

## They're Bleeding Nicaragua Dry

# Democrats Shift U.S. War on Nicaragua

On February 3, by a vote of 218 to 211, the House of Representatives narrowly defeated more contra aid. In the looking-glass world of Ronald Reagan where mercenaries are "freedom fighters," the \$36 million request really totaled \$63 million. The vote marked a setback for the White House and a ratification of the Arias "peace" plan. But far from bringing peace to embattled Nicaragua, it only shifts gears in Washington's seven-year war to bring the Sandinistas to their knees. And while Congressmen debated the timing of more blood money for their hired guns, the contra cutthroats showed their military "prowess" by killing 27 men, women and children in cold blood. Throughout the House debate, the Democrats made clear they were not "abandoning" the contras, just putting them on hold while they try to force the Sandinistas' surrender through diplomatic means. House Speaker Jim Wright promised millions in "humanitarian" aid to these terrorists, and everyone agrees the current appropriation will keep them armed to the teeth at least through July.

With last week's vote the Democrats have officially taken over management of U.S. foreign policy in Nicaragua. Now the Honduran generals bypass the State Department and "write right to Wright" when they're worried about what to do with retreating contras. White House spokesman Fitzwater says Reagan will have to see if the Democrats' policy works. The shift has been going on for several months. Stepping into the opening left by the Reagan regime's disarray over the Contragate scandal, the Democrats engineered the Arias plan. With Democratic Senator Chris Dodd as godfather and Democratic Representative Wright as midwife, the puppet presidents of the four U.S. neocolonies in the isthmus were eager to give a "democratic" face to Washington's drive for counterrevolution in Central America. The Democrats think they can succeed through squeezing Nicaragua economically and diplomatically where Reagan's contras have failed militarily. But behind the "give peace a chance" rhetoric is the promise of an even bigger war if the Sandinistas don't toe the line.

Reagan went all-out lobbying for his murderous "freedom fighters." In an



UPI



Nathwey/Black Star

Funeral march in Managua (above) for trade unionist Leonardo Rivas, victim of Washington's contra terrorists (left).

eleventh-hour appeal to Congress the contra president laid down the anti-Communist gauntlet to the Democrats: "It is up or down for Central America. It is win or lose for peace and freedom. It is yes or no to America's national security."

But Reagan's "contras or death" line isn't going down well. From the beginning, public opinion polls have consistently opposed contra aid by two to one. Significant sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie can see that the policy of

relying on the corrupt, degenerate, incompetent contras to defeat social revolution isn't working. The night before the vote, the TV networks pulled the plug on the president, refusing to broadcast his pitch to Congress on the grounds he had nothing new to say. Even ex-contra adventurer James Denby, recently released by Managua, was on Capitol Hill lobbying against contra aid. And with Attorney General Edwin Meese under yet another special investigation over the Iraq pipeline scam, the administration's "credibility" is at a low.

In the election-year debate over contra aid, both partner parties of American imperialism targeted Central America tops on their anti-Soviet hit list. Lee Hamilton's Democratic response to Reagan's pro-contra pitch made it perfectly clear that U.S. strategy in Central America is bipartisan, whatever the tactical differences: "no Soviet

*continued on page 9*

**Black  
History  
Month**

**Birth of the First Black Republic: 1791-1804**

**TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE  
AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION... 6**

## Labor Black Struggle League Formed

# Chicago: Victory Party for Callie and Cassandra

CHICAGO—On January 23 more than 85 people came out in a heavy snowstorm to attend a party at Sweet Georgia Brown, a popular South Side bar, to celebrate a victory against racist police terror. Black transit worker Cassandra Seay and her mother, Callie Bryant, were recently acquitted of all the frame-up charges thrown at them by five white cops who brutally attacked them in Cassandra's home last July (see "Cassandra Wins!" *WV* No. 443, 1 January). Attending the party were at least 30 Chicago transit workers, key activists who mobilized the members of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 to ensure a packed courtroom throughout the two-day trial.

During the party Local 308 member Bernard Branche announced the formation of the Labor Black Struggle League (LBSL). Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, the LBSL identifies itself as "an integrated organization which stands for mobilizing the masses of labor and blacks for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America."

The LBSL calls on labor and blacks to break with the Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of this racist capitalist system, and to build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Twenty people, including Callie Bryant and a number of ATU members, signed up on the spot as LBSL founding members. Each received a membership card inscribed with the quote from Karl Marx: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded."

