

## Down With the Military Regime!



Reuters



AP

June 14: One million marched in Algiers (left) in biggest demonstration in Algeria's history, demanding "No to the Dictatorship." Women have played prominent role in protests in Berber region of Kabylia denouncing "Assassins' Regime."

# Algeria Rocked by Mass Protests

JUNE 30—For the past ten weeks, Algeria has been swept by a burgeoning popular revolt against the blood-drenched regime of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika. What began as a protest against police terror among the oppressed Berber minority in the Kabylia region east of Algiers soon drew in masses of unemployed Arab youth and the dispossessed in cities and towns throughout the country. Far from damping the upheaval, the brutal response by the military-backed regime has only deepened the anger of the populace, particularly the youth who face a staggering unemployment rate of 80 percent. "You Can't Kill Us, We're Already Dead!" read one of the banners at a June 14 demonstration in Algiers, as one million people marched in the biggest single protest in Algerian history. The bourgeois daily *Le Quotidien d'Oran* warns that the country is "on the edge of insurrection."

After almost four decades of bourgeois-nationalist rule and nearly a decade of bloody civil war between the military torturers and Islamic reactionaries, what is posed in Algeria today is a polarization along class lines. The plebeian uprising was touched off when police machine-gunned a Kabyle youth amid protests commemorating the 1980 "Berber Spring," a near-insurrectionary revolt centered on the demand for official recognition of the Berber language, Tamazight. Like Native Americans in the

U.S., the Berbers are North Africa's indigenous population. Largely confined to isolated or mountainous areas as a result of the Arab conquest, the Berbers are now concentrated in Algeria and Morocco, where they have been subjected to forced "Arabization" and cultural and linguistic discrimination.

But where the 1980 Berber revolt remained limited to Kabylia, this time the protests tapped into anger among the Arab majority over unemployment, lack of housing and government corruption and repression. Chanting "Pouvoir Assassin" (Assassins' regime) and "Il y en a marre de ce pouvoir!" (We're fed up with this regime!), the masses who have taken to the streets are openly challenging the rule of the Bouteflika government.

The potential repercussions of the current revolt extend far beyond the confines of Algeria, the third-largest producer of natural gas in the world. Throughout North Africa, the working masses, the poor peasantry and the oppressed chafe under imperialist exploitation and austerity enforced by local nationalist regimes. In imperialist France (and to a lesser extent Spain), there is a large concentration of workers of North African origin, who constitute a strategic component of the industrial proletariat. Systematic racist discrimination and massive unemployment have fueled a series of ghetto explosions throughout France, as minority youth focus their just outrage against

the racist occupation forces of the cops, often attacking police stations.

As our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyiste de France stressed in a June 15 leaflet translated below, the doubly oppressed Maghrebin workers in France are a living bridge between the multiethnic proletariat there and the workers of the semicolonies, and could be the catalyst for revolutionary struggle in the imperialist heartland. This was evident in a June 17 solidarity demonstration of tens of thousands in Paris, where the LTF leaflet was distributed, which was the biggest mobilization of Algerians in France since the Algerian War.

### For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

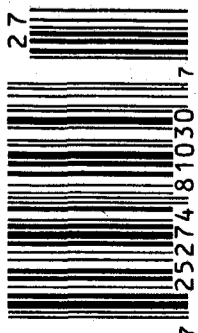
Large numbers of women joined in the Kabylia protests, something rarely seen since the 1954-62 independence struggle against France. Indeed, the last significant outpouring of women in Algeria came in the early 1990s in response to the murderous fundamentalists of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), its Army of Islamic Salvation (AIS) and the even deadlier Armed Islamic Group (GIA), who singled out unveiled women, trade unionists and secular intellectuals for assassination. But those protests were subordinated to the nationalist military regime, which itself enforces reactionary Islamic strictures against women. After coming to power following the victory over French colo-

onialism in 1962, the National Liberation Front (FLN) proceeded to impose "Arabization" on the Berbers and Islamic law on women, as enshrined in the 1984 Family Code. A proletarian vanguard party, acting as a tribune of the people, would fight against all manifestations of Arab chauvinism and anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry. *Down with the Family Code! For separation of mosque and state!*

The Algerian left sacrifices the fight for women's rights in order to shamelessly tail the nationalists in power or the Islamists or both. This revolting indifference is echoed by the French fake left, which capitulates to the social democrats who administer French imperialism. From opposing the veil to fighting for free abortion on demand, the struggle for women's liberation is a strategic and explosive question in Algeria. The International Communist League's forthright insistence on this drew howls of indignation from one Damien Elliot, then a spokesman for the left wing of the United Secretariat (USec), just at the time the civil war with the fundamentalists was breaking out. Echoing the smug contempt of the French ruling class toward its former colony, Elliot sneered in 1992 that in Paris the fight for abortion rights was fine, but it was an "ultraleftist imbecility" in Algeria!

Both the USec and the left social democrats grouped around the British

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## Osama bin Laden and the CIA: The Afghan Connection

SEE PAGE 4



# Macedonia Maelstrom

## All U.S./UN/NATO Troops Out of the Balkans Now!

JULY 1—Three days ago, the Serbian government of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic delivered former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic to stand trial before a “war crimes” tribunal in The Hague. Milosevic’s abduction was an act of sheer imperialist blackmail, as Washington threatened to boycott a “donors” conference the following day that was to allot \$1 billion in aid to Serbia. Bowing to the U.S. ultimatum, the Serbian regime rode roughshod over its own constitutional court, which had ruled that Milosevic had a right to appeal his extradition since it violated Serbia’s constitution. This is the face of the “democratic revolution”—sponsored by Washington and hailed by the fake left internationally—that installed Djindjic in power last autumn.

From his prison cell in The Hague, Milosevic aptly remarked: “The Hague tribunal confused the address—the right

address for the criminals is NATO.” The bounty promised by the imperialists for the head of the former Serbian strongman would cover but a tiny fraction of the enormous damage inflicted by the U.S. and its NATO allies in their war of terror against Serbia two years ago. The U.S.-

U.S. troops, part of 3,000-strong imperialist expeditionary force in Macedonia.



TROTSKY

### The October Revolution and Women’s Emancipation

*In smashing capitalist rule, the October Revolution of 1917 marked a giant stride toward the liberation of women in backward Russia. At a time when women were still denied the vote in the United States and other capitalist “democracies,” the Bolshevik regime outlawed all discrimination against women. Despite economic backwardness and poverty, the young Soviet workers state sought to undermine the mate-*

*rial foundations of women’s oppression, rooted in the institution of the family. Communal kitchens, nurseries and laundries were set up in order to enable women to participate in productive labor and political life. But the Bolshevik leaders understood that complete social equality will only be attained with the abolition of classes in a world socialist society, requiring the extension of proletarian revolution internationally.*

Capitalism combines formal equality with economic and, consequently, social inequality. That is one of the principal features of capitalism, one that is deliberately obscured by the supporters of the bourgeoisie, the liberals, and is not understood by petty-bourgeois democrats....

But even in the matter of formal equality (equality before the law, the “equality” of the well-fed and the hungry, of the man of property and the propertyless), capitalism cannot be consistent. And one of the most glaring manifestations of this inconsistency is the inequality of women. Complete equality has not been granted even by the most progressive republican, and democratic bourgeois states.

The Soviet Republic of Russia, on the other hand, at once swept away all legislative traces of the inequality of women without exception, and immediately ensured their complete equality before the law.

It is said that the best criterion of the cultural level is the legal status of women. This aphorism contains a grain of profound truth. From this standpoint only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the socialist state could attain, as it has attained, the highest cultural level. The new, mighty and unparalleled stimulus given to the working women’s movement is therefore inevitably associated with the foundation (and consolidation) of the first Soviet Republic—and, in addition to and in connection with this, with the Communist International.

—V.I. Lenin, “International Working Women’s Day” (4 March 1920)



LENIN

backed rulers of Croatia and Bosnia were no less responsible than Milosevic for all-sided communalist slaughter in the Balkans, often directly instigated by the imperialists. In 1995, the U.S. colluded in driving hundreds of thousands of Serbs out of Croatia, and in Kosovo NATO has presided over the expulsion of virtually all Roma (Gypsy) people and tens of thousands of Serbs.

Now the imperialists are stoking the fires of nationalist fratricide in the small republic of Macedonia, which teeters on the brink of an all-out civil war between the chauvinist regime and the ethnic Albanian National Liberation Army (UCK). Albanians, who make up about a third of Macedonia’s two million people, face discrimination and harassment at the hands of the government. As the fighting has intensified in recent weeks, chauvinist mobs have rampaged through Albanian areas, chanting “Albanians to the gas chambers!” Some 50,000 Albanians have already been forced to flee to Kosovo and Albania. With 3,000 troops already in Macedonia as backup for the 60,000-strong occupation force in Kosovo, NATO is now vowing to send in an additional 3,000 troops to “disarm” the UCK in the event of a cease-fire.

The Albanian separatists who were embraced as “freedom fighters” when they served as pawns for the U.S./NATO war in Kosovo are today denounced as “terrorists” by the imperialists. Meanwhile, when U.S. troops escorted UCK guerrillas from the Macedonian village of Aracinovo on June 25—after three days of shelling by government forces—this provoked a furious outcry among Mace-

donian Slavs. Denouncing NATO for protecting Albanian “terrorists,” 5,000 people took to the streets of Skopje, the capital, firing guns into the air and occupying the Parliament building for several hours.

The rapidly spiraling ethnic slaughter in Macedonia today underlines our warning at the time NATO forces moved into Kosovo two years ago: “This imperialist conquest is a blow not only to the people of Serbia and throughout the Balkans but to working people and the oppressed the world over. It will place Kosovars—Serbs, Gypsies and Albanians alike—under the direct thumb of the imperialists, exacerbating national hatreds in the region” (WV No. 715, 11 June 1999). During the 1999 war, we called for the military defense of Serbia against U.S./NATO forces, while giving not one iota of political support to the Milosevic regime, and fought for the defeat of the imperialist rulers through workers revolution.

Promoting the “human rights” pretensions of their respective capitalist rulers, the bulk of the reformist and centrist left in the U.S. and West Europe joined in imperialist war propaganda over “poor little Kosovo.” The U.S./NATO war had nothing to do with defense of the Kosovo Albanians. It was aimed from the start at asserting U.S. dominance in Europe through its control of NATO and realizing Washington’s longstanding goal of inserting a substantial NATO presence in the area, on top of the 20,000 troops already occupying Bosnia under the auspices of the United Nations. Under the cynical calculations of the arrogant American capitalist rulers, who thought they could manipulate local nationalist hatreds and turn them on and off like a spigot, threaten to pull them ever deeper into the Balkans quagmire.

The International Communist League has consistently defended the right of self-determination for the Albanian people of Kosovo and western Macedonia—including the right to join together in a Greater Albania—though that democratic question was subordinated to the need to militarily defend Serbia against the imperialist onslaught in 1999. But the precondition for any fight for national rights is the expulsion of the imperialist occupation forces. It was the imperialist-inspired counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state that ushered in the last decade of all-sided ethnic bloodletting.

We seek to build Leninist-Trotskyist parties in the Balkans forged in political struggle against all the manifold variants of retrograde nationalism. The conflicting national claims of the various Balkans peoples can only be equitably resolved through the proletarian overthrow of all the capitalist regimes of the region and the forging of a socialist federation of the Balkans. All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans now! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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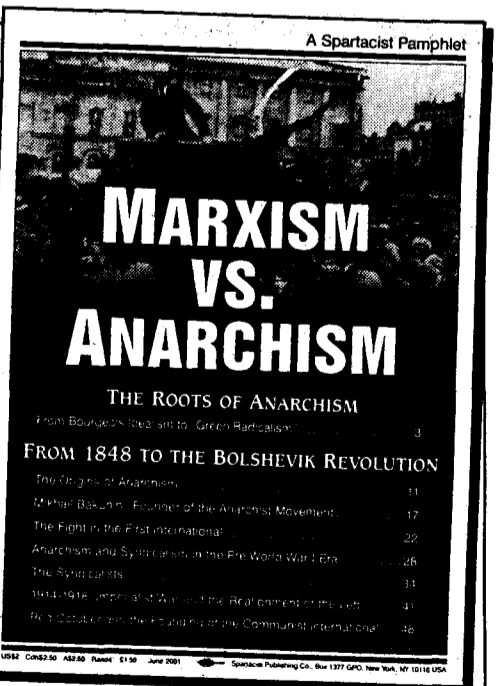
### Just Out!

This pamphlet reprints a series by Spartacist League Central Committee member Joseph Seymour originally published in *Workers Vanguard*. It presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called “death of communism,” are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky’s Bolshevik Party.

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A Spartacist Pamphlet

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# Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Free Mumia Now!

At a time of increasing national and international scrutiny of the racist death penalty in the U.S., the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is entering its decisive stage. Over the years, Jamal's cause has won support from trade unions representing millions of workers around the world—from Italy to South Africa—and helped galvanize international opposition to legal lynching in the U.S., a barbaric legacy of medieval torture and of black chattel slavery. While the bourgeois media have imposed a blackout on the explosive new evidence of Mumia's innocence, his case was featured in a world conference on abolition of the death penalty hosted by the Council of Europe in late June. We reprint below an article from the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense Newsletter (June 2001).

The LBL calls on everyone to join us in our fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Starting in 1968, and into the early 1970s, thirty-eight Black Panthers were murdered in a campaign of racist cop terror directed from the highest levels of government under the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO). Mumia Abu-Jamal, who joined the Panthers in Philadelphia while still in his teens, was among those literally in the state's gun sights from an early age. On December 9, 1981, Philly cops—enraged by Jamal's continued courageous defense of the targets of racist cop terror, especially the MOVE organization—almost made it thirty-nine when they gunned him down in the street. When Jamal survived, they moved to finish the job in the capitalist courts with a vicious frame-up and death sentence on the false charge of killing a Philly cop, Daniel Faulkner, at the very place and time where the cops had shot Jamal. The date for his execution has been set twice, only to be stayed in the face of mass, international protest. (For a detailed account, read the Spartacist pamphlet, *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 15.)

Explosive new evidence introduced by Jamal's new legal team proving his inno-



San Francisco, May 12: Labor Black League joined in building Revolutionary Contingent at demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

cence beyond a shadow of a doubt brings the defense campaign to a new juncture. It includes the *sworn confession* of Arnold Beverly, who states that "Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting" and confesses that he himself shot Faulkner, whom he was hired to kill because Faulkner was "a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen." This blows to bits the frame-up that railroaded Jamal to death row 19 years ago. For this reason it has been blacked out by the capitalist media. For the same reason, it is a clarion call to redouble our efforts to mobilize the only force which can free him—the social power of the multiracial working class.

With Jamal on death row and the capitalist state still eager to carry out the late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's policy of killing blacks who "succumb to revolutionary teachings," demonstrations in Jamal's defense were held on May 12 in Philadelphia and San Francisco. The Bay Area Labor Black League joined with the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs to build a Revolutionary Contingent in the San Francisco demo. LBL members joined Spartacists in distributing the contingent's flyer to MUNI and AC Transit workers at bus barn gates, ILWU and AFSCME union halls, to students at community and state

college campuses, and at other Bay Area locations.

Our spirited, integrated contingent of over 50 workers and youth made its class-struggle politics seen and heard throughout the 1,500-strong demonstration. The contingent was headed up by the banner of the Partisan Defense Committee, the legal and social defense arm of the Spar-

acist League, declaring: "There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! Freedom Now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

An LBL poster quoting Malcolm X, "Show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker," pointed to the class interest served by the state's frame-up of this black journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless." But instead of mobilizing working people independent of their class enemy, the demonstration's reformist organizers like Socialist Action and Workers World Party warn the bourgeoisie that the oppressed might lose "faith" in their fraudulent "justice" system if Jamal is executed on the basis of his grotesque 1982 lynch-law trial. To this end they sought to ignore or downplay the dramatic new evidence. In his message to the May 12 demonstrations Jamal criticized those who "...have said that you don't believe in the system, yet in your hearts you refuse to let it go."

In the name of "broadening support" for Jamal, the reformists appeal to the very class that wants him dead. By promoting rather than exposing illusions that justice can be served by the capitalist *injustice* system, their policy has instead

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## Spartacist Forums

**New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits  
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

**The Fight Is On: Mobilize to  
Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!**

**Thursday, July 12, 6:30 p.m.**

Harvard University, Science Center  
Room 109

For more information: (617) 666-9453  
or email [bostonsyc@compuserve.com](mailto:bostonsyc@compuserve.com)

**BOSTON**

**Saturday, July 21, 3 p.m.**

University of Illinois—Chicago  
Circle Ctr., Rm. 509, 750 S. Halsted St.

For more information: (312) 563-0441 or  
email [spartacist@iname.com](mailto:spartacist@iname.com)

**CHICAGO**

## Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The first Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated, 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization that stopped the Ku Klux Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. in November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal

system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black Leagues are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

### If You Stand For—

- 1 Full rights for black people and for everyone else in jobs, housing and schools! Defeat the racist assault on affirmative action! For union-run minority job recruitment and training programs! For union hiring halls! Open up the universities to all—for open admissions, free tuition and a full living stipend for all students. Free, quality, integrated public education for all!
- 2 A fighting labor movement—picket lines mean don't cross! Defeat police scabberding and strikebreaking through mass pickets and union defense guards! For sit-down strikes against mass layoffs! Fight union-busting, keep the capitalist courts out of the unions! Organize the unorganized, unionize the South! Jobs for all—for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay with full cost-of-living escalator clause! Cops and prison guards out of the unions!
- 3 Fight for women's rights! Defend abortion clinics! Free abortion on de-

mand; free, quality 24-hour childcare! Equal pay for equal work! For free, quality health care for all!

4 Full citizenship rights for all immigrants; everyone who made it into this country has the right to stay and live decently! Stop deportations! No to racist "English only" laws! Down with anti-Hispanic, anti-Semitic, anti-Arab and anti-Asian bigotry!

5 Down with anti-gay laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! Government out of the bedroom!

6 Mass labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the power of the unions against the racist terrorists. Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

7 Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free all victims of racist capitalist repression! No faith in the capitalist courts! No to gun control! Defend victims of cop terror and racist police frame-up! For class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense; support the work of the Partisan Defense Committee!

8 Unconditional opposition to every attempt to abolish welfare! Down with slave-labor, union-busting "workfare" schemes! Fight any and every attempt of the government to take away or cut back even more social programs such as Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, public health and aid to education and housing! For a massive program of public works—high-quality integrated housing, schools, libraries, hospitals for the working people and the poor!

9 Down with the chauvinist poison of protectionism! For international working-class solidarity! Support revolutionary struggles of working people abroad! Defend Cuba, Vietnam, China and North Korea against capitalist restoration and imperialist attack! For labor action against U.S. imperialist war moves and military adventures! For the right of independence for Puerto Rico! U.S. troops out of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean!

10 Down with the Democrats and Republicans! For a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all

the oppressed! Finish the Civil War! Those who labor must rule! For a workers government to take industry away from its racist, incompetent and corrupt owners! Rebuild America on a socialist planned economy!

### —Join the Labor Black Leagues!

Membership pledge is \$3/year unemployed; \$10/year employed. For more information, write:

**CHICAGO** (312) 563-0441

Labor Black Struggle League  
Box 6938, Chicago, IL 60680

**NEW YORK** (212) 267-1025

Labor Black League for Social Defense  
Box 2502, Church St. Station  
New York, NY 10008

**OAKLAND** (510) 839-0851

Labor Black League for Social Defense  
Box 29497  
Oakland, CA 94604

In late May, a federal jury in New York City convicted four Islamic fundamentalists allegedly linked to Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda organization for the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in which more than 200 people were killed and another 4,000 wounded, overwhelmingly local residents. But on June 12, the jury announced that it would not grant the Feds the death sentence they had demanded for one of the four, Mohamed Rashed Daoud al-'Owhali. Coming only a day after the government put to death Timothy McVeigh in the first federal execution in 38 years, the jury's decision was a courageous statement against the barbaric notion of "justice" upheld by the U.S. bourgeoisie in common with the Islamic fundamentalists it has targeted.

An American diplomat who survived the Kenya bombing denounced the jury for failing "to send an unambiguous message to the malcontents of the world intent on terrorizing the United States and its citizens abroad." America's imperialist rulers, wielding an arsenal of terror far more formidable than anything bin Laden can muster, do not need juries to send a "message" to those they deem malcontents. Less than two weeks after the bombings, the U.S. fired 80 cruise missiles at training camps in Afghanistan and at a "bomb factory" in Sudan, which was in fact the country's only pharmaceutical plant.

The NYC trial was a propaganda platform for U.S. imperialism's war against "global Islamic terrorism." In the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, Washington has sought to find a surrogate for the "red menace" in the spectre of "Islamic terrorism." That spectre is today used to justify everything from imperialist terror abroad (and even Bush's plans for a "Star Wars II" nuclear missile defense) to draconian attacks on immigrant rights and civil liberties at home. Arab immigrants and Arab Americans, including leftist opponents of Islamic fundamentalism, have been witchhunted and rounded up in "anti-terrorist" dragnets. On June 28, Secret Service agents even evicted from the White House a young Congressional intern who was there as part of a delegation of Muslim American leaders.

In language redolent of Cold War diatribes against the Soviet KGB, prosecutors raved that Al Qaeda trained "sleeper" agents or "submarines" to live undetected among local populations. As the trial opened, *Newsweek* (19 February) ran a cover story on bin Laden blaring, "Danger: Terror Ahead." The FBI has a \$5 mil-

## The 1998 Embassy Bombings, Osama bin Laden and the CIA

# THE AFGHAN CONNECTION



Kennerly/Gamma-Liaison

Reagan hosting Afghan *mujahedin* cutthroats at White House during U.S.-funded war of terror against Soviet soldiers, Afghan women.

lion bounty out on bin Laden, the latter-day equivalent of "Carlos the Jackal," the all-purpose, omnipresent terrorist bogey of the 1970s and '80s. Among other things, bin Laden is blamed for the bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen last fall, and on June 19 Yemeni police rounded up eight alleged bin Laden operatives for "conspiring" to blow up the American embassy.

But bin Laden and his cohorts were armed, trained and financed by U.S. imperialism as part of its war to *smash* the Soviet Union. "The reason he knows those [bombing] tactics," al-'Owhali's attorney told the jury, "is because we opened the bottle and gave them to them. He knows as much as probably the people in the C.I.A. do, because they were

his teachers." This is the literal truth, right down to bomb "recipes" provided by the CIA. Throughout its decade-long proxy war against the Red Army in Afghanistan, American imperialism embraced bin Laden and his fellow *mujahedin* (holy warriors) as "freedom fighters." It was only after they had served their purpose in the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union that these onetime CIA assets were denounced as terrorists.

The methods of indiscriminate, mass terror are fully in keeping with the theocratic aims of the Islamic zealots, who seek to roll back a millennium of human progress. In their eyes, non-believers, trade unionists, leftists and unveiled women are all infidels deserving of god's wrath. In its essence, their outlook is no different than that of Christian fundamentalist bigots who bomb abortion clinics in the U.S. or of fascistic Zionists who seek to "cleanse" the Palestinian nation from what is deemed to be the Jewish "holy land."

But the terrorist acts ascribed to bin Laden & Co. pale in comparison to the mass terror perpetrated by America's "democratic" bourgeoisie in defense of its reactionary capitalist order. As al-'Owhali's attorney noted during his sentencing hearing, this government that screams for the execution of a Muslim convicted of terrorism is itself responsible for the terror bombing and starvation of over a million and a half Iraqi men, women and children. He might have cited as well the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the slaughter of upwards of three million people each in the Korean and Vietnam wars and the countless others murdered in "counterinsurgency operations" carried out by U.S. imperialism and its agents from the Philippines to Central America.

### The Mujahedin and the CIA

In a three-part series titled "Holy Wars," tracing the origins of bin Laden's organization, the *New York Times* (14-16 January) acknowledged: "Al Qaeda grew out of the jihad inspired by Muslim

scholars to combat the Soviet Union's 1979 invasion of Afghanistan." It further claimed: "Participants in nearly every plot against the United States and its allies during the last decade have learned the arts of war and explosives in Afghan camps." But this mouthpiece for American imperialism, which supported the anti-Soviet crusade to the hilt, does not say who was doing the teaching. Typically, the *Times* covers up the real story of bin Laden's Afghan connection.

As far back as 1950, Cold Warrior John Foster Dulles pointed to a "common bond" with "the religions of the East" in fighting Communism. In his *Unholy Wars* (2000), ABC News reporter John Cooley described how 30 years later, "Western analysts in the think tanks and intelligence services in Washington, London, Paris, Rome and elsewhere asked themselves, who or what is the principal enemy of our enemy, communism?... The tacit consensus was that the Muslim religion, fundamentally anti-Communist, if translated into politics, could be harnessed as a mighty force to oppose Moscow in the Cold War."

Washington started funneling arms to the *mujahedin* from the moment the Soviet-allied People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power in April 1978. As modernizing left nationalists, the PDPA attempted to implement a program for redistributing land, lowering the bride price, educating women and freeing them from the prison of the head-to-toe covering called the *burqa*. In the context of backward, benighted Afghanistan, these relatively modest reforms were nothing short of revolutionary. As the huge Islamic hierarchy launched a fierce insurgency against the PDPA, the Soviet Union intervened in December 1979 to prevent the collapse of its client regime. Beginning with Democrat Jimmy Carter and continuing under Republican Ronald Reagan, the U.S. seized on the Red Army intervention to launch a renewed anti-Soviet offensive across the globe—Cold War II—in particular waging a proxy war aimed at killing Soviet soldiers and officers in Afghanistan.

For Marxists, there was no question which side working people and the oppressed the world over had in this conflict. The threat of a CIA-backed Islamic takeover on the USSR's southern flank posed pointblank the need for *unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union*, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Moreover, the Soviet military intervention opened the possibility of social liberation for the Afghan masses, particularly women (see "Afghanistan: Women Enslaved by Islamic Reaction," *WV* No. 756, 13 April). This was, as we wrote at the time, the first war in modern history in which a central issue was the rights of women. We Trotskyists proclaimed: *Hail Red Army! Extend social gains of October Revolution to Afghan peoples!*

Nothing more thoroughly exposes the imperialist rulers' occasional pretense of defending "human rights" than the fact that this was their justification for promoting the Islamic fundamentalists' savage war to keep Afghan women enslaved. But most of the reformist and centrist left was so driven by anti-Communism that it marched in lockstep behind the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats and echoed the imperialist demand, "Soviet troops out of Afghanistan!"

Under that battle cry, U.S. imperialism undertook the biggest covert CIA operation in history. The CIA's "Black Budget" *quadrupled* from an estimated \$9 billion in 1980 to \$36 billion in 1990. Some was used to fund a war of terror by the CIA's *contra* mercenaries against the left-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. But most of those billions went to an array of *mujahedin* groups based in Peshawar, Pakistan and to Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), headed

Afghanistan Today



Stinger missiles supplied by U.S. were used to shoot down civilian airliner carrying Afghan schoolchildren, March 1987.

Der Spiegel





by Lieutenant General Hameed Gul, a fervent Islamist. By the mid-1980s, the *mujahedin* were getting 65,000 tons of war matériel annually.

In 1986, Congress approved a three-pronged plan by CIA director William Casey to step up the U.S. proxy war in Afghanistan. Instead of supplying the Afghan reactionaries only with Soviet- and Chinese-made weapons purchased from Egypt, China, Israel and South Africa—so that the U.S. could “plausibly deny” a direct role in the war—the CIA began delivering American Stinger surface-to-air missiles, along with American military trainers. Secondly, the CIA, the ISI and Britain’s MI-6 agreed to launch guerrilla attacks into the Soviet Union itself, targeting the Central Asian republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, which supplied many of the troops for duty in Afghanistan.

Finally, the CIA joined in the crusade initiated by ISI chief Gul to recruit Islamic zealots from throughout the Muslim world, so-called “Arab Afghans,” to join the *mujahedin*. According to the CIA’s own estimates, as many as 70,000 Islamic fundamentalists from more than 50 countries were trained at the “*jihad* universities” or *madrassas* which still flourish in Peshawar and elsewhere. “We are fighting a jihad and this is the first Islamic international brigade in the modern era,” crowed Gul. “The communists have their international brigades, the West has NATO, why can’t the Muslims unite and form a common front?” The organizing center for this international effort was the Office of Services (*Makhtab al Khadimat*) set up in 1984 by an Islamic scholar in Islamabad.

Among those who flocked to Peshawar to enlist in the U.S.-sponsored “holy war” against Communism was Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden. According to *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (2000) by Ahmed Rashid, “The ISI had long wanted Prince Turki bin Faisal, the head of *Istakhbarat*, the Saudi Intelligence Service, to provide a Royal Prince to lead the Saudi contingent in order to show Muslims the commitment of the Royal Family to the jihad.” Though not a royal, bin Laden was the son of a construction magnate who had been a close friend of the former Saudi king, Faisal. Bin Laden, Turki and Gul “were to become firm friends and allies in a common cause.” Another firm friend was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a major recipient of American largesse who got his start as a “holy warrior” throwing acid at women university students in Kabul. It was Hekmatyar whom the ISI chose to lead the raids and rocket attacks inside Soviet Tajikistan in 1987.

After several visits to Peshawar beginning in 1980 to deliver Saudi funds, bin Laden moved there in 1982. It was not only the Pakistani ISI that welcomed bin Laden’s presence. As John Cooley reports in *Unholy Wars*: “By 1981, when CIA chief Casey and his Saudi associates, Kamal Adnan and Prince Turki, were casting around for new sources of secret financing for the Afghan campaign, the bin Laden enterprises were all on a short

list of possibly helpful families.” In 1986, the CIA commissioned bin Laden to help build a huge tunnel complex in Khost, under the mountains near the border with Pakistan. The CIA’s aim was to provide its Afghan killers with a major arms storage depot, training facility and medical center. It was here that bin Laden decided to set up his own training camp for “Arab Afghans.” He later recounted that his

their withdrawal. Thus, there is no evidence the Stinger even hastened Soviet withdrawal.”

Where these high-tech weapons did come in handy was in terrorizing civilians. And there was no outcry from Washington against “Islamic terror” when *mujahedin* in Khost used a Stinger in March 1987 to shoot down a civilian airliner taking Afghan children to study in

**Clinton administration ordered cruise missile strike against pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, claiming it produced bombs for Osama bin Laden.**



“volunteers were trained by Pakistani and American officers. The weapons were supplied by the Americans, the money by the Saudis” (quoted in *Taliban*).

### Cold War Chickens Come Home to Roost

By 1989, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev had pulled the last Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, echoing imperialist propaganda that Afghanistan had become a military quagmire, “Russia’s Vietnam.” Gorbachev’s betrayal flowed from the whole outlook of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which subordinated the interests of the international proletariat to the defense of its own privileged position as a parasitic layer resting on the collectivized economy, thus undermining the defense of the Soviet workers state itself. We fought for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and return the Soviet Union to the Bolshevik internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky.

Rehashing an old canard, the *New York Times* series claims that “the tide of the Afghan war” turned when the Stingers supplied by the U.S. beginning in 1986 “forced Soviet aircraft to fly far above the battlefield.” But as American military analyst Alan Kuperman observed in a 1999 article titled “The Stinger Missile and U.S. Intervention in Afghanistan” in *Political Science Quarterly*: “The Stinger effectively was neutralized by technical and tactical counter-measures well before the Soviets actually completed

the USSR, killing all 52 aboard.

What led to the Soviet withdrawal was the treachery of the Stalinist bureaucracy, then in terminal decline, and its bottomless attempts to appease U.S. imperialism. In fact, by the mid-1980s the Red Army had the *mujahedin* on the run. Many of the Soviet troops who fought there truly believed they were fulfilling their internationalist duty, especially the Central Asians, who saw in the poverty and backwardness of Afghanistan the conditions that had existed in their homelands only three generations earlier, before the October Revolution had catapulted them from the Middle Ages to the modern era.

The Soviet military intervention cut against the grain of the nationalist Stalinist dogma of “socialism in one country.” From the outset, we warned that the Kremlin bureaucracy might cut a deal with the imperialists and pull out. At the time of Gorbachev’s withdrawal, we stressed to Soviet workers and soldiers that it was far better to defeat counter-revolution in Afghanistan than to confront it in Leningrad. To the beleaguered Afghan government, we extended an offer to organize international brigades to “fight to the death” against the *mujahedin* cutthroats. This offer was refused, but the Partisan Defense Committee took up the PDP’s appeal to organize an international aid campaign for the besieged city of Jalalabad. For the next three years, the Kabul government forces, espe-

cially the women’s militias, fought valiantly, but were finally overrun by the U.S.-backed fundamentalists.

The Stalinists’ betrayal of women, workers and leftists in Afghanistan was to prefigure the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union itself in 1991-92. The imperialists congratulated themselves over their victory in the Cold War, duly acknowledging the role played by their Islamic allies. Crazy anti-Communist Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under Carter, ranted: “What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?”

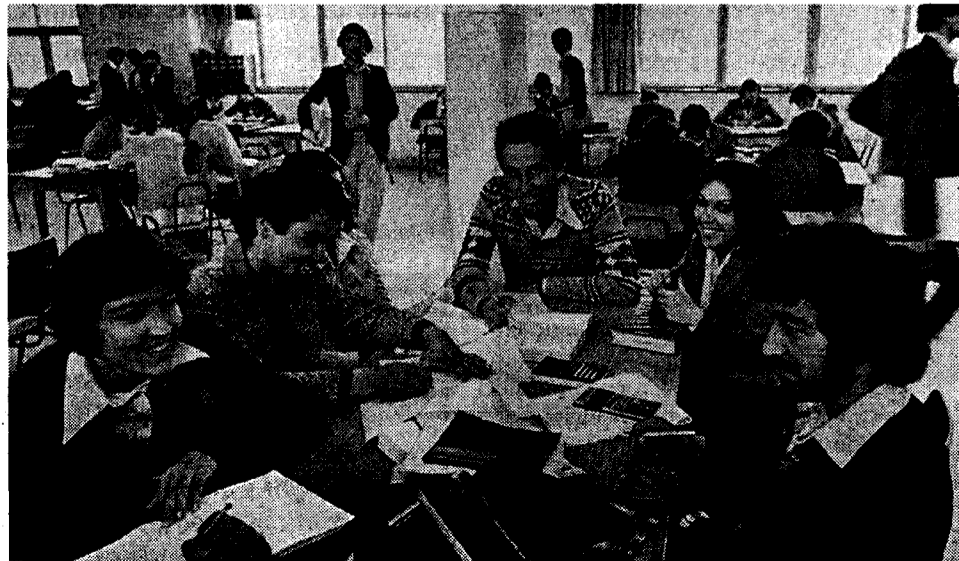
But the “stirred-up Muslims” arrogantly dismissed by Brzezinski had their own agenda. As Ahmed Rashid notes in *Taliban*: “Most of these radicals speculated that if the Afghan jihad had defeated one superpower, the Soviet Union, could they not also defeat the other superpower, the US and their own regimes?” When King Fahd allowed the U.S. to use Saudi Arabia, home to the holiest of Muslim sites, as a staging ground for the imperialist war against Iraq, this sacrilege outraged bin Laden and his fellow fundamentalists. By 1992, bin Laden’s disgust for the Saudi regime was open enough that he was forced to flee to Sudan, where another Islamic regime was in power. Driven out of Sudan as well in 1996, bin Laden returned to the training base he had set up at Khost in league with the U.S. during the anti-Soviet war. It was this base that was bombed by the U.S. in ’98.

In 1995, a special unit on counterterrorism created by the CIA and the FBI began investigating bin Laden. But, as the *Times* series reported, “The investigation followed leads that dated back even further, to a group of Islamic militants who frequented a small office in Brooklyn whose stated purpose was to raise money and recruit fighters to help in the effort by the American-backed mujaheden in the war against the Soviet Union in the 1980’s. Some of the militants in this circle were later convicted in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing case.” The alleged mastermind of that bombing, Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who is currently serving a life sentence in the U.S., was another bin Laden ally from the Afghan war. At the time, Rahman was deemed a “valuable asset” by the CIA. Despite being on a U.S. “terrorism” blacklist, Rahman was able to enter the country in 1990 on a special visa issued by American intelligence officers in Khartoum, Sudan.

### “Human Rights” Imperialism: Cynical and Barbaric

Today, America’s rulers want to bury the close relationship they once had with bin Laden & Co. When the head of the FBI’s New York office mentioned that the CIA had trained several of those convicted of the World Trade Center bombing during a 1993 TV broadcast, he was quickly transferred out of his position. In its selective account of bin Laden’s

*continued on page 12*



Planeta

Before Soviet withdrawal in 1989, over half the students at Kabul University were women. Victory of Islamic reactionaries has led to re-enslavement of Afghan women.



Quidu/Gamma

# Young Spartacus

## Mass Protests Against FTAA in Quebec

The following is Part Two of a report on the April protests in Quebec City against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) based on a presentation given by Young Spartacus pages editor Anna Woodman at the SL Regional Educational in New York City on April 28. Part One appeared in WV No. 760 (8 June).

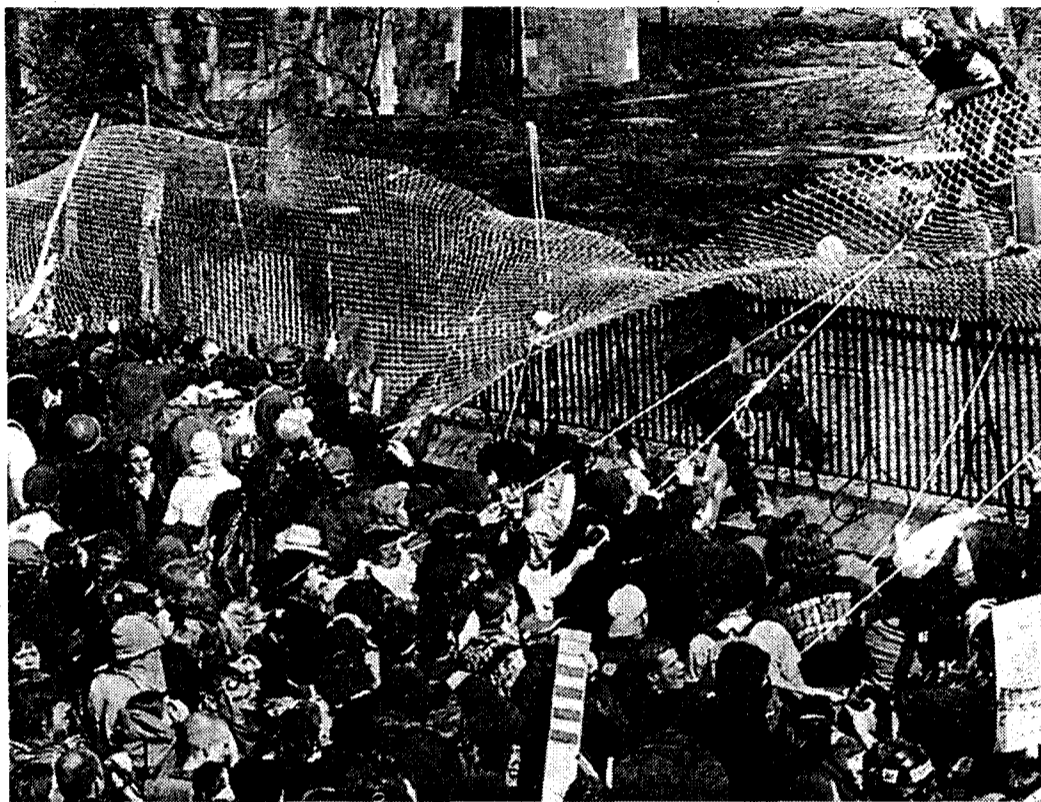
The one country in this hemisphere that was not invited to the Summit of the Americas was Cuba, where the oppressive rule of capitalism and

### Part Two

imperialism was smashed through a social revolution. The Cuban Revolution has survived decades of CIA plots, American blockade and imperialist economic penetration, including from Canada. Even though the Cuban workers state was deformed from the outset by the rule of the nationalist Castro bureaucracy, the smashing of capitalist class rule has enabled the Cuban masses to make tremendous gains in health care, education and general social equality. The restoration of capitalism would bring untold misery to the people of Cuba and would further embolden U.S. and Canadian imperialism in exploiting the peoples of Latin America, more than any "free trade" agreement could ever do.

### Defend Cuba, China!

Our defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution was met with sympathy by youth at the anti-FTAA protests. However, this did not come from a clear recognition of the gains of that revolution, but more from a romantic identification with guerrilla struggle and Che Guevara, or simply from seeing Cuba as a little country oppressed by the United States. So while most youth were sympathetic to defense of Cuba, when it came to China many said they had no opinion, and some said they wouldn't defend China from imperialist attack. Yet there was a revolution in China, too, which in 1949 ripped that country out of the system of imperialist exploitation. One of the central demands of the trade-union bureaucracy here in the U.S. has been to oppose China's entry into the WTO. For our part, we oppose the entry of the WTO



Quebec City, April 21: Protesters tore down sections of fence surrounding Summit of the Americas in face of brutal police repression.

### Eyewitness Report

into China, i.e., further economic penetration by the imperialist powers, which is already undermining the gains of that revolution.

Despite their Stalinist leadership, we unconditionally militarily defend these states, as well as North Korea and Vietnam, from attacks by the capitalist states or internal counterrevolutionary forces. But we also fight for what Trotsky called proletarian political revolution, which is the struggle to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with a genuinely communist leadership. Trotsky made a comparison between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the trade-union bureaucracy. As he noted, despite such a bureaucracy in the unions, workers should still defend them as their basic organization for self-

defense against the capitalists. Likewise, workers must defend those states where capitalism has been overthrown. At the same time, just as workers must fight to replace the trade-union bureaucrats with leaders who represent their genuine interests, the workers in Cuba, China and the other deformed workers states must struggle to overthrow the sellout Stalinist bureaucracies.

There was a story in the Canadian paper *The Globe and Mail* on April 20 about miserable young anti-globalization protesters whose bus driver kept stopping at McDonald's restaurants on the way to Quebec City from Toronto, leaving them morally bound to be hungry, though some caved in by the end. Internationally, McDonald's is seen as a symbol of U.S. imperialism. In France, José Bové, who was also prominent at the anti-FTAA protests, leads masses in protest against McDonald's. Leaving aside the idiotic idea that imperialism is a matter of loyalty to your country's cuisine, these kinds of protests are an expression of national chauvinism which poisons class consciousness and international workers' solidarity. Our interest is organizing the underpaid workforces in these fast-food chains to fight for decent wages and conditions, whatever their national ownership.

And we don't go in for corporate boycotting, because it simply posits that one corporation is more benevolent than another, essentially arguing therefore that capitalism can be made into a humane system. Boycott campaigns against goods manufactured in sweatshops have been popular on college campuses. The reality is that the horrific conditions of sweat-

shop labor are a condition of capitalism, and that the imperialist drive for more and cheaper markets necessarily entails just such suffering around the world. But such an anti-corporate attitude was sometimes what youth meant when they said they were "against capitalism."

### What is "Globalization"?

It is true that there has been a change in the world economy over the past decade. This has largely to do with the opportunities the U.S. saw for greater global dominance once Gorbachev led the retreat of Soviet power in the late 1980s, beginning with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, where they had been engaged in a civil war with CIA-backed Islamic fundamentalists. We hailed the intervention of the Red Army in Afghanistan, not least because it was an action in defense of the Soviet Union itself against imperialist encirclement and attack. The Soviet Union was a workers state. Although bureaucratically deformed under the rule of a nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy, it was based on socialized property forms as against the capitalist system which is based on private property and production for profit rather than use. The counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92 was a tremendous defeat for the international working class, and it put the wind in the sails of the imperialists.

In the face of the countervailing military might of the Soviet Union, the imperialists were always uncertain whether a popular revolt or even sometimes an election might result in a Soviet-backed left-nationalist regime. Now the imperialists are more confident. For example, a massive investment boom by U.S. banks and corporations not accidentally coincided with the toppling of the radical-nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990. Today the bourgeoisie is quite excited about its designs in the area; I just got a piece of junk mail addressed to "Resident Investor" assuring the recip-



P. Glaser

Capitalist counterrevolution devastated East Europe: unemployed and homeless line up at Berlin soup kitchen.

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# Lethal Cop Violence Against Leftist Protesters in Sweden

## Protest by the International Communist League

The International Communist League statement reprinted below was issued on June 16, the day after the shooting attack on "anti-globalization" protesters by police in Göteborg, and has been distributed by ICL sections internationally at protest demonstrations and to trade unions, leftist organizations and the press. Social-democratic prime minister Göran Persson, whose government also includes the Communist Party and the Greens, grotesquely compared the young leftist protesters to "fascist elements of the '20s and '30s" (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 19 June). Meanwhile, one of the three protesters who were shot by Persson's cops—*shot in the back* as he was running away—remains hospitalized in critical condition. Over 500 were arrested and several remain in jail.

On June 24, the right-wing government of Spanish prime minister José María Aznar unleashed its cops against "anti-

globalization" protesters in Barcelona. Demonstrators reported that police provocateurs staged a confrontation to create a pretext for the cop assault, which resulted in 19 arrests. We demand that all charges against the Göteborg and Barcelona protesters be dropped immediately!

In the wake of these bloody police attacks come ominous reports of the plans being prepared by the newly elected Italian government of right-wing prime minister Silvio Berlusconi to deal with protests against a meeting of the imperialist powers' G-8 group scheduled to begin on July 20 in Genova. According to the German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* (25 June), in addition to providing "special training" and 18,000 reinforcements for the police, the city has set aside 200 body bags and "has been ordered to rent freezer space of at least 500 square meters 'to put corpses in case of catastrophic events'." These horrific plans underline the urgent need

for the combative Italian workers movement and unions internationally to mobilize in defense of the leftist protesters.

\* \* \*

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) vehemently protests the brutal attack by Swedish police—shooting into crowds and savaging demonstrators with attack dogs—during the European Union (EU) summit in Göteborg! **We demand the immediate release of all arrested protesters!**

This is the first time in memory that cops in any West European country have fired live ammunition at demonstrators. One young protester was critically wounded and may die. Those bullets that struck anarchist youth were aimed at the working class of Europe, which increasingly is combatting through strikes and protests the all-sided effort to eliminate jobs and social services. The shootings in Göteborg were a deadly message by the European Union to the workers of Europe.

To a man, the social-democratic heads of state gathered in Göteborg saluted the cop attack and denounced the young protesters. Taking hypocrisy to new heights, British Labour prime minister Tony Blair denounced the "thuggery" of the protesters. German Social Democratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder railed, "We have to pursue these rioters with all the might of the law." Their law is to protect their capitalist order and their whole system of exploitation and injustice.

The mask is off—this is the real face of "social Europe." After this, who can believe the lies pushed by the labor misleaders and reformist leftists who peddle illusions in this gang of murderers and thieves? The blood on the streets of Göteborg reveals what the masses of the semicolonial world and ethnic minorities in the imperialist metropolises experience all the time. Now it is increasingly becoming the norm for cop assaults

on "anti-globalization" protesters. With international economic recession looming, what's necessary is to mobilize the labor movement in defense of its own class interests and the interests of all of the oppressed against the rapacious capitalist rulers.

The bloody attack on anarchist youth came only a day after U.S. president George Bush visited Göteborg to push his crazed plans for nuclear first strike capability through a "national missile defense." The Bush visit underlined the growing divisions between U.S. imperialism and its would-be EU imperialist rivals. Göran Persson, the Swedish prime minister and current EU president, stated, "The EU is the only counterweight against the raw game of market forces and the world domination of the U.S.A."

The ICL solidarizes with the protests against imperialist warmonger Bush. However, workers and youth must be won to the consciousness that the *main enemy is at home*—their own ruling class! The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet workers state has ushered in sharpened competition among these imperialist powers for markets and spheres of exploitation which is driving the world toward nuclear war. Already we have seen, in the NATO onslaught against Serbia (and the continuing occupation of the Balkans), the first war on European soil since 1945.

The youthful anarchist protesters who lashed out against the symbols of capitalist exploitation in Göteborg have their hearts in the right place. We understand all too clearly such acts of outrage and frustration against this brutal system. All our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing protesters, even though we do not share the same political perspective. A single isolated hero cannot replace the mass struggle.

We revolutionary Marxists seek to mobilize the power of the multiethnic proletariat in class struggle, not just to protest the capitalist system but to *eradicate* it. We fight to forge the Leninist vanguard parties needed to lead the working class to sweep away the capitalist exploiters and their state and to build a workers state and an egalitarian socialist society. ■



Martin Johansson

Göteborg, Sweden: Cops used attack dogs, tear gas and live ammunition to terrorize protesters outside imperialist summit in June.

ient that Latin America's "relatively low-cost labor force" and increased "political stability" make it a good place to put money these days.

Fundamentally, the idea that the capitalist market economy is "global" and that banks and corporations seek out those low-wage countries where they can get the highest return on their investments is not new, nor is the fact that the internationalization of finance capital is a dominant feature of the profit system. It was first laid out by Lenin in 1916 in *Imperialism*. A large part of Lenin's book was a polemic to counter the arguments of Karl Kautsky, a German Social Democrat who early in the 1900s argued that the competing interests of the huge capitalist monopolies could be resolved through peaceful agreements rather than through wars, denying that the workings of the capitalist economic system necessarily lead to inter-imperialist war. This was essentially an alibi for leftists supporting their own national bourgeoisies. In 1914, the German Social Democrats voted financial support to the war efforts of the German imperialist rulers.

Lenin countered this theory in *Imperialism* by documenting how worldwide competition between these trusts and cartels led to the division of the world by

the imperialist states in order to achieve domination over markets and spheres of exploitation. To quote from Lenin: "Salvation lies in monopolies, said the capitalists as they formed cartels, syndicates and trusts. Salvation lies in monopolies, echoed the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, hastening to appropriate the parts of the world not yet shared out."

I want to underline that imperialism arose as a system, part of the development of capitalism. From a system of small producers, within national boundaries, the development of an industrial capitalist economy both allowed and required the individual nation-state to look beyond its national borders for markets. By the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant capitalist countries had begun to export significant portions of the finance capital they had accrued rather than glut the domestic market. Cheap raw materials, cheap labor and cheap land made investment in backward countries a potentially profitable venture. Thus competition exploded between the imperialist powers for the division of the world.

The capitalists protect their investments abroad with military force, but because the world has already been thoroughly carved up, inter-imperialist rivalries are an inevitable condition of

this worldwide mode of production. And so by the beginning of the 20th century, the major capitalist countries had achieved such dominance over more backward regions that they were able to prevent the development of new rival imperialist powers, thus creating the present-day division between the so-called First and Third World, or what is now called the "Global South."

### Capitalism Is Not Reformable!

Anti-globalization protesters should consider this historical development and

the fact that because imperialism is a system, a mode of production rather than a series of governmental policies, it is irreformable. Capitalist imperialism must be overthrown by the working class, but meanwhile it continues to create famines and wars. The battle for markets and spheres of exploitation was the cause of World War I and World War II, and will be the cause of a third if it is not smashed by workers revolution.

Intrinsically the mainstream organizers of the anti-globalization protests

*continued on page 13*

San Francisco, January 1994: Spartacist contingent protests NAFTA at demonstration against Mexican government's repression of Zapatista revolt.



# France Reels Over Confessions of Army Torture in Algerian War

The following article is translated from *Le Bolchévik* No. 156 (Spring 2001), published by the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

Almost four decades after the victory of the Algerian people's national independence struggle against French colonialism, the torture carried out on a mass scale by the French military during

## LE BOLCHEVIK

France's dirty colonial war has again become a burning issue. But in the hands of the Communist Party (PCF), liberal civil libertarians and the bourgeois press, this question has obviously been used not to mobilize against imperialism but to create illusions that the racist French ruling class can renounce its bloody crimes and become a force for "human rights" around the world.

The campaign was launched by a series of articles in *Le Monde* denouncing the torture carried out by French troops in Algeria, starting last June with an interview with Louise Ighilahriz, who, as a young Algerian independence fighter, was arrested and tortured by General Massu's paratroopers during the 1957 Battle of Algiers. This was cynical enough coming from *Le Monde* which, along with virtually all the bourgeois press, sought during the Algerian War to cover up the crimes of French imperialism. Then, in October 2000, 12 civil libertarians and prominent PCF members like Henri Alleg, former head of the Algerian CP, issued an appeal calling on the French government to "condemn these acts" (*L'Humanité*, 31 October 2000). What could be more grotesque than the idea of this government, which has made racist police terror against immigrant ghettos one of its hallmarks, sitting in judgment of the crimes of colonialism? And if that weren't grotesque enough, the mass murderer Massu, the living embodiment of the torture carried out in Algeria, came out in support of the thrust of the "Appeal of the 12" for France to recog-



French colonialist army engaged in systematic torture of Algerian prisoners during 1954-62 war of independence.

nize and condemn torture during the Algerian War, whining: "We should have proceeded otherwise" (*L'Humanité*, 23 November 2000). The recent, revolting book by the head of the special services in Algeria, General Aussaresses, in which he openly reveals torture in all its horror, as well as the summary executions he ordered with the full consent of the government, confirmed that the torture perpetrated by French colonialism in Algeria wasn't an aberration. This is the true face of imperialism.

For the PCF and bourgeois liberals, denunciations of torture in Algeria are a cynical attempt to refurbish the credentials of French imperialism as it intervenes around the world in the name of defending "human rights." PCF leader Robert Hue declared that a condemnation of torture by the French government would make France "more worthy of the credit so many nations give her" and "stronger to combat these actions which are still going on around the world." During the Algerian War, the PCF, though not

in the government, provided the firmest support to "Socialist" prime minister Guy Mollet, who came to power at the head of a popular-front coalition including the Radicals and other bourgeois parties. The Mollet government vastly escalated the war, the widespread torture and summary executions. While posturing as an "opposition" force to the war, the PCF went so far as to vote for granting the Mollet regime "special powers" in Algeria.

Today, the PCF continues to serve as a loyal handmaiden to the imperialist bourgeoisie as part of the racist, anti-working-class popular-front government. When France joined the U.S. and other NATO powers in the terror bombing of Serbia two years ago, PCF ministers loyally stayed at their posts while cynically calling for France to "participate in building peace." In 1991, as Mitterrand's France participated in the U.S.-led imperialist coalition that bombed Iraq virtually back into the Stone Age, the PCF presented itself as the most resolute opponent of the war. The PCF's "alternative" to war was to support the imperialist embargo of Iraq, which sought to achieve the same purpose as the bombing—forcing Saddam Hussein to give back Kuwait to its "legitimate" owner, the emir Al Sabah—by starving the Iraqi population. Those sanctions are today criticized by the French government, which sees them as an obstacle to making oil deals with Baghdad, but in the past decade they have killed one and a half million people through lack of medical supplies and food.

Despite the cynical aims of those pushing the campaign over torture in Algeria, it has unmistakably touched a raw nerve in French society and provoked considerable interest, particularly among youth. Since the defeat of French colonialism in 1962, the torture carried out by French troops during the Algerian War has been the French bourgeoisie's "dirty secret," never mentioned in classrooms and treated as taboo by the bourgeois press. More than one million Algerians died in the napalm bombings, the destruction of villages and the mass executions. For the generation of Algerians who lived through that war, the memory that dominates all others remains the ever-present terror that at any minute they could be picked up by French troops and hideously tortured. The Algerian War made dreadful images like "la gégène" (electrical generator) and "les corvées de bois" (summary executions) a permanent part of the culture of French capitalist society.

These terrible crimes of racist French imperialism must be seared into the collective memory of the working class.

The torture perpetrated by French colonialism in Algeria was not an aberration. It shows the true face of imperialism. In Indochina, trade unionists, independence fighters and Communists were routinely arrested and tortured at the notorious Rue Catina in Saigon—under the Popular Front government as under right-wing regimes. In 1945, tens of thousands of Algerians in Sétif and elsewhere were massacred by French forces while the PCF ministers loyally remained in the government. Two years later, tens of thousands more were killed in Madagascar to ensure colonial rule. Today, thousands of French troops are stationed in Africa, intervening at the whim of the Elysée [presidential palace] and Matignon [prime minister's residence] from Chad to Congo and Rwanda to prop up their neocolonial despots and protect French imperial interests.

Underlying the current campaign to pressure the government to condemn the torture carried out in Algeria is the idea that imperialism is a "bad policy" that can be changed through mass pressure. This is a lie. Imperialism is an organic outgrowth of the profit system, the "highest stage of capitalism," as Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin described it. Whether it is overseen by parties on the left or right of the bourgeois political spectrum, imperialism is a *system* of oppression that condemns countless millions of people around the world to brutal exploitation and misery. Capitalist imperialism cannot be "reformed" or pressured into becoming more "humanitarian." It must be smashed through a proletarian revolution, that expropriates the bourgeoisie and sets up a planned, collectivized economy.

### The PCF, Torture and Class Collaboration

The PCF has seized on the issue of torture in Algeria in order to portray itself as the party of opposition to the Algerian War and to bolster its "anti-imperialist" credentials, which are seriously tarnished after almost four years of participation in the Jospin coalition government. *L'Humanité* has run article after article showing that the PCF was among the few political forces in France that spoke out to denounce torture in Algeria. That much is true. But the idea that the PCF mobilized opposition to French imperialism during the Algerian War is a myth. That war provoked wave after wave of explosive working-class



Henissart

Algiers protesters fly outlawed FLN flag in defiant mass demonstration against French colonial rule, December 1960.



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struggle by French and Algerian workers, which could have placed the perspective of socialist revolution on the order of the day (see our article "1962—Defeat of French Imperialism in Algeria," *Le Bolchévique* No. 152, Spring 2000). Yet the PCF repeatedly derailed this powerful working-class offensive through its treacherous class collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

From the fall of 1955 to late spring 1956, France was swept by a wave of mutinies by soldiers refusing to be sent to Algeria. These revolts were often backed up by strikes as French workers—often joined by their Algerian class brothers—battled riot police in defense of protesting soldiers. This coincided with a series of strikes in Algeria—several of which shut the country down—centered on the highly combative dock workers. But the Stalinists did everything possible, as part of their support to the Mollet government, to keep the soldier-worker revolts against the army brass isolated from each other. The PCF did not so much as organize a national protest demonstration in the capital for fear that the localized protests could explode into a conscious fight against the government. Instead, the PCF voted for the Special Powers Act, which would be used by the Mollet government to turn over full powers to Massu's paratroopers, institutionalizing torture on a mass scale in the Battle of Algiers.

As part of its campaign over torture in Algeria, the PCF has gone so far as to recognize "the error" of voting special powers to Guy Mollet. But the explanation given for this "error" underlines how it was rooted in the

up the military terror in Algeria.

In April 1961, the social tensions building up in French capitalist society again exploded, as French troops in Algeria revolted against an attempted putsch by officers opposed to de Gaulle's negotiations with the National Liberation Front (FLN). Rank-and-file soldiers seized military bases, arrested their officers and sabotaged vehicles and communications. Instead of seizing the opportunity to mobilize the workers in struggle against the imperialist war, the PCF sought to unite with de Gaulle against the reactionary officers. The PCF called mass demonstrations throughout the country, but they were directed solely against the putschist officers so that even the Gaullists supported the protests.

Throughout 1961, hundreds of Algerian workers in France were killed by French cops and many more were brutalized in police torture chambers. But the Stalinist leaders of the PCF sat by passively, refusing to mobilize the necessary demonstration of united action by French and Algerian workers against the racist terror. The leaders of the French working class did not even protest when Paris police commissioner Maurice Papon ordered a curfew selectively targeting Algerians in words virtually identical to a decree against Jews during World War II. Emboldened by the docility of the reformist misleaders, de Gaulle and Papon organized and carried out the massacre of over 300 Algerian protesters in the streets of Paris on 17 October 1961. When some demonstrators tried to take refuge in the *L'Humanité* building that night, Elie Kagan, who took photos of the massacre, noted that "the gates were



L'Humanité

Paris, October 1961: Over 300 Algerians were massacred in police attack on pro-independence protesters.

boot of French imperialism. Then, as today, the policy of the PCF was to defend the "vital interests" of French capitalism at home and abroad.

### LO and LCR Cover Their Own Past

Providing a "left" cover to the cynical campaign of the Stalinists and liberals over torture in Algeria is the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The LCR supported the call by Amnesty International that the torturers be brought to trial, citing as a precedent the trial of Papon for his role in the deportation of Jews during World War II. That trial, like the current judicial proceedings against Pinochet in Chile, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and many others, was calculated to reinforce the illusion that the capitalist rulers had turned the page on their bloody past. And that is precisely the illusion the LCR seeks to bolster, writing: "Our Pinochets have been covered so far; a long struggle will be needed to impose upon our rulers a change in policy" (*Rouge*, 7 December 2000).

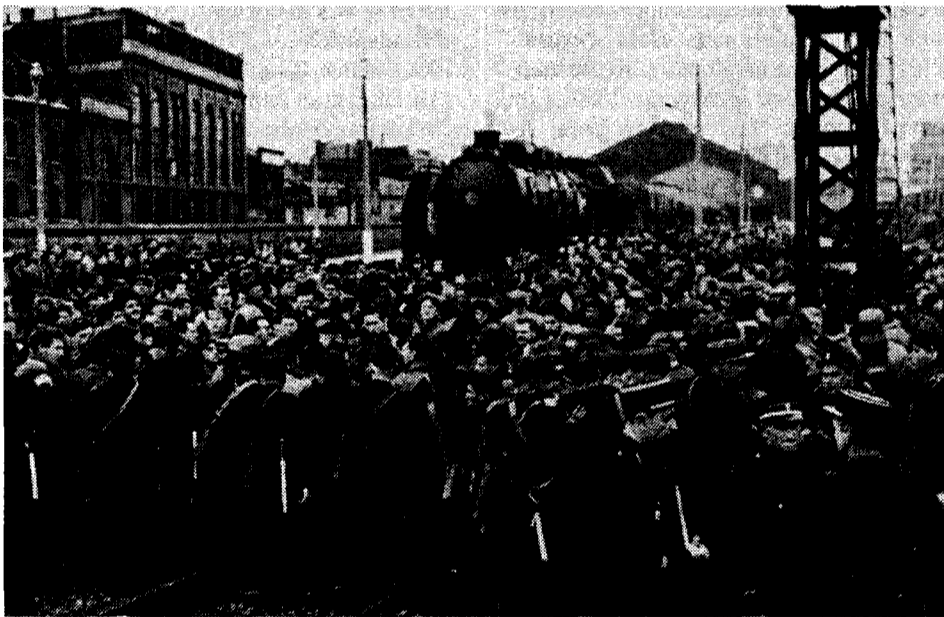
During the Algerian War, the forerunners of the LCR uncritically tailed the petty-bourgeois nationalist FLN. Their international leader, Michel Pablo, joined the Ben Bella regime as an official adviser. Today, the LCR would like to turn the page on its own past, decrying the "numerous illusions" of "those who hoped that the colonial revolution would be transformed into a socialist revolution" (*Rouge*, 2 November 2000). But if the Pabloites would like to forget their enthusing decades ago for petty-bourgeois guerrillism, it is to more closely embrace the interests of "democratic" French imperialism. During the imperialist terror bombing of Serbia in 1999, the LCR called for military intervention by the OSCE, a force dominated by the European imperialists, as a way of undercutting the U.S.-dominated NATO in the Balkans. More recently, the LCR Central Committee called for intervention in Palestine by the French imperialists (who have their own interests in the region) to supposedly defend the Palestinians against the Zionists (see our

article in *Le Bolchévique* No. 155, Winter 2000/2001).

Not the least cynical in this whole affair is Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which intones against "those pretending to be leftist who did not miss any of the bloody episodes of the history of 'our' national imperialism" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 1 December 2000). Today, Socialist prime minister Jospin is discredited among the working class and oppressed for his capitalist austerity and racist state terror against the population of immigrant origin, so LO attacks him.

LO excoriates Jospin for his refusal to condemn the torture in Algeria; he called instead for "a search for truth." "As if this history remained to be written!" intones LO, citing those who, during the Algerian War, "risking their life and freedom, talked." "Most of their authors were not historians, but just militants" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 1 December 2000). But not militants of LO! One can search the bound volumes of *Voix Ouvrière* (the forerunner of *Lutte Ouvrière*) and of their "political editorials" during the Algerian War. The first time the word "torture" or "torturer" is even mentioned is in May 1959, over four years after the start of the war. As French troops launched the Battle of Algiers, institutionalizing torture on a mass scale, *Voix Ouvrière* (January-February 1957) was running headlines like "High Price of Fuel Because of the War" (for more on LO and the Algerian War, see our article "LO and the Colonial Question," published in *Le Bolchévique* No. 111, May 1991).

Unlike these groups, our perspective is not to pressure French imperialism to clean up its act or to intervene on behalf of oppressed peoples. We know that the French government intervenes only to defend its own bloody imperialist interests at the expense of the people of the neocolonies and the working class. To eliminate once and for all the racism and neocolonial oppression which are inherent to capitalism, we need a workers revolution which expropriates the capitalists on a world scale. The Ligue Trotskyiste fights to build the French section of a Trotskyist International which will lead this revolution. ■



J.-P. Marais

French workers and soldiers defy cops to stop troop transport train at Le Havre during Algerian War, 1956.

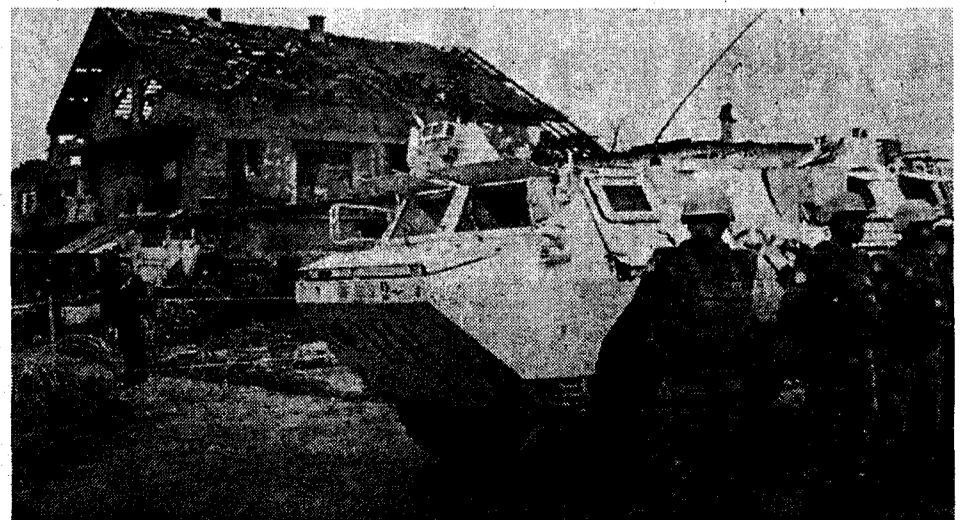
PCF's class-collaborationist program. *L'Humanité* (20 December 2000) writes that the PCF "at that time had the hope of giving rise to a new 'popular front,' the effect of which was to tend to make unity with the socialists overwhelm any other consideration." What they don't mention is that the popular front is necessarily based on defending the fundamental interests of capitalist society, including its imperial interests abroad. Back in the 1930s, as the PCF embarked on its class-collaborationist popular-front policy, it *opposed* the call for Algerian independence, calling instead for a more "democratic" French colonial empire. The PCF cheered as Léon Blum's Popular Front government imprisoned the leading Algerian nationalist at that time, Messali Hadj.

By 1958, with the economy in shambles and the country swept by one of the most powerful strike movements in decades, the bourgeoisie turned to General de Gaulle to resolve the crisis. The PCF's response was to pathetically embrace the discredited governing parties that were carrying out the Algerian War, even voting to renew the notorious Special Powers Act. Meanwhile, the PCF's popular-front allies were negotiating with de Gaulle to smooth his ascension to power. De Gaulle quickly cracked down on the working class and stepped

being closed in front of them" (Jean-Luc Einaudi, *La Bataille de Paris*). After that anti-Algerian pogrom, there were no protest demonstrations by the PCF or the Communist-led CGT. The only protest strikes were scattered half-hour stoppages in a few plants.

In contrast, when nine French people were killed in a police charge against a PCF-led demonstration at the Charonne Métro station in February 1962, the PCF organized a mass demonstration of one million people. PCF speakers did not even mention the slaughter of Algerians which had taken place only four months earlier. The Charonne demonstration is promoted by the PCF as the epitome of their supposed "combat" against French colonialism during the Algerian War. But the Charonne demonstration did not even call for Algerian independence. It was called to protest terrorist attacks by the OAS, a fascist group led by former army officers who sought to head off de Gaulle's negotiations with the FLN.

Throughout the Algerian War, the PCF leaders sought above all to avoid a humiliating defeat for French imperialism. They occasionally uttered words like "independence," but the Stalinists' real policy was to pressure successive bourgeois governments to "negotiate" a settlement. That was simply a call for a neocolonial regime in Algeria under the



Srecko Latal

"Human rights" imperialism: French troops in Bosnia, 1995, as part of UN/NATO imperialist occupation force.

# Algeria...

(continued from page 1)

Socialist Workers Party of the late Tony Cliff (as well as an array of centrist groups) hailed Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran in 1979, which consigned thousands of leftists to prison and death. In the 1980s, these groups echoed the imperialists in opposing the Soviet military forces fighting Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan. At bottom, what led these ostensible leftists to cheer on the rise of virulently anti-woman Islamic reaction across the region was their anti-Sovietism and capitulation to their own bourgeoisies. The now very dis-United Secretariat and the Cliffites, whose pseudo-internationalism has exploded in the past year, share political responsibility for the living hells that Iran and Afghanistan are for women today. The International Communist League says: *No to the veil! Free abortion on demand! Full democratic rights for homosexuals!*

The imperialists clearly fear that the upsurge in Algeria could be the flame that ignites the social tinderbox across North Africa. At the European Union (EU) summit in Göteborg, Sweden last month, the assembled heads of state called on the Algerian regime "to take a political initiative of great scope to overcome this crisis." The kind of initiative the EU rulers have in mind was made clear when they applauded the shooting of "anti-globalization" protesters by the Swedish cops.

In Morocco, the town of Beni Tadjit, located in an oil region near the Algerian border, recently exploded in four days of fighting with the military following the killing of a Berber youth. The Moroccan weekly *Maroc Hebdo* warned: "There are hundreds of Beni Tadjits. The slightest thing could send them into dispersed but violent revolt against neglect, isolation, unemployment and poverty." Meanwhile, Egypt, which has the largest working class in North Africa, has seen a significant increase in labor protests, strikes and occupations against privatizations in the past few years.

As the Algerian military and its cronies ostentatiously flaunt their wealth, the dictates of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that they enforce have cut real wages in half, and basic necessities which were previously subsidized by the state have become virtually inaccessible. The south, with its rich oil and natural gas fields, has essentially been turned into an imperialist enclave cut off from the Algerian population. In preparation for IMF-imposed privatization of the state-owned industrial sector, tens of thousands of workers have been thrown out on the street. The huge El Hadjar steel complex in the eastern city of Annaba has slashed its workforce in half. Nonetheless, these workers showed a measure of their social power when they struck against layoffs and a wage freeze in May 2000. Riot police fired tear gas and rubber bullets into a demonstration of 9,000 strikers. But what brought the strike to an end was the leadership of the

General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA), which is closely tied to the military-backed regime.

Not surprisingly given the politics of the UGTA leadership, the organized working class has been noticeably absent from the recent protests as an independent political force. The bourgeois Front of Socialist Forces (FFS)—though discredited by its role as a lawyer for the Islamic fundamentalists, even forming an imperialist-sponsored alliance with the FIS in 1995—has played a prominent and often leading role in the protests. Even the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), which is closely allied with military hardliners and remained in Bouteflika's government until May 1, has recently tried to refurbish its credentials as an opposition force.

Embracing both Berber and Arab workers, the unions could be a vehicle for class unity in struggle against the military regime. The urgent task facing Algerian workers—Berber and Arab—is the forging of a Leninist vanguard party to lead the proletariat, at the head of all the oppressed, to the seizure of state power. Above all, this means a political struggle to render the proletariat conscious of this revolutionary purpose, to break the stranglehold of the UGTA leadership and to extirpate the influence of both the Islamic fundamentalists and the nationalists who posture as opponents of the regime among the plebeian masses.

## For Leninist Internationalism!

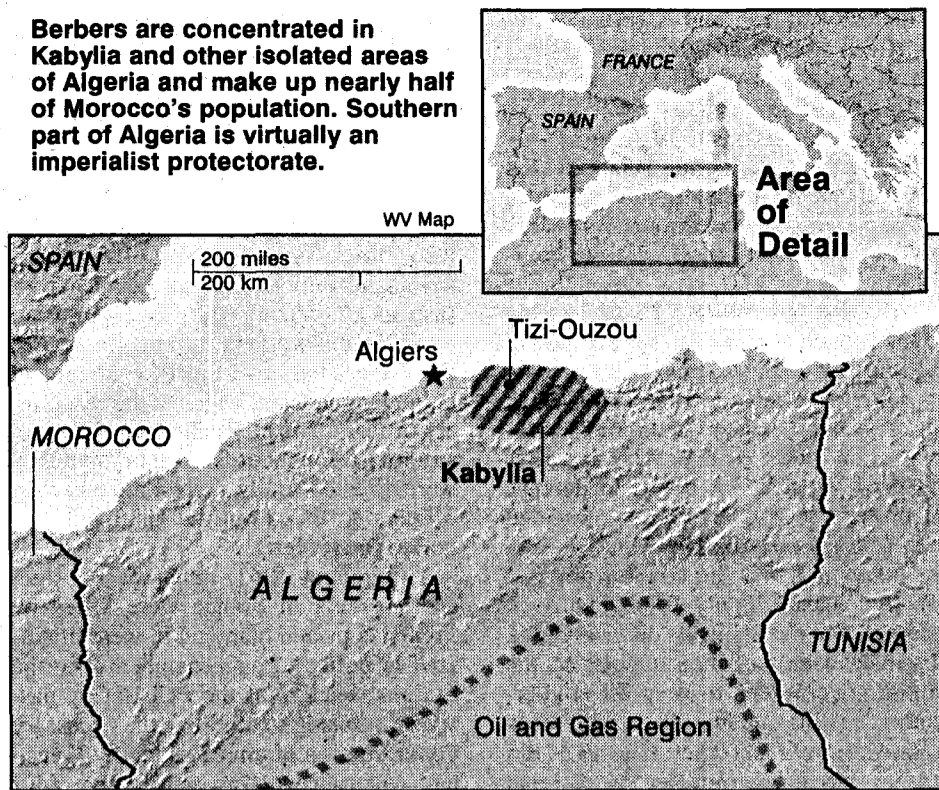
It is precisely this crucial task which is deep-sixed by the centrist Internationalist Group (IG), which has issued one of the more substantive articles written by a left group on the current upheaval, posted in French on its Web site under the masthead *L'Internationale* (June 2001). As is typical for this small outfit made up of renegades from the Trotskyism of the ICL, the IG fills its tract with seemingly orthodox rhetoric against the nationalist regime and the Islamic fundamentalists, declaring in its headline, "Only One Solution: Proletarian Revolution!" But all of this is only a smokescreen. Across the board, the IG obscures or denies the political obstacles that a Trotskyist vanguard would have to confront and defeat in order to win the working class to the program of proletarian revolution.

First, the IG prettifies the character of the UGTA bureaucracy, arguing:

"At the time when the FLN government apparatus controlled all social organizations...the UGTA was a corporatist apparatus, a transmission belt of the single bourgeois party. Following the decomposition and throwing out of the FLN, this relationship was loosened.... Today, the leadership of the trade-union federation has forged links with several bourgeois parties, primarily the RND, the FLN and the RCD."

But all those parties are tied to the military regime and the main one, the RND (National Democratic Rally), as the IG admits, was set up as a political vehicle for the military by the UGTA bureaucracy! In any case, the IG's line reeks of cynicism. In Mexico, they denounce the

Berbers are concentrated in Kabylia and other isolated areas of Algeria and make up nearly half of Morocco's population. Southern part of Algeria is virtually an imperialist protectorate.



corporatist CTM union federation as a bosses' organization, "a direct instrument of the bourgeois state" (see "Mexico: NAFTA's Man Targets Labor," WV No. 748, 15 December 2000). Was/is the UGTA, therefore, a direct instrument of the bourgeois state, too?

The IG claims to be for "equal rights for Arabic, Tamazight and French." But it simultaneously rejoices that a supposed "absence of slogans calling for Constitutional recognition of Tamazight" in some of the Berber protests "could be the starting point for posing the necessity of an internationalist program capable of mobilizing Arabic-speaking workers as well in a revolutionary class struggle." This is simply a capitulation to the dominant nationalism in Algeria, that of the Arab majority. The starting point for mobilizing Arab workers on an internationalist basis is to win them to active defense of the rights of the Berber minority, not to duck the question.

Most revealing of the IG's capitulation to Algerian nationalism is the fact that—in an article 23 pages long—one can find only three scattered sentences that even refer to the French proletariat. Central to a revolutionary perspective in a dependent country like Algeria is the struggle for socialist revolution in the imperialist metropolis. But for the IG, it is a point to be tacked on virtually as a footnote.

Seeking to deny the obstacles in the path of the insurgent masses, the IG goes out of its way to minimize the danger posed by the fundamentalists. While denouncing Islamic reaction, the IG cynically fulminates that our article "Civil War Bleeds Algeria" (WV No. 680, 12 December 1997) is "permeated with the sentiment that all was lost and that the victory of the Islamists was close...precisely at the moment when the armed Islamic groups were checked by the army." The IG's touching faith in the bourgeois nationalists' ability to liquidate the Islamic fundamentalists is belied by its own admission that despite the 1997

"cease-fire" some 9,000 people were slaughtered last year alone. Our warning at the time remains no less true today:

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

In its eagerness to wish away the influence of Islamic fundamentalism, the IG generalizes beyond the borders of Algeria, denouncing as "defeatist" our statement that "the 1979 Iranian Revolution" opened up a period of ascendant political Islam in the historically Muslim world" ("Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program," *Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998). Iran continues to be under the grip of the Islamic theocracy that came to power in 1979. That same year saw the beginning of a ten-year war by the CIA-backed *mujahedin* against Soviet troops in Afghanistan—now ruled by the fanatical Taliban. Indeed, the whole civil war in Algeria was fueled by ascendant political Islam, including fundamentalist militias like the GIA spawned by the U.S.-funded war in Afghanistan. And from Egypt to the Palestinian Occupied Territories and Indonesia, the Islamic fundamentalists are today the main forces posturing as an opposition to bourgeois nationalism among the plebeian masses.

The IG obscures the danger of religious reaction the better to capitulate to the "mass movement" under its existing leadership. Denying the enormous impact capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union had in setting back the consciousness of the proletariat internationally, the IG adapted to that lower level of consciousness, willfully misidentifying the will of the workers to struggle with the revolutionary consciousness needed to triumph over the bourgeoisie. In practice, this leads to prettifying and pursuing alien class forces. The task of Marxists is not to simply enthuse over the class



Gamma



Cambio 16

Over 100,000 have been slaughtered in decade-long civil war between nationalist military and Islamic fundamentalists.



struggle but to lead that struggle to a victorious conclusion through the establishment of the international dictatorship of the proletariat.

### For Workers Revolution in Algeria! Forge a Bolshevik Party!

PARIS, June 15—The murder by the police of Massinissa Guermah, an 18 year-old high school student, on April 18 at Beni-Douala in Kabylia sparked an explosion of anger which has blazed across Kabylia. Youth have attacked city halls, police stations—all the symbols of the Algerian bourgeois state—and even of the bourgeois Berber parties, the RCD and the FFS. The Bouteflika government's vicious repression has already meant nearly one hundred deaths and thousands of wounded, but the demonstrations continue in Kabylia, Algiers, Oran, and now in the Chaoui regions in the southeast of the country. Yesterday, a million-strong demonstration in Algiers ended with ten people dead and hundreds wounded. *Down with the repression by the Algerian government against the Berbers! For the immediate release of all imprisoned youth!*

The youth who took to the streets on the 21st anniversary of the 1980 Berber Spring revolt are demanding that their language, Tamazight, be recognized as an official language. They are also protesting against poverty, mass unemployment which hits 30 percent of the population according to official figures (and is much higher among youth), the severe lack of housing, rampant corruption, the disdain and the injustice to which they are constantly subjected by the Algerian state. The country has been bled white by a civil war during which over 100,000 people have been killed by Islamic fundamentalist groups or by the army and its special forces. This war is the consequence of the bankruptcy of the bourgeois nationalists in power. The growth of Islamic fundamentalism into a mass movement reflected in a reactionary way the absence of a communist alternative as well as the obvious dead end of bourgeois nationalism, in particular after the massacre of youth in 1988. We have consistently refused to support either the military regime or the Islamic fundamentalists, whether during the 1992 elections or in the civil war that followed.

Above all, the government fears the working class which is the one social force with the power to lead the Berbers, impoverished peasants, unemployed youth, women and all oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order. On March 20, barely a month before the beginning of the revolt, the oil workers went on strike against the privatization of Sonatrach, and there were work stoppages in other sectors. That day *Le Matin* wrote: "Today, the workers' upsurge deeply worries the Algerian authorities.... What was only a threat by one sector ended up taking on the dimensions of generalized anger."

After the victory against French colonialism and independence in 1962, the country built a fairly significant industrial sector using oil revenue to import entire factories. This created an industrial proletariat in light as well as heavy industries (for instance, the El Hadjar steel complex or the truck plant in Rouiba) and in transportation, which—

together with oil and gas workers who alone produce 35 percent of the GNP—has social power that far outweighs its numerical size. Key to mobilizing labor's power is the forging of internationalist Bolshevik parties, in Algeria and in France. Since independence, the Algerian working class has been subordinated to its own ruling class by bourgeois nationalism. The corporatist leadership of the union federation, the UGTA, is directly linked to the regime, and it ended up denouncing its initial support to the June 7 demonstration in Algiers "in defense of democratic liberties." A Bolshevik party would fight to



Paris, June 17: Tens of thousands demonstrate in solidarity with upheaval against Algerian regime. Workers of North African origin are strategic component of industrial proletariat in France.

break the working class from bourgeois nationalism and win the workers to the program of socialist revolution.

The Algerian nationalists claim that in the crucible of the Algerian War for independence a homogeneous nation was forged. The revolt in Kabylia—along with the discrimination and repression to which the Berbers are continually subjected—clearly exposes this as a lie. Throughout Africa, "nation-building" is simply a synonym for the oppression of minority ethnic or national groups by the dominant one. That national/ethnic antagonisms in Algeria have not dissipated but have deepened under bourgeois-nationalist rule underlines the necessity of overthrowing capitalism as the precondition for national equality and economic development.

Today, the government seeks to divide the working class by exacerbating the dominant nationalism—that of the Arabic-speaking population—against the Berbers. It is necessary to forge a vanguard party of the working class with a program for taking power. Such a party would fight to mobilize the working class, notably the Arabic-speaking workers, in defense of Berber rights. Trotskyists call for complete equality of all languages used in Algeria—Arabic, Berber and French. Down with forced Arabization! The workers in power would accord local Berber-speaking regions the political power to administer local or regional issues, within the framework of policy decided democratically at the national level. At this stage, the various Berber-speaking regions have not consolidated a nation, although this could happen if the repression by the military regime and/or the virulently Arab-chauvinist fundamentalists intensifies.

In Algeria, the Berber nationalist leaders of the RCD and the FFS are completely discredited. The RCD is closely linked to the "eradicator" wing of the army, while the FFS favors "reconciliation" with the Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS. *Le Monde* (29-30 April) reported the FFS' call on the European Union, including France, "to send a mission to investigate on site." While it is true that the Algerian army has committed its share of crimes, calling on French imperialism is truly obscene, particularly at a moment when the media are overflowing with "revelations" about systematic torture and mass murder committed by French imperialism during the Algerian War (see our article in *Le Bolchévique* No. 156, Spring 2001). What the Jospin-

Gayssot popular-front government thinks of Algerian youth can be seen in the deportations of *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] who try to escape the misery and despair of Algeria; in the frame-up trials of so-called "Islamic terrorist networks"; in the stepped-up police terror against revolts by youth of immigrant origin in the ghettos of France itself; and in the exclusion of Muslim girls from high schools for wearing the Islamic head scarf. *French imperialism: Hands off Algeria! Full citizenship rights for all those who make it to France!*

The bankruptcy of the Algerian left has long been evident. Louisa Hanoune's Parti des Travailleurs (PT) has for years been linked with the FIS, from their support to the reactionary strike called by the FIS in 1991 to the 1995 Sant'Egidio alliance with the FIS. During the last election, they were elected with backhanded support from the FIS. The most vicious Islamic fundamentalists were trained by the CIA in Afghanistan to fight the Red Army. The Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS aim to further reinforce the anti-woman *shariah* (Islamic law) which forbids marriage with non-Muslim men, authorizes polygamy, and makes divorce nearly impossible for women (to say nothing of the right to abortion) and relegates them to the permanent status of minors who must "obey" their husbands. The June 4 demonstration in Bejaïa by women against repression testifies to a mobilization of women without precedent since 1962.

As for the Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs (PST)—which is affiliated to the

United Secretariat of which Alain Krivine is a spokesman—they currently have a member who is highly placed in the UGTA bureaucracy. They support the village committees in Kabylia and do not talk about the centrality of the working class. Instead of a party, they propose committees with no class basis, where the bourgeois FFS can be rehabilitated. The PST's whole perspective is to turn the current uprising into a "democratic and social struggle against the regime of tyrants in Algeria," i.e., a struggle which remains within the framework of capitalism. This group has always presented itself as a loyal opposition and has even openly supported the nationalist regime. In the early 1960s, their international leader, Michel Pablo, accepted a post in the Ben Bella regime and remained at his post while the army drowned in blood a revolt in Kabylia in 1963. They constantly try to pressure the military regime to make it more "democratic." The goal of such parliamentary cretinism is to channel all working-class struggle onto the parliamentary terrain. This is a truly suicidal perspective in a country like Algeria devastated by war and under the iron heel of imperialism, where bourgeois democracy is nothing but a pipe dream.

The total bankruptcy of bourgeois nationalism in power is a striking confirmation—in the negative—of the correctness of Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which was confirmed by the experience of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. As we wrote in *Le Bolchévique* (No. 145, Spring 1998) [reprinted in *Workers Vanguard* No. 680, 12 December 1997]:

"Trotsky explained that in economically backward countries, the weak national bourgeoisie—tied by a thousand strings to imperialism and fearful of its 'own' working class—is incapable of realizing the goals of classic bourgeois revolutions like the French Revolution of 1789. He wrote that 'the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses' (*The Permanent Revolution* [1930]). The genuine liberation of colonial and semicolonial countries can only be achieved through the overthrow of capitalism by socialist revolution. If it is not to be strangled by backwardness, poverty and imperialist intervention, this struggle must necessarily be linked to the fight for proletarian revolution in the imperialist heartlands."

Workers of Algerian origin occupy a strategic position in industry in France, notably in auto, and represent a living bridge linking revolutionary struggle in both countries.

For years the Algerian working class has been crushed by a bloody civil war. That war continues, but today there is a tangible possibility of a polarization of society on a class basis. What is needed is complete and unconditional political independence of the working class, embodied in the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party. That is Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution. That is the perspective for which the International Communist League is fighting. ■

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# Labor Department Out of the ATU!

CHICAGO, July 1—Members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) across the country were outraged when their union meetings in May were turned over to agents of the U.S. Department of Labor. The federal agents proceeded to dictate rules for the election of delegates to the ATU international convention in September, the number of delegates to be sent by each local and even the issues they could decide. When Chicago bus drivers arrived at work on June 26, the day of the government-run ATU Local 241 delegate "election," they were greeted by agents wearing Department of Labor badges patrolling the dispatch rooms where ballots were being cast. Angrily gesturing at the Feds, one union official told *Workers Vanguard*, "In 23 years on the property, I've never seen anything like this!"

According to the ATU International's *In Transit* (March-April 2001) magazine, the U.S. government is arrogantly demanding that even the union's Canadian locals bow down to its decrees. The Labor Department reportedly plans to send agents into the convention itself, which will be held in Toronto. In another example of government intrusion, the FBI earlier this year launched an "investigation" of alleged corruption by Chicago ATU Local 308 (rail operations and maintenance). All trade unionists must demand: Government hands off the ATU!

The March 28 federal court order mandating the latest government intervention resulted from a complaint with the Labor Department filed by Local 241 vice pres-

ident Richard Stomper, leading to a government lawsuit which Stomper and other ATUers signed onto. The suit alleged that ATU election procedures violate the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure (Landrum-Griffin) Act, a major weapon in the government's anti-labor arsenal.

Stomper and his allies have invited *increased government control* of the ATU at a time of heightened unrest among transit workers across the country, exemplified by last fall's defiant Los Angeles strike. In the San Francisco Bay Area, where union contracts for the BART transit system expired yesterday, management is trying to shove a giveback contract down the workers' throats. The union tops' response has been to plead with Democratic governor Gray Davis to impose an anti-strike, 60-day "cooling-off" period; he has now taken the initial steps to do so. In Chicago, ATU members have been working without a contract for 18 months. Stomper's role as an agent of the bosses was demonstrated in his scab letter to ATU International president Jim LaSala in May, promising to "put obstacles in the way" of the "moronic adventure" of a strike! The Local 241 and 308 bureaucracies have hogtied this powerful union to a binding arbitration scheme making it "illegal" to strike.

Under the guise of providing a "bill of rights for union members," Landrum-Griffin, like the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, aims to shackle the power of the unions by increasingly placing them under government control. The court suit by Stomper

& Co. nominally targets a provision in the ATU constitution requiring nominees for convention delegate to have attended a certain number of regular union meetings in the previous year. But as we wrote in "Association for Union Democracy: Lawyers for Government Union-Busting" (WV No. 738, 30 June 2000): "The *only* interest the government has in meddling in the unions is to weaken them and reduce their capacity to struggle. Bringing the courts into the unions is counterposed to the very purpose of union democracy: open debate over conflicting strategies in order for the workers to select a leadership which will fight for their class interests *against* the employers and their state.... Labor must clean its own house!"

The same government that Stomper has invited into the ATU smashed the striking PATCO air traffic controllers union in 1981, jailed and assassinated scores of Black Panther Party militants in the '60s and '70s and is driving today toward the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The government is not a "neutral" body but acts as the central executive committee of the capitalist ruling class as a whole, acting to defend capitalist profits and rule through the armed might of the state—the cops, military, courts and prisons. The violence of the capitalist state is a daily reality for the black and Latino population, which makes up an overwhelming percentage of the ATU membership.

This Marxist understanding of the state is anathema to a host of phony labor "reformers," from the anti-communist

Association for Union Democracy, which hailed Stomper's suit, to the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which with the backing of the International Socialist Organization and other reformists abetted the government takeover of the Teamsters. In the San Francisco Bay Area, an outfit publishing the *Transit Worker Frontlines* newsletter in ATU Local 1555 has come out foursquare in favor of the Feds' intervention into the union, defending the move in its May issue as "giving the membership more say." Supporting *Transit Worker Frontlines* is Socialist Alternative (SA), whose faith in the supposedly benign nature of the capitalist state is exemplified by its position that the racist, union-busting cops and prison guards should be part of the trade-union movement.

Chicago transit workers say that the Labor Department's arrogant takeover of union meetings sparked protests by members from the floor, which the ATU leaders tried to squelch. While some local officials hypocritically claim to sympathize with such protests and to oppose the government's intervention, they themselves have tied the union to the capitalists and their state in countless ways, from their support to capitalist Democratic and Republican politicians to forcing the unions into the straitjacket of binding arbitration. To unchain the power of labor, there must be a fight for a new, class-struggle leadership committed to a struggle for the independence of the unions from the capitalists and their government, political parties and courts. ■

## Afghan Connection...

(continued from page 5)

origins, the *Times* studiously avoids citing any direct links between the CIA and bin Laden (or Rahman), omitting even the CIA's role in building the Khost complex.

But facts are stubborn things. When prosecutors in the recent trial introduced an Arab-language "terrorism manual" as evidence of bin Laden's complicity in the embassy bombings, it turned out to be strikingly similar to manuals issued by the CIA to its *contra* assassins and Afghan *mujahedin* in the 1980s. Among the recipes in the CIA manual was one for a bomb—made from a mixture of fertilizer and fuel oil—of the kind that blew a 200-foot-wide gash in one of the World Trade Center twin towers. That bomb was built by an FBI informant!

The Feds also produced a witness in the embassy bombing trial to testify that bin Laden once tried to buy uranium on the black market in Sudan. But the Islamic Afghan war veterans already have plenty of "weapons of mass destruction" courtesy of their former American patrons. It's estimated that over 500 Stingers "went missing" after the 1989 Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Bin Laden alone allegedly has at least a dozen of these sophisticated missiles.

A *New York Times* (18 June) profile on U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White, a Clinton appointee, noted that virtually all of the investigations and prosecutions against "Islamic terrorism" have been run out of her New York City jurisdiction—including the bombing of the *Cole* in Yemen! This is no accident. The New York FBI and CIA offices were the linchpin for recruitment of *mujahedin* in the U.S., largely organized through the Alkifah Refugee Center ("a small office in Brooklyn"). In her book *A Portrait of Egypt*, Mary Anne Weaver reports that a leading Egyptian official told her that



In face of Cold War II launched by Democrat Carter over 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Trotskyists fought for unconditional military defense of USSR.

Alkifah was "a front organization for the CIA during the jihad: money, he said, had been laundered through it, weapons transferred, and Arab Americans recruited and trained."

Fanatical even by the standards of the *mujahedin*, the Taliban militia was born and bred under the patronage of the ISI secret police in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. The Taliban ultimately emerged as the strongest of the *mujahedin* factions in the internecine feuding that broke out after the downfall of the PDPA regime. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia viewed the Taliban—Sunni Muslims based on the Pashtun, the largest of the local ethnic groupings—as a force for stability in Afghanistan and a counterweight to Shiite Iran.

For these reasons, the U.S. also supported the Taliban's rise to power. But Washington had an additional interest in supporting a strong central government under Taliban rule. The American-based Unocal Oil was seriously investigating the idea of building a pipeline through

Afghanistan to exploit rich natural gas and oil fields being opened up in Central Asia. There wasn't a word of criticism from Washington when the Taliban forced thousands of girls to leave school after capturing Herat in 1995 or when it seized Kabul a year later and subjected women to virtual house arrest under the Islamic stricture of *pardah* (seclusion). On the contrary, the Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia averred that "it is not in the interests of Afghanistan or any of us here that the Taliban be isolated."

In late 1997, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright signaled a shift in U.S. policy by cynically chastising the Afghan rulers for their treatment of women. The Taliban regime had refused to accede to U.S. demands to hand over bin Laden, and the economics of the proposed Unocal pipeline no longer added up. As well, the plight of Afghan women under Taliban rule had become something of a cause among U.S. liberals and feminists, who had earlier supported the *mujahedin* against the Soviet intervention force.

Washington imposed economic sanctions on Afghanistan, deepening the starvation and devastation resulting from nearly two decades of civil war and exacerbated by a recent drought. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to fund rival *mujahedin* warlord Shah Massoud, another old CIA friend who controls a small slice of northern Afghanistan.

The U.S.-backed war of terror against the Red Army in Afghanistan forced five million people to flee the country, devastated what economy and infrastructure had been built up during the Soviet presence and led to the re-enslavement of Afghan women. That war paved the way to capitalist counterrevolution throughout the Soviet Union and East Europe, reducing tens of millions of working people there to penury. From the Algerian Armed Islamic Group to the Islamic Jihad in Egypt, the "Arab Afghans" spawned and nurtured by the anti-Soviet war went on to foment reactionary movements elsewhere, capitalizing on popular hatred for brutal nationalist regimes and the imperialist austerity measures they impose.

Today, the U.S. cynically declares war on "Islamic terror" in order to impose its will on oppressed peoples around the world. While Osama bin Laden and his ilk are plenty sinister, the most dangerous terrorists on the face of the planet are America's capitalist rulers. Indeed, mass terror to suppress any semblance of social revolution by the worker and peasant masses is integral to the defense of this system based on exploitation of the many by the few.

The horrors produced by U.S. imperialism's "holy war" against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan lay bare that the capitalist system long ago ceased to be an agency for social progress and became instead a breeding ground for barbaric reaction. They put in sharp relief the Marxist understanding that the choices facing humanity are socialism or barbarism. We fight to reforge a Trotskyist Fourth International to lead the proletariat in the U.S. and around the world to victory in new October Revolutions. ■



## FTAA...

(continued from page 7)

serve to draw youth who have a gut hatred of the inequality of the world into the idea that the imperialist powers can be pressured, that they can act in the interest of the oppressed masses. Much of the anti-FTAA protest in Quebec was in defense of Canadian "democracy," targeting U.S. imperialism as the main enemy—this included signs saying "Yankees Go Home." This is the logic of the anti-globalization movement, which posits that the central evil of transnational corporations is to undermine "national sovereignty"—in other words, to undermine the interests of their own capitalist rulers. In the U.S., the central leaders of the anti-globalization protests define their goals as pressuring U.S. imperialism to be the benefactor of the oppressed of the world. For example, at a teach-in on the anti-FTAA protest I went to in New York a couple of months ago, the maximum program of the major speaker was to write letters to your congressman. This was a meeting run by the Green Party and the reformist socialist group the International Socialist Organization, and it is a testament to just how craven they are that they did not speak against such thoroughly pro-capitalist politics.

As a comrade said in a forum on imperialism and the way the U.S. postures as defenders of human rights, during the Vietnam antiwar movement one

concern for the Kosovar Albanians. We were for the defeat of our own ruling class in that war and worked to expose the "human rights" pretensions that the U.S. donned in order to gain popular support for their military destruction of Serbia. The imperialists' hypocrisy in that conflict is laid bare now as they denounce as terrorists the Albanian KLA, which during the war against Serbia operated as the pawns of NATO imperialism.

The fake lefts' and rad-libs' embrace of their own imperialist rulers was expressed in their support for the imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary forces aimed at the destruction of the USSR and the East European deformed workers states a decade ago. In this case, too, they embraced the imperialist bourgeoisie as a force for democracy and human rights. We fought for the unconditional military defense of these states, which embodied real gains for the working class despite the Stalinist bureaucracies. A simple empirical demonstration of this can be seen in the social devastation caused by the counterrevolutions—this includes the dramatic plunge in life expectancy, the 20-fold increase in the poverty rate and the gutting of women's right to abortion in those countries. In a statement put out by the ICL for the Prague protests, we pointed out that the IMF and World Bank wouldn't even have been meeting in Prague if it weren't for the capitalist counterrevolution, a fact which gave pause to young Czech leftists politicized by the depredations of capitalism who



Herppich/Cincinnati Enquirer

**Police state of siege in Cincinnati ghettos in April. Cop terror is daily reality for black people in the ghetto. Fight against capitalist imperialism must go hand in hand with struggle for black freedom.**

immigrants or gays is "divisive." Grotesquely calling the fight for these rights "identity politics," they argue that these have been subsumed by struggle against the global economy. In reality, this is just a justification for their own view of the benevolence of the capitalist state. And in fact, as seen in the Nader campaign, it can be a conscious choice to not deal with black oppression and to appeal to people who are not anti-racist.

### "Unity" vs. Program

Today the battle cry of the rad-libs and the left is to "fight the right," which is a longtime codeword for supporting the Democrats. But almost every major war fought by the U.S. in the 20th century was fought under, or at least begun under, a liberal Democratic president, not a right-wing Republican one: World War I under Woodrow Wilson, World War II under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Korean War under Harry Truman and the Vietnam War under John F. Kennedy. All of these wars were fought in the name of liberal principles; World War I was supposed to be "the war to make the world safe for democracy," World War II was billed as a war against fascism, the Korean and Vietnam Wars were fought in the name of defending the "free world."

Today's youth came to political consciousness after the fall of the USSR, when the bourgeoisie has been loudly declaring communism to be "a failed experiment." We have grown up with images designed to portray U.S. imperialism as liberating people all over the world. The big one that most youth would remember was the Persian Gulf War in 1991, where terror bombing of civilians was carefully orchestrated by the war machine to appear like a bloodless video game—at all costs avoiding the effect of the images that came out of the Vietnam War. In fact, those photographs that did document some of the horrors were suppressed, the imagery surfacing only years later. This was followed by the occupation of Somalia in 1992, supposedly to relieve the famine raging there but in fact to set up a near-colonial military occupation. Then came the 1995 war in the Balkans, the war in Kosovo supposedly in defense of the Kosovar Albanians in 1999, the continued bombings and UN starvation sanctions against Iraq.

The left has actually abetted the imperialist rulers in this grotesque manipulation, as I indicated earlier with reference to the war against Serbia. So it's not surprising that youth just becoming political will think along the lines of the dominant ideology, and that their expressions of outrage will be framed within what they think is possible, namely, to build an inclusive movement whose main intent is to pressure the rulers.

But just looking at the enormity of the suffering around the world under imperialism serves to explode these illusions. 2.8 billion people—nearly half of the world's population—live on less than \$2 a day. And 1.2 billion of these live on less than \$1 a day. Of course, this is not

limited to other countries; in New York City alone, over 34 percent of the city's children live under the poverty line. The numbers of those living in desperate poverty has risen steadily since the late '80s in Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America; in the countries of East Europe and Central Asia following capitalist counterrevolutions, the number of people living in poverty has risen 20 times. More than one billion people drink unsafe water and 2.4 billion, or 40 percent of the human race, are without adequate sanitation.

Youth are being propelled into struggle to fight against the very real depredations that define the lives of millions around the world. And a section rejects the abject reformism of the left that pushes the lie that the Democrats are some kind of alternative. This is the oldest shell game of politics in the United States. The Democrats—often the preferred tool of the capitalist rulers because they posture as the friends of labor and blacks—are the velvet glove on the fist of the bourgeoisie.

It's not surprising that the most left-wing youth in the anti-FTAA protests identify with anarchism, given the ideological campaign by the world's imperialist rulers to assert that communism was a failed experiment. For those who genuinely seek the overthrow of bourgeois rule, anarchism's appeal is a healthy rejection of the reformism of the rest of the left. Lenin himself was denounced as an anarchist when he called for a workers revolution in Russia in 1917. As he put it in his book *The State and Revolution*: "The opportunists of modern Social Democracy accepted the bourgeois political forms of a parliamentary, democratic state as the limit which cannot be overstepped; they broke their foreheads praying before this idol denouncing as Anarchism every attempt to *destroy* these forms."

Our aim is a revolutionary leadership, whose cadre must be tested in the class struggle. The way forward is for the presently small forces adhering to the program of Lenin and Trotsky to forge parties with the experience, revolutionary will and authority among the masses to lead successful proletarian revolutions. We have no illusions that this will be an easy road, and we recognize that the possession of the technology of nuclear holocaust by an irrational and genocidal ruling class means we don't have a lot of time. The SYCs are training grounds to educate and prepare a new generation of youth for the fight to overthrow the imperialist rulers and bring the workers to state power. ■



WV Photo

**Spartacist contingent marches in October 1990 New York City demonstration against U.S. invasion of Persian Gulf. U.S. imperialists' "human rights" campaign means continued bombings, starvation blockade of Iraq.**

never had to argue that American imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples. This was accepted as a truism by youthful radicals who were propelled into protest by U.S. imperialism's dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants and also by the massive civil rights protests for black rights.

An example of the ways illusions in imperialism are pushed internationally in this "movement" can be found in a look at the official call for a "global day of action" in Prague for the protests against the World Bank and IMF last September, which proclaimed outrage on behalf of the world's oppressed but failed to mention, among other things, the economic, social and ecological devastation wreaked on the Balkans by the war the year before. Why? Because many of those same leftists supported the imperialist war against Serbia in the name of "humanitarian"

were startled to discover that the supposedly revolutionary parties they joined had supported the counterrevolutions a decade ago.

### The Fight Against Black Oppression

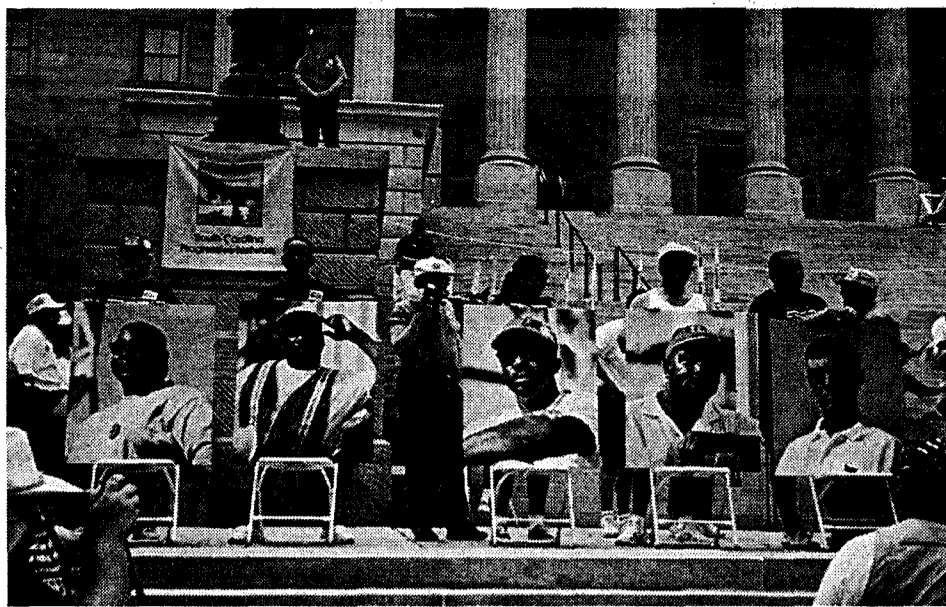
I have motivated the point that you don't have to be against capitalism to be against "globalization," and that's why you have everything from anti-Mexican, anti-Chinese, pro-capitalist labor leaders to leftist youth with a desire for social change involved with the anti-globalization protests. However, the fact that this "movement" cannot address social questions within the U.S. is its greatest condemnation. It has been noted in the *Village Voice* and *ColorLines*, as well as in activist chat rooms including after Quebec, that this "movement" is overwhelmingly white. Many of the more leftist youth who have come to these protests are upset about this. But to place the blame for oppression simply on transnational corporations and thereby amnesty the very vicious U.S. imperialist state must seem surreal to black youth who face cop terror every day. And these youth are not likely to go in for "direct action," when they know what awaits them at the hands of the cops.

Some organizers of the protests blatantly argue that the fight for black rights or against the oppression of women or

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**NOTICE**  
**Workers Vanguard skips  
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July and August.**  
**Our next issue will  
be dated August 3.**



WV Photo

Portraits on Columbia rally stage of five ILA Local 1422 members facing felony charges.

## Charleston...

(continued from page 16)

at Republican state attorney general Charles Condon, a notoriously racist union-buster who rails that the ILA picket line was a "brutal mob riot" and is trying to ride the prosecution of the Charleston Five into the governor's mansion this November. Not one of the official speakers pointed to the role of Hodges and other Democratic politicians, including Charleston mayor Joseph Riley, in enforcing the anti-union "open shop." Yet it was Riley's liberal police chief, Reuben Greenberg, who organized the massive cop onslaught last year and was praised by the mayor because it was "better to be over-prepared than under-prepared!"

With Bush, surrounded by open admirers of the old Confederacy, in the White House, the union bureaucracy—which is itself a component of the Democratic Party—is campaigning virtually full-time for Democrats who posture as "friends of labor." But while the Republi-

cans openly repress the working people and minorities, the Democrats lie and do the same thing. Today, Southern Democrats rely on black voters to get elected. But it was their Dixiecrat forebears who placed the Confederate banner atop the State House in South Carolina and elsewhere in the first place as a symbol of racist defiance of the mass civil rights struggles for black equality and integration. And before that, it was the Democrats who enacted the "right to work" laws—which remain in place to this day—aimed at keeping the South free of unions. Those laws were the outgrowth of an entrenched apparatus of segregation and oppression, from the post-Civil War "Black Codes" and "anti-vagrancy" laws to the sharecropping system and prison chain gangs (see "The Fight to Unionize the 'Open Shop' South," *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 16, January 2001).

The Longshoremen's Protective Union Association, formed by Charleston stevedores in 1867, was the first labor organization of black workers. As a speaker

## PDC Speaker: Labor Must Fight for Mumia's Freedom

We print below a speech at the pre-march rally in Columbia on June 9 by Gene Herson, labor coordinator of the Partisan Defense Committee.

We're in solidarity with the Charleston Five. People should realize this is not just a matter of five brothers who have to be defended. This is a historic issue of fighting for unions in the South. That means fighting against the racial oppression that exists in this country. Racial oppression and union-busting and the fight against labor are directly connected.

The fight to defend the Charleston Five must be turned into an assault by labor to organize South Carolina and the South. That same power must be used to also defend America's most important prisoner, a man on death row. They want legal lynching to take place. As sure as the judges and the cops want to throw a rope over that

tree, they want to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal.

We must use the power of labor that's here today and multiply it by millions to free him. He has fired his lawyers and hired new lawyers, and they have come forward with new evidence—another man has said he did the shooting of the policeman who Mumia was falsely accused of killing. But the government has not allowed that testimony to be heard.

We must use our power here, our independent power: No reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians! They have lied to us and they have oppressed us. This whole issue is about the power used on the picket line on the docks of Charleston. That power must be used to defend the Charleston Five. That power must be used to free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Workers to power! Thank you.

for the Partisan Defense Committee underlined in appealing for support for death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in a pre-march rally, labor rights and black rights go hand in hand. As we wrote in our earlier article on the Charleston ILA struggle:

"Just as at the start of the Civil War the Confederate slaveowners turned their guns on Fort Sumter, a Union Army stronghold in Charleston harbor, today the capitalists aim their fire at the ILA because it is a bulwark of black labor power in the South. The ILA union hall dominates the Charleston port, a symbol of this union's position as a beacon to working people and the black masses."

The ILA's successful battle against the Nordana/Winyah bosses last year has since led to efforts to organize non-union workers at Winyah and beyond the waterfront to public employees in the Charleston tri-county area, while Port Authority crane operators, who are barred from

joining unions, have sought and received help from Local 1422 in their contract negotiations. From the earliest labor struggles to the fight against Nordana last year, every gain achieved by working people has been wrested from the employers through class struggle, not through lobbying capitalist politicians or appealing to the capitalist courts.

The defense of ILA Local 1422 against racist union-busting must be the cause of all labor. The fight to extend union power throughout the "open shop" South requires a class-struggle leadership whose starting point is the understanding that the interests of labor and capital are diametrically counterposed. Only when those who labor rule will there be an end to union-busting and racist oppression. **Drop all charges against the Charleston Five! Break with the Democrats—Build a workers party that fights for all the exploited and oppressed!** ■



Mike Smith/Post and Courier

January 2000: Union-busting assault by cops against mass ILA picket on Charleston waterfront.

## Mumia...

(continued from page 3)

undermined real support for Mumia's defense, as reflected in the dwindling size of demonstrations even as his case has become more urgent. Many militant workers, youth and ghetto and barrio poor who want to strike a blow against the racist injustice system are repelled by such politics. Many others have been demobilized and demoralized by making Jamal's defense dependent simply on the decisions of the capitalist courts.

The ruling class is not impressed by bluffs, but only by real threats to its property and class rule. What's needed is militant strike action in Jamal's defense by the multiracial working class, showing the way forward for all the oppressed, by demonstrating their power to shut off the capitalists' profits and bring "the system" to a halt. The April 24, 1999 ILWU Local 10 one-day West Coast longshore work stoppage in defense of Jamal points in the right direction, though it was undermined by the union tops' allegiance to the capitalist Democratic Party, as our leaflet explained.

When Pennsylvania governor Ridge signed the death warrant against Jamal in the summer of 1995, the PDC and its fraternal organizations abroad were crucial to extending the international wave of protest, from the dockworkers of Hamburg to the black metalworkers of Johannesburg. As the scheduled date of execution neared, the PDC initiated emergency united-front protests in New

York City, Chicago and Oakland, Australia and Canada, centered on bringing to bear the power of organized labor. The protests drew hundreds of trade unionists and were endorsed by dozens of unions and labor officials. This outpouring of protest was the crucial factor in winning a stay of execution. Likewise, it was no accident that a second stay in October 1999 was granted three days after a PDC-initiated united-front mobilization centered on labor/black power brought thousands out to drive the KKK out of New York City.

As the new evidence underlines, the ruling-class drive to kill Jamal exposes the fact that the capitalist state is not neutral but a machine of organized violence against the exploited and oppressed. This understanding is key to winning Mumia's freedom—through the independent mobilization of the working class and oppressed against the class enemy, on the road to winning their own emancipation. As our contingent chanted on May 12th: "Labor/Black power is the key! Smash the rule of the bourgeoisie!" This is what the LBL fights for. Join us! ■

### NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League's public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. Please contact the NYSL at (212) 267-1025 if you are interested in meeting or picking up literature.

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## Berlin Social Democrats Administer Capitalist Austerity

The following article is translated and abridged from Spartakist (No. 144, Summer 2001), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

### SPARTAKIST

On June 16, the Berlin Social Democratic Party (SPD) terminated its coalition with the Christian Democrats (CDU) after ten years of joint attacks on the working class. Now an SPD/Green transition government is governing with the support of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism—social-democratic successor to the East German Stalinist SED], with SPDer Klaus Wowereit as mayor. This provoked an anti-Communist outcry. Michael Peter Glos of the right-wing Christian Socialists (CSU) ranted, “It is shameful for Germany that the SPD is now even pursuing collaboration with the successor party of the SED in the federal capital” (*Berliner Morgenpost*, 16 June). The SPD was also polarized: Berlin SPD representative Anneliese Neef called for abstention on the no-confidence vote in the Berlin House of Representatives. “She is not here to enable ‘the heirs of the SED and wall builders’ to share power again” (*Berliner Morgenpost*, 17 June).

The reason for this was—as *Der Spiegel* put it—“the biggest bank scandal in the history of the Federal Republic” (11 June). Former CDU minister Landowsky played a central role as a board member in driving the Berlin Bank Association to ruin, bestowing preferred credits and “favors” on party friends. With the CDU now exposed, the SPD is posing as Mr. Clean. But they are just as involved in the scandal.

Naturally, for us Marxists—and for any other thinking person in this city—it is clear that bourgeois politics is corrupt through and through. But what is explosive about this scandal is the scale of the corruption relative to the fundamental attacks on the living standards of the working population of Berlin. Berlin already had a budget deficit of about 63 billion DM; now another 7 billion has been added. Of the 450,000 industrial jobs that used to exist in Berlin, 320,000 have been destroyed in the last ten years. Unemployment rates are 25 percent in the eastern part of the city, in the West more than 12 percent, and among immigrants without a German passport 40 percent. Berlin already has the lowest number of hospital beds, libraries and sports facilities per inhabitant but the highest number of welfare recipients. Accompanying this growing social dynamite, there are more cops than in any other large city. They are the armed thugs of the bourgeois state who daily carry out racist state terror, like on May Day when they attacked the working class and the left. At the same time, the current SPD/Green City Council is still committed to rebuilding Berlin as the German imperialist metropolis of pomp and splendor.

#### No Vote for the SPD, PDS!

The SPD is now getting strategically important backing from the PDS. [PDS head Gregor] Gysi is saying he wants above all to put an end to the “corruption of politics and the economy”...together with the SPD! The PDS sees the upcoming elections as its chance

to jointly govern the capital city, Berlin, with the SPD as they are already doing in the states of Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. They see Berlin as a springboard for the upcoming federal elections, so they can get closer to their goal of administering German imperialism nationally, also in a “center-left” coalition with the SPD. They want to prove themselves in the eyes of the bourgeoisie in Berlin.

What that means was made clear by Klaus Wowereit: “We have to cut back the administration further and also save on opera halls and university clinics” (*Der Spiegel* interview, 11 June). In the last few years, 60,000 public service employ-



Berlin, March 12: Workers protest closure of Moabit Hospital. Sign reads: “We Demand Job Security!”

ees have been fired. Hospitals took massive cuts in the number of beds and even whole wards, and Moabit Hospital is practically already closed. Now the Charité-Mitte, Urban Hospital, Benjamin Franklin Clinic and Neukölln Hospital are slated for attack. Most of these hospitals are in districts with large immigrant populations. As noted in an SpAD May Day leaflet, “For a Trade Union Fight Against SPD/Green Attacks!”, Moabit was one of the few hospitals with doctors who spoke Turkish, and was especially important for ethnic minorities in this city. This gives a small taste of the “hard cuts” the PDS, with its “social responsibility,” wants to shove down the throats of the workers and oppressed in this city.

Since the PDS is not involved like the SPD in the current scandal, it is in a position to be an effective instrument for the attacks. The newspaper *Junge Welt* quoted the Berlin PDS fraction chairman, Harald Wolf, “That the switch in government was necessary above all to create the acceptance required for the ‘painful incisions’” (29 May). Just as we did in the 1998 federal elections, we call now for: **No vote for the SPD or PDS in the coming elections!**

The PDS’ craving to govern—it’s now showing its “competence” by suggesting the biggest “money saving” package of all—is being met with disgust inside the PDS and among leftist youth and workers who look to the PDS as an alternative. Every day *Junge Welt*, mouthpiece of the PDS left, publishes articles critical of the PDS, letters to the editor reflecting the indignation of the PDS rank and file, and letters of resignation. This has brought out the PDS “left,” which spreads the lie that pressure from the rank and file can make the PDS into an instrument for the interests of the working class. So among other things *Junge Welt* printed the declaration of the leadership of the Hamburg

PDS, with the title “Those Who Are Driven by Anger, Stay—A Call from Hamburg on Members of the PDS to Stay in the Party.” Here they call for saving the “socialist perspective” of the PDS (*Junge Welt*, 21 June). But the PDS, just like the SPD, is a bourgeois workers party, i.e., it has a proletarian base but a thoroughly bourgeois program. It assists the SPD in controlling the trade unions. Exactly because of the illusions that the workers and left have in the PDS, it is a particularly effective **obstacle** to the defense of even the most elementary interests of the workers in Berlin against the “money saving” attacks of the bourgeoisie. It is an

**obstacle** to the fight for a proletarian revolution, which is the only way to end capitalist misery. Workers and leftist youth must **break** from the SPD and PDS and **not** “stay” there. What we need is a multi-ethnic revolutionary workers party. We Spartacists are committed to building such a party.

We say also: **No vote for the bourgeois Greens!** Together with the SPD, they led the imperialist bombing war against Serbia as part of NATO. And it was the SPD/Green government that mobilized 30,000 cops last year to club and beat their way through the resistance of many thousands to transport atomic waste.

When Wowereit heard that conservative publisher Springer’s rag *Bild* wanted to make a scandal out of his being gay, he found himself compelled to go public. The CDU immediately kindled a reactionary homophobic campaign against Wowereit. Berlin’s ex-Senator for Internal Affairs, Schönbohm, implicitly attacked the SPD/Green law which makes the small concession of allowing the official registration of homosexual partnerships. Even this law, which essentially formalizes discrimination against gays and lesbians, goes too far for these reactionaries. We communists fight for full democratic rights for homosexuals.

Simultaneously, the CDU is trying to win back lost ground by whipping up an anti-Communist campaign against the PDS. CDU fraction head Steffel stated that the SPD wanted to “feed [the city] to the Communists” (*Der Spiegel*, 11 June). Ex-chancellor Helmut Kohl will be intervening in the Berlin electoral campaign, even though [CDU head Angela] Merkel & Co. are very much afraid that the ex-chancellor of the illegal donations scandal will cost more votes than he brings. Kohl stated, “Whoever courts the successors to the SED as if there had never been a Berlin Wall

and barbed wire, incriminates himself” (*Financial Times Deutschland*, 17 June). And the PDS is trying to prove itself “worthy to govern” by making anti-Communist “apologies” for the building of the wall in 1961. This is their contribution to the anti-Communist witchhunt against the DDR [East Germany], the purpose of which is to criminalize any fight against capitalism. The wall was a bureaucratic measure by the Stalinist bureaucracy against the economic bleeding of the East German deformed workers state by West German imperialism. Against the German bourgeoisie, we Trotskyists defended the wall.

In fact, the social misery of the city of Berlin is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the DDR deformed workers state, where the German bourgeoisie had been expropriated and the economy socialized. West Berlin was the anti-Communist propaganda showcase and bulwark of West German imperialism. A relatively high level of industry and infrastructure was maintained through special subsidies. After the counterrevolution, Berlin’s Cold War intravenous nutrition was cut off. East Berlin’s industry, which provided hundreds of thousands with jobs and livelihoods, was destroyed by the vindictive German bourgeoisie, as was industry throughout the entire ex-DDR. At the same time, in West Berlin one industrial plant after another was closed or drastically reduced. Today miles of industrial ruins line the banks of the river Spree, and the long lines in front of the unemployment and social welfare offices give witness to the counterrevolution’s devastation.

The PDS, with its slogans “We Are One People 1:1” and “Germany, One Fatherland,” was decisive in driving the pro-Communist workers of the DDR into the counterrevolution in 1990. We Trotskyists were the only party that said clearly, “No to capitalist reunification!” and fought with all means available to our International against it. We warned then that a capitalist reunification would carry the counterrevolution to Moscow and mean mass unemployment, strengthening of the fascists and the danger of new wars. We were proved right in a most bitter way.

Hard class struggle is needed today against the massive attacks of the bourgeoisie, their capitalist SPD/Green government and their governing Senate in Berlin. That requires forging an international, revolutionary, multiethnic workers party that fights to overthrow and expropriate the bourgeoisie through a socialist revolution and to construct a rational planned economy. For a red Germany of workers councils! Join us! ■



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## South Carolina

# Thousands Rally to Defend Charleston Longshoremen

Upwards of 4,000 trade unionists and other defenders of black and labor rights from throughout the South and across the country marched and rallied in Columbia, South Carolina on June 9 to demand: "Free the Charleston Five! Drop the Charges Now!" The Charleston Five—Kenneth Jefferson, Elijah Forde Jr., Peter Washington Jr., Rick Simmons and John Edgerton—are members of International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) Local 1422 who are under house arrest and face up to five years in prison on bogus felony riot charges for defending their union picket line against a massive police assault.

On 20 January 2000, Locals 1422, 1422A and 1771 mobilized on the Charleston waterfront to stop attempts by the Nordana shipping company to use the non-union Winyah stevedoring outfit to unload one of its ships. These workers were met by an army of 600 municipal, county and state police, including prison guards, clad in riot gear and backed up with armored vehicles and helicopters. Firing tear gas, shot grenades and pellet bags, the cops waded into the largely black union picket swinging long wooden clubs and arrested eight workers (see "Charleston ILA Battles Racist Union-Busting Assault," WV No. 728, 28 January 2000).

In a protest statement issued the day of the cop attack, the Partisan Defense Committee noted that only three days earlier, Local 1422 had participated in a 50,000-strong protest in Columbia demanding the removal of the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK terror from atop the State House: "The cops who were mobilized from across the state to enforce the

**June 9: As trade unionists from around the country streamed into Columbia to demand freedom for Charleston Five, labor tops preached reliance on capitalist Democratic Party.**



Nordana shipping bosses' efforts to bust the ILA union brought home what this flag represents—the 'open shop' enforced through racist terror of the cops and their KKK auxiliaries."

The Charleston ILA's defiant stand, which forced Nordana to pull back from its scabberding efforts a month later, inspired longshoremen and other workers around the world. Speakers at the June 9 rally included a representative of the International Transport Workers Federation from Sweden and a South Korean trade unionist who spoke about their battle against the mass layoffs threatened at Daewoo in the face of a GM takeover.

After ILA International president

John Bowers spoke, trumpeting that he would march into the courtroom with the Charleston Five the day the trial begins, longshoremen in the crowd chanted, "Shut the ports down! Shut the ports down!" But the union bureaucrats' purpose in organizing the rally was not to organize labor action in defense of the Charleston ILAers but to create a vehicle for promoting Democratic Party politicians. In a statement building for the demonstration, the South Carolina Progressive Network glowingly wrote that "labor helped elect the first Democratic governor in South Carolina in 12 years." The liberals and labor tops brag that they brought back into office the Democratic

Party which for decades ran the state as a bastion of Jim Crow segregation and the "open shop." Grotesquely symbolizing that message was the fact that the rally was held not on the Charleston waterfront but outside the State House, right under the Confederate flag which had been moved there in a "compromise" worked out last year by Democratic governor Jim Hodges.

The labor tops sought to diminish the real story of what happened on the Charleston waterfront—class struggle against the employers and the armed thugs of their capitalist state apparatus. The union officials aimed all their fire

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## Statement by Mumia Abu-Jamal: Defend the Charleston Five!

*The following statement to the Columbia rally was issued by Mumia on June 6.*

In this day and age the sight of black suited, jack booted, billy club wielding riot cops assaulting the citizenry they are allegedly sworn to protect, evokes images of WTO protests in Seattle, or other conflicts where youth protested against the globalist menace. We have come to expect it, unfortunately.

When workers strike or form informational picket lines we don't expect this response. Rarely is such an image reflected in our history books even though such attacks were as common as rain showers in April.

The brutal unprovoked and unjustified attack on members of the ILA Locals 1422, 1422A and 1771 in Charleston proves to us that history ain't long gone.

This vicious clubbing of ILA 1422

President, Ken Riley, by Charleston riot police and the false riot charges lodged against the Charleston Five proves once again how history repeats itself. We live in a new century yet the earnest and hard fought conflict between labor and capital continues unabated.

ILA's picket line was a righteous response to the violation of a labor contract that assured that shippers at the port at Charleston would use union labor. For daring to protect their just bargaining rights and the right of working people to a living wage ILA's leaders are beaten, its members imprisoned on trumped up charges and a proud historic union is maligned in the corporate press.

I support the Charleston longshoremen's fight for freedom to protest free from state violation and judicial repression.

All working people should unite behind this union fight in defense of the First Amendment right to assembly and protest and to defend the right to fight for compliance with a broken shattered contract.

When the Danish ship owner Nordana brought in non-union scabs to work the jobs, they created an affront to union members accustomed to loading and unloading.

Charleston was once a flash point of great civil conflict in this nation that raged into a war. The rich and powerful planters thought nothing of forcing tens of thousands of people, men, women and children to labor for free for centuries. The war has ended. But there remains bitter resentment over the simple demand that laboring people be paid a living wage in accordance with their contract.



WV Photo

Let Charleston once again spark a conflict where the right of working people is first, is fundamental, and is respected. Throw out the charges against the Charleston Five and leave labor alone.

I thank you. Ona move. Long live John Africa.

Your union brother, Mumia.