and calls for kicking Melzer out of school.

The vendetta against Melzer comes amid the current hysteria which willfully equates all child sexuality with abuse and coercion. "Child abuse" is now used to justify everything from the persecution of Woody Allen to the Waco holocaust, while covering up this society's truly perverse attacks on children, from the lack of basic immunization to throwing their mothers off welfare to putting teenagers on death row. The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a generalized campaign against sex aimed at the "moral rearmament" of the American people which would bolster the *bourgeoisie's* authority. The guiding principle for sexual relations between *all* people ought to be one of effective consent. While mutual agreement and understanding can often be a murky question in this repressive society, the *a priori* presumption that sex between younger and older people is a crime means that the racist, anti-woman, pro-death penalty U.S. courts and cops become the arbiter of morality. *Government out of the bedrooms!*

The move for Melzer's dismissal has gained support in a broad range of quarters, including the Parents' Association of the Bronx High School of Science and Ramon C. Cortines, the newly chosen Schools Chancellor. In answer to his inquisitors, Melzer has courageously pointed out that "It is an insult to our youth that a teacher can be barred from the classroom for what he believes or for whom he privately associates with" (*New York Times*, 22 September).

Melzer has been left to twist in the wind with the complicit silence of mainstream gay rights organizations who seek "respectability" by conciliating the state and conventional morality. As Schools Chancellor Cortines denounces Melzer's "advocacy and promotion of illegal activities," the leadership of Melzer's union, the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), has contemptibly joined the witchhunt. "Pedophiles do not belong in a classroom with kids," said a UFT spokesman (*New York Times*, 3 October). Maybe if the UFT's Sandra Feldman and other pro-capitalist morality cops defended their members and advocated and promoted the "illegal" activity of striking against the hated Taylor Law, NYC teachers would get a decent contract and NYC schoolchildren could finally get something approaching an education rather than 12 years of pre-prison hell.

On November 1, the PDC sent a protest letter to the Board of Education and Mayor Dinkins demanding the reinstatement of Peter Melzer. *Hands off NAMBLA!*

Free Greyhound Striker Roger Cawthra

Less than a year after successfully appealing his conviction on charges stemming from his picket line militancy during the 1990 Greyhound strike, on October 5 Roger Cawthra began a 15-month sentence for federal firearms violations. This union militant has been hounded by the government at the federal and state levels for more than three years!

The federal firearms charges arose in 1991, as Cawthra awaited trial in Connecticut on charges of firing a shot at a Greyhound bus driven by scab driver Carl Francis. In that trial Cawthra was railroaded into a six and a quarter year sentence on Francis' word alone. Not
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TROTSKY

U.S. Imperialism's Ravaging of Latin America

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a plan by Wall Street banks and American multinationals to intensify their exploitation of Mexico and solidify Washington's Latin American neocolonial empire in the context of growing economic rivalry with the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. The founding conference of the Trotskyist Fourth International in 1938

pointed out that Latin America was that region of the world where the "democratic" pretensions of the United States were most clearly exposed as a cover for bloody imperialist subjugation.

In order to achieve the "closed door" in Latin America—closed, that is, to all rivals and open only to the United States—"democratic" Yankee imperialism has been propped up in the Latin American countries by the most autocratic "native" military dictatorships which have, in turn, served to prop up the imperialist structure and to guarantee an undisturbed flow of superprofits to the Northern colossus. The most active and willing supporter of military dictatorships in the Latin American countries is American imperialism, the bulk of whose billions of dollars invested abroad is confined to the Western Hemisphere. The real character of "democratic" American capitalism is best revealed by the tyrannical dictatorships in the Latin American countries with which its fortunes and policies are inextricably bound up and without which its days of imperialist sway in the Western Hemisphere are numbered....

Under Roosevelt, the policy of the iron fist in Latin America is sheathed in the velvet glove of demagogic pretensions of friendship and "democracy." The "good neighbor" policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid bloc wielded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the United States seeks to conclude with the Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market. The decisive role which foreign trade plays in the economic life of the United States impels the latter toward ever more determined efforts to exclude all competitors from the Latin American market, by a combination of cheap production, diplomacy, chicanery and, when need be, of force....

At the same time, the policy of American imperialism will necessarily increase the revolutionary resistance of the Latin American peoples whom it must exploit with growing intensity.

—"Thesis of the World Role of American Imperialism" (September 1938)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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On the Yeltsin Coup: A Correction to Our View

The article "Yeltsin's Coup Serves Washington" in *WV* No. 585 (8 October) states:

"For almost two weeks there had been a stand-off between the competing bourgeois-restorationist factions. Those who gathered before the White House were politically supporting one wing of the capitalist-restorationists. But with the fight taken to the streets, had there been a significant split in the state apparatus, opening up a clear power vacuum, there would have been an opportunity for a proletarian mobilization independent of both camps seeking to sweep away all the capitalist forces. But the unrest did not reach that point, and the working class saw no one fighting for its interests." [emphasis in original]

While condemning Yeltsin's American-backed, bonapartist coup, the article failed to draw the conclusion that

it was necessary to call on the working class to actively resist it. Rather such resistance was made dependent on a *prior* split in the state apparatus (i.e., army and police). In reality, a working-class mobilization would most likely have been a necessary catalyst for such a split. In the course of a discussion within the International Communist League, it was decided that the failure to raise this call represented an abstentionist blunting of our line. Moreover, in insisting that a working-class mobilization be "independent of both camps," the paragraph *did not distinguish* between political opposition to the contending restorationist factions and the possibility of a military bloc with the Ruskoi/Khasbulatov forces, which *at that moment* were viewed by Yeltsin and his imperialist sponsors as

an obstacle to the consolidation of a strong counterrevolutionary regime.

The defense of parliament, which was an *impediment* to the consolidation of power in Yeltsin's hands, against its dissolution in the service of imperialism, was posed from September 21 on. With the fight taken to the streets on October 3-4, the fragility of the weak capitalist state was underlined, but the working class saw neither side as fighting for its interests. A massive outpouring of the working class would have shattered the existing political alignments, for both wings feared the spectre of civil war. Absent was a revolutionary vanguard, rooted in the proletariat, which could credibly have fought to *independently* mobilize the working class and its allies, engaging in a *military bloc* with the Ruskoi/

Khasbulatov forces in opposition to Yeltsin's move to complete his August 1991 power grab and seal his victory in blood.

A military bloc with the Ruskoi/Khasbulatov forces in this confrontation would not entail an iota of political support nor would it preclude the possibility of quickly sweeping away these momentary allies against Yeltsin on the road to establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of soviets. A military bloc, like other common actions, *does not* mean folding together into a common political program, however critical. It is crucial to preserve one's own political program and organizational independence while acting together with another political, or in this case military, formation in a concrete and particular action.

France...

(continued from page 1)

France. Air France lost over \$10 million a day, while foreign carriers threatened to sue the Paris airport authorities to recover the costs of postponing and diverting their own flights to France.

But it was not just these monetary losses that caused the government to buckle. It was fear of the strike spreading, especially to other public sector workers facing layoffs and cutbacks. Just a few days before the Air France walk-out, 35,000 railway workers demonstrated in Paris. And during the strike, 10,000 teachers marched through the French capital in an anti-government protest.

Unemployment in France is now approaching 12 percent, the *highest level since World War II*. Paris sociologist Oliver Duhamel, after conducting a survey which showed 70 percent of the population to be in favor of the strike, observed: "Everyone is afraid of unemployment and salary cuts so they have taken a kind of vicarious pleasure in the Air France protests."

Sensing it was sitting on a social volcano, the Mitterrand/Balladur government moved to end the Air France strike as quickly as possible. Within a few days, the airline's "socialist" boss Bernard Attali was shoved out and his ill-fated "restructuring" plan scrapped. But instead of following up this victory, the reformist union leaderships are *squandering* the advantage won from the government.

Pressured by the airport workers for a common struggle, they had to call for a "day of action" on October 26. Several thousand workers participated, including Air France flight personnel and employees of Air Inter (the nationalized domestic French airline), as well as workers from the state-owned railways, the Chausson auto and bus manufacturer and the SFP nationalized television production company.

October 26 could have been the *springboard* for other and even bigger class battles. But the cowardly reformist union "leaders" did everything they could to limit the mobilization, taking workers for a ride around the airports. For the labor traitors it was just a matter of a "show of force," rather than *using* this power against the bourgeoisie.

The Air France strike has once again shown that the working class does not lack the will to fight. What is needed is a revolutionary leadership—a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a communist vanguard party. Although the Air France strikers were able to force the government to abandon the Attali plan, without a revolutionary leadership they could not go over to the offensive. In the coming months Air France management will surely seek to pull the



Strikers demonstrate at Orly airport last week in Paris.

union tops into negotiations to continue the "restructuring" in a less confrontational way. Everyone knows the struggle is not over.

Relieved that the strike is over, the French bourgeoisie is also fearful of the Balladur regime's show of weakness. *Le Monde* (26 October) warned:

"When a government retreats under the pressure of a strike, it breaks a dam, inviting the workers of other public enterprises confronted with restructuring plans that imply layoffs and wage freezes (as in the railroads) to follow the path of those who won against the government.... By trying to avoid the spreading of the Roissy and Orly [Paris airports] conflict, the government may have only postponed the threat of contagion."

The threat of contagion is by no means limited to France. Almost all workers in the public sector and industry are under fire throughout Europe. After the French government's retreat, the Italian bourgeoisie saw the Air France strikers' victory as a powerful boost to Italian workers, who for months have been mobilizing against savage "austerity" plans. And as the Air France strike was winding down, 2,000 TAP-Air Portugal strikers, fighting against thousands of layoffs and a wage freeze, were occupying the runways of the Lisbon airport. Some of their signs read: "TAP/Air France, same fight!"

Spectre of May '68 Haunts French Bourgeoisie

Just as U.S. Rangers getting killed in Somalia evokes in the American ruling

class unhappy memories of its humiliating defeat in Vietnam, so the Air France strike evokes the haunting spirit of May '68 in France. The Minister of Transportation, Bosson, justifying the withdrawal of Attali's plan, explained that "It was a movement unheard of since May 68" (*Libération*, 27 October). And the lame-duck social-democratic president François Mitterrand declared in a press conference that "it is not May '68. But this risk still exists indeed."

Twenty-five years ago, that worker/student revolt, which spread spontaneously across the country, brought France to the brink of revolution and led to the toppling of Charles de Gaulle's semi-bonapartist regime. Only the outright betrayal by the then-powerful pro-Moscow Stalinist Communist Party saved bourgeois rule in France, preventing the working class from moving to take power in a key country at the center of NATO Europe. Even so, May 1968 had powerful reverberations around the world, especially in West Europe. The following year came Italy's "hot autumn" as workers seized their factories and battled police and company goons.

Today conditions from the Baltic to the Mediterranean are ripe for new May '68s and "hot autumns." Everywhere, in the wake of the collapse of the deformed workers states in the East the ruling classes are waging the same attacks against their working classes: dismantling of the "welfare state" concessions granted after World War II; imposing wage freezes and wage cuts,

job cuts and layoffs; and widespread privatizations in the public sector.

In Bonn, Rome and London, capitalists are following the French situation closely. In their countries too, the attacks on the workers have met active resistance: coal and metal worker strikes in the Ruhr, factory occupations in southern Italy. A powerful social explosion in France would send big shock waves beyond national borders.

The combative mood of the European proletariat in response to the rulers' attacks on jobs and living standards occurs in the context of broader social turmoil. To weaken and divide the working class, the European bourgeoisies—aided and abetted by open fascists—have launched a massive campaign of anti-immigrant racism. The firebombing of hostels housing asylum-seekers goes hand in hand with government moves to expel "illegal" immigrants—like French interior minister Pasqua's "zero immigration" plan.

In response, a new generation of young radicals has come to the fore in militant protests against the fascists and against "respectable," official racist proposals. It is necessary to weld together the raw social power of the proletariat, so dramatically shown in the Air France strike, and the militancy of youth and minorities fueling recent struggles against racism like the October 16 march of 50,000 in London against the fascist British National Party.

The Air France strike marks the end of Balladur's brief "honeymoon," ushering in a new period of political and social crises. The fascists, building themselves up to serve as future shock troops for capital against the workers and their allies, will try to use palpable social instability to their advantage. This menace shows even more clearly how urgent it is for the working class to throw all its social power into the battle and offer the only progressive solution to the crisis: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of its own class power. ■

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Young Spartacus

Stop the Fascists Through Labor/Black Mobilization!

Across the country, in broad daylight Ku Klux Klan rallies and cowardly midnight firebombings, racist fascist thugs are stepping up their campaigns of violence and bigotry. Their growth is directly fueled by the rot of American capitalism which makes all workers fear for their economic security and sets up blacks and immigrants as easy scapegoats for the fascist demagogues. Moreover, the fascists are emboldened by a Democratic White House that revels in racism at home and abroad. The slaughter of Somali women and children, the incarceration of black Haitians in Guantánamo, the Waco holocaust and the assembly line of "legal lynching" on death row in prisons across America are a big green light to the fascists in "Bubba" Clinton's America.

The escalation of fascist attacks across the U.S. is only a pale reflection of what's happening in Europe, where the destruction of the Soviet Union and surging unemployment have fueled an ominous growth of fascist groups and bloody nationalist pogroms. Although relatively small in numbers now, the fascists are the mortal enemies of all working people and must be crushed in the egg before they grow. When the capitalists feel their rule is being threatened by the working class—as in Germany and Italy in the 1920s and '30s—the bourgeoisie will finance the fascist killers and assist their rise to power in order to smash the workers organizations. It happened in Germany with Hitler and we better not let it happen again or here.

Here's a sampling of recent fascist activity around the U.S.:

- In Los Angeles, a white supremacist purporting to be the leader of a terrorist group called "Fourth Reich Skinheads" attempted to firebomb a Jewish synagogue and schemed to foment "race war" by bombing black churches and plotting the murder of Rodney King, the most famous survivor of LAPD racist police brutality.

- Emboldened by California governor Wilson's anti-immigrant attacks, the

Indianapolis, Columbus Fake Lefts March Into Cop Corrals



Sabau/Columbus Dispatch

October 23: Anti-fascists panned in by cops during KKK rally at Columbus, Ohio Statehouse.

"Aryan Liberation Front" boasts of a spate of terror bombings of Asian and black civil rights organizations' offices and the home of an Asian city councilman in the state capital. The president of the Sacramento NAACP chapter spoke for the besieged minorities in this city: "If I didn't know better, I would think I was living in 1963 in the city of Birmingham, Alabama" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 October).