Other speakers included Ed Clarkson of the Spartacist League and Kevin Quirk, a militant in Local 241 who was instrumental in gaining official union support for Cassandra and her family. Mark Kelly of the Partisan Defense Committee announced that the PDC was making a second contribution of \$100 to help cover the family's legal expenses. The legal costs continue to mount, as Cassandra's teenage sons, David and D'Artagnan, still face bogus charges stemming from the cop attack. An additional \$155 was collected from those at the party.

Callie Bryant recalled the cold-blooded cop murder of disabled black



Cassandra Seay (left) and supporters celebrate victory against racist cop terror. WV Photo

auto worker Larry Hawkins less than a week after the terroristic invasion of her daughter's home last summer, and said, "I really thought they were going to kill us. They *could* have killed us—all of us. But with the moral support and the financial support that we got we didn't feel that we were fighting this battle by ourselves.... I still want to thank everybody for staying with us, and

the battle's not over yet until my grandsons are free."

\* \* \*

To help cover the family's legal expenses, contributions should be made out to "Cassandra Seay and Callie Bryant" and sent to: Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law, 1120 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. ■

January 11, 1988  
c/o Loraine Ray, Attorney at Law  
1120 W. Belmont  
Chicago, IL 60657

Workers Vanguard  
Box 1377 GPO  
New York N.Y. 10116

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The attempt by the racist Chicago police and the State's Attorney to frame up and destroy our family has been defeated. On December 23 we won "not guilty" verdicts on all the charges they threw at us. Testimony in the two day-trial proved beyond any doubt that the real criminals were the five white policemen who invaded our home and beat and arrested us last July 21.

Uniformed Chicago transit workers and other trade unionists packed the courtroom during the trial. Telegrams and donations came in from all over the U.S. as well as from two transit locals in England. Union power made this victory possible. We warmly thank you for your support in this case. The racist police terror which constantly threatens all working people and minorities must be stopped.

Sincerely,

*Cassandra Seay*

Cassandra Seay, member of  
Amalgamated Transit Union  
Local 241

*Callie Bryant*  
Callie Bryant, member of  
AFSCME Local 1006



TROTSKY

### France: The Fight Against Fascism

*As the threat of a resurgent mass fascist movement looms in France, the lessons of the 1930s are of burning relevance. In February 1934, following Hitler's march to power the year before and on the eve of the victory of clerical fascism in Vienna, French fascists and royalists staged a major provocation in Paris. The Communist and Socialist parties responded a few days later with a united-front mobilization and general strike. Leon Trotsky pointed*

*to the urgent need for revolutionary leadership to mobilize the power of the proletariat to crush the fascists.*

The gangrene of barbaric reaction is spreading over one land after another. France is next in order. February 6 marked the first rehearsal of fascist banditism....

On February 12, the day of the general strike and powerful demonstrations, the workers of France forced the two bureaucratic apparatuses into a united front for twenty-four hours. This was, however, *improvisation*, and for victory *organization* is needed....

Today proletarian France is next in historic order. Again in France is being decided not only the fate of France but that of Europe and, in the final analysis, of the whole world. Should fascism succeed in crushing the French proletariat, the whole of Europe will have to drink of the bitter cup. On the other hand, under present conditions the victory of the French proletariat would far surpass in significance even the October victory of the Russian proletariat!

Workers of the world, you can help the French proletariat best and most surely by an irreconcilable struggle against your own bourgeoisie. Call on the other French workers' organizations to unite in the struggle! Under the fire of the enemy, gather the most intrepid, farsighted, devoted among you and weld them together into detachments of the Fourth International.

—L.D. Trotsky, "France Is Now the Key to the Situation" (March 1934)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

*Workers Vanguard* (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 446

12 February 1988

## Letter

### From the BT...

January 29, 1988

...In conclusion, let us reiterate: 1) the BT was not present at the PSC demonstration in San Francisco on January 7th when you were excluded;

and 2) the BT protested your exclusion as soon as we learned of it. We would appreciate, but given your recent record do not really expect to see, an appropriate correction in a forthcoming issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

Fraternally,  
Gerald Smith  
For the Bolshevik Tendency

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# Secret "Plan of Attack" Targets CISPES

