As one grisly massacre follows another in Algeria, the area south of the capital, Algiers, has become known as the “Triangle of Death.” Hundreds of defenseless villagers have been killed and mutilated and scores of women kidnapped in recent weeks, bringing the toll in the five-year civil war between the military-backed nationalist regime and Islamic fundamentalists to more than 100,000. Intent on achieving a stable “business climate” for exploitation of Algeria’s vast oil and natural gas resources, the imperialist powers are pressuring President Liamine Zeroual and the military to form a coalition government with the FIS.

On September 24, the Army of Islamic Salvation (AIS), the military arm of the FIS, called on its followers to “stop combat operations” for the first time in the civil war. The unilateral truce was declared two months after Zeroual ordered the release of imprisoned FIS leader Abassi Madani and was reportedly part of a deal to integrate AIS mujahedin (holy warriors) into Zeroual’s armed forces. Yet, the bloodletting has only accelerated.

Both the rival fundamentalists of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and hardline “eradicateurs” in the army and police are intent on scuttling any deal between Zeroual and the FIS. The latest wave of massacres, mainly targeting villages in the mass of the population. Amid the maelstrom of cruel atrocities on both sides, urban workers and poor peasants chafe under austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and enforced by the military-backed regime. Wages have plummeted by more than a third in the past three years, while necessities which were previously subsidized by the state have become virtually inaccessible. Masses of youth with no hope of a job line the streets of the cities, providing a ready audience for the fundamentalists’ demagogic appeals. Even official unemployment figures range to 30 percent, and 150,000 more workers face layoffs as the government moves to privatize hundreds of public enterprises next year.

One of the most shocking massacres occurred in early 1992, when the Algerian regime responded to the revolt with a murderous state of siege. Commando units, known as “ninjas,” terrorize the plebeian quarters of the cities while villages have been subjected to napalm bombing, helicopter gunship attacks and artillery barrages. For their part, the Islamic fundamentalists have particularly targeted unveiled women, trade unionists, teachers and journalists.

Survivors of September massacre which left 85 dead in Bentalha, near Algiers. Death toll has topped 100,000 in five-year civil war between army and Islamic fundamentalists.

Yet the parties of the Algerian left, historically characterized by servile tailoring of the bourgeois-nationalist National Liberation Front (FLN), have hinted their wagons to one or another side in the bloody civil war. The remnants of Algerian Stalinism—Ettahaddi (Chal­lenge) and the PAIDS (Algerian Party for Democracy and Socialism)—march in lockstep behind the hardline érada­ceurs. The Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs (PST—Socialist Workers Party), linked to the fake-Trotskyist Party, workers party, linked to the fake-Trotskyist Party, workers (PT—Workers Party), followed by French reformist Pierre Lambert, has gone so far as to embrace the FIS. At bottom, these political tendencies place their faith in the good offices of the French bourgeoisie and particularly in its current Socialist-led government, which enforces neocolonial exploitation in Algeria while presiding over vicious racist terror against North African and African minorities in France.

The International Communist League fights to build Trotskyist parties on both sides of the Mediterranean to sweep away French imperialism and its despotist lackeys in Algeria. Key to this is irreconcilable opposition to the racist, class-collaborationist popular front headed by Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, continued on page 8
Zionism, Islamic Fundamentalism and the Arab Bourgeois Regimes

Los Angeles 1 December 1997

Dear Comrades,

In "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf!" (WV No. 679, 28 November), we wrote: "The U.S. has now continued its bloody expansionist campaigns against the Palestinians, which have fueled the threat posed to Arab regimes like Mubarak's by Islamic fundamentalists." The sentence, in and of itself, is correct. The problem with it is that it lets the Arab bourgeoisies far too easily off the hook. While Zionist expansionism (as well as the PLO's acceptance of the "peace accords") increased the credibility of necessity for a revolutionary workers party.

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Bureaucracy of Death

"As a general rule, a man is undone by waiting for capital punishment to begin before it is done. Two deaths are inflicted on him, the first being worse than the second, whereas a kill [by law enforcement] constitutes such murder as the penalty of retaliation seems like a civilized law. It never claimed that a man who gougéd one of his brother's eyes be would be blindly touched.

—Albert Camus, Resistance, Rebellion and Death (1969)

Death row, for most Americans, is more than a reality most do not know. It is a reality that most don’t want to touch.

It is thus an abstraction, a phrase that is used in speech, but one generally ignored in real life. It is a place seldom seen, its inhabitants seen seldom but at best, and perhaps monsters at worst, whose duty it is to die, preferably quietly.

To be more precise, their job is not to simply “die,” but to be killed by state officials who are trained and paid well to do the killing.

American University scholar Robert Johnstone writes in his newest book, Death Work: A Study of the Modern Execution Process (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth [1998]), that the American way of death is intentional and premeditated torture, the purpose of which is to drive those on death row to a dubious relief in death.

This drive to death, Johnstone argues, is the objective of every facet of the prison system, which seeks to maximize the isolation of the condemned, from family, from the prison population, from other death row prisoners, and finally from his very self.

Citing the length and nature of death row incarcerations, the isolation regimes, and the ever-present specter of death, Prof. Johnstone finds it is torture, and as such, “inherently wrong”:

“The goal of torture is never justice; torture seeks the destruction of the person, not his punishment... Condemned criminals are not tortured because this is what they deserve. They are tortured because the destruction of their person is useful to their captors. In a state of torture, the goal of destruction of the person that distinguishes torture from punishment and renders it gratuitous and hence immoral.” (p. 219)

Turning to the area of international law, Prof. Johnstone notes in current and constant violation of U.N. accords and treaties.

More enlightened human rights law is emerging from places like Jamaica, Zimbabwe and Britain’s Privy Council. As long ago as 1989, in the Sovereign case, the European Court of Human Rights outlawed exacerbation of a person to the U.S. to face a capital prosecution, as conditions on U.S. death rows, and the wait for death, constituted “inhumane and degrading punishment and torture.”