- In Vidor, Texas, the Ku Klux Klan has driven out every black family that attempted to move into a public housing

complex, despite a federal court order for desegregation. While slick David ("Klan in a suit") Duke appeals to "mainstream" white racism, in Vidor it's the old-style hoods-and-sheets terror that has filled the KKK's ranks with new vermin: "Citizens estimate that there are now several hundred active members in town" (*Boston Globe*, 19 September).

- Across the Midwest, Texas-based Thomas Robb's Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is on a recruitment drive, assisted by state governments and police forces which showcased the hooded terrorists on the state house steps in Indianapolis, Indiana on October 16 and Columbus, Ohio on October 23. Hundreds of anti-fascists were "permitted" to "protest" in chain-link holding pens surrounded by phalanxes of riot cops.

- In Pennsylvania, the Ku Klux Klan has staged rallies across the state, including Harrisburg, the state capital. In Lancaster, an abortion clinic was destroyed in a firebombing last month. In New Hope, a tiny petty-bourgeois enclave outside Philadelphia, the "USA Nationalist Party" has announced "Gay Bash '93" and called on Klan and skinhead thugs to goose-step through New Hope on November 6.

Enough! These racist terrorists can and must be stopped! Every time the fascists have attempted to openly rally, large integrated crowds of anti-fascists have come out to express their defiant opposition to these race-haters. But desire to confront the fascists is not enough. What's necessary is a strategy

to win—and that means a political program to organize massive mobilizations of the working class, drawing in the black community, youth and all the fascists' intended victims behind the power of the labor movement to stop these race-haters in their tracks whenever they raise their heads in the urban centers.

It's the State, Stupid.

In Indianapolis and Columbus, anti-fascist protesters were given a crystal clear lesson in the role of the state. The government and its cops, courts and troops are not neutral "peacekeepers" but the "special bodies of armed men" with a monopoly of armed force to protect capitalist rule—and that includes protecting their fascist dogs of war from anti-Klan protesters. In both cities, the liberals and the city fathers staged "unity" diversions aimed at getting the fascists' many intended victims to ignore the threat on their doorsteps. Then, with the legal assistance of the ACLU, fascist thugs in their white hoods and sheets stumped for genocide on the state house steps while anti-fascist protesters were individually searched and funneled one-by-one through metal detectors into large cages surrounded by an army of cops who controlled the only entrances and exits from these traps.

Supporters of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Clubs and the Labor Black Struggle League urged anti-Klan demonstrators not to shuffle like cattle into these cop corrals. In Columbus, police maced anti-Klan protesters who tried to break down the chain-link fence that separated them from the fascists. One anti-racist was overcome by the fumes, fell to the ground and is lucky he wasn't trampled to death as others scrambled to get away.

Scandalously, some ostensible socialists, including the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Progressive Labor Party (PL), willingly marched their own supporters into these traps. Members of the RWL's front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), excused this suicidal idiocy by saying, "We do this every weekend," and argued that it was necessary to "confront the Klan." Inside this pen and under the thumb of the cops, however, the RWL/NWROC supporters couldn't do more than impotently holler at the KKK scum on the other side of the barricades...while rubbing shoulders with skinheads and Klan sympathizers standing right next to them!

That the cops controlled everyone inside the pens was shown when a KKK sympathizer unfurled a Confederate flag inside the pen in Indianapolis! Youths who seized and burned the flag were ejected from the area, while the cops protected the racists who continued their provocations among anti-racist protesters.

In Indianapolis and Columbus, the RWL/NWROC showed themselves to be nothing other than a bunch of radical liberals who occasionally masquerade as centrists i.e., nominally, and rarely calling themselves "revolutionary" while in



Spartacist Canada

Anti-Klan unionists, minorities and youth turned out to stop the fascists in downtown Vancouver last January.

Blood Bank Bigotry

Red Cross Anti-Gay Blacklist

LOS ANGELES—Welcome to college in Clinton's America: if you're gay, the Red Cross doesn't want your blood and will blacklist you; if you complain about it, the campus cops will drag you away. On September 23, Kevin Fullen, president of the Pasadena City College Gay and Lesbian Student Union (GLSU), went to donate blood in a Red Cross campus blood drive. Fullen told our reporter that he was asked a list of questions, including: "Have you had sex with another man since 1977?" When he answered in the affirmative, he was told that he would not be allowed to give blood, and that his name would be entered into a Red Cross national database with the warning tag: "deferred as possibly transmissionable of disease or associated illness."

"This means I couldn't even give blood to my own brother," Fullen told us. Fullen immediately told students waiting to give blood about the Red Cross's outrageous anti-gay blacklist and lodged a protest against this bigotry with the Dean of Students. But administration officials told Fullen to keep his mouth shut and ordered him to leave the area! The next day, Fullen posted flyers on campus that read "Red Cross Discriminates." He was immediately harassed by campus cops whom Fullen argued with about his right to protest. Fullen was manhandled by the campus cops, then grabbed and charged with "using profanity and disturbing the peace." Realizing that the absurd charges wouldn't stick, administration officials made the cops release Fullen...but threatened to *expel* Fullen if he continued his protest! We demand: Hands off Kevin Fullen! Down

with the blood bank blacklist!

The Red Cross national database of "deferred donors" is a sinister threat to gays and many others. Admitting to IV drug usage, or sex with a prostitute will also land you on this list that perniciously equates "gay" with "HIV carrier." The Red Cross itself says publicly that there is a National Donor Deferral Registry which contains a list of "individuals who have been deferred for medical reasons." But these snoops have determined that sexual preference is cause for "medical" exclusion. This is not a matter of protecting the safety of the blood supply—which, in the midst of the AIDS crisis should be anony-

mously screened—but rather an expression of the reactionary social attitudes which are deeply rooted in the bourgeois order. Such a list would inevitably end up in the hands of the state and be used to persecute the victims of this horrific disease. From the beginning of the AIDS epidemic, which has disproportionately decimated minorities and gays, the government's chief response to the disease has been hysteria and repression. Both the Republican and Democratic parties have used the AIDS crisis to whip up vicious anti-gay bigotry.

The blood bank bigotry and the attack on Fullen by Pasadena City College and the campus cops are not only an assault

on the rights of all gay students but all minorities. An injury to one is an injury to all! As fee hikes and budget cuts make college increasingly the privilege of the rich and white, campus cops and administrators have stepped up attacks against the few black, Latino and immigrant students left on campus. Last spring, the UCLA administration called in the notoriously brutal racists of the LAPD to beat and arrest integrated demonstrations of students fighting for a Chicano studies program. Recently at Cal State Fullerton, students celebrating Mexican Independence Day were gassed and clubbed by campus cops. The role of capitalist college administrations and their cops is to smash any sort of student militancy and keep the campuses safe for the racist rulers of this country. In the case of Pasadena City College, the administration plays the role of enforcing the anti-gay bigotry of the bourgeoisie.

The PCC Gay and Lesbian Student Union has refused to protest this blatant discrimination by the Red Cross, claiming that the issue is "too political." This narrow and dangerous view reflects the misplaced faith that many gay organizations have that gays and lesbians will somehow be protected now that Clinton and the Democrats are in the White House. This, despite Clinton giving the finger to his gay supporters over the anti-gay ban in the military! Capitalism, which needs to maintain the patriarchal family, will never end discrimination against and persecution of homosexuals. It will take a socialist revolution to replace the social institution of the family and its stultifying reinforcement of prescribed sex roles, as well as to provide free, quality health care for all.

Alongside the Spartacist League, the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to mobilize the power of the integrated labor movement to fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals. We demand: Billions for AIDS research! Down with the Red Cross anti-gay blacklist! Cops off campus! ■



Spartacist contingent at SF protest against government exclusion of immigrants with AIDS, June 1990.

deeds serving up the most abject reformism. Paper will take whatever is printed on it, and so in NWROC's leaflet distributed in Indianapolis we read: "No reliance on the cops, courts, Democrats or Republicans to stop the fascist marches!" But in practice the RWL/NWROC willingly put themselves and their followers under the control of an overwhelming police force to "confront" the fascists. The RWL needs to "confront" some basic Marxism. Leon Trotsky wrote in a March 1934 letter to his French comrades:

"In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate'...Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

Another telling indication of RWL/NWROC's fundamentally reformist appetite is their new slogan, "Rebuild a Mass, Militant, Integrated Civil Rights Movement!" But the whole strategy of the liberal civil rights movement was to appeal to the federal government. And while the civil rights leadership preached loyalty to the Democratic Party and called for federal intervention in the South, the feds spied on Martin Luther King and set up more militant fighters like Malcolm X and the Black Panthers for extermination through the government's deadly COINTELPRO (counter-intelligence program). When the civil rights movement came North it smashed up against the bedrock of racial oppression that is *integral* to the American capitalist system. Then or now, no civil rights bill can achieve black equality. What's needed is an integrated, revolu-

tionary fight for black liberation through socialist revolution!

A Dangerous Nationalist Diversion

Several blocks away from the anti-fascist holding pen in Indianapolis, some 300 people attended a diversion organized by the Black Panther Militia (BPM). Their press release stated explicitly, "The Black Panther Militia is not going downtown to do military combat with the Klan." (The BPM was founded by black Milwaukee city councilman McGee, who seeks to build a local black power base in the Democratic Party through anti-white demagoguery.) A featured speaker at the BPM rally was Khallid Muhammad, a national assistant to the sinister Louis Farrakhan (who said Hitler was a "great man" and invited Klan leader Tom Metzger to a Nation of Islam rally).

Pumped up by an afternoon of nationalist rhetoric at the BPM's diversion, some black youth made their way over to the state house pen to give the open Klan supporters in the crowd their just deserts. But after the cops escorted the KKKers safely away, white press photographers and even some anti-racists were attacked by black youth. The degeneration of this anti-racist protest into indiscriminate racial attacks was set up by the cops and abetted by the nationalists' anti-white rhetoric—and by the criminal idiocy of fake-left groups like the RWL which chose to "demonstrate" alongside out-and-out racists.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

The "get whitey" rhetoric of black nationalist preachers and politicians has a certain appeal to youth who are fed up with the betrayals of black Democratic Party mayors and liberals who preach accommodation to the status quo. But

there is no "separate" road to black liberation. Today's advocates of "black empowerment" like Farrakhan and the BPM who push "buy black" consumerism echo the defeatism of the historic *right wing* of the black movement, like Booker T. Washington who advocated complete segregation of the races. In a racist society, separate will always mean *unequal*. To fight the enforced poverty and oppression of the mass of the black population in this country, it is necessary to mobilize the integrated working class in defense of the ghetto masses and to wrest power from the hands of the racist capitalist rulers.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have organized labor/black mobilizations that have successfully *stopped* the fascists. The conditions for our success in these actions were: no illusions in the state, an intransigent fight for the political independence of the working class, and confidence in its ability to fight on behalf

of all the oppressed and in its own self-defense. But various fake-socialist groups who talk of "confronting" the fascists despair of the working class' capacity to struggle, so they look to substitute their own small forces...or appeal (directly or indirectly) to the state to regulate the racist guard dogs of capital.

From Chicago in 1982, where we mobilized steel workers, black youth and Holocaust survivors to stop the Nazis from threatening the Gay Pride parade, to mass mobilizations in Washington, D.C., Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Atlanta, and in Vancouver last year, our strategy of mobilizing the organized working class has given a taste of the power that must be brought to bear to stop the fascist scum. To defeat the fascists once and for all means building a revolutionary party to overthrow the decrepit rule of the capitalist class which spawns the fascists, and bring the working people who create the wealth of this country to power. ■

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Nazi Terror in Germany, Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in California



Left: Nazi skinheads firebomb hostel for asylum-seekers in Rostock, east Germany, August 1992. Right: Border police round up desperate Mexicans seeking jobs in the U.S.

For a Workers Fight Against Anti-Immigrant Racism!

We publish below an edited and abridged version of a talk given by SL/ U.S. Central Committee member Joseph Seymour at the University of California at Berkeley on September 24. We have omitted the concluding section on West Europe which was the subject of our article, "Racist Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in 'Fortress Europe'" (WV No. 580, 16 July).

Last spring the German parliament abolished the right of asylum, which had been written into the West German constitution after World War II. The following day Nazis celebrated this victory by firebombing the home of a Turkish family in the industrial city of Solingen, in western Germany, burning to death five Turkish women and children. About the same time, the new, more right-wing government in France announced a policy of "zero immigration." In order to achieve this, they would abolish the right, established by the French Revolution, that every child born in France was entitled to become a French citizen. And they have recently decreed that so-called "illegal aliens" can be held in jail for up to three months without trial. In the week following the election, French cops shot and killed, in three separate incidents, two North Africans and a youth from Zaire.

Last month, Pete Wilson, the Republican governor of California—the most populous state in the union—proposed that the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which was adopted after the Civil War and gave citizenship rights to anyone born in the United States, be abolished. At the same time, the two Democratic Senators from California, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, proposed that the National Guard be used to beef up the policing of the Mexican border. Feinstein had earlier proposed that the Army be used for that purpose.

At the same time, the Border Patrol routinely shakes down, beats, tortures and occasionally kills Mexicans who are trying to come into this country to work. A recent report by the American Civil Liberties Union states: "Immigrants awaiting administrative hearings"—that is people who are not accused or sus-

pected of breaking any laws—are being detained in conditions that would be unacceptable at prisons for criminal offenders."

The rising tide of anti-immigrant racism in the so-called "free societies" of the West is not a series of random coincidences. Nor is it some spontaneous, irrational outpouring of bigotry. It expresses the current state of world capitalism. First, both North America and West Europe are in a deep depression and there is no recovery in sight. So that a central purpose of capitalist politics and propaganda is to divert the blame from the people who are really responsible, that is, the people who own and control this country: "It's the black welfare mothers—it's illegal Mexican immigrants—they're ruining our schools. They're eating up our tax dollars. They're responsible for crime and drug

addiction." Or, "It's the Japanese capitalists. They're bankrupting our country, they're buying it cheap." It's anybody but the people who are really responsible. That's one factor.

Secondly, during the Cold War, the conflict with the Soviet Union to some degree forced the American and the West European governments to live up to their democratic pretensions a little more. But with capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union, Western imperialism is throwing off its liberal mask. You can see this very clearly in the case of Germany. With the capitalist reunification of Germany, you have this orgy of German nationalism, whose most extreme expression, but by far not the only expression, is the Nazi skinheads. Since the German banks bought out East Germany in 1990, creating a new, powerful Fourth Reich,

there have been 7,500 separate violent attacks on foreigners in Germany—30 racist murders last year alone.