## FBI Witchhunts Central America Protesters

Death squads cruising the streets of Los Angeles, a Vietnam vet mutilated by a Navy death train in the Bay Area, scores of "black bag" jobs on the offices and homes of Central America activists, and now new proof of a far-reaching government program to intimidate and criminalize its political opponents. Documents obtained by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) have provided a glimpse of the government's witchhunting campaign against opponents of its contra war in Nicaragua and of death squad "democracy" in El Salvador. Reagan's "terrorism" campaign is part of the attempt to regiment the American people for war against anything labeled a Soviet "surrogate" regime. The flip side of the administration's perpetual "terrorist under every bed" scare is systematic government violence against its political opponents, whether you're a striking coal miner in Kentucky or a religious peace activist in Minnesota.

The CCR filed suit on behalf of CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, a left-liberal pressure group which seeks (in vain) to lobby Congressional Democrats for a "political solution" to stop the class war in El Salvador. But despite its tepid program, CISPES is squarely in the government's sights. A document from the New Orleans FBI office baldly stated that "it is imperative at this time to formulate some plan of attack against CISPES." The widespread campaign of harassment, intimidation and violence which is revealed in the documents gives the lie to the claim that "it all stopped with J. Edgar Hoover." Membership lists and phone numbers were stolen, students were tailed, brigadistas returning from Nicaragua were harassed on their jobs, thousands of photographs and license plate numbers of protesters



FBI COINTELPRO-type operation targeted CISPES and other peace groups. Methodist minister (right) shows photos of break-in at Washington, D.C. church.

ACTWU, AFSCME and the National Education Association. With the purpose of intimidating political opposition to the U.S. war in Central America, the CISPES documents show heavy FBI infiltration and harassment against "respectable" liberal and religious peace groups, from the Maryknoll Sisters to Witness for Peace, particularly in small and medium cities, from Norfolk to Oklahoma City. The New Orleans office alone holds a 6,000-page file on CISPES.

### Executive Order 12333

The CISPES "investigation" is just the tip of the iceberg in the government's war on Central American protesters. It is the continuation of the "counterintelligence" program of disruption, violence and murder known as COINTELPRO. First aimed against the Communist Party in 1956, COINTELPRO was expanded in the 1960s to target the Socialist Workers Party,

Executive Order 12333 giving the FBI legal cover to "conduct counterintelligence and coordinate counterintelligence activities of other agencies within the Intelligence Community" (*Nation*, 7 March 1987). The investigation of CISPES was begun in 1981, with the claim that it was an "agent of a foreign power." In 1983 the feds classified CISPES as a "199 organization" under Order 12333, which gave the FBI and CIA sweeping powers to burgle offices, tap phones and open mail. Coupled with the Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines issued in 1983, Reagan and Attorney General Meese have an arsenal of "legal" weapons to go after their political opponents.

In addition to the long list of groups targeted in the CISPES "investigation," the FBI has targeted a host of leftist and peace organizations under "terrorism" and "national security" pretexts. The pro-Democratic Party All-Peoples Congress, a creature of the reformist Workers World Party, was the subject of surveillance and harassment for its participation in Central America demonstrations. Now Meese is using "national security" grounds to appeal the decision awarding the reformist SWP damages in their 15-year "Watersuit" against the COINTELPRO witchhunt. A San Francisco FBI agent was fired for refusing to open a "terrorism" file on Brian Willson, the pacifist activist who was nearly killed by a Navy weapons train in Concord, California. Even the Physicians for Social Responsibility, of Nobel Peace Prize respectability, was the subject of an FBI "terrorism" investigation.

the FBI ran an assassination operation against Salvadoran refugees:

"... he was sent to El Salvador to establish contact with the National Guard there. He returned bearing the Guard's hit list of political opponents.... The F.B.I. checked Salvadorans arrested by the Immigration and Naturalization Service against that list, Varelli says, and when someone on it was deported to El Salvador, he informed the National Guard."

—*Nation*, 7 March 1987

In New Orleans, the FBI said its "plan of attack" was directed:

"specifically, against individuals, [censored] who defiantly display their contempt for the U.S. government by making speeches and propagandizing their cause while asking for political asylum. New Orleans is of the opinion that Departments of Justice and State should be consulted to explore the possibility of deporting these individuals."

Checking a list of death squad victims, the ACLU found over 100 who had been deported from the U.S., delivered into the hands of "Blowtorch Bob" D'Aubuisson and the sadistic right-wing killers in El Salvador. Varelli provided the death squads with the names of CISPES members and other peace activists in the U.S. (see "Death Squad Kidnappings in L.A.," *WV* No. 433, 24 July 1987). He also revealed that the FBI conducted break-ins of the Dallas CISPES office and members' homes. In recent years there have been over 90 such break-ins of liberal and church offices.

The real "state-supported terrorists" are the ones working for the government. And like the Reagan gang's plans to "privatize" everything from contra aid to the National Institutes of Health,

continued on page 10



Der Spiegel

were wired to FBI offices. And FBI director William Sessions baldly declares the feds did nothing wrong.

The material obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) consists of only 1,320 heavily censored pages, out of 17 volumes on CISPES held at FBI headquarters. In the course of infiltrating local CISPES chapters, the FBI's "El Salvador Terrorism Unit" spied on over 150 organizations across the country, involving 52 out of the FBI's 59 field offices. Included on the feds' hit list were the United Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Hospital Workers,

antiwar protesters and particularly black militants. Black Panther Party members were murdered as they slept, or framed up and locked away in prison like Geronimo Pratt. Yet in 500,000 covert investigations of "subversives" from 1960 to 1974, there was not a single prosecution, according to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. In the post-Vietnam/Watergate climate, in 1977 the Justice Department issued "guidelines" supposedly restricting general "investigations" of political dissent.

In December 1981, Reagan issued



Rick Reinhard

U.S. government informer Frank Varelli fingered Salvadoran deportees to death squads.

### From COINTELPRO to Contragate

The new COINTELPRO is a lot more sinister than wiretaps and photographs. The CCR suit which obtained the documents was begun in Dallas after the exposure of FBI operative Frank Varelli, a.k.a. Gilberto Mendoza. Varelli was an FBI link-man with the Salvadoran National Guard and its death squads, and infiltrated the Dallas CISPES chapter in 1981. His cover was blown in 1984, and three years later he appeared before California Representative Don Edwards' Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, belly-aching that the FBI still owed him \$60,000 for his dirty work. Varelli and

### Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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## Berkeley Students Protest Fascist

# "Smash Metzger's Klan Terror!"

Tom ("Mr. Lynch Rope") Metzger, führer of "White Aryan Resistance" and former Grand Dragon of the terrorist Ku Klux Klan, thought he could ride in Berkeley, with a little help from the liberals at KALX, the University of California's campus radio station. But when KALX made public their plan to interview the white racist Metzger—on the first day of Black History Month!—the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club swung into high gear to mobilize a protest against Klan terror. On February 1, the street outside KALX rang with chants of "The Klan must not ride in Berkeley!" and "Smash Metzger's Klan terror!" An integrated protest of about 80, including students from the university and three area high schools, Spartacist supporters and other anti-racist militants, picketed the station in the morning and at noon while Metzger was on the air.

Black students at Cal, who've been the target of a wave of racist provocations, and other enemies of racism recognized the deadly threat represented by Metzger (his name means "butcher" in German). Many took stacks of the SL/SYC leaflet (reprinted below) to hand out in their dormitories and classes—some 4,000 copies of this leaflet were distributed at UC Berkeley in no time. Several large and athletic young black students showed up at the radio station after hearing an announcement for the protest in one of their



Young Spartacus Photos  
Demonstrators picket UC Berkeley radio KALX, as station broadcasts fascist führer Metzger.

classes. They hoped to give the Klan nightrider a real "education" on his campus foray, but Metzger spewed his race war message by long-distance telephone hookup—a dress rehearsal for in-person appearances on college campuses. Black sanitationmen passing by raised clenched fists in support of the

anti-Klan protesters and pointed to the business end of their garbage truck as the spot where Metzger should be dumped if he showed up in town.

Spartacist League spokesman Don Alexander told the anti-Klan protesters that fascists have historically recruited from the petty-bourgeois layers in times

of sharp crisis; thus in Germany in the '20s and '30s the Nazis recruited heavily among college students. Berkeley, like the other elite schools in the country which are also rife with naked racism, looks ripe for the picking to scumbag Metzger who has organized "White Student Unions" at colleges and high

## "The Klan Must Not Ride in Berkeley!"

Campus radio station KALX has announced that on Monday, Feb. 1 at 9 AM it will have a live call-in show with "White Aryan Resistance" (WAR) Führer and KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger, a notorious organizer for racist genocide. KALX's ostensible reason for this is to "expose" Metzger's "ideas," with a rebuttal to follow in a week. This is falling into a deadly trap. Metzger's KKK and the Nazis are *not* a debating society! They are paramilitary *action* groups that exist to terrorize and kill.

This forum for racist terror follows by one week a racist letter to the *Daily Cal* titled "White man's burden" in which one "L. Wheeler" makes a pitch for the Nazi swastika, symbol of the genocide of millions. The letter obscenely equates the swastika with the clenched-fist Black Power symbol, and defends the swastika used by white racist firemen in San Francisco against a "powerful black firefighters union." This letter is nothing but a white-supremacist apology for Nazi genocide and a call for race war against blacks. The "NAACP" the letter mentions exists—it is the "National Association for the Advancement of White People," the latest face of Ku Klux Klan "wizard" and Nazi David Duke.

What is going on here? Why does this "interview" take place right after the racist letter is printed? Are these things just a coincidence? Or is somebody working a campaign here, probing to recruit would-be fascists to translate their racism into the language of Klan/Nazi terror in Berkeley?

Metzger has reason to believe he can recruit here. Last fall this campus was swept with a wave of racist attacks against black students. A black student chased out of a football game by white racists. A dead chicken placed at a dorm

### Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth Club Leaflet

gym with a death-threat note around its neck reading "Kill niggers and Jews." The letters "KKK"—symbol of lynche murder—carved above a black woman's dorm-room bed. Racist epithets scrawled on black organizations' flyers. Two black women run out of a housing co-op.

Around the Bay Area racist attacks have escalated. Concord: Timothy Lee, a gay black man, found lynched. San Jose: skinhead Nazi-lovers beat and terrorize a black woman. Redwood City: a series of synagogues defaced. San Francisco State: racist threats and attacks from a proto-fascist "Residents Liberation Army" (who were driven back into their ratholes by a Spartacist campaign that mobilized student groups and unionists). The San Francisco Fire Department is a cesspool of racist reaction with constant abuse and attacks against black, Asian and Jewish firefighters. A Jewish fireman who protested when his locker was repeatedly defaced with Nazi swastikas was savagely beaten.

This racist climate has been prepared by Reagan and the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Reagan went to Germany to honor SS graves at Bitburg, paying homage to the murderers of millions of Jews. The Republican/Democrat drive to "roll back Communism" means war on the working people and blacks in particular, and fuels the growth of racist terror groups from coast to coast.

Since the horrible murder in broad daylight of leftists and civil rights activ-

ists in Greensboro, North Carolina by Klansmen and Nazis in 1979, the fascists have made attempts to establish a base in urban centers like Detroit, San Francisco, Ann Arbor, Chicago and Washington, D.C. In each case they were interdicted and stopped by a strategy of mass labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League. These were important victories for all decent people. The fascists must be crushed in the egg!

But a flabby, liberal, moralistic, legalistic response of symposiums and consciousness-raising sessions only emboldens the race-terrorists. And the city and campus of Berkeley are pretty weird—a place where a lot of people think animals have more rights than humans and some beansprout totalitarians would just as soon kill you for smoking. A lot of people in Berkeley couldn't tell a fascist from a right-wing Libertarian. The Democrats have a "liberal" face here, but behind that façade are the Dixiecrats. And let's not forget that KKK Dragon Metzger ran for U.S. Congress in 1980 as a Democrat. So there's a problem here.

Exactly who has masterminded putting Metzger on the air? What next—a talk show with Adolf Eichmann and Josef Mengele? By providing a forum for fascist recruitment KALX is lending itself to the Klan's program of genocide against blacks, Hispanics, Jews, gays, unionists, leftists and all those on the hit list for racist murder.

This is deadly serious business. Ask the victims of these race-terrorist kill-

ers. Like those attacked in March 1980 when "grand dragon" Metzger's armed mob launched a vicious race-terror assault, complete with attack dogs, on demonstrators in Oceanside, California. Ask the Mexicans under the guns of the KKK "volunteer border patrols" Metzger set up to shoot down "illegal aliens"—Metzger boasted that their "dead bodies stack up along the border." Alan Berg, a Jewish talk-show host, was machine-gunned to death in Denver by the fascist killers of the "Order"/"Aryan Nations." An "Order" member testified that they gave a quarter of a million dollars—proceeds of an armored-car robbery—to Metzger, who has since set up "White Student Unions." This is what Metzger uses the media—cable TV and now KALX—to recruit to. This is what KALX is lending itself to and helping make "respectable."

This viciously racist capitalist society faces either class war or race war. The fascist murderers like Metzger's KKK are the shock troops kept in reserve by the capitalist class to drown the labor movement and oppressed in blood. It will take a socialist revolution to smash the fascists once and for all by destroying the vicious capitalist system that breeds these scum.

In our leaflet "Smash Racist Attacks at U.C. Berkeley!" (26 October 1987) we wrote: "Racist terror will not be stopped by moral suasion—it must be smashed by the social power of the working class, united with the intended victims of race-terror and all anti-racist fighters." Don't "interview" fascists—**MOBILIZE TO SMASH THEM!**

Spartacist League/  
Spartacus Youth Club  
29 January 1988



**Spartacists say:**  
At the other end of the Democrats' "Rainbow"—fascist Metzger. Break with the Democrats!

schools. During the anti-Klan protest Kathleen Hayes, a UC student and member of the Spartacus Youth Club, called on her fellow students to ally with the working class in the fight for socialism, "the only means that can destroy once and for all the system which breeds the fascists."

Labor Black League for Social Defense spokesman Jeff Higgins denounced those like Jesse Jackson who seek to chain workers and blacks to the class enemy. Higgins stressed: "The Democratic Party, with its roots in the old slavocracy, is a capitalist party, and keeping black folks 'in their place' is one of the key elements in maintaining capitalist profits." Against reformist illusions in the bosses' party, Spartacist placards told the plain truth: "At the Other End of the Rainbow—Metzger" and "Capitalist Politics Mean Liberal Fakery, Reagan Reaction, Klan Terror to Screw the Working People."

The liberals put out the sucker bait that broadcasting the Klan's call for genocide is a matter of "free speech." Those who push this line make themselves advance men for the fascists, willy-nilly or perhaps knowingly. The lynch rope, the night rider's torch, the gas chambers and ovens of Auschwitz and Treblinka, four little black girls blown to pieces in a church basement in Birmingham—this is the language of fascism. While you're debating the non-existent issue of their "free speech," they're out wiring a bomb to your car. As for civil liberties, KALX deliberately censored free speech for the intended victims and enemies of geno-

cide and racist terror, screening out all calls that were not polite "questions for Mr. Metzger." As the SL/SYC call for action declared: "Don't interview fascists—MOBILIZE TO SMASH THEM!"

Many of the young people who came out to protest Metzger were clearly attending their first political demonstration. Yet their determination and felt urgency to fight racist reaction far exceeded that of most of the self-styled Berkeley "leftists." To their credit, the divestment liberals of the "Campaign Against Apartheid" group voted to support the protest and took leaflets to distribute. But when the hour for united action was at hand, they took a powder and were not to be counted on except for a few sideline gawkers who wouldn't even join the picket. It would appear that the struggle to reshuffle the university's stock portfolio and keep "their" corporations' hands clean of South Africa evokes a far greater response than the struggle against the fascists who seek to impose apartheid terror on black students right here on the UC campus. Worse still was the miserable "Marxist-Leninist Party" (MLP) whose supporters shamefacedly abstained on the vote in the CAA meeting.

As the Labor Black League spokesman stated:

"It is the integrated labor movement, under the leadership of a Trotskyist multiracial vanguard party, that has the social power to stop the whistling of Dixie, bring down the hated Confederate flag, and sweep the fascist scum from the streets. That power can only be successfully brought to bear in the fight for a workers government." ■

## Harvard Protest Against Contra Terrorist

CAMBRIDGE—More than 50 students and activists picketed in front of the notorious Kennedy School of Government as Harvard welcomed another war criminal on January 28. This time it was one Alfredo César, a leader of Reagan's loser contra band in Nicaragua. The Spartacus Youth Club joined the protest with energetic chants that were picked up by the crowd as we called to "Defend Nicaragua! César off campus!" and "Avenge Ben Linder! Crush the contras!" Several joined our chants "From Managua to Afghanistan, smash Reagan's contra band!" and "Smash Reagan's Bay of Pigs, Nicaragua needs MIGs!"

César was protected by a phalanx of 30 Harvard cops and two State Department officers, whose purpose was to prevent leftists from getting inside the auditorium. Even so, the cops threw out more than two dozen people from the audience who responded with justified outrage to this butcher's presence. Obviously Harvard was intent on preventing a replay of last October 2 when Joshua Laub, a PL/InCAR support-



Young Spartacus

er, chased another contra honcho, Adolfo Calero, from a Harvard podium. The Harvard Spartacus Youth says, "Defend Josh Laub! No reprisals against anti-contra protesters!"

# Columbia University Protesters Drive Off Israeli General

Angry protesters shouted down Brigadier General Amnon Straschnow, Judge Advocate General of the Israeli Defense Forces, February 4 when he tried to speak at Columbia University Law School. Boos and shouts of "U.S., Israel, End the Occupation!" "PLO!" and "West Bank, Gaza—Self-Determination!" repeatedly broke out as General Straschnow approached the podium. After 45 minutes the Zionist butcher was escorted out of the auditorium and ushered into a taxi.

Straschnow, billed by his hosts as the man "responsible for Israel's system of military justice within Israel, Gaza and the West Bank," was invited on campus by the Council of Jewish Organizations and Columbia Students for Israel. This bloody executor of torture, jailings and deportations was supposed to "explain" Israeli policy in Gaza and the Occupied Territories. With Zionist stormtroopers breaking down doors, beating, shooting and starving the Palestinian masses, his presence was an obscene provocation.

As Straschnow approached the podium, the room exploded in anger, which erupted repeatedly each time he tried to speak. At one point, he incredibly told the protesters: "The problem of the Palestinians is that they never listen." A voice in the crowd rang out, "I listen and I hear the shots of Israeli guns." Rabbi Charles Sheer, Chaplain of the Jewish Office, threatened to direct NYC cops to arrest students who continued to "disrupt." But faced with the prospect of mass arrests, officials decided instead to escort Straschnow out.

A demonstration outside the Law School had been called by a coalition of campus groups including the Student Committee for Palestinian Human Rights, the campus Arab Club, Columbia Students in Solidarity with Nicaragua, the Black Students Organization and Columbia/Barnard Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). But the demonstration was marked by the anti-communist "unity" of the Palestinian nationalists and pro-imperialist "left."

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club joined the picket line protest, posing a clear pole of proletarian internationalism with our slogans: "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!" "Right of Self-Determination for Palestinians and Hebrews!" "For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!" "Nationalism—Dead End for Palestinians! Zionism—Death Trap for Jews!" "Smash U.S./Israeli/Pretoria Anti-Soviet Axis!" and "Free Mordechai Vanunu!"

For the coalition and their reformist hangers-on of the SWP, RCP, Workers World and ISO, this was literally wav-

ing a red flag. What the coalition wants was conveyed by a postcard pre-addressed to Israeli defense minister Yitzhak Rabin (copies to the U.S. State Department) being circulated by the Workers World-promoted Palestinian Solidarity Committee. This read in part, "We urge you to respect human rights and international law in the West Bank and Gaza Strip..." So they pressure bloody U.S. imperialism to pressure the murderous Zionist state to stop being Zionist!

After 20 minutes, with Koch's racist killer cops standing by to seize on any



Young Spartacus

Spartacists oppose Zionist henchman Straschnow, February 4.

"trouble" with the demo, the coalition demanded the Spartacist signs come down. A spokesman explicitly stated that the issues we raised were "divisive" to the coalition, which he said included "progressive Zionists"! Seeking to simultaneously appease Arab nationalism and Zionism, the reformists frantically censor communist politics. But Zionism can only mean continued Israeli expansionism and terror in the Occupied Territories, and expulsion and massacre of Palestinians.

The Zionist fortress-state must be exploded from within by joint revolutionary class struggle of Palestinian and Hebrew workers. For Trotskyist parties which defend the right of self-determination of both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking nations in fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

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# Birth of the First Black Republic: 1791-1804



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Mary Evans Picture Library

Left: Toussaint L'Ouverture. Above: Freed slaves battle French army. Toussaint's army fighting to win their freedom and independence defeated the best troops Napoleon and the British could muster.

## TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE AND THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

Haiti today is a desperately poor country beset by neocolonial exploitation and despotism. The Duvaliers, father and son, and their hand-picked successors are only the latest in a line of dictators propped up and frequently installed by Washington. Before that came 20 years of direct occupation by the United States Marines. Yet two centuries ago this land was the richest colony in the world. And in a dozen years of brutal struggle, a black slave revolt won Haiti's freedom in battle against the most powerful colonial empires of the era. The Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 touched off a wave of slave revolts in the Caribbean and inspired blacks in the American South. Today, as the Haitian masses cry out for revolution to break the chains of imperialist domination and the most literal wage slavery, they will look back to the father of the first black republic, Toussaint L'Ouverture, the man known as *Black Spartacus*.

Toussaint forged an army of black slaves who won freedom for Haiti by defeating the best troops the British and French colonial empires could muster. His regime restored the island's wealth and prosperity after the devastation of war. Toussaint was able to accomplish

these remarkable achievements because he brought together the hurricane-like power of slave rebellion with the program and ideals of the great bourgeois revolutions. Even if Haiti's independence would ultimately be won only in bitter battle against both the French Republic of Robespierre and the Empire of Napoleon, the French and

men of property. When the slaves rose up in Saint-Domingue, the French part of the island of Hispaniola, in August 1791, the United States hastened to send arms to put down the uprising. George Washington wrote, "How regrettable to see such a spirit of revolt among the Negroes." In the U.S., the Haitian Revolution inspired slave revolts from Den-

Caribbean." By 1783, trade with Saint-Domingue was more than a third of all French foreign commerce and more than double the value of Britain's trade with all its colonies taken together. Largely due to trade with the newly independent United States, production in Saint-Domingue nearly doubled between 1783 and 1789. By the start of the revolution two years later there were almost 800 sugar plantations, more than 2,000 coffee plantations and 3,000 of indigo. While sugar production in the British West Indies was declining, Saint-Domingue was at the height of its productivity and prosperity. Seeking to defend Britain's mercantile domination of the Caribbean, William Pitt began to agitate for an end to the slave trade (though not slavery itself) in order to cut off the vital supply of labor to the burgeoning French colony.

In Saint-Domingue, the class and caste divisions of prerevolutionary France overlapped the race/color question. In 1789, this was perhaps the most race-conscious society in the world, legally recognizing 128 "degrees" of blackness (that is, counting all ancestors back seven generations). Broadly, society was divided into three essential strata. At the top were the white planters, economically dependent on the merchants of Bordeaux and Marseille, but, dominating a slave society, ideologically attached to privileges equivalent to those of a feudal aristocracy. At the bottom were the black slaves. In the middle were the mulattos, many of whom were freedmen, small businessmen and tradesmen; a significant number themselves owned slaves and were increasingly wealthy. By 1789 the mulattos owned nearly one-third of the property in Saint-Domingue.

Like the classic petty bourgeoisie, the mulattos played a pivotal role, switching allegiances rapidly depending on the situation. At the outset of the French Revolution, these *gens de couleur* (men of color) were motivated by grievances against the aristocratic plantocracy. According to the *Code Noir* (Black Code) decreed by Louis XIV in 1685, the freedman was to enjoy "the same rights,

### Black History Month

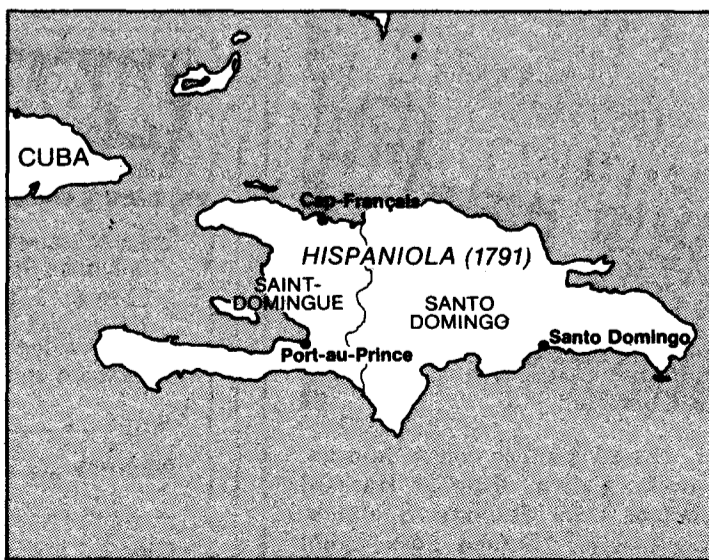