Brutal Cop Attack on American Indian Protest

Plymouth Rock

For 28 years, Native American Indians and their supporters have demonstrated on Thanksgiving prior to the commencement of the Plymouth Rock in Massachusetts. In the past, these "National Day of Mourning" actions, primarily fought by this country’s indigenous peoples, have occurred largely without incident. But this year, the November 27 demonstration was met by a vicious cop rampage in which police beat and pepper-gassed protesters and arrested 25 on bogus charges of disorder and assault and battery on a police officer.

Several hundred demonstrators had been taking part in the protest march. Some carried a banner in defense of Leonard Peltier, an American Indian Movement activist who was framed up and sent to prison in 1975 as part of the FBI’s COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) campaign against radical leftists and fighters against racism, particularly targeting the Black Panther Party. But as the march progressed, the cops suddenly declared the streets off limits to protesters and waded in with pepper gas and flailing batons, injuring at least a dozen police.

“We marched out onto the streets of Plymouth and a police riot happened,” said one of the protesters. The police riot was called by police superior.

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In an escalation of state repression, federal and state governments have enacted a barrage of barbaric measures targeting supposed “sex offenders” in the last few years, ranging from incitements to vigilante terrorism to judicial castration to “preventive detention.” Several months ago, California began publicly circulating the names of thousands of people who had ever been convicted of “sex crimes.” In May 1996, President Clinton signed a federal version of the “Megan’s laws” which have now been enacted in all 50 states. Modeled on a 1994 New Jersey law named after seven-year-old murder victim Megan Kanka, these draconian bills require ongoing “registration” of “sex offenders” and, in most states, allow for notifying the communities where they set after release from prison. The federal legislation dictates that such measures be enforced by all states as a condition for full federal “anti-crime” funding.

Seizing on the “family values” morality which has become the stock trade of right-wing bigots and liberal Democrats alike, the capitalist state is setting the stage for a frightening array of new attacks on individual privacy and democratic rights. Measures aimed at “mentally aberrant” (defined by the “morality” code of this racist, anti-woman, anti-gay bourgeois society) can easily be used to bolster attacks against the left, militant workers, immigrants, minorities—anyone deemed “deviant” by the capitalist rulers.

The anti-sex witchhunt has taken aim at everything from homosexual teachers to abortion rights, from “obscene” rock lyrics to adolescent sex, from Playboy and Internet pornography to art exhibits showing nudity and sexual situations. Under the new measures, someone convicted of “soliciting” in a men’s room, for example, can be sentenced to lifetime surveillance and harassment and set up for hounding and attacks by bigoted mobs. Robert Campobasso, a former “sex crimes” prosecutor in Arizona and now a defense lawyer, notes that these laws make “no distinctions...between someone accused of molesting young girls or someone skinny-dipping in his own swimming pool who was accidentally seen by two 12-year-olds.” The CD-ROM database issued in California this summer lists some 64,000 “sex offenders” and is available for public perusal at police stations and even such events as the L.A. County Fair! Alameda County has been widely denounced for its “sex offender” database, which nearly led to the reinstatement of capital punishment. When the cops claimed to have found literature of the Left in a sailor’s bag, they eventually had to admit that the literature they were looking for was an issue of the far-right Nazi journal, The American. Again in California, one 76-year-old man found himself on the CD-ROM list for having had consensual sex with a 10-year-old girl. While the state government now says it will delete the names of those convicted under laws which have since been abolished—they have already been publicly branded—this underlines how the “sex offender” law is a blunt weapon of state persecution.

In fact, some of the convictions went back as far as 1944—when all homosexual acts were a crime in California. The new laws which have since been abolished—many as 60 to 65 percent of names and addresses on the list were inaccurate. Less than 10 percent of those convicted under the new laws have actually been convicted of new crimes. What the laws have done is to enable authorities, with the power to define who is normal and who is “mentally abnormal” and what is a “personality disorder” and what is “normal” or “abnormal,” to turn anyone who has ever been labeled as such into the object of state persecution. In the United States, a person can be declared as a sex offender simply because she is a lesbian. In Washington state, a woman teacher was sentenced to six months in prison for having a love affair with a teenage student; their newborn child has been ripped away from her and she has been barred from any contact with her lover.

Behind the Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Following a brief hiatus conditioned by the mass struggles of the 1960s for black rights and against the Vietnam War, the bourgeoisie has again reaped up its

"Sex Offender" Dragrent Spawns Police-State Measures

In the post-Soviet world, "child abusers" has taken its place alongside "terrorist" as a code phrase to justify all-sided attacks on civil liberties. Commenting in particular on how sex is used in American political life, writer Gore Vidal recently observed, "When Communism went away, sex came into its lurid own as the diversionary smear of choice" (New Yorker, 1 December). The murder of Megan Kanka was a savage crime, but what's being debated in legislatures throughout the country has nothing to do with protecting children. The same measures are being pushed through by politicians—along with ballooning budgets to fund proposals for arbitrary imprisonment and detention, police surveillance and increased government intrusion into private life—aim much wider than alleged "sex offenders." Several bills currently before Congress threaten a mammoth increase in state surveillance. A measure designed to clamp down on "illegal" immigrants, dubbed "1-800-Big-Brother" by its opponents, would require that all job applicants have their Social Security numbers checked through a national database. Another vast new database set up to track "deadbeat parents," the National Directory of New Hires, was mandated by the same law which eased federal welfare programs last year. In Massachusetts, one of the few remaining states without the death penalty, the media and politicians manipulated the hideous murder of ten-year-old Jeffrey Curley this fall to whip up a furor which nearly led to the reinstatement of capital punishment. When the cops claimed to have found literature of the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) in a car belonging to one of the alleged killers, this provoked a renewed witch hunt against the controversial organization, which defends consensual sex between men and boys. The Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Stereotypes joined in the rush to denounce NAMBLA.