Wilson and Clinton: Hard Cop/Soft Cop Act

Early this year there was an exchange on immigration in the letters pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* (January 1993), a very respectable, politically middle-of-the-road literary magazine. Yet one of the letters, which is presented as an entirely legitimate statement of opinion, reads like Nazi propaganda.

"In just a few decades Los Angeles has changed from a mainly white 'Iowa by the Sea' to what David Rieff calls the capital of the Third World.... In more and more areas of the country it is the white English-speaker who feels like an alien in his own land. "Why is it wrong for the heirs of the Anglo-European tradition to look upon these changes with dismay? Is it not natural, normal, and healthy to wish that one's people and one's culture should flourish? It is the wordless acquiescence by whites in the steady occupation of their country by aliens—who insist on remaining aliens—that is unnatural and unhealthy."

But in a way even more sinister is the letter from a liberal, who is also opposing immigration, especially by Hispanics, but arguing on behalf of black people. What he's saying is that it is the black poor who are the main victims, because they have to compete for jobs, their wages are reduced: "American blacks and recent Latino immigrants are not divided by long-standing historic grievances. They are not Greeks and Turks, or Serbs and Croats. Unrestricted immigration—a federal, not a local, policy, determined by white men in Washington—has forced them into a competition both wish could be avoided." So here you have somebody who claims to be a champion of the black poor, and some other guy who sounds like a high-brow spokesman for the Aryan Brotherhood, and they have the same line!—"Stop, limit, reverse the flow of, especially Hispanic and Asian, immigrants." There is a real danger here of a populist American nativism.

Last month, when Wilson came out for abolishing the 14th Amendment in

San Francisco, May 28: Spartacist League and Labor/Black League organized protest against anti-immigrant campaign by Republican governor Pete Wilson and Democratic Senators Boxer and Feinstein.



order to deprive the children of so-called "illegal immigrants" of public schools, welfare, public health, etc., he made front-page news. This proposal was so outrageous, and so outlandish, that it made the "more moderate" proponents of an anti-immigrant program look good by comparison. Clinton says: I'm not in favor of changing the Constitution. We don't have to change the Constitution, it's not necessary. All we have to do is have more police forces on the Mexican border, and crack down harder on "illegal immigrants." So what you see here—and this is basically very characteristic of the Republicans and Democrats in general—is your typical hard cop/soft cop routine.

Clinton is right that you don't have to repeal the 14th Amendment, or change any law at all to do exactly what Wilson wants to do. Look at the 14th Amendment itself: it was passed after the Civil War in order to give democratic rights to the blacks who had been slaves and were now freed. But what happened? Just a few years later, with the abandonment of Reconstruction with the Compromise of 1877, the racist white rulers of the South, with the acquiescence of the Northern rulers, established a totalitarian police state, depriving blacks of the most elementary democratic rights. Any black who was considered "uppity" was lynched. They didn't abolish the 14th Amendment—they just ignored it.

Wilson wants to deprive the children of "illegal" Latino immigrants of public schools. That's already happening! It's already happening for black children. All you have to do is just cut the budget for public schools, and give tax breaks and



Clinton health plan will deprive "illegal immigrants" of social benefits. "Health" card would serve as national ID recalling South African pass laws.

subsidies for middle-class whites for private schools, like this voucher program (see "California Public Schools Under Attack," WV No. 586, 22 October). Legal principles don't mean anything unless they're enforced. And in many cases, in order to realize them you have to have supporting measures, especially financial measures.

The gulf between the *formal* protestations of democratic rights and the *realities* of capitalist society is nowhere clearer than in the case of immigration. Writing during World War I, the great Russian revolutionary and Marxist V.I. Lenin made a study of world capitalism, titled *Imperialism*. He pointed out that the economic and political privileges of the advanced capitalist countries of North America and West Europe rested on the exploitation of millions of colonial slaves, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America. Most of these slaves were exploited in the colonies, or today neocolonies. But sometimes the capitalists find it in their interests to import some of these slaves, and then expel them when they are no longer needed.

In 1930, at the outbreak of the Great Depression, there were three million foreign workers in France, mainly Southern



Chinese workers brought to U.S. as virtual slave labor built western section of transcontinental railroad after Civil War.

and East Europeans, about 30 percent of the labor force. In the next few years, half a million were expelled. In the same period, 400,000 Mexicans were deported from the American Southwest. Many of these, incidentally, had citizenship papers, but it didn't matter—they were still deported.

There's a recurring pattern in capitalist countries, which is especially clear in the United States: when there's a need for labor, when the economy is expanding, the capitalists attract and recruit workers from poor countries; but when the economy slows down, they deliberately incite anti-immigrant hysteria in order to cut off the flow of immigrants and expel those that are already there.

This is very clear from a tragic and important chapter in the history of California. When gold was discovered in California in 1848, there was an immediate big demand for labor. At that time there were no railroads connecting California with the more populous eastern part of the country, making overland travel very expensive. So the mine owners and the other capitalists dependent upon them imported laborers from China, who were practically slave labor. It was mainly Chinese immigrants who built the western branch of the transcontinental railroad after the Civil War, while it was mainly Irish immigrants who built the eastern branch.

But once the railroad was built, and transportation costs were cheapened, there was a big flood of white Europeans into California. You had the beginnings of a workers movement. And the local capitalists, many of them fabulously wealthy from the gold strikes, diverted that workers movement against the Chinese: "It's coolie wages that are keeping your wages down." So that in the 1870s and '80s you had a series of violent anti-Chinese riots in this state. And they didn't pass a law saying it's all right to burn, beat and kill Chinese. They just did it. The police, the sheriffs just turned a blind eye to the rampaging racist mobs. And in 1882 they passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, cutting off further immigrants. They no longer needed the Chinese, who at one point had been absolutely critical to the economic development of American capitalism, especially in California.

From the Bracero Program to Simpson-Mazzoli

About six to eight years ago, this campus was convulsed with student protests, building occupations, strikes. The main demand of the students was for the University of California to divest its financial holdings in companies doing business with South Africa. Liberals and radicals viewed South Africa as the ultimate totalitarian, racist police state—nothing could be worse than South Africa.

Yet for 20 years the economy of the state of California rested to a considerable extent on a labor program very similar to that of South Africa. Until

recently, blacks were not considered citizens of South Africa, that was declared a "white man's country." They were considered citizens of the tribal "bantustans." But they worked in South Africa and if they caused any trouble they could be sent back to the bantustans.

Well, the U.S. had a very similar program. It was called the Mexican Labor Program, more popularly known as the bracero program. It was introduced in 1942 and, significantly, under a government that is held up as the ultimate liberal administration, that of Franklin Roosevelt. It was *not* a right-wing Republican program. It was originally sold as a temporary wartime measure due to the acute labor shortage during World War II, but it lasted for 20 years.

Up to half a million Mexican workers worked in American agriculture. But these were not immigrants, and they had no right to become immigrants. They were considered permanent Mexican citizens and they could be sent back by their employer any time they wanted. Just as in South Africa, these were mainly men who were separated for long periods of time from their wives and families.

In 1964 the bracero program was formally, legally abolished, mainly under pressure of the trade unions. But in a sense, it was never abolished, and it still exists. Because what happened is that the contract Mexican laborers, without rights, became so-called illegal immigrants, also without rights. I used the term "so-called illegal immigrants," because the image one has of an "illegal immigrant" is someone who has successfully eluded the border patrol, who evaded the various INS raids. But that's false. "Illegal" immigrants are here in this country because the government authorities allow them to be. If they didn't, they would be rounded up and kicked out. Remember, the U.S. deported 400,000 Mexicans in the 1930s with a far smaller and less well-equipped police force than it has now.

There's a basic principle of bourgeois law, which says that if you knowingly benefit from a crime, that is a crime. But a big *exception* to this principle has been immigration law. Until 1986, employers could knowingly hire "illegal immigrants" and that was not a crime—which meant that they had virtually slave labor. Because all they had to do if these workers demanded higher wages, better conditions, threatened to form a union, is to say, "I'm going to call the INS, and you're going to be jailed or deported. Nothing's going to happen to *me*."

Now, that was supposed to end in 1986. Congress passed the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, which was supposed to liberalize and control immigration, and have sanctions against employers. Yet since 1986, you still have a big influx of "illegal immigrants." They're not on welfare. They come here to work, they get jobs. Somebody's hiring them. The answer is that the employer sanctions are a joke. Because all the employers have to do is

look at some document—green card, Social Security card—and there's a big industry of forging documents.

There's a well-known left-liberal West Coast journalist named Robert Scheer, who recently wrote a column which pointed out that the employer sanctions against hiring "illegal" immigrants are totally ineffective. But what he proposes is the same thing Wilson is proposing. That is, Scheer is calling for "some sort of tamper-proof national identity card" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 18 July). This is the same program they had in South Africa—the "pass laws." Except when the South African government wanted to put a more liberal face on apartheid a few years ago, they did away with it. So here you have a well-known, radical journalist who is proposing a program that is so oppressively and flagrantly racist that the South African government had to abandon it when they wanted to look good!

At the time of the Simpson-Mazzoli Act, a prominent Western Senator proposed to reinstate the bracero program. That is, he proposed to bring in 350,000 Mexican workers to work in agriculture, but they wouldn't be immigrants; they would have no possibility of getting citizenship. That Senator was our old friend Pete Wilson. You see, Pete Wilson is not a racist in the sense he wants a "white

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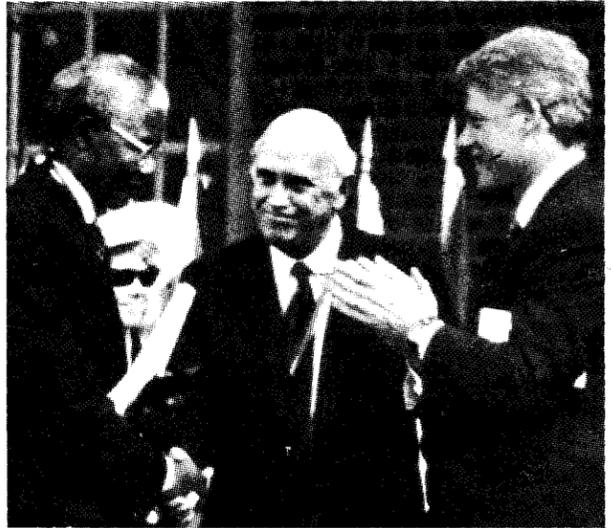


Haitian refugees jailed in Miami's Krome Avenue concentration camp while U.S. welcomes Cuban gusanos.

Black Townships Pay Bloody Price for ANC "Power Sharing"



Reuters



WV Photo

South African army continues occupation of black townships as U.S. imperialist chieftain Bill Clinton welcomes Mandela and De Klerk into New World Order.

South Africa: Mandela/De Klerk's Neo-Apartheid Fraud

On October 15, the Nobel Peace Prize Committee bestowed its annual award on South African president F.W. De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela. They are credited with "peacefully" bringing about the demise of apartheid. But even with the prospect of the ANC in office, the system of white supremacy remains, and in the huge black townships on the upland veld near Johannesburg and the teeming squatters' camps around the ports of Cape Town and Durban there is anything but peace. Since De Klerk released Mandela from prison in February 1990, more than 10,000 people, overwhelmingly blacks, have been killed. The death toll is escalating: since July, when the first all-race South African elections were set for next April 27, more than 1,300 have been murdered. While Mandela "negotiates" with the apartheid masters, the bodies pile up. And the fingerprints of the not so "hidden hand" of the apartheid state and its agents are all over this carnage.

The assassination in April of Chris Hani, general secretary of the Communist Party and former leader of the ANC's armed force, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK—Spear of the Nation), laid bare the realities of "power sharing" under the revamped apartheid system. The murder sparked an unprecedented outpouring of grief and anger from the impoverished black masses, who saw in "Comrade Chris" a champion of the downtrodden "wretched of the earth." Four million refused to go to work in the largest "stayaway" strike in South Africa's history, and hundreds of thousands participated in the largest-ever funeral marches. Last week, the fascist killer who shot Hani and the Conservative Party politician who supplied the assassin with addresses and the murder weapon (stolen, with government complicity, from an air force arsenal) were found guilty and sentenced to hang. (However, all executions have been stayed as the government negotiates with the ANC, which opposes the death penalty.) But the apartheid courts carefully skirted the wider conspiracy behind the assassination of Hani.

The brutal massacres that have punctuated the last three years of endless talks and "talks about talks" are painted by the ANC and liberal media as the actions of a diehard rightist fringe, intended to derail negotiations. In reality, these

For a Bolshevik Workers Party!

bloodbaths are orchestrated by the government to show an iron fist to intimidate the black population and draw hard limits to "democracy" in a "post-apartheid" state. The South African rulers are also intent on continuing and intensifying tribal rivalry among blacks, which has been a keystone of apartheid. The effects of these poisonous communal/tribal conflicts have been seen in the repeated clashes between immigrants (largely Zulu) housed in hostels on the Witwatersrand and the (largely Xhosa) township populations, as well as in the bloody "taxi wars" of rival groups of black entrepreneurs.

On September 7, the 26-party Negotiations Forum established a "transitional executive council" (TEC) to produce a new constitution, oversee the elections and "share power" until then with the government. The ANC, which used to proclaim "one person, one vote" majority rule as its goal, has now agreed to a requirement of a three-quarters majority in the "TEC" to override action by the De Klerk government, and to a five-year

"Transitional Government of National Unity" in which all parties will be guaranteed cabinet seats and decisions are to be by "consensus"—giving white parties effective veto power. Grotesquely, the MK is to be incorporated into the notorious South African Defence Force.

The violent chaos marking the birth of the "new South Africa" stems from the efforts of both De Klerk and Mandela to square the mass aspirations for freedom and equality with the continued rule of apartheid capitalism, which requires the subjugation and superexploitation of cheap black labor. For the oppressed blacks of South Africa, the very concept of "power sharing" with one of the most bloodthirsty racist states in the world is an utter fraud. This is a by-product of the collapse of Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states in the Soviet Union and East Europe, whose shock waves have been felt around the world. In the Near East, the PLO has signed a peace of the oppressor, agreeing to police Palestinians in the Occupied Territories for its new Zionist masters

under a "Pax Americana" sealed in Washington. In South Africa, the ANC will police the black townships for the owners of the Witwatersrand mines, the Jo'burg banks and their masters in Washington, Frankfurt and the City of London.

Nelson Mandela is expected to preside over neo-apartheid capitalist rule in a New World Order. Just how far these petty-bourgeois black nationalists will go to accommodate the white racists is seen in recent revelations of secret talks between Mandela and leaders of the ultraright Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF). The Volksfront includes the parliamentary Conservative Party (whose former MP Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife masterminded the Hani assassination); the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB, Afrikaner Resistance Movement) of Eugene Terreblanche; "retired" military officers like General Constand Viljoen and disaffected members of the security forces.

The meetings were confirmed in a September 24 joint statement between the ANC and AVF, which said that the demand for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* was put on the table "for frank and forthright discussions." The Afrikaner ultrarightists want an autonomous "homeland" that includes much of the former Boer Republics, centering on Pretoria. (The hypothetical maps with their multiple tentacles look eerily like a swastika.) When the ANC ranks reacted in outrage to revelations of the discussions, the leadership backed away, saying reports were "overblown" (London *Independent*, 25 September). Simultaneously the AVF declared it was breaking off the talks. Shortly after, the Conservative Party together with Zulu leader Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha and three bantustan puppet parties announced a grotesquely named "Freedom Alliance," demanding that the country be split into autonomous regions. Now De Klerk, playing to the right, is talking of replacing the April elections with a referendum on "power sharing."

Meanwhile, the ANC, having jettisoned its "Freedom Charter" plank for nationalizing industry in preparation for becoming partners in neo-apartheid exploitation, is now busily setting up business ventures to cash in. A publishing deal between Thebe Investment Corporation and Macmillan anticipates lucrative contracts to supply millions of new textbooks for South African class-



Work in Progress

Assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani provoked massive protests.

rooms. Thebe's managing director was formerly head of the ANC finance department, while Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are trustees of Batho-Batho Trust, Thebe's sole shareholder. This is just one of the new joint ventures, which include Digital Equipment Corp. and a consortium awarded a cellular telephone license, as well as the "Miss South Africa" contest. The ANC initially called for nationalization of cellular telephones, but dropped the demand when the government assured them there would be more "black participation."

As ANC-government talks drag on, "Negotiation has become the country's biggest growth industry," says the London *Independent* (10 July). "At present...278 negotiations forums have been established nationwide, dealing with everything from housing and education to local government and sports." The NEF (National Economic Forum) is supposed to foster "cooperation" between captains of industry and their labor lieutenants. At the NEF plenary in July, the head of the COSATU union federation, Jay Naidoo, "had the managing directors of the country's most powerful conglomerates chuckling in the aisles when he addressed them as 'comrades' and urged them to join him in a new revolutionary cry, 'Viva NEF!'"

But however "moderate" Mandela's promises to the financiers and industrialists, whatever the constitutional guarantees for maintaining the privileged position of the white minority, the entry of the ANC into the government will throw South Africa into intense and many-sided political turmoil. It will create enormous expectations among the black masses, leading to struggles for economic and social equality on all fronts. At the same time, right-wing whites could resort to terrorism and even insurrection. And the strong Zulu tribalist movement in Natal could make an attempt at secession. In short, a coalition government between the ANC and white ruling parties promises to usher in the most convulsive period in modern South African history.

Workers Party Debate

Even before the formation of such a government, Mandela's abject collaboration with the Randlords is producing increasing dissidence in the black workers movement. Many of the "foot soldiers" and lower-level leaders in the anti-apartheid struggle are wondering what their role will be in the "new" South Africa. With mass action replaced by influence peddling, there is mushrooming unrest in the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the working class. "Is Holding Hands with the Bosses the Way Forward for the Workers?" asked an angry paper by a leader of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), slamming COSATU's across-the-board capitulation. Things have gotten so acrimonious that COSATU assistant general secretary Sam Shilowa said (half-) jokingly at a press conference, "I must leave now; I've got to get to the World Trade Centre to sell out the workers." Reflecting this tension, COSATU has called for a general strike on November 15 against

Debate on Workers Party

Weekly Mail

Workers' Party: Jumping the gun?

There are increasing calls for Cosatu to split from its alliance partners and for the establishment of a Workers Party.

By PERIAL MAFFALEE

SAM SHILOWA summed up the present mood of political negotiations among the negotiators when he said at a press conference last week: "I've got to get to the World Trade Centre to sell out the workers."

While the Congress of South Africa Trade Union Association and other workers' unions are a breakaway from the ANC's decision, it is a new step leading to the establishment of a Workers Party.

Such a party would contest elections and take over working class issues at a general election. The idea is to come to a state from which the

Don't dismiss a workers' party

We need a workers' party because of the failure of the communist party, argues Neville Alexander



BECAUSE of the desperate situation in Jeremy Cronin's article on the workers' party (The Weekly Mail, July 23 to 29 1993) to the effect that the promoters of the mass workers' party are the dupes, or perhaps even the agents of the National Intelligence Service and

since calling them "fascists" and "Trotskyites" would be considered a last joke today, they are "undermined" as the banner men and women.

This descent into the gutter only defies those who write such a pill. The mass workers' party is indeed an idea whose time has come. This is so simply because the black nationalist element of the national liberation movement has run its course. It has "taken its stand on capitalism" in Josua Luxemburg's profound formulation. It has agreed in the present negotiations to conform to the dictates of capitalism and the market, to rescue them from economic and political

'Workers' party plays into Nat hands'



The SACP's James Groen... a... member...

Cosatu 'too close to the bosses'

A DISCUSSION document circulating from one of the Congress of South African Trade Unions' largest affiliates...

Cosatu comes under fire in a discussion document by a member of one of its affiliates...

Working class unity ... not a separate party

A Workers' Party or continued work within the Tripartite Alliance? A future government should focus more on working class interests

By SAM SHILOWA, GENERAL SECRETARY

South African Labour Bulletin

Nationalisation, socialism and the alliance

A number of resolutions adopted by the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA) at its recent congress provoked enormous media interest. MOSES MAYEKISO explains why the union calls, unfashionably, for nationalisation without compensation, and why it wants broader unity on the left and an end to COSATU's alliance with the ANC.

This resolution document also caused a degree of confusion among rank and file members of the ANC and SACP. The NUMSA national office leaders have

Work in Progress

Back to the future? A Brazilian Workers' Party in SA?

Marx advocates of an independent workers' party gaze fondly towards Brazil's PT. To look and learn is fine, writes JEREMY CRONIN, but closer inspection advises against a local copy of the Brazilian model.



South African labor, left and bourgeois press heatedly discuss a workers party.

a draft constitutional clause protecting bosses' "right" to lock out workers.

As union officials and activists see the ANC tops on the road to joining De Klerk & Co. in the South African ruling elite, they are beginning to question the "tripartite alliance," a nationalist popular front of the ANC, the SACP and COSATU. Combined with calls to break the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, there is now heated debate about a workers party. In part this reflects a radicalization among union militants and lower-level officials seeking to organize to defend the working class against an anticipated ANC-De Klerk government. At the same time, some top union leaders have in mind a pretty tame labor party as a means of increasing their economic bargaining clout. At the July conference of the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA), the biggest union in South Africa, a resolution was passed calling to:

"Look at new forms of organisation that will unify the working class organisations and parties, that will take forward a programme to implement socialism. This could take the form of a Working Class Party."

The demand for a workers party is also reportedly being mirrored by elements in the TGWU and the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (SACCWU). And after a special conference of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, WOSA leader Neville Alexander announced a campaign for an "independent Mass Workers' Party" to "halt and reverse the wholesale compromise of the interests of the working class by the negotiators at the World

Trade Centre." WOSA is loosely associated with Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The call for a workers party received prominent attention in the liberal Johannesburg papers, and is now being debated in the labor and left press in South Africa.

NUMSA is a powerhouse of South African organized labor. Its leader Moses Mayekiso was jailed in the 1980s as one of the "Alexandra Five," who led anti-apartheid struggles in the Witwatersrand township. Mayekiso, who was associated with the earlier "workerist" current in the black unions, has since become a central committee member of the Communist Party. When NUMSA auto workers occupied the Mercedes-Benz plant in Port Elizabeth in 1990, the company had to petition the ANC to get the SACP leadership (including Mayekiso) to come to the plant to strangle the strike. Last year, NUMSA fought a three-week national strike against the steel and engineering companies, which was defeated with mass firings and a concerted union-busting campaign by subsidiaries of the giant Anglo American conglomerate.

An article by Mayekiso, "Nationalisation, Socialism and the Alliance," in the *South African Labour Bulletin* (July/August 1993) documents the explosive NUMSA conference. In addition to the call for a workers party, the conference reiterated its 1991 call for a "conference on socialism," in particular to analyze events in East Europe. The leftist thrust of the resolutions reflected something of a revolt among the delegates. Only after a three-hour debate were the words "without compensation" added to the resolution restating NUMSA's longtime demand for nationalization of major industries. Excerpts from the minutes show rebellious delegates from Wits Central-West and Wits East ranged against the other regions, but in the end they carried the vote with 455 in favor of "without compensation" against 312 in favor of simply "nationalisation."

The financial press screamed bloody murder. The bourgeoisie has been trumpeting the supposed "death of communism" so much that they were shocked to find it alive and living on the veld: "What a message to be sending in the 1990s," editorialized *Finance Week*. "When one of the most powerful trade unions in SA effectively comes out in favour of the far-left socialism which destroyed the economies of Eastern

Europe, it must be a negative for the economy."

Who are the union rebels demanding nationalization without compensation and a workers party? Mayekiso noted that a significant majority of the delegates were Communist Party and ANC members. In the discussion on a "working-class party," he stressed: "The delegates, who were mainly supporters of the SACP, felt that the SACP should play a leading role in this process together with left sections of the ANC as well as other left forces like WOSA and many independent socialists and social democrats." The conference also voted to end the alliance with the ANC, but only after the April elections: "Once an Interim Government of National Unity is established and the ANC is part of it, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC." This resolution was clearly aimed at undercutting mass sentiment in the ranks to break the alliance now.

In part, Mayekiso and other former "workerist" leaders who joined in forming COSATU see breaking the "tripartite alliance" as a road to merging with rival unions in the NACTU federation which grew out of the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s. At the same time, they don't want to oppose the ANC entering the government of apartheid capitalism. Indeed, the NUMSA congress which raised the possibility of a "working-class party" also called for a vote for the ANC (as have other unions, including the National Union of Mine-workers). Mayekiso is able to claim that the workers party resolution "is not a call for movement by the left forces from the ANC," but rather was "looking at the possibilities of strengthening the left as a class force within the multiclass ANC."

Other unionists and leftists wish to break the alliance with the pro-bourgeois ANC now. Thus Commercial Workers education officer Salim Vally (who is also "labour co-ordinator" of WOSA) wrote in the union newspaper objecting to proposals for an electoral pact with the ANC, saying, "COSATU must not adopt a programme of acting as managers of a reformed capitalism" (*SACCWU News*, March 1993). In the same issue, Vally has an article on Allende's Chile noting that the "key problem" was "how to smash the state apparatus of the capitalists," that the "fatal mistake" of Allende's Unidad Popular (UP) "was to believe that socialism could be brought about through parliament," and he ends with a warning against a "government of national unity" in South Africa.

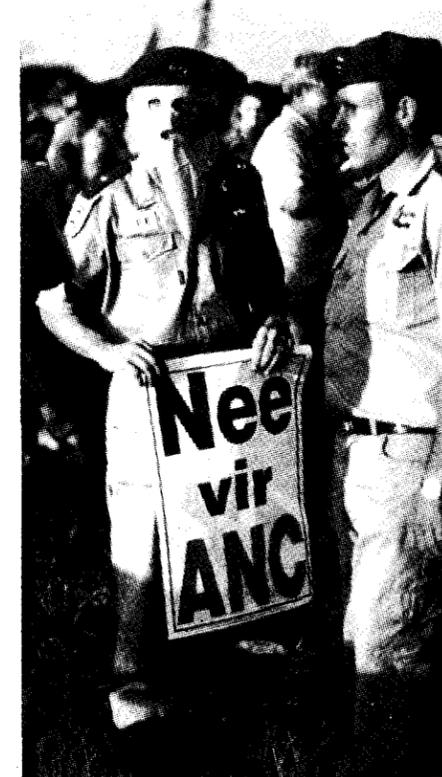
It is important that this vital question is being debated in the South African workers movement. But it is necessary

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Jiyane/Dynamic Images

Apartheid government has tried to provoke tribal war, instigating attacks by reactionary Inkatha movement (left) that pit Zulus against predominantly Xhosa ANC supporters. Union-based workers militias made up of members of all tribal and ethnic groups are needed to stop fomenters of bloody communalist war.



Syigma
White South African fascists mobilize against ANC participation in "power sharing" regime.

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to draw the conclusion, as the Spartacist tendency warned at the time, that it was the very nature of the UP as a popular-front coalition (and not just Allende's "mistakes") that bound the workers to the capitalist state, as the ANC/SACP/COSATU nationalist popular front does in South Africa today. In order to systematically oppose class collaboration, it is necessary to build a *revolutionary* workers party in South Africa which can lead the black African, coloured (mixed-race) and Indian toilers in overthrowing the rule of the Randlords.

Bolshevism vs. Nationalist Popular Frontism

South African unions are seething with turmoil. Long-simmering disputes have also broken out in the militant Wits branch of SACCAWU, which was ordered suspended by the pro-ANC/SACP national leadership. The Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) did not return Chris Dlamini, the union's founding president, to office. But as first vice president of COSATU, Dlamini is running on the ANC slate in the April elections, as are Jay Naidoo, NUMSA's Mayekiso and Marcel Golding of the NUM. Spokesmen for this budding labor bureaucracy see their positions threatened by any talk of a break with the would-be bourgeois-nationalist ANC.

Following the NUMSA conference, Jeremy Cronin, the post-Stalinist SACP's chief ideologue of reformism, took a page out of Stalin's book of anti-Trotskyist slander by trying to smear anyone who calls for a workers party as doing the work of the apartheid regime's National Intelligence Service and De Klerk's Nationalist Party by draining away the ANC's mass support ("Workers' Party Plays into Nat Hands," *Weekly Mail*, 23 July). This outraged many militant black trade unionists. Cronin also argued that a split by COSATU would push the ANC to the right: "To walk away from the most important strategic challenge of our time: the battle for the life and soul of the ANC" would aid those intent on "hijacking the ANC from its basic national democratic perspectives, while marginalising 'the radicals on the left'."

Cronin accused the advocates of a workers party of "economism," only fighting "defensive wage and retrenchment battles on behalf of a relative elite within the working class." Elite? Black auto workers and machinists in South Africa hardly constitute a privileged labor aristocracy. If their wages and benefits are above average, this reflects their *strategic economic power* making them the most combative and class-conscious section of the black proletariat. Cronin's attack on NUMSA's alleged "elitism" is the classic language of popular-frontists denouncing workers struggles that threaten to break the stranglehold of class collaboration. You can't miss the echoes of Salvador Allende denouncing Chilean copper miners in June 1973 as an "elite" manipulated by the CIA. And we know the bloody outcome, as the defeat of the copper strikers by the Unidad Popular government led a few months later to the victory of Pinochet's bloody coup.

Cronin argues that "the workers' party idea prepares workers for permanent opposition, permanent defence, permanent marginalisation." While he is opposing the workers party campaign from the right, there is a certain validity in this criticism insofar as Mayekiso and his co-thinkers envisage a union-based reformist party defending the interest of the organized working class within an illusory bourgeois-democratic system in South Africa. As if one could recreate the British Labour Party of 1907 in the land of apartheid capitalism! While talking of socialism and working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, they *divorce this from the crucial question of the struggle for political power*. And

working-class power in South Africa need not be a distant prospect. The whole political and social order is undergoing the most profound crisis in decades with the possibility of many-sided civil wars.

There is much talk among South African unionists about a party on the model of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT). WOSA, in particular, is pushing this as the prototype for "a mass democratic workers party," and at its national conference last April featured a speaker from the PT. But conditions in the two countries are fundamentally different. The PT was born at the beginning of the last decade when the Brazilian military dictatorship undertook a tightly con-



July 1993 conference of National Union of Metalworkers (South Africa's largest union) passed resolution calling for "working class party."

trolled political liberalization. While Brazil has undergone repeated periods of great turmoil, the state structure has remained intact, allowing the Workers Party to function as an opportunist social-democratic parliamentarian party (while expelling all sorts of leftist currents). In 1989 PT leader Lula came close to being elected president of Brazil, in alliance with one of the leading bourgeois parties and after assuring Wall Street financiers that he was no threat to their investments.

In South Africa, in contrast, the very existence of the state is at issue. In certain respects conditions in South Africa resemble not Brazil but rather tsarist Russia in the two decades before the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Like the apartheid system, the absolutist monarchy had become a reactionary anachronism generating mass discontent and opposition among all sections of Russian society. But WOSA, Mayekiso and others who write of a workers party as the embodiment of "unity of the left" mirror the Russian *Mensheviks*, including their conception of a revolution in stages (first "democracy," later for socialism) that was later taken over by Stalin. While urging the bourgeois liberals to take power from the tsar, they also put on a "left" face by talking of working-class "independence" from a nascent bourgeois regime.

Thus the Mensheviks' 1905 conference advocated that the social-democratic movement must maintain its positions, "not allowing itself to become merged in bourgeois democracy. It follows that the party should not aim to seize power or share it within a Provisional Government, but should remain a party of the extreme revolutionary opposition" (quoted in *The Mensheviks in the Russian Revolution* [1976]). At the same time, leading Menshevik Julius Martov stressed that "the tactical resolutions of the Menshevik conference...recognized the necessity not to break with the bourgeois opposition until power had passed into its hands" (*Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie* [1918]). Likewise, in South Africa today neo-Mensheviks want to break with the ANC after the April 1994 elections.

Lenin emphasized that Menshevism was essentially a continuation of "economism" in that it *abdicated* to the liberals

the struggle for political power against the tsarist autocracy. Martov and his co-thinkers believed that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie would institute a regime of parliamentary democracy modeled on West Europe and North America. Central to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was that the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy would necessarily and directly open the way for the seizure of power by the working class. If the working class failed to take power, Russia would experience *not* an era of bourgeois democracy but some form of bloody bonapartism, nationalist wars, imperialist overlordship, etc.

It is utterly utopian to believe that the

not go beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy. WOSA talks vaguely of "clear class demands (Workers' Charter, etc.)," yet the "Workers Charter" put forward by COSATU leaders is a series of trade-union demands (eight-hour day, unrestricted right to strike, etc.) to better workers' conditions *under capitalism*.

In his speech on the national political situation to WOSA's April conference, Neville Alexander stated flatly that "the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system in South Africa is not on the immediate agenda. We must accept, for the present, that the power elites will find a compromise...." This is not just a conjunctural evaluation of immediate prospects, but the underpinning to justify a bourgeois-democratic program. Thus Alexander summed up WOSA's "alternative strategy" as "we want to ensure that the black workers, the urban and the rural poor, will be the main actors in the democratisation of South Africa." In effect, this is calling for the workers to put the ANC in power, the same program as the SACP's Cronin with a slightly more leftist twist. As we wrote in our article, "South Africa: Razor's Edge" (*WV* No. 376, 5 April 1985), "The black proletariat is still being used as cattle to haul the ideological cart of nationalism." In contrast, we have insisted that *those who labor must rule*.

Another pseudo-Trotskyist group, the "Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC," associated with the British Labour Militant of Peter Taaffe, is even *opposed* to the call for a workers party in South Africa today, although they are embarrassed to say so outright. Instead they argue that "Workers must struggle to lead the ANC" and that the struggle "will determine whether it becomes necessary in future for Cosatu to support the launch of an independent workers' party" (*Congress Militant*, September 1993). These "deep entrists" in a petty-bourgeois nationalist formation are so far removed from a proletarian program that they call for "universal conscription" and the integration of the MK into the apartheid army! And their paper has an orientation to the black police and prison guards "union," portraying them as "workers" who are demanding their "labour rights" and "a democratic police force and better conditions and wages for the police." But cops are not workers, there is no such thing as a "democratic" capitalist police force, and "better conditions" only means they can more effectively enforce neo-apartheid "law and order." Such an orientation is quite another thing from defending black cops victimized for protesting racism, as has recently occurred in the Port Elizabeth region.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) stands for workers revolution through smashing apartheid slavery. While calling for a constituent assembly born of revolutionary struggle, we polemicized against WOSA's "constituent assembly fetishism" and posed the struggle for workers councils (soviets). We emphasize that the workers party needed today is not a South African version of British Labourism (or its Brazilian variant, pushed by the USec and other fake-Trotskyists) but a Bolshevik-Leninist party forged on the program of permanent revolution. This is the answer to the anger of the thousands of militant black unionists in the factories and the frustrated youths in the townships who defiantly waved the red flag of the SACP only to find themselves now sold out on the altar of "power sharing."

All struggles in South Africa today are dominated by the question of power, and while the masters of apartheid capitalism may permit some black front men to act as their agents, they are not about to share power with their class enemy and the source of their fabulous wealth—the workers. The question of questions is which class shall rule. Break from the "tripartite alliance"! For a Bolshevik workers party to fight for socialist revolution! ■

For a South African Trotskyist Party!

South Africa is an extreme and special case of the general situation in the backward capitalist, colonial and ex-colonial countries in the imperialist epoch. As Trotsky stated in his theory of permanent revolution, and as was demonstrated by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, to carry out even the most basic democratic revolutionary tasks, it is necessary for the proletariat to take power, and in doing so it must simultaneously undertake socialist measures.

The distinctive character of the South African revolution lies in the particular importance of the national question, and in the considerable weight of the proletariat. Some ostensible Trotskyists use the importance of democratic tasks to put forward a stagist program, counterposing the ANC's former program to its current sellouts. Thus a WOSA leader states (*Socialist Action*, May 1993) that WOSA's "central strategic demand is for a Constituent Assembly on the basis of one-person, one-vote" (but then he concedes that WOSA's campaign had a hard time distinguishing itself from the ANC-government plan). And the programmatic content of WOSA's new campaign for a "mass democratic workers party" does

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foreign relief agencies to survive.

Meanwhile, the kill-crazed officers and their paramilitary "attachés" continue their bloodbath, assassinating suspected opponents and indiscriminately gunning down people in the streets. Some 3,500 people have been slaughtered since the military coup and several hundred thousand have fled their homes. Yet Clinton continues to force Haitian refugees back to Port-au-Prince, where they are turned over to the bloody military. Counterrevolutionary Cuban refugees, on the other hand, are welcomed into the U.S. with open arms.

The imperialist embargo comes after Clinton pulled back the USS *Harlan County*, which was transporting a couple hundred U.S. and Canadian "peacekeeping" troops, when a few dozen armed supporters of the military regime rioted on the docks of Port-au-Prince. The military intervention in Haiti under the auspices of the UN was supposed to oversee the resignation of army chief Cédras and Port-au-Prince police chief Joseph Michel François and restore Aristide to office. But Cédras and François refused to step down, demanding that parliament broaden Aristide's declared amnesty for "political infractions" into a general amnesty.

Clinton administration officials responded to this humiliation by declaring they had "not ruled out" military intervention in Haiti, and a contingent of 600 Marines was sent to the Guantánamo naval base. These bellicose moves underscore the fact that American military action in the region constitutes a deadly threat to Cuba, from which the Guantánamo base was stolen. The U.S. intervened in Cuba in 1898 to head off the nearly successful war for independence from Spain. And from the moment the Castro regime expropriated the capitalists, foreign and domestic, in 1960, Washington has tried everything from invasion to endless assassination attempts to "roll back" this revolution in the U.S.' "backyard."

But Washington quickly put the threats of military intervention in Haiti on hold as the battering of U.S. Rangers in Mogadishu provoked a sharp outbreak of "Vietnam syndrome." The Democratic chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, Sam Nunn, cried that troops to Haiti "are being sent into harm's way." Republican Senate minority leader Robert Dole put forward a bill (later watered down) barring the president from sending troops to Haiti without a formal certification to Congress that U.S. "security" was threatened.

The starvation blockade of Haiti in the name of "humanitarian" aid typifies imperialism's cynical cover for its inhuman cruelty in the New World Order. Currently, the U.S./UN is using the "food weapon" against Haiti, Somalia, Serbia and Iraq. In three years of UN sanctions against Iraq, over 300,000 people have reportedly died as a result of medical and other shortages—in addition to the tens of thousands massacred by the U.S. in the Persian Gulf War—and some 4,000 children under the age of five continue to die each month. The barbaric imperialist system must be swept away through international proletarian revolution!

Imperialism and Its Henchmen

As part of last July's Governor's Island agreement, Aristide called on the UN to send troops to Haiti to "professionalize" the army. When the U.S. occupied Haiti between 1915 and 1934, the Marines formed the army which drowned the country in blood, and has



Charles/NY Times

Ousted president Aristide at the UN joins call for imperialist blockade of Haiti.

ruled Haiti ever since. The same occurred elsewhere as U.S. bayonets set up armies of professional killers forged in slaughtering the population, bringing to power such grisly dictators as Anastasio Somoza (Nicaragua), Rafael Trujillo (Dominican Republic) and Fulgencio Batista (Cuba). The Pentagon knows the Haitian army inside out, from the political leanings of every officer to their drug connections. After all, three-quarters of them were reportedly trained in the U.S., including Cédras and François. If Washington really wanted to get rid of its used-up puppets, it wouldn't have to send a single troop ship. Recall

the CIA-engineered assassinations of Trujillo in 1961 and South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963.

Behind the public arm-wrestling between Washington and Port-au-Prince, U.S. rulers have been sharply divided over who to back in Haiti. Despite the official pro-Aristide line, powerful forces favor full support to the Haitian butchers. The *New York Times* (October 8) reported that "senior Pentagon officials have said they are unwilling to endanger American lives for a leader they consider highly erratic and unreliable." A CIA spokesman provocatively briefed Congressmen, labeling Aristide a "murderer" and a "psychopath." This same CIA "expert" wrote a report after the Haitian military coup praising the Cédras regime as "the most promising group of Haitian leaders" since Duvalier was deposed in 1986. Administration officials countered by leaking reports that Haitian military and political leaders have been on the CIA payroll for years.

Certainly, the imperialists' guard dogs sometimes slip their leash and bring down the wrath of their masters, as in the case of Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega. And should the U.S. intervene militarily against their former flunkys, as in Panama we would militarily side with those resisting the incomparably greater force for evil, American imperialism—i.e., the "democratic" butchers of Vietnam and Iraq, the "humanitarian" colonial occupiers of Somalia.

Far more likely, however, is that U.S. intervention would be directed against a popular uprising against the junta. Look at the Dominican Republic next door. Following the ouster of the elected civilian president Juan Bosch in 1963, Bosch courted support from the Democratic administration in Washington. But the U.S. was loath to cross its Dominican generals. When a group of younger military officers rose up in April 1965 to bring back Bosch, it sparked an explosion of revolutionary struggle. Leftist-led masses based in the poor barrios of the capital joined the rebellion, seizing arms and taking control of the city through neighborhood committees and similar military-political bodies which were potential forms of workers power. Within hours, Washington had dispatched warships and 23,000 Marines and paratroops to smash the Santo Domingo Commune. They were aided by the reformist misleaders who tied the insurrectionary masses to the bourgeois politician Bosch, and ultimately gave up in exchange for the promise of elections.

In Haiti today, Washington is pushing for a government of "national reconciliation" to include the Duvalierist murderers as a guarantee of "stability." As the U.S./UN embargo went into effect, Cédras and François announced they would resign if at least four key minis-

tries, including defense and interior, were given to "a big Macoute." U.S. ambassador William Swing and UN envoy Dante Caputo promptly handed a prepared speech to Prime Minister Robert Malval announcing an expanded government (he balked and sent a copy to Aristide). The rich businessman Malval, who was hand-picked by Washington, is playing a pivotal role as a bridge between the pro-Aristide forces and the Duvalierists.

The Aristide presidency has from the start been based on the illusion of "democratizing" the blood-drenched Haitian army. Aristide insists that he only wants to purge a "few hundred" of the 7,000 soldiers (and who is going to disarm the vicious "attachés"?). Yet Aristide himself appointed Cédras army chief as a supposed "democrat" because he had headed the Committee for the Security of the Elections which oversaw the December 1990 presidential elections. Under Duvalier, Cédras was an officer in the sinister Leopard "counterinsurgency" battalion. This army of corrupt murderers cannot be "reformed." It must be swept away by social revolution.

The question of what stand to take toward Aristide and U.S. intervention has caused much disorientation among Haitian leftists. A group in Haiti falsely claiming the mantle of Trotskyism, the Organisation des Travailleurs Révolutionnaires (OTR), supporters of Lutte Ouvrière in France, has adopted a posture of "critical" support for Aristide. In the 1990 presidential election, the OTR criticized Aristide for counting on the army and cited the lessons of Allende's Chile—only to call for a vote to the populist priest! While calling for mass struggle under Aristide, the OTR sought to "exert a permanent pressure on the government" (*La Voix des Travailleurs*, 28 February 1991). This perspective of pressure politics can only demobilize the masses and undermine revolutionary struggle.

In fighting for an authentic Trotskyist party in Haiti and the diaspora (Haitian émigrés abroad), we have emphasized:

"The struggle against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses must be seen as part of an international class struggle against imperialism in which Haitian workers in the cities of North America can play a key role. Haitian nationalists are forever lamenting the fact that the Haitian diaspora exists. Comrades, it is very good that you have this diaspora! It internationalizes the struggle of Haitian workers, gives them social power and helps forge an international vanguard directly linked to the U.S. proletariat, which has the power to bring imperialism to its knees."

—Haitian Workers: Fight for Power! WV No. 537, 25 October 1991

Organizing these workers into an international Bolshevik party is part of the task that the International Communist League sets itself in the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. ■

PDC Notes...

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one of the 19 passengers on board witnessed the alleged incident, nor could Greyhound produce any physical evidence that the bus was even shot at. To assure the guilty verdict, trial judge Samuel Freed instructed the jury that they could find Cawthra guilty *even if they had reasonable doubt* that he was at the scene. Freed's jury charge, little more than an instruction to find Cawthra guilty, was so blatantly unconstitutional that an appellate court threw out the conviction last December and ordered a new trial, which is scheduled to begin shortly.

With Cawthra's picket line conviction tossed out, the feds revived the long-dormant charges of interstate transport of firearms and their sale to an unlicensed dealer. The "unlicensed dealer" was the father of the cop to whom Cawthra, himself a licensed dealer, legally sold the guns. While Cawthra is serving 15 months in the slammer, the real crooks, the cop and his pop who set up Cawthra, won't even do

one day of jail time.

Roger Cawthra is in jail for being a picket line activist. Like so many others, he's been left to rot by the union tops who betrayed the strike and cost thousands of Greyhound strikers their jobs. It is the duty of all unionists to rally to Roger Cawthra's defense.

On November 2 the PDC wrote the U.S. Attorney in Brooklyn, demanding that the firearms charges be dropped and Cawthra released. We also wrote the Connecticut Superior Court demanding dismissal of the picket line charges. *Stop the vendetta! Free Roger Cawthra!*

Letters and messages of support can be sent to Roger Cawthra, #37022-053, P.O. Box 1000, Loretto, PA 15940.

* * *

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

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302
(404) 521-9338

Boston

Box 390840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101

Detroit

Box 441043
Detroit, MI 48244

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

Madison

Box 1492
Madison, WI 53701

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Oakland

Box 29497
Oakland, CA 94604
(510) 839-0851

San Francisco

Box 77494
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 777-9367

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Montréal

C.P. Les Atriums
B.P. 32066
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

Vancouver

Box 2717, Main P.O.
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2
(604) 687-0353

Mexican USec Backs Bourgeois Nationalist Cárdenas

MEXICO CITY—On September 19, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers Party), held a press conference at its national headquarters together with Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, the presidential candidate of the bourgeois-nationalist Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). Amid much pomp and circumstance, PRT leader Lucinda Nava announced her party's decision to name Cárdenas as its candidate for the 1994 race. By endorsing this capitalist politician, the PRT—touted for years as the model Latin American section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec)—tramples on the basic Marxist principle of political independence of the working class from its capitalist exploiters. These electoral reformists masquerading as Trotskyists now openly repudiate one of Leon Trotsky's cardinal programmatic lessons, of revolutionary opposition to the popular front of class collaboration.

At the press conference, Cárdenas called the occasion one of the "first steps" in forming a "great democratic alliance" to oust the perennial ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The left-liberal Mexico City daily *La Jornada* (20 September) reported that the PRT's Nava "explained that joining Cárdenas' candidacy results from the decision to contribute to 'this great national effort,' which must lead to the coming together of the most diverse forces in a common democratic framework, 'independently of ideological differences.'" The Mandelite leader's declaration is well to the right of the rhetoric used by the classic French and Spanish "People's Fronts" during the 1930s—not to mention Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular. Promising to bring "socialism" through an alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and "constitutionalist" officers like Augusto Pinochet, the UP paved the way for the bloody Chilean coup of September 1973.

Even before the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR led fake-left ideologues worldwide to desperately seek cover as liberal democrats, the rise of the Cárdenas movement was a watershed in the total liquidation into bourgeois politics by the vast majority of the Mexican left. The 1988 campaign of Cárdenas' National Democratic Front prompted leaders of "independent" (i.e., not PRI-affiliated) unions to curb an explosive strike wave and subordinate rebellious workers to Cardenista electoralism. The Mexican Socialist Party, formed by the ex-Communist Party and several left-nationalist groups, had its

candidate step down in favor of Cárdenas and later provided the organizational core for Cárdenas' PRD. Numerous other left groups, from Maoists and "anti-parliamentarian" syndicalists to the fake-Trotskyist Militante group (followers of British reformist Ted Grant), also joined the new bourgeois-nationalist party.

In 1988, the Mandelite PRT ran anti-repression activist Rosario Ibarra in a nominally independent presidential campaign, but in the name of opposing vote fraud she foreshadowed the present headlong plunge into the popular front by ending rallies with yells of "Viva Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas!" Ibarra issued a joint statement with the slogan "Together let us win freedom" with Cárdenas and Manuel Clouthier, candidate of the rightist National Action Party (PAN)—known for its links to the U.S. Republican right wing and its fund-raising for the Nicaraguan *contras* (see "Left Peddles 'Unity' with Cárdenas Popular Front," WV No. 457, 15 July 1988). Clouthier later died in a car crash, but today Ibarra nostalgically says that if the rightist leader were alive, "he would join at our side in building this great anti-PRI front."

The son of nationalist president General Lázaro Cárdenas—who in the late 1930s nationalized oil and railroads, built the party which became the PRI and consolidated government control over most labor and peasant organizations—Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was himself a PRI politician for many years, serving the corrupt and repressive regime as governor of the state of Michoacán. Neither Cárdenas saw fit to protest, much less leave the PRI, when President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz ordered the savage Tlatelolco massacre of hundreds of leftists in October 1968 (see "The 1968 Massacre of Mexican Students," WV No. 584, 24 September).

But in response to the wave of workers strikes, peasant unrest and student protests that erupted in 1987-88 in response to the devastating "shock treatment" carried out by the Mexican government on orders from Washington and Wall Street (the so-called "debt crisis"), a number of PRI leaders saw the need to refurbish the discredited regime that had held power for over 60 years. So Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas—together with former Díaz Ordaz advisers Ifigenia Martínez and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (former PRI head and UN ambassador, now president of the PRD)—led a split from the PRI. While Cárdenas won a solid majority in the capital and other parts of the country, the PRI held on to power thanks largely to the most outrageous vote fraud in the country's history.

Cárdenas' PRD is a second PRI, combining populist and nationalist rhetoric with subservience to U.S. imperialism. But Cárdenas Jr. is a pale reflection of Cárdenas Sr. As in '88, today his platform centers on "democracy," respect for the constitution and a curb on corruption. He wouldn't dream of proposing even the sort of bourgeois nationalizations that won mass support for his father as a symbol of defiance of the Yankee colossus to the North. On the contrary, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas hastens to assure Washington that he is the best option for maintaining capitalist "order." Rather than flatly opposing Wall Street's predatory Free Trade Agreement to rape Mex-



Larry Reider

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas

ico, he wants a somewhat less piratical version of the treaty. "With or without NAFTA, Mexico should preserve its good relations with the United States to find mutual advantages," says the PRD standard-bearer (*The News* [Mexico City], 10 October).

PRT Comes Apart at the Seams

The 1988 elections touched off a dramatic process of decomposition for the PRT, which once boasted several thousand members. Shortly before the elections, most of the PRT's parliamentary fraction, student leaders and intellectual "stars," led by Adolfo Gilly, bolted to the Cárdenas campaign. Then the party's electoral fiasco—none of its parliamentary candidates were elected—led to loss of its official "registry" and the juicy government subsidy it had lived off for years. Members faced with the novel idea that they should pay dues to finance party work drifted away; the party's newspaper and theoretical journal stopped coming out. Terrified that "isolation" from the

Cárdenas movement would mean oblivion, in the fall of 1989 the PRT formally joined the National Patriotic Front, a new lash-up headed by Cárdenas, while insisting that the bloc was for "non-electoral" purposes only.

Desperately seeking a place at the subsidy trough, in state after state the PRT was soon neck-deep in sordid electoral blocs with the PRD, the rightist PAN and even the ultraright clericalist Mexican Democratic Party (PDM). When collaboration with the bourgeois opposition parties didn't pan out, a sector of the PRT leadership began collaborating with the regime's "National Solidarity Program" (PRONASOL)—a pork barrel scheme to buy off opposition with "public works" money. As a *quid pro quo*, in the western state of Colima PRT leaders openly supported the PRI government for four years—publishing declarations in the local press praising PRI candidates, welcoming President Carlos Salinas de Gortari shortly after he was "elected" in 1988, calling for "a culture of...frank collaboration with government"—and walked out of the PRT when national leaders finally had to "notice" what they'd been up to.

The climax came in November 1992 when the Mandelites' star "peasant leader," Margarito Montes, head of the General Workers, Peasants and People's Union (UGOCP), after years of openly supporting and receiving funds from PRONASOL, signed the government's "Peasant Manifesto." This document laid the basis for a wholesale sell-off of the peasants' *ejidos* (common lands) established in the wake of the Mexican Revolution—a policy spelling starvation for millions of poor peasants. Even so, Montes, the incarnation of the PRT's phony "mass work," was not expelled but simply quit the PRT. The Montes and Colima scandals formed the backdrop to yet another split by a section of the Mandelite leadership around Edgard Sánchez, who formed their own PRT in an effort to regain electoral registration. Needless to say, Sánchez & Co. back the Cárdenas campaign just as fulsomely as the rump PRT, which claims to be defending the party's "historic principles" (what principles?) against the splitters.

Thirty years ago, Mandel's USec professed shock and dismay when its largest section, the LSSP of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), joined the government of the Sinhala chauvinist Bandaranaike. The USec cut its ties with the LSSP and denied all responsibility for the betrayal, although it had been prepared by years of participation in popular-front alliances. Today the tattered and demoralized USec can hardly claim to be taken by surprise by its Mexican section's open embracing of the timidly nationalist bourgeoisie. Yet while the LSSP's control of large parts of the union movement landed it some ministerial portfolios, the pathetic PRT has little left to sell. Its headlong plunge into the mainstream of pop-frontism may be the final act of the USec's Mexican section. ■

Anti-Immigrant Racism...

(continued from page 7)

man's only" country. In fact, I think if Wilson ever saw white Anglo-Saxon youth harvesting lettuce or picking fruit in the Imperial Valley, he would keel over dead in a state of shock. He's a racist like the old Southern slaveowners were racists. They wanted blacks in this country, they wanted plenty of blacks in this country, as long as they were slaves and they could exploit them, and they had no rights. Wilson wants plenty of Mexican workers in this country, as long as his friends in agribusiness can exploit them and they have no rights.

Pete Wilson is basically the political agent of California agribusiness. And

California agribusiness is the biggest employer of "illegal immigrant" labor in the country. Is this a contradiction? Why are big agricultural capitalists and their bankers giving money to a politician who is campaigning to stop the flow of immigrants? Because they have to do two things: they want to exploit Mexican and other immigrant workers, but they also want to divert the popular economic discontent away from themselves. So they blame the very people that they're exploiting.

Down with Anti-Japanese Protectionism!

People have a hard time buying the line that the American economy has gone to hell in the last 20 years mainly because there are too many black welfare mothers and too many illegal Mexican immigrants. Most people figure that there must

be more powerful forces involved than that. And here's where anti-Japanese protectionism comes in, you see a very clear division of labor within the American ruling class. The right wing, mainly concentrated in the Republicans, blame the black and Hispanic and Asian poor. The liberals and the union bureaucracy and the Democrats blame the wealthy capitalists—but not American wealthy capitalists. It's the Japanese wealthy capitalists, who are supposedly trying to bankrupt this country by flooding it with cheaper and better goods, so that they can then take over the country real cheap.

Last weekend my wife, daughter and I saw the movie *Rising Sun*, which as a crime melodrama is moderately entertaining. Politically, it is quite a sinister movie. The plot centers around the murder of your typical American blonde sex goddess in the L.A. corporate headquarter-

of a Japanese firm that's trying to take over some high-tech computer outfit. One of the LAPD detectives who's assigned to the case is this hip black played by Wesley Snipes. In one scene Snipes and his partner are being chased by Japanese thugs in the pay of this corporation, and they drive into the L.A. ghetto. Snipes has an instant conference with the brothers in the 'hood, saying, "There's some bad Japanese cats tailing me. Brothers, take care of them." And you have a scene of this L.A. black street gang trashing the Japanese "bad guys" on behalf of the "good guys," the LAPD!

Now, put this in political perspective. Just a few months ago, Clinton and Wilson and the black Democratic then-mayor of L.A., Tom Bradley, brought in massive military force and laid siege to South-Central. They were quite prepared to kill hundreds of black youth if the

Thousands of Mexican Workers Barred

El Paso: Racist Border Blockade

"Operation Blockade" is the latest step in the militarization of the 2,000-mile-long Mexico-U.S. border. This massive mobilization by American immigration police to keep undocumented immigrants from crossing over from Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua to El Paso, Texas was begun on September 20. Border Patrol agents have been stationed every 200 yards, 24 hours a day, along a stretch of 20 miles. Some 200 vehicles are participating in the action, as helicopters constantly buzz the border. While it was initially portrayed as a temporary measure initiated by the local Border Patrol chief, it was paid for by a special appropriation from the Justice Department. And although in the face of angry protests from Mexico they're not calling it a blockade anymore, the operation is continuing and may be expanded to Arizona and California.

There has been an epidemic of virulent anti-immigrant hysteria spread by capitalist politicians of both parties this year, particularly in California where a deep economic depression drags on. While Republican governor Pete Wilson has proposed a whole array of racist measures, California's Democratic Senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer call for militarizing the Mexican border, and liberal Democratic state treasurer Kathleen Brown has called for closing it altogether. When federal attorney general Janet Reno visited the San Diego border region in August at the height of the Mexico-bashing, she declared that using troops was one of the "options" being studied. "Operation Blockade" in El Paso is the test case.

This competition in electoral xenophobia is already producing concrete measures. In October, Wilson signed into law reactionary acts making it a crime for non-citizens to request public medical services, prohibiting state and local governments from giving any job aid to undocumented workers, and overruling local "sanctuary" ordinances prohibiting cooperation with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), the *migra*. And in Washington, Boxer's \$24-million amendment to the federal "defense" budget to deploy hundreds of National Guard personnel to aid the INS has been approved in committee. Accord-



U.S. Border Patrol cops block bridge. Mexican and American workers must join hands across the border.

ing to the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinión* (8 October), President Clinton even claims the El Paso blockade reduced unemployment "in many of those towns in south Texas" below 10 percent (El Paso is in West Texas).

In fact, the racist cordon has not affected either unemployment or the crime rate in El Paso, contrary to the Border Patrol's claims. But it has sharply cut business for downtown merchants, who complained bitterly (along with suburban housewives, whose Mexican maids and gardeners couldn't get across the border). In Ciudad Juárez, there was a rash of protests against the blockade. Early on, hundreds marched through the city demanding, "Let us in! We want to work!" (*El Paso Times*, 23 September). The leftist Committees of Popular Defense (CDP) burned American flags and effigies of Uncle Sam. Catholic bishops denounced the U.S.' anti-Mexican measures. "Operation Dignity," a call by Juárez officials to refuse to shop in El Paso, initially had an impact but soon crumbled in the face of cheaper prices on the American side.

Between workers and shoppers, up to 80,000 Juárez residents are affected by the blockade.

At bottom the economic forces are stronger than *migra* repression. Ciudad Juárez, with over 2.5 million people, and El Paso's 600,000 residents are one economic region which is both divided and united by the Rio Grande (Río Bravo in Mexico). "Free trade zone" *maquiladora* factories on the Mexican side employ tens of thousands of workers producing for the American market. And many of the workers in the garment sweatshops and agricultural fields on the American side were born (and often live) in Mexico or have family ties across "the wire." So far this year, the INS has arrested over 280,000 undocumented workers in the El Paso region alone, and for every one arrested it's estimated two more get through. The purpose of the INS/Border Patrol blockade and the increased militarization of the border is not to cut off this mass immigration but to control it in the interests of capital.

Carlos Marentes of the Border Agricultural Workers Union (UTAF) in El Paso underlined the racist and discrim-

inatory nature of the blockade, pointing out that the Border Patrol didn't check the fields or the factories because that would affect the interests of the bosses who hire undocumented workers to lower their costs (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 8 October). *Workers Vanguard* has covered the struggles of the UTAF agricultural workers and El Paso garment workers in recent years, pointing out the very real possibility of united cross-border labor struggles. But the AFL-CIO union tops have given no more than lip service to aiding Mexican workers. On the contrary, with their protectionist opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), they echo the same theme as Clinton about Mexican workers "stealing American jobs."

Class-conscious workers on both sides of the border must wage an internationalist opposition to the capitalists' NAFTA rape of Mexico. The possibilities for joint class struggle are increasing with the rapid industrialization of northern Mexico. This year there was a factory occupation at the *Maquiladores Internacionales* garment plant (producing Levi's and Britannia jeans) and a successful wage strike at TDK in Chihuahua. And at the Zenith plant in Reynosa, union dissidents carried out a work stoppage against a corrupt company-owned "labor" boss, which continues despite over 400 punitive layoffs. But to seize such opportunities requires the intervention of a workers party based on revolutionary internationalism, rather than the narrow nationalism of the labor reformists on both sides of the border.

One common enemy that workers in both Mexico and the U.S. can immediately unite against is the hated *migra*. "Operation Blockade" is only the latest atrocity. In El Paso the Border Patrol is notorious for abusing students at Bowie High School, beating women at the Paisano apartment complex, randomly seizing people who "look Mexican" on the streets (in this 70 percent Hispanic city), and brutalizing border crossers. A May 1993 report by Americas Watch on "Frontier Injustice" about human rights abuses on the Mexican border documents how Border Patrol shootings and rapes are routinely covered up by INS authorities. The answer to this systematic racist repression is not complaint forms or government monitoring but a common working-class offensive against the capitalists and their governments who live off the products of the workers' toil. Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers! Hands across the border against racist *migra* repression and *maquiladora* superexploitation!

police who had beaten Rodney King had walked and the ghetto had erupted, as it had a year earlier. As it turned out, they didn't have to. But Clinton was obviously so frustrated that he couldn't kill blacks that he wiped out an entirely innocuous integrated religious commune in Waco, Texas, burning to death nearly a hundred men and women.

So here you have the American ruling class, Democrats and Republicans, absolutely willing to kill hundreds of rebellious black youth, and then this big-budget Hollywood movie, with a popular black superstar, presents the Crips and the Bloods as America's front line of defense against the supposedly sinister Japanese takeover! In this country, anti-Japanese protectionism—in fact, any kind of nationalist protectionism—is intimately and directly linked with murderous racism.

Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants!

Last week, in response to the renewed attacks on immigrants by Wilson, Boxer and Feinstein, the Spartacist League and

Labor Black League had a demonstration in San Francisco around the slogan, "Full Citizenship Rights for All Immigrants and All Foreign Workers." If people made it into this country, they should have the rights of citizens.

These days, the terms "citizen" and "citizenship" have a very conformist connotation. You say somebody's a "good citizen," you have the image of someone in the Junior Chamber of Commerce who goes to these conventions where they wear funny hats, and he can cheat on his wife. I remember when I was in grade school—I don't know if they still have it—they had a category on your report card called "citizenship," which basically meant that you behaved yourself and you did what the teacher told you to. I never did. I always flunked "citizenship." I was a bad citizen of the third grade, P.S. 253 in Brooklyn.

But citizenship doesn't mean that. A couple hundred years ago, citizenship was a very revolutionary concept. And it became part of the central political vocabulary of the Western world as a result of the American War of Inde-

pendence and especially the French Revolution. Before that, people were not citizens of countries but *subjects* of monarchies. If you were born in England or the American colonies, you were a subject of the British king. If you were born in France, you were a subject of the French king, unless your parents were Russians, and then you were a subject of the Russian tsar.

The conception of citizenship, that everybody born in a country has equal legal rights, that there were no nobles and commoners, was a product of what we call the bourgeois-democratic revolution against the medieval feudal order. But today it is the capitalists who are attacking the most elementary democratic rights achieved by their revolutionary bourgeois ancestors, while we communists are defending those rights.

In December 1991, when Boris Yeltsin—Washington's man in Moscow—kicked out the lame-duck Soviet president Gorbachev, lowered the red flag on the Kremlin and announced that the Soviet Union no longer existed, the Western capitalist rulers celebrated "the

death of communism." But it was *not* communism that died. It was Stalinism that died, the bureaucratic degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution under the conditions of imperialist encirclement.

We continue to stand for and fight for the liberating principles of the Bolshevik Revolution. And on the subject of this talk, those principles were very clearly stated in the 1918 founding constitution of the Soviet Russian workers state:

"Article 20: Acting on the principle of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic shall grant all political rights enjoyed by Russian citizens to foreigners resident within the territory of the Russian Republic for purposes of employment and belonging to the working class or to the peasantry not employing hired labour. Local soviets [councils] shall be authorized to confer upon such foreigners, without any troublesome formalities, the rights of Russian citizenship."

This is simply a concrete application of the basic Marxist principle that the workers of the world must unite against their oppressors. ■

NAFTA...

(continued from page 1)

Liberal Democratic Senator Bill Bradley pushes NAFTA as the way to ensure that Mexico "is irrevocably tied to the U.S.," arguing that "the biggest threat to American jobs does not come from Mexico but from Europe, Japan and China."

Meanwhile the mainstream opposition to NAFTA runs the gamut from extreme right-wing politicians like Ross Perot to the majority of the Congressional Democrats to the AFL-CIO labor bureaucracy and their hangers-on in the reformist left. Playing on the wholesale destruction of jobs and working conditions in the U.S. and Canada during the Reagan/Bush years and the Clinton "recovery," chauvinist union misleaders and their right-wing allies peddle racist, protectionist poison, blaming unemployment and plant closings not on the North American capitalists but on the Mexican workers. Despite occasional expressions of "concern" for the hideous exploitation of the Mexican proletariat, the protectionist opponents of NAFTA are whipping up a war for "American jobs" and "American profits."

The American imperialist behemoth is the greatest enemy of all workers, including the workers of the U.S. As



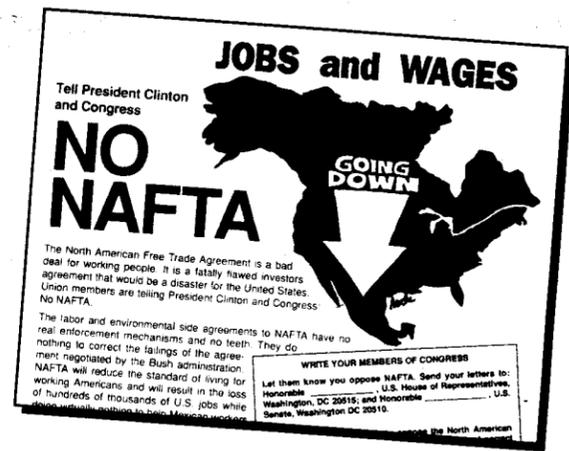
Edward Carreon

Ford worker at Cuautitlán, Mexico, site of 1990 strike brutally repressed by government and corporatist CTM bureaucrats.

Marxists we combat the economic nationalism which seeks to pit workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters to the north and south. In a 1991 joint statement of the Grupo Esparquista de México, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada, we said: "There is a burning need for an internationalist proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault" (WV No. 530, 5 July 1991). We call on the workers of Canada, Mexico and the U.S. to join in common class struggle to smash NAFTA and defeat the rapacious designs of Yankee imperialism and



Donna Binder/Impact Visuals



Left: Flag-waving UAW bureaucrats push protectionist poison at rally of laid-off GM workers. Right: "Progressive" union tops of OCAW push Perot's line that Mexican workers are "stealing American jobs."

its junior partners and clients in Canada and Mexico.

"The Gringo Banks Are Drooling"

The 1989 "free trade" agreement with Canada already gives a taste of what NAFTA has in store for the working class. That pact has been so disastrous to Canada's economy that the former ruling Conservative party was decimated in last month's elections. It has led to a wholesale destruction of industrial jobs, particularly in Ontario, where the provincial government of the social-democratic New Democratic Party shoved a "social contract" down the workers' throats. Not surprisingly, the NDP lost virtually all its seats in the federal parliament in the last elections.

Meanwhile, *Business Week* (13 September) exultantly reports: "The gringo banks are drooling: They're ready to swoop into Mexico once NAFTA is approved." Mexico's workers and peasants are reeling under a decade of austerity dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Labeled a "model" for developing countries by the IMF and the World Bank, the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) regimes of Miguel de la Madrid and now Carlos Salinas de Gortari have driven down the Mexican peso and leeches the workers and peasants dry to repay billions in debt to Wall Street. Under the PRI's "Stability Pact" wage controls, the average industrial wage has fallen by two-thirds over the past decade, to \$2.35 per hour. In the *maquiladoras* near the U.S. border, over half a million workers, mainly young women, slave for far less than that while living in perilous slums.

In a virtual fire sale of 90 percent of state-owned companies, Washington's Mexican lackeys have wiped out 400,000 jobs through "privatization." Mexican journalist Alvaro Cepeda Neri acerbically notes: "The booty of privatization has made multimillionaires of 13 families, while the rest of the population—some 80 million Mexicans—has been subjected to the same gradual impoverishment as though they had suffered through a war" (*New York Times*, 27 October). Shipyards, steel mills, air-

lines and the phone company have all been put on the auction block. Many heavy industry plants have been closed down. Pemex, the nationalized oil company, has eliminated 130,000 union jobs, sparking huge protests. Mexican workers bitterly joke that NAFTA's Spanish initials, TLC, really stand for *Todos a la Calle* (everyone thrown into the street).

The PRI, which has ruled Mexico for over six decades, uses its hatchet men in the corporatist Confederation of Mexican Labor (CTM) to wield the ax for privatization and austerity. Any attempt to organize independent unions is met with firings and the blacklist. And the government is openly preparing for an assault on the unions following NAFTA's enactment and national elections next August. Far-sighted imperialist spokesmen are worried that a defeat for NAFTA could destabilize Mexico.

Racist Hypocrisy of the Union Tops

Clinton's America is the "land of the plummeting payrolls," as over 1.8 million manufacturing jobs have been eliminated since 1989 alone (*Business Week*, 20 September). A study by the Economic Policy Institute, entitled "The Joyless Recovery: Deteriorating Wages and Job Quality in the 1990s," detailed the continuing mass layoffs and declines in hourly wages. All spring and summer there have been an endless series of job-slashing announcements by scores of major employers. But the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who helped put Clinton into the White House are sworn enemies of class struggle. So they now turn to even more right-wing forces to channel workers' anger into the dead end of protectionist nationalism.

The anti-NAFTA rallies being called by a coalition of protectionist trade-union bureaucrats, Perot supporters and the outright fascist Liberty Lobby are a sea of American flags and jingoist appeals to "Save American Jobs." Seeking to build a base for his right-wing populist nationalism, Perot appeals to widespread disgust with the Wall Street bloodsuckers of the '80s "greed decade." He lectures that "NAFTA is driven by investor greed" and will "do even more harm to the U.S. economy and American workers in the 1990s than leveraged buyouts (LBOs) did in the 1980s!"

Grotesquely parading as a friend of "middle-class Americans" and even Mexican workers, Perot in his book *Save Your Job, Save Our Country* laments how "careers and standards of living are sacrificed and Mexican workers are exploited—all in the name of increasing profits." Perot is a union-hating billionaire who dreams of a corporatist state to resolve the crisis of American capitalism. Yet he is lionized by the labor bureaucrats for his opposition to NAFTA.

After decades of loyal service to the State Department and the CIA, backing U.S.-sponsored dirty wars in Central and South America, the AFL-CIO traitors are also suddenly filled with compassion for the conditions of the Mexican proletariat. Behind this hypocritical veneer of concern lies the union tops' chauvinist

rantings about "open floodgates" (Perot's "giant sucking sound") allowing jobs to go south and racist hysteria over immigrants "taking American jobs." But these same pro-capitalist bureaucrats aided the bosses in destroying the jobs of Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers. When the UAW struck GM's Lordstown plant in 1992, the bureaucrats settled the strike by knifing Mexican auto workers at a sister plant in Ramos Arizpe—as GM pledged that those workers would be laid off before Lordstown workers.

Junior League Jingoists

Fake-left groups like the Communist Party USA echo the bureaucracy's racist "yellow peril" appeals, railing that NAFTA might make it easier for "Japan to use Mexico as an 'export platform' to ship goods to the U.S." (*People's Weekly World*, 28 August). The "progressive" International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union leadership even rants about "poisoned food" coming in from Mexico. And "left-wing" *Labor Notes* leader Diana Kilmury, a Teamsters international vice president from Canada, sounds like the worst reactionary nation-



McLendon/AP

Multibillionaire right-wing populist H. Ross Perot joins AFL-CIO in pushing chauvinist opposition to NAFTA.

alist when she says: "We in the trade union movement must wake up, otherwise we will see the sovereignty of our countries whittled away."

The stench of racism is so thick in this protectionist propaganda that even the bureaucrats realize they have to clean up their act with their multiracial ranks. When Canadian auto workers met American workers near Niagara Falls for an anti-NAFTA rally on October 2, the bureaucrats cautioned the crowd "not to let anti-Mexican elements into your ranks." Instead they welcomed Jesse Jackson, fig leaf "friend of labor" huckster for the capitalist Democratic Party.

The bureaucrats and reformists alike beg Clinton and the capitalists for a "peoples' NAFTA," as a report to the United Electrical workers convention put it (*UE News*, 23 July). They want U.S. imperialism, which has the blood of millions of workers and peasants around the world on its hands, to protect "worker rights in Mexico"! The social-democratic *In These Times* (6 September) lamented that "Clinton had a chance to refashion NAFTA into an agreement

Spartacist Forums

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Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League

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For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Wednesday, Nov. 17, 6:30 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Student Union B116

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SAN FRANCISCO

Waco...

(continued from page 16)

lies, from the events around the original BATF assault in February to the fabricated charges of "child abuse."

The massacre of the racially integrated religious group was a warning of what this murderous ruling class has in store for all those who defy it. And as they did in the wake of the 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune in Philadelphia, the vindictive racist rulers now seek to punish those who survived the Waco inferno. Outrageously, eleven members of the Branch Davidians are facing trial on charges including conspiracy to commit murder in the deaths of four government agents who were killed in the February assault. The government is so vengeful that it is prosecuting three who were not even present on the day of the BATF raid!

If there were any justice in this unjust society, Clinton, Reno and their hired guns would be facing trial for mass murder before a jury which included the Waco survivors. We demand: Drop the charges! Freedom for all the jailed Branch Davidians now!

While much of the rest of the left either openly echoed or quietly acquiesced to the government's lying rationales for the Waco holocaust, we of the Spartacist League have sought to sear this heinous crime into the consciousness of the working class. Beginning within hours of the massacre, the SL organized a series of demonstrations of outrage in cities around the country, including one outside the FBI's J. Edgar Hoover Building in Washington, D.C. At the huge gay rights march in the capital later that month, a Spartacist banner confronted the pro-Democratic Party militarism, declaring, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!"

Grotesquely, the government and its media apologists tried to paint the Waco massacre as a "humanitarian" act, just as the bloody neocolonial invasion of Somalia was justified as a food-relief mission. The Branch Davidians' exercise of their Second Amendment right to bear arms was portrayed as "terrorism." The murderous BATF assault on February 28 against the religious commune was

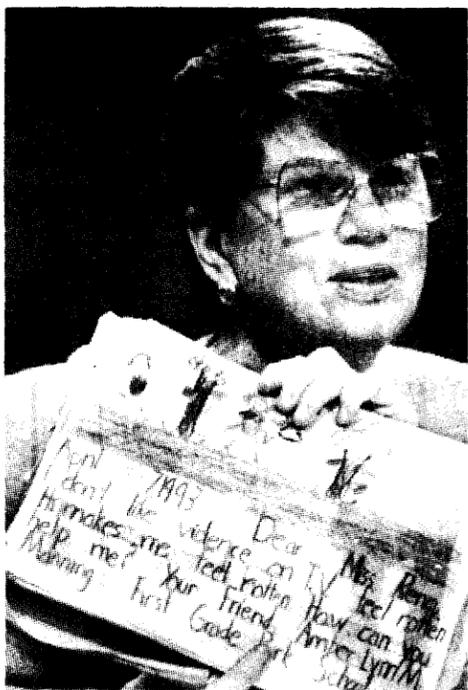
that would have strengthened rights and raised incomes for workers."

Prominent social democrat Jonathan Tasini, writing in the *Oakland Tribune* (6 September), claims to stake out a position between "free traders" and the "worst nativist instincts" of the Ross Perot/Lane Kirkland crowd:

"Rare is the voice with a broader vision, arguing for a just, international development philosophy that replaces the unfettered movement of jobs, capital and goods with democratic, open and sustainable trade policies that guarantee a basic standard of living for every worker in the world."

These reformists believe that U.S. imperialism can be made to change its spots. This is a rehash of the notion of "ultra-imperialism" first propounded by German social democrat Karl Kautsky, that the advanced capitalist powers can be pressured to adopt a more just, harmonious and equitable policy. But capitalism—premised on vicious exploitation and competition for markets and raw materials—can offer no just international development policy. In the meantime, Tasini calls for American workers to admit that they "have lived too well for too long at the expense of others!"

There have been numerous class battles north and south of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo that have cried out for joint labor action by Mexican and U.S. workers: auto workers in the modern Hermosillo plant in Sonora, garment workers in El Paso, organizing campaigns of *maquiladora* workers from Tijuana to Matamoros for independent unions. Thousands of Mexican drywall construction workers waged a militant struggle for worker representation in



Attorney General Janet Reno, who calls for censoring "TV violence," ordered the murderous assault on Waco commune. Millions watched on TV as the feds' gruesome holocaust killed 86 men, women and children.

turned into an "ambush" by Koresh and his followers against the feds. Government mass murder was labeled "mass suicide."

Even as the government's flood of lies swung public support behind the line that the victims were to blame for their own deaths, we responded with an article headlined "Waco and the White House—First the Massacre, Now the Lies" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May). We exposed the lurid stories of "child abuse" as a "New Age witchhunt," upheld the Branch Davidians' right to armed self-defense, and tore apart the feds' accounts of how Koresh and the Davidians had set the blaze themselves. "But even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls," we wrote, "the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government." Far from being an unintended tragedy, the feds were determined to exact bloody revenge for their earlier botched assault.

Now the Treasury and Justice departments have finally released the results of their own "investigations" into the Waco holocaust. Despite the fact that

Southern California.

When hundreds of militants were fired and one was gunned down during a 1990 strike at the Ford plant in Cuautitlán outside Mexico City, UAW Local 579 at the St. Paul Ford plant called for donations and solidarity telegrams and delegations. But what was needed were *solidarity strikes* to stop production at the auto giant throughout the U.S. and Canada.

In the last decade, the number of Mexican auto workers has skyrocketed to 368,000, many working in some of the most modern and productive plants in the world. Last Christmas, Nissan opened an assembly plant in Aguascalientes, Mexico with 4,500 workers, where 40 percent of the jobs will eventually be performed by robots. Nissan's sister plant in Smyrna, Tennessee was the scene of a disastrous union defeat in 1990, when the UAW tops blew an organizing drive. A coordinated fight to unionize Nissan would be a powerful example to millions of workers on both sides of the border—and in Japan. But it won't be done by the UAW tops, whose protectionist poison is a roadblock to joint class struggle.

The pro-capitalist traitors, whether the corporatist Mexican CTM or the give-back artists in the AFL-CIO and the Canadian Labor Congress, must be ousted in the struggle to forge a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement in all three countries. What is urgently posed is the construction of an international, revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat that will lead the working class in a fight for socialist revolution and a planned economy throughout the Americas. ■



AP photos

they were carried out by "blue ribbon" commissions versed in the art of cover-up (including some who played key roles in amnestying the MOVE massacre), we looked through the well over a thousand pages of these reports. Their conclusions are so blatantly self-serving that even the capitalist media, which has dutifully and consistently parroted the government's line, felt compelled to keep their distance: the *New York Times* (12 October) called it "The Waco Whitewash," while *Time* (11 October) headlined its story "Tripped Up by Lies."

As Gary Richardson, a lawyer for one of the Davidian survivors, said, "Our clients said the Feds were lying all along, and they were." The BATF lied so repeatedly and brazenly—even "re-writing" their original assault plan after the fact to make it fit the events—that director Stephen Higgins and five other top agents were suspended (on full pay, of course) and Higgins was pensioned off only days before the report was released.

The government continues to claim that the four BATF agents who died on February 28 were "ambushed by overwhelming firepower" after Koresh was tipped off by the media. But BATF undercover agent Robert Rodriguez contradicts this ludicrous lie, confessing in the Treasury report that even after his cover had been blown, Koresh wished him "good luck" and allowed him to leave the farmhouse unharmed as the BATF was about to come in with guns blazing. The feds stormed the commune with National Guard helicopters and Special Response Teams armed with submachine guns, grenades and high-tech assault gear—ostensibly in order to serve a "search warrant" for "illegal" weapons. Some "ambush!"

The reports also admit that during the 51-day siege of the Waco commune the government was methodically preparing to drown the Branch Davidians in blood, even as its "negotiators" struck a deal with Koresh that he could peacefully surrender after completing the bible commentary he was writing. Now they have concocted a new excuse for their murderous vendetta, claiming that Koresh "told his followers that soon they would go out into the world, turn their weapons on individual members of the public, and kill those who did not say they were believers." Only the fevered minds of government agents could come up with that. This is the method of Hitler's Nazi propagandist Goebbels: the bigger the lie, the more often it is told, the more people will swallow it.

Reno's ultimate lie in justifying the murder of 86 human beings was that Koresh was guilty of "child abuse." The FBI/Justice Department report now blithely concedes that "there was no direct evidence establishing that any children were being either sexually or physically abused." Noted Texas trial lawyer Jack Zimmerman, who was the

lawyer for slain Branch Davidian Steven Schneider, told *WV*: "I was in there two weeks before the fire and saw those kids before they got burned up.... They seemed to be well-fed, clean and healthy and as well adjusted as anybody could be under the circumstances." But this meant nothing to Reno, who made her mark as Dade County (Miami) district attorney by sending people to jail on flimsy "child abuse" frame-ups.

The scenes of the Branch Davidian commune being razed to the ground recalled nothing so much as the Nazis' destruction of the Jewish ghetto in Warsaw. Ironically, Clinton/Reno's holocaust took place 50 years to the day after the start of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Black journalist Walter Williams noted the eerie parallels: "the Nazi news media told Germans about Jews—they were involved in sexual rituals involving children. Like the BATF, Nazi SS men said they were searching for illegal weapons, reported by paid informants, in the Warsaw ghetto. When SS agents stormed the ghetto, Warsaw Jews put up a fierce resistance.... The SS had to call in armored military units for assistance. The BATF/FBI's armored units didn't use bullets and shells. They used O-chlorobenzalmalonitrile, known as CS gas, banned for use in war by the Paris Chemical Weapons Convention" (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, 2 May).

The incineration of the Branch Davidian commune was a *deliberate, calculated, criminal massacre*. A recent article by Alexander Cockburn in the *San Francisco Examiner* (8 October) talked of Clinton/Reno's "catastrophic errors in judgment." Cockburn has done a valuable service in exposing many of the government's myriad lies around Waco. But where liberals argue that this is the result of "errors" that can be corrected through pressure, Marxists understand that murderous repression against workers, the oppressed and all who defy ruling-class dictates is at the *core* of the capitalist state.

As they whitewash this horrendous crime, the government reports offer blueprints for more effective state-organized violence, calling for expanding and placing even more deadly weaponry in the hands of the federal police forces. Their recommendations dovetail with Clinton's proposed "crime bill," which seeks to put more cops on the street and vastly increase the federal government's use of the racist death penalty while disarming the masses with gun control.

David Koresh and his followers wanted to be left alone to live as they chose. As communists committed to the fight for socialist revolution to eradicate this oppressive capitalist system, we intend to make sure that the government bombings and mass murder of MOVE and the Branch Davidians are never forgotten. A future workers government will avenge these massacres. Hands off the surviving Branch Davidians! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Haiti: Down with U.S. Starvation Blockade!



AP photos
U.S. warship off the coast of Haiti. Imperialist sanctions on black Haiti victimize the masses.

OCTOBER 31—A flotilla of six U.S. warships, backed up by vessels from Canada, France and Argentina, has set up a naval blockade of Haiti that threatens to plunge the impoverished Caribbean island country into mass starvation. Masquerading as a mission for “democracy,” they are enforcing a United Nations-mandated embargo on oil and military supplies that aims to pressure the military regime to permit the return to office of the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who was ousted in an army coup headed by General Raoul Cédras two years ago. Yet the racist embargo isn’t hitting the bloodstained generals and their bourgeois backers,

who profited handsomely from the UN sanctions imposed last June by running contraband. Rather it is the long-suffering black population which is taking the brunt.

At the UN on October 28, Aristide called for a “total and complete” imperialist blockade of Haiti to step up pressure on the junta. Speaking to a rally of several thousand Haitians outside, black Democrat Jesse Jackson called for the U.S. to use military force, but with a formal disclaimer of “only as a last resort.” Bled dry by decades of U.S.-backed dictators, from “Papa Doc” and “Baby Doc” Duvalier and their “Tontons Macoutes” thugs to Cédras with his

“attachés,” many Haitians desperately look to Washington to remove its puppets. But racist Yankee imperialism is today the greatest enemy of all mankind, and would only impose the iron heel of another dictatorship on black Haiti. Proclaiming a “New World Order” following the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, Washington is acting as world gendarme. American intervention in Haiti also poses a mortal threat to the Cuban Revolution, which the U.S. has sought to strangle for more than three decades.

The international working class must oppose this imperialist intervention. We say: U.S./UN hands off Haiti! Defend

Cuba! Down with the imperialist starvation blockade!

Following their colonial occupation of Somalia in the guise of “humanitarian” relief, the imperialists are now producing mass hunger in Haiti in the name of “democracy.” U.S. warships even turned back a boatload of 56 tons of rice, powdered milk and medical supplies sent by the relief organization Food for the Poor on the pretext that they could not search the containers in the hold. A total trade embargo, as demanded by Aristide, would be catastrophic in a country where 850,000 people—one-eighth of the population—depend on

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BATF stormtrooper.

Wide World

Waco

Feds Prosecute Survivors of Government Massacre

Clinton/Reno's Vendetta

Millions across the country watched in shock last April 19 as TV cameras captured the government's incineration of 86 people, 22 of them children, in a religious commune outside Waco, Texas. Under direct orders from President Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno, an army of National Guardsmen, FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents stormed the Branch Davidians' isolated farm buildings with tanks, armored vehicles and deadly gases and then coldbloodedly let

them burn to the ground.

To justify this mass murder, Clinton, Reno and their media mouthpieces grotesquely blamed the victims for their own deaths, demonizing David Koresh and his followers as a gang of heavily armed crazies who immolated themselves. But even the whitewashing reports by the Justice and Treasury departments released in the last month show that the justifications offered by Clinton and Reno for their deadly vendetta were a tissue of

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Daemmrich/Sigma
Waco survivors led away in chains.