After California, there are billboards everywhere threatening "statutory rape" charges against anyone having sex with an under-age minor. While the "age of consent" is not a popular measure—altogether "nothing more, or less. Unlike liberals and reformists, who systematically bow to bourgeois "respectability," the Spartacist League has consistently said: "Defend NAMBLA! Government out of the bedrooms!"

The refusal by mainstream gay groups and other defenders of gay rights to stand by vulnerable groups like NAMBLA is both craven and suicidal. It was not so long ago that all homosexual behavior was deemed to be pathological, and a large number of states still have "anti-sodomy" statutes on the books. In 1953, in the horrid case of the Belgian "Dutroux affair," homosexuality was labeled a "sociopathic personality disturbance" by the American Psychiatric Association. While today it is fashionable for Democratic Party politicians (and even some Republicans) to give lip service to gay rights, brutal attacks on gays continue to increase, people with AIDS are still stigmatized and persecuted and you can still be drummed out of the armed forces for being gay.

Again in California, one 76-year-old man found himself on the CD-ROM list for having had consensual sex with a 10-year-old girl. While the state government now says it will delete the names of those convicted under laws which have since been abolished—they have already been publicly branded—this underlines how the "sex offender" law is a blunt weapon of state persecution. In the United States, a person can be declared as a sex offender simply because she is a lesbian. In Washington state, a woman teacher was sentenced to six months in prison for having a love affair with a teenage student; their newborn child has been ripped away from her and she has been barred from any contact with her lover.

Behind the Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Following a brief hiatus conditioned by the mass struggles of the 1960s for black rights and against the Vietnam War, the bourgeoisie has again reaped up its
After heinous murders of young girls in Belgium, "law and order" hysteria fueled huge marches demanding return of barbaric death penalty in 1996.

The massive extension of police powers, the speedup on prison construction, the speedup on the rate of exploitation while slashing social benefits, in a court system constructed from top to bottom to serve the interests of the capitalist class, "justice" is a myth.

The legal grounds for the anti-sex witchhunt were set out in the 1974 Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act. The Democratic party's "anti-sex" legislation, also known as the Mondale Act, had the ardent support of bourgeois feminists. It was in order to appeal to conservatives wanting to reinforce the authority of the patriarchal family and to attack the socialist key ideological mainstay for the oppression of women and youth. It set up a national network of drawing in teachers, social workers and mental health professionals as stooges for the capitalist state. While a vast number of critically needed social programs have been gutted or entirely eliminated, funding and resources for the programs set up by the Mondale Act and laws modeled on it have been repeatedly and massively increased.

As a result, today there is a blunted bureaucracy in place to pursue "sex criminals." As we wrote in "Satan, the State and Anti-Sex Hysteria" (Women and Revolution No. 45, Winter-Spring 1996):

"The witchhunt's nationwide apparatus of sex cops, purging social workers, quacks, bolstered with millions of dollars, prestige and power, remains firmly in place.... Strengthened by increased resources and an atmosphere of mass panic, the state apparatus has tightened its grip on society and thus reinforced its ability to quash any challenge to its exploitative and oppressive rule."

Preventive Detention and Racist Repression

Last year, by a vote of 51 to 8, California became the first state to enact a law mandating castration for twice-convicted "sex offenders," either through chemical or surgical means. The same reactionary Women's Coalition that lobbied for the barbaric castration law is now pushing legislation to have "sex crime" parolees permanently handicapped. The California version of "Megan's Law"—and there are similar bills in other states—gives state officials the power to continue confining "sex offenders" who have already served their sentences because they have served time for felony convictions. By whatever name, "indefinite involuntary confinement" or "preventive detention" is in stark violation of due process and double jeopardy.

It is a measure of the ferocity of this biggest crusade that it is employing means normally used by capitalist governments in times of war or "countersubversion" operations. The most notorious instance of preventive detention in the United States was the racist incarceration of Japanese Americans in remote concentration camps during World War II. Under Executive Order 9066 signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, over 120,000 people—mostly women and children and two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens—were torn from their homes, which were stolen from them, and imprisoned without trial as "poten-

tial" spies and saboteurs, solely on the "evidence" of their Japanese ancestry. Despite hypocritical apologies by politi-
cians today, this disgusting episode was no "aberration"—plans for similar detention camps, for other groups of "undesir-
able," have been mooted many times since.

The intensified repressive measures being pushed through today will do noth-
ing to stop the sort of heinous murders which are used to justify their imple-
mentation. The capitalists rely on crime, the growth of the prison system, as a reflection of the social pathology of this decaying system of exploitation and oppression in order to strengthen the state powers which defend that system. The massive extension of police powers, the growth in the state, the growth on prison construction, the speedup on death row—all these are aimed at pro-
tecting this truly criminal system by intimidating the mass of the population, particularly working people and minor-
ities, as the bourgeoisie drives up the rate of exploitation while slashing so-
cial benefits. In a court system constructed from top to bottom to serve the interests of the capitalist class, "justice" is a myth.

Further, the state has no business legis-
lating people's personal lives, however

messy they may be. As we wrote in "The "Date Rape" Issue: Feminist Hysteria, Anti-Sex Witchhunt":

"While Marxists cannot decree either a just or a pleasurable solution to the ambiguities that arise out of the intersec-
tion of race, sex and class in this capitalist society, we can and do oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legiti-
mated and decreed 'norms.'

"To create genuinely free and equal rela-
tions between people in all spheres, including sex, requires nothing less than the destruction of this class sys-
tem and the creation of a communist so-
cialist world. In a classless society social and economic constraints over sexual relations will be nonexistent, and in the words of Frederick Engels, there is "no other motive left except mutual inclination."

Women and Revolution No. 43, Winter-1993-Spring 1994

12 DECEMBER 1997
During the 1960s, a middle-aged white industrial worker typically believed in the “American Dream.” His economic circumstances were much better and the late-model car and lived in a suburban neighborhood. Low tuition and easily available, government-subsidized mortgage. His children attended a state university or city college with much bleaker. Real wages for blue-collar workers peaked in the early ’GI Bill” for democracy,” and had perhaps himself benefited from the educational grants that the economic condition of its working class.

One of the chief victims of the bureaucracy’s failure to carry out the “American Dream” was the militant anti-communist witchhunt of the 1950s. This was driven by the FBI and local police forces. The same tactics were employed against the Black Panther Party by the FBI and local police forces.

The anti-communist witchhunt of the late 1940s and early 1950s drove “reds” and other radicals out of the trade unions and consolidated a labor bureaucracy that was openly pro-capitalist and identified with the aims of U.S. imperialism. The tactics which built the CIO unions in the 1930s—plant occupations (sitdowns), mass picketing, secondary strikes—could now be used only by defying the country’s harsh anti-labor laws and challenging the union tops’ ties to the Democratic Party.

One of the chief victims of the bureaucracy’s failure to carry out the “American Dream” was the militant anti-communist witchhunt of the 1950s. This was driven by the FBI and local police forces. The same tactics were employed against the Black Panther Party by the FBI and local police forces.

The net result was the crushing of all militant struggle for black rights and the weakening of the trade-union movement, settling the political preconditions for the post-1970s era of union-busting, give-back contracts, two-tier wage systems, mass homelessness and the axing of almost every social program for the poor.

There can and must be no effective resistance to the intimidation of American workers people without the unity in struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor. This requires a revolutionary workers party forged in the struggle between the trade unions and the black and Hispanic poor.
Communist witchhunt was expanded to strike at all layers of American society, notably including the universities and the Hollywood film industry.

The rapid destruction of the CP's industrial base cannot be explained simply in terms of its demographics, and the emergence of Cold War hostility to the Soviet Union by the mass of American workers (which played on widespread repugnance toward Stalin's bloody despotism), particularly with the outbreak of the 1950-53 U.S.-led imperialist war in Korea. The American Stalinists' staunch support for government strikebreaking during World War II had discredited them with a significant layer of militant unionists. The red purge extended to all leftists, including the Trotskyists, many of whom had played leading roles in the wartime wildcat strikes and earlier militant labor struggles, like the campaigns which built the Teamsters into a powerful union that represented all the major industries.

Though this was obviously not the intent of the workers who were drawn in behalf of this wave of repression, it was perceived by the hand of the capitalists against the unions. Shortsightedly, these workers only saw their wages, hours, and overall living conditions improving, while the unions appeared stronger than ever before. But this view was the fact that the U.S. economy had emerged from the war with by far the largest and most technologically advanced industrial capacity in the world. A recent history of America's premier financial dynasty describes the 1930s as the "high noon of industrial power, before the European economies rebounded or the Pacific rim threatened," when "the United States dominated automobiles, steel, oil, aluminum, and other heavy industries" (Ron Chernow, The House of Morgan (1990)).

The men who ran Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations could thus buy class peace on terms inconceivable to their predecessors or successors.

The pattern of labor-capital relations in the early Cold War period was exemplified by the 1950 agreement between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and General Motors, which provided for an annual 3 percent "productivity" increase in wages and a cost-of-living adjustment to offset inflation. As leftist labor historian Mike Davis commented in Prisons of the American Dream (1986): "In tandem with the seniority system and internal promotion, the 1960s and sought to overcome not simply the formal legal repressions on black rights imposed by Southern Jim Crow but also the entrenched social segregation of the black masses. A major race riot brought stopped Martin Luther King Jr. from marching in 1967 against segregation in the little-white-Chicago suburb of Chicago. A decade later, the "tax revolt" - a reaction movement centered on white suburban homeowners - helped to catapult right-wing Republican Ronald Reagan into the White House a few years later. What conditioned the political acidency of the right over the past two decades was the bankruptcy of liberalism when confronted by the decay of American capitalism.

Kennedy, Galbraith and Anti-Labor Liberalism

In the early postwar period, the AFL and CIO provided the organized mass base for the Northern liberal wing of the Democratic Party and was key to Harry Truman's unexpected victory over Republican Thomas Dewey in 1948. This did not, of course, prevent Truman, like Roosevelt before him, from calling out the National Guard and army to break strikes "in the national interest." Nonetheless, in the late 1940s and early '50s, liberal politicians usually posed as "friends of labor" and the basis of anti-Taft-Hartley.

However, in the late 1950s an important current emerged in the Northern liberal wing of the Democratic Party which maintained that trade unions had become too powerful and were using that power in ways harmful to the majority of the American people. That current was represented at the political level by John F. Kennedy and at the theoretical level by John Kenneth Galbraith, who would later become a key economic adviser to the Kennedy White House. As a Senator from Massachusetts, Kennedy along with his brother Robert first gained national prominence as leaders of a new government offensive against organized labor. The immediate target was the Teamsters union and its colorful president, Jimmy Hoffa. This union was singled out because it was simultaneously economically powerful and politically vulnerable. Outside of and hostile to the AFL-CIO federation, Hoffa's Teamsters, with their well-known connections to "the Mob," were popularly viewed as the "bad boys" of the labor movement. At the same time, benefiting from the shift in transport economics from rail to over-the-road trucking, the Teamsters had become the largest and fastest-growing union in the country. Furthermore, the Hoffa was dropped for a single master contract for all over-the-road drivers in the U.S. In his 1960 anti-Teamsters tract, The End Within, Senator Edward F. Kennedy railed: "The Teamsters Union is the major answer to the enemy from the inside, the one professing to be a communist from within the American Dream.[20]

The attack on the Teamsters was spearheaded by 1957 Senate committee hearings chaired by Arkansas Democrat John McClellan. John Kennedy served as McClellan's right-hand man and his brother as the committee's chief counsel.

The AFL-CIO tried to dissociate themselves from the Teamsters, with liberal UAW chief Walter Reuther even testifying as a friendly witness. Nonetheless, the Senate hearings had their intended effect of discrediting organized labor in general. Opinion polls showed public approval of trade unions was down to 75 percent before the hearings to 68 percent afterward, remaining at about that level through the 1960s. The public vilification of the Teamsters was key to the passage of the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act, which prohibited illegal payments usually enhanced powers over internal union affairs while strengthening the Taft-Hartley "hot-clogging" (refusing to handle scab goods).

As a result of machinations by the Teamsters, the Kennedys continued to seek electoral backing from the mainstream AFL-CIO unions. For his part, Galbraith, as an academic, was free to launch a theoretical broadside against organized labor at a more general level. Whereas the right-wing Republican enemies of union power called for continued on page 12
Algeria...

(continued from page 1)

The multiethnic proletariat of France must be modernized in defense of the rights of minority workers, whose strategic position in auto and other industries can serve as a bridgehead for socialist revolution between France and North Africa. Warning of the possibility of a deal against the Algerian regime and the Islamic fundamentalists, the Ligue Trotskyiste de France (LTF), section of the ICL, wrote early on in the face-off between the FIS and the military:

"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 well not limit themselves to imprisoning leaders and activists of the FIS and, in particular, turn on the working class itself.

"The army, working class must enter into struggle under its own banner and—drawing behind it women, landless peasants, agricultural workers, the mass of unemployed youth—must overthrow the army/FNL regime and sweep away the reactionary FIS..."

Algerian Workers and Permanent Revolution

Comparing the brutality of the current events in Algeria to those in the 1954-62 War of Independence, ideologues for French imperialism seek to equate the squalid civil war between militant despotism and Islamic reactionaries with the heroic struggle of the Algerian people against French colonialism. This reeks of the arrogance of an imperialist power still stinging from a humiliating defeat at the hands of its former colonial slaves. From the first FNL military operation in November 1954, it took more than seven years, at a cost of over one million dead, for the Algerian masses to drive the colonial rulers out of their country. Yet when independence was finally achieved in 1962, it placed in power the bourgeois-nationalist FLN, which was committed to maintaining capitalism and apartheid as desired by their "own people".

"In power, the FNL acted as servants of imperialist interests, preaching "Third World socialism" while imposing iron-fisted military rule over Algeria's workers and peasants. By the end of the 1980s, the FLN had lost the authority it had accrued from leading the struggle against French imperialist. In the fall of 1988, a strike by industrial workers outside Algiers triggered youth revolts in the capital and other cities. Army troops garrisoned from hundreds of protesters. The fundamentalists, as they did before, shelled entire sections of the plebeian masses to put themselves forward as a "radical" alternative to the brutal IMF/WEST "solution". When the FIS swept the first round of legislative elections in December 1991, the army moved in to establish open military rule, sweeping aside the FLN, which is today a shadow of its former self. In response to imperialist pressure to "legitimize" the regime, the military has reconstructed a "civilian" government over the past few years through a series of sham elections and plebiscites.

"The one social force with the power to lead the impoverished peasants, unemployed youth, women and all oppressed in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist order is the proletariat. In the wake of independence, the country built up a rather sizable modern industrial sector, using oil revenues to import entire factories. This has created an industrial proletariat in light and heavy manufacturing and transportation, which—along with oil and gas workers—has social power well beyond its numerical size. The organized working class has been a prime target of fundamentalist oppression. While the bourgeoisie press has highlighted the murders of scores of journalists and other prominent figures, nearly 400 trade unionists have been assassinated, as have dozens of leftist militants.

"Since independence, Algerian workers have been shacked by the corporatist leadership of the UGTA trade-union federation, which is directly tied to the regime and was the main force in organizing Zeroual's National Democratic Rally party early this year. The UGTA was formed by pro-FNL trade-union leaders in Algeria in a February 1956 split from the Stalinist-dominated CGT federation, whose leadership rejected the fight for national independence. Together with the FLN, the UGTA called a number of powerful strikes, including a massive general strike in July 1956. Crushed during the savage repression of the 1957 Battle of Algiers, the union federation was not reconstituted until the end of the war. When the FLN came to power in 1962, it purged the UGTA leadership, banned strikes by public sector workers and imposed an iron grip over the organized working class.

"The Algerian Stalinists directly contributed to this, serving in the FLN's ministry of national independence propaganda, administrators and UGTA bureaucrats, even though their own organization, El Fathandi and the PADS, both of which support the "true Albert". These groups justify their despicable bloc with the army and the bourgeoisie by appealing to the Stalinist/Menshevik myth of "revolution by stages," labeling the hardline anti-FIS elements in the regime as the "progressive" wing of the Algerian bourgeoisie.

"During the time of the Stalinist leadership, Algerian workers have repeatedly demonstrated their combative, even under the conditions of the current civil war. In February 1996, public sector workers completely shut down the country for two days in opposition to what they termed Plan Juppé (Bip Jupp Plan No. 2). This reference to the French conservative government's proposed austerity measures, which had provoked a massive upsurge by public sector workers there only two months earlier, underscored the links between class struggle on both shores of the Mediterranean. Algerian public sector workers have now continued to wage a series of strikes against threatened privatizations and layoffs. This past May, 90,000 workers at the Skikda oil tanker port struck for three days. This was followed by a two-day strike in July at the SNL truck factory, which touched off a series of other strikes in the massive Rouiba industrial zone just outside the capital.

"The attacks by the Zeroual regime and its imperialist backers cannot be defeated by economist trade-union struggle, no matter how militant. Algeria is a capitalist semicolonial, formally independent but crushed under the boot of the imperialist powers, which usurp its resources and squeeze the lifeblood out of its working population. To do away with exploitation by the imperialists and the domino capitalist bourgeoisie, the Algerian working class must sweep away the system of capitalist oppression by taking power through socialist revolution. The fact that workers of North African origin can originate a strategic position in French heavy industry underscores that this fight must be international."

"The French Communist Party (PCF) has been active of late in organizing demonstrations of "solidarity with the Algerian people" and enrolling undocumented migrant workers in the Communist-led CGT trade-union federation. However, the PCF's rallies are actually in "solidarity" with French imperialism's support for the bloody Zeroual regime, just as it lined up behind its "victor" bourgeoisie in the 1950s in refusing to fight for Algerian independence, as explained by "Papon, Vichy and Algeria" (page 10). And its concern for immigrant workers is belied by its participation—alongside the ultra-chauvinist Jean-Pierre Chevenement—in the Jospin government. As throughout West Europe, France—both under the former right-wing Juppé government and now under the "Socialist" Jospin—has tightened racist barriers to immigration and deported immigrants and asylum-seekers, making North African workers the scapegoats for growing unemployment.

"The FIS reforms do not oppose the scapinggoing and repression of immigrants, but simply want it carried out more "humanely." While mouthing socialist rhetoric, the PCF waves the tri-color of French imperialism, issuing protest calls to "produce French" and demanding the borders be closed to immigration. During the December 1995 strike wave, the PCF and CGT stated that the front line states should help ensure that the strikes did not spread to the private sector, with its heavily North African workforce, and re­­mained limited to public sector workers who, by law, must be French citizens. In the words of "socialism," the PCF—joined by the fake Trotskyists of Lutte Ouvrière—has supported the government and now un­dermines the struggles of workers and activists from high schools for wearing the hijab, the Islamic headscarf. Far from "fighting fundamentalism," these measures betray the fascist distortions of "forn­­eign influence" and drive North Africans
deeper into the fundamentalists’ ghetto.

The struggle against Islamic fundamentalism and Baptist oppression in Algeria is intimately linked with the fight against racist terror in Europe. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in Algeria is being used as a pretext to intensify racist repression against the huge North African minority in France. As part of the fight to forge a multiethnic vanguard party to expropriate the racist French bourgeoisie, the LTF demands: “Stop the deportation of citizenship rights for all immigrants!” The LTF has called on rail and airline workers in particular to use their power to stop the expulsions of immigrants from France.

Algeria is a classic demonstration—in the negative—of the correctness of Leon Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution, which was vindicated by the experience of the Algerian War. In late 1979, the Algerian GIA, like a number of Islamic fundamentalist movements in its crusade to destroy the Soviet Union. At the height of the 1950s Cold War, the Algerian regime imposed a “general strike” against the Soviets during the period of French colonialism, sneering: “This is a holy war in Afghanistan, where mujahedeen cutthroats butchered teachers for the ‘crime’ of teaching young girls.”

The U.S. has also maintained close contacts with the Algerian fundamentalist movement. Since 1994, the FIS government has closed Islamic CRIA, which was a leader in the late 1960s. In 1980, the regime lifted its ban on teaching Berber language and culture. The Algerian regime has angled for a bloc with the Islamic fundamentalists since 1991, when it criminally supported the FIS leader Abassi Madani, even when he was a leader in the late 1960s of the French colonial government. In 1994, the FIS regime imposed a “Family Code” that is severely repressive. In 1984, the FIS regime imposed a “Family Code” and made divorce almost impossible for women and relegate them to the status of permanent minors who owe “obedience” to their husbands.

In fact, the nationalist regime helped the fundamentalists to establish a base in Algerian universities in the 1970s by importing scores of Muslim Brotherhood members from Egypt and elsewhere to replace French-speaking teachers with Arabic speakers. This was part of a “forced Arabization” drive directed particularly against the country’s Berber minority, concentrated mainly in the Kabylia region east of Algiers and derived from indigenous peoples who predate the Arab occupation of the area. Berbers don’t participate in the election to promote the pseudo-nationalist role in the Algerian independence movement, constituting a major portion of the FIS’s leading cadres until the late 1960s. But the potential for Berber-Arab unity was undermined by the FIS’s nationalist program, which necessarily promoted the dominant Arab people. In 1963, the regime crushed a regional revolt in Kabylie, killing hundreds. In 1980, the regime again came down on Kabylia after the region exploded in a violent insurrection—the “Berber springtime”—followed by a police assault on university students who were protesting a government ban on teaching Berber a page and culture.

More recently, Kabylia witnessed the largest of the anti-FIS demonstrations that swept Algeria several years ago, including a series of one-day strikes and mass protests in 1994 against Islamic terrorism. The main Kabyle-based parties, the bourgeoisie Socialist Forces Front (FFS) and the Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), played the role of “royal opposition” to the continued on page 10
regime. The RCD is closely tied to the état-major at the head of the army, while the FFS favors “conciliation” with them.

Tailing right behind these bourgeois forces is the United Secretariat’s Algerian supporters, the PST. Like the RCD and FFS, the PST limits itself to pressuring the regime to make Berber an official language. Trotskyists call for the full equality of all languages used in Algeria—Arabic, Berber and French—but we also uncompromisingly defend the Berbers’ right to regional autonomy. At this point, supporters, the economic development.

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French Stalinists Betrayed Algerian Independence Struggle

Papon, Vichy and Algeria

In covering the current trial of former French official Maurice Papon for organ­

ze the deportation of Jews to Auschwitz under the pro-Nazi Vichy regime in World War II, the bourgeois press has brought into the open one of the dirtiest episodes in France’s dirty colonial war against the Algerian people. Although he faces no charges for it, in October 1961 Papon, as Paris police commissioner, organized the massacre of over 300 Algerian protesters in the streets of Paris. For more than three decades, that massa­

the working class will not forget its
daily struggle to live, its weakness multiplying in the face of the bloody police campaign against the Algerian workers by the fascist “self-defense groups” that are tolerated—or directly set up—by the regime and by the leading political groups to rally to the side of the generals. Thus Chawki claims that “the group involved in the massacre defense are the only act of civil dignity which can respond adequately to the hor­ror and shamefulness of the Paponist service of the people, not to oppress them.”

While expressing the felt needs of rural villagers to defend themselves against

The massacre was preceded by months of atrocities against Algerian workers by the Paris police. Papon had been trans­ferred from Algeria with orders to repro­duce in Paris the same tactics of mass executions that were employed in the colony. According to official figures, more than 50 Algerians were killed by cops in France every month, and many more were brutalized in police torture chambers. “French cops like Papon were engaged in a demonstration of united action by French and Algerian workers against the racist terror. But the Stalinists did nothing. Emboldened, Papon ordered a curfew selectively targeting Algerians, in which virtually all the massacre defense against Jews during World War II. Still, there was no protest by the leaders of the French working class. Assured of the docility of the reformist leaders, the regime of President Charles de Gaulle organized a carefully prepared bloodbath when the FLN called a demonstration against the racist curfew and for Algerian independence.

For years, the Stalinists helped the bourgeoisie blot out the memory of the October 1961 massacre, even as they spread a myth around a subsequent PACAF-led demonstra­tion in which nine French people were killed that only their bloodied bodies, the FLN’s massive demonstration on 17 October 1961. Pashin, the Camden demonstra­tion, was universally known—and proudly
promoted by the Stalinist leaders as the epitome of their supposed “combat” against French colonialism during the Algerian War. But the Charrone demonstration did not even call for Algerian independence! It was called to protest terrorist attacks by the OAS (Secret Army Organization), a fascist group led by former army officers who sought to head off de Gaulle’s negotiations with the FLN. When a million people turned out for the demonstration, the new sitting head of the Algerian government, the Socialist leader Guy Mollet was elected instead for a more pragmatic “union”


did not so much as mention the massacre of Algerians which had taken place four months earlier.

As far back as the 1930s, when it embarked on its class-collaborationist “people’s front” policy, the PCF had opposed Algerian independence, calling instead for a more “democratic” French colonial empire in the form of a “free union” between the “colonial peoples and our people” (Jakob Moneta, Le PCF et la question coloniale [1971]). In May 1945, PCF ministers in the first postwar government stayed at their posts as the French bourgeoisie drowned in blood an incident Algerian nationalist revolt in Sétif, killing tens of thousands. During the Algerian War, PCF leaders occasionally altered the word “independence,” but their real policy was to pressure successive bourgeois governments to “negotiate” a settlement which would preserve the French bourgeoisie’s “vital interests.” This was simply a call for a neocolonial regime in Algeria under the boot of French imperialism.

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 workers met French soldiers—joined by their Algerian class brothers—battled riot police in defense of protesting soldiers. In the midst of this unprecedented upsurge, Socialist leader Guy Mollet was elected prime minister at the head of a popular-front coalition including the PCF and the Radicals and other bourgeois parties. Mollet proceeded to pour hundreds of thousands of troops into Algeria. Though not formally part of the government, the PCE provided his firmest support, giving so far as to vote for granting the regime “special powers” in Algeria.

The worker-soldier revolt in France came amid a series of strikes in Algeria—several of which shut the country down.

In the face of such treachery, the wave of mutinies and strikes against the war dissipated.

France continued to witness militant strikes around economic demands—and Algerian workers there participated virtually to a man. In 1958, with the economy in shambles and the country swept by strikes around economic demands—and in opposition to the war, the government proposal to admit a thousand additional Algerian workers into France, which left 62 dead in Luxor). As in Algeria, the imperialist-backed bourgeois regimes in Tunisia and Egypt have imposed draconian repression on the population while ramping through policies of austerity and immigration.

On the other hand, a victorious socialist revolution in Algeria would not only usher in the emancipation of the oppressed of that country, but bring closer the day when all the despotism regimes of the region—whether Islamic, Arab nationalists or Zionist—are swept away by the working class. Key to this outcome is the formation of Bolshevik workers parties throughout the region as part of a reforged Trotskyist Fourth International. This is what the International Communist League fights for.


PCF’s response was to pathetically embrace the discredited governing parties which were carrying out the Algerian War, the Stalinists campaigned in “Defense of the republic” and even voted to renew the notorious Special Powers Act. After the Paris peace talks and the government proposal to admit a thousand additional Algerian workers into France.

have organized the distribution of food—mobilizing women’s support committees to help in this—showing in practice how the working class can carry out the necessary tasks of organizing society. Noting that the fundamentalists would have viewed such union-based action as a threat to their hold over the plebeian masses, the LTF wrote (Le Bolchevik No. 125, November-December 1993):

“it would therefore be necessary to set up workers’ self-defense militias to give the reactionaries of the FLN a taste of what working-class power is. But such a mobilization would require ousting the reactionaries who lead the working class and keep the proletariat subordinated to the bourgeoisie.”

The complete and unconditional independence of the proletariat, embodied in the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, is key to finding any way out of the terror and turmoil currently strangling Algeria. A victory for the fundamentalists would not only sound the death knell for unveiled women, ethnic minorities, militant workers and leftists in Algeria. It would also be an enor-
On Interpenetrated Peoples

New York City
21 November 1997

Dear Editor,

An article headlined “Israel Out of All Occupied Territories!” (WW No. 674, 19 September) states: “Like Cyprus, North­ern Ireland, Sri Lanka and the former Yugoslavia, Israel and Palestine is a case of interpenetrated peoples, of two or more peoples claiming the same territory. In such situations, under-capitalism—in which the state power is necessarily dominated by a single nation—the democratic right of national self-determination cannot be achieved by one people without violating the national rights of the other.”

While this statement is true in a gen­eral historical observation, it ignores the particularities of the regions cited and the impact of events in recent years. Firstly, in some of these cases, relatively homogeneous national populations overlapped alongside areas of interpenetration. In Israel/Palestine, with the exception of militarized Zionist settlements, occupied Territories are inhabited by Pales­tinians Arabs. In Sri Lanka, where many Tamils were historically concentrated, the northern part of the island, we upheld the right of the minority Tamils to form their own state.

More importantly, these situations are inherently unstable; bloody, historic ca­stastrophes can and do forcibly separate the two peoples. In several of the countries cited above. In the former Yugoslavia, nationalism was the motor force for the restoration of cap­i­talism in the early 1990s. This counter­revolution was precipitated by and in turn fueled bloody communist slaughter which has ripped apart the Serb, Croat and Bosnian Muslim population. In the former Yugoslavia, nationalism was intermingled in various areas including the 1990 Croatian military frontier, the Bosnia-Hercegovina, into distinct regions under the rule of mutually hostile and viciously anti-working-class national­ist forces.

The interpenetration of the Greek and Turkish populations of Cyprus was also “resolved” in a reactionary, undemocratic manner in the wake of the 1974 Turkish army occupation. We wrote at the time that the compacting of dis­tinct Greek and Turkish areas in Cyprus would involve destructive force mass population transfers and would consume within them the seeds of further bloody communal and national wars” (WW No. 50, 2 August 1974). This was confirmed by subsequent events, as some 200,000 Greeks were driven from their homes in the Turkish-occupied northern area and the two communities effectively separated. This has set the stage for continuing bloody confronta­tions between Greek and Turkish na­tionalists, most recently in the summer of 1996.

Sri Lanka offers a particularly com­pelling example of the impact of national­ist bloodletting. After decades of “Sin­hala only” chauvinist agitation pushed primarily by the so-called “nationalist” organizations within Sri Lanka Freedom Party, in the early 1980s the rightist government of President J. R. Jayewardene unleashed an army of occu­pation in the overwhelmingly Tamil North centered on the Jaffna peninsula. In 1983, Jayewardene’s United Na­tional Party instigated a wave of pogroms against the Tamil minority in the South, dispossessioning much of the sizable Tamil merchant layer. We wrote at the time (Spartacist No. 35, Autumn 1983): “The massive army taking place in Sri Lanka marks a watershed in that island’s history. The bloodletting and the mass population transfers have set the eco­nomic and political agenda and are forc­ing the separation of the peoples. J.R. has ripped the country apart, massacring men, women and children and forcing the survi­vors into a virtual “bantustan” in the Butterm North.”

Noting that the bloodbath had “cata­strophically altered for the foreseeable future the prospects for common class struggle between the Sinhalese working class and the oppressed Tamil minority,” we raised the call for the right of Tamil Eelam—i.e., a separate Tamil state in the North—and for a federated socialist re­public of Eelam and Lanka as part of a socialist federation of South Asia.

Now, even as war continues to rage in the North between Tamil nationalists and the occupying Sinhalese army, in the South between Tamil Mulsims and some Sinhalese continue to live along­side the predominant Tamil Hindus. And the Tamil nationalists continue to be populated by hideously exploited Tamil tea pickers, descendants of low­caste Indians imported by the British imperialists before independence, whose labor accounts for a significant portion of the country’s export earnings. Nothing the ostensibly Marxist organizations on the island nor the Tamil nationalists have ever done to ensure their right on behalf of these Tamil workers.

As we wrote about Lanka in 1983: “As Martists, we are not in the business of re­venge on one people (the prior oppressor) over another (the prior oppressor). Rather we believe the eradication of national oppression and true social progress will require a socialist revolution” (WW No. 336, 12 August 1983).

Communist greetings,
Helene Brosius

Letters
(continued from page 2)

“West” through the early bourgeois revo­lutions. The current rise in reaction, in the form of militarized Zionism and anti­armed Muslim fundamentalism, is pri­marily fueled by the bankruptcy of Arab nationalism.

The murderous role of the Zionist rulers in the Occupied Territories has merely strengthened the position of the reactionaries, as the one thing Near East Muslims fundamentally have in common is anti-Semitism. The primary blame, how­ever, has to rest with the Arab bour­geoisies. I realize this was not the issue being dealt with in the article. Neverthe­less, I think the way the sentence stands removes much of the responsibility from militarized Zionist society-Galbraith big business and extract ever-greater wages and bene­fiting from the form of higher prices to consumers: “At the other extreme are those who couldn’t afford the new car he wanted, braith’s alternative was “junior workers in the strategic core of the econ­omy were counterposed to those of the white workers were seen as ‘junior partners’ of American imperialism, benefi­ciant from the exploitation and degradation of the imperial powers. Marx and Engels as well as the black ghetto poor at home. In this way the radical left helped to build the political vac­uum which allowed racist demagogues like George Wallace to appeal to white workers who felt neither alien nor eco­nomically secure.

Wall Street...
(continued from page 7)

a return to the anti-labor “free market” world of the 1980s. Galbraith, who advocated what in Europe and Latin America is termed a corporate state: a strong government exercising a high degree of direct control over the economy. In his influential books of the 1950s—Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power and The Affluent Society—Galbraith set out the theme that big business and “big labor” were reduc­ing their monopoly position at the ex­ pense of the rest of American society. Under the expansionary conditions of the postwar period, he argued, strong indus­trial unions like the UW could demand and extract ever-greater wages and bene­fits. Indeed, in Galbraith’s view there was little difference between the two. In American Capitalism, he wrote of the “full coalition between management and labor” which is “partly displaced by the conventional expressions of animosity.” Galbraith opposed the traditional right’s prescription of deflation by depressing the economy through tight money, higher taxes and cuts in government spending, arguing: “Even though the unemployment necessary for price stability is not, as a national total, very great, it will never be uniformly dis­tributed. Black and unskilled workers, often the same, lose their jobs first.” Gal­braith’s alternative was “to combine fis­cal policy with control over profits and wages.” This prescription was followed in the early 1960s by Kennedy and his successor Lyndon B. Johnson, who sought to impose wage “guidelines” on the major labor unions, a policy finally broken by a strike of airline machinists in 1966.

Even more importantly, Galbraith was the first major liberal intellectual to main­tain that the interests of unionized workers in the strategic core of the econ­omy were counterposed to those of the black poor. This position would be devel­oped in a more leftist form during the 1960s by young radicals who embraced the theses of: fascism and anti­racism. In the New Left view, white workers were seen as “junior partners” of American imperialism, benefi­ciant from the exploitation and degradation of the imperial powers. This led to the formation of the Georgia chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society and the National Student Association, both of which were dominated by white workers who felt neither alien nor eco­nomically secure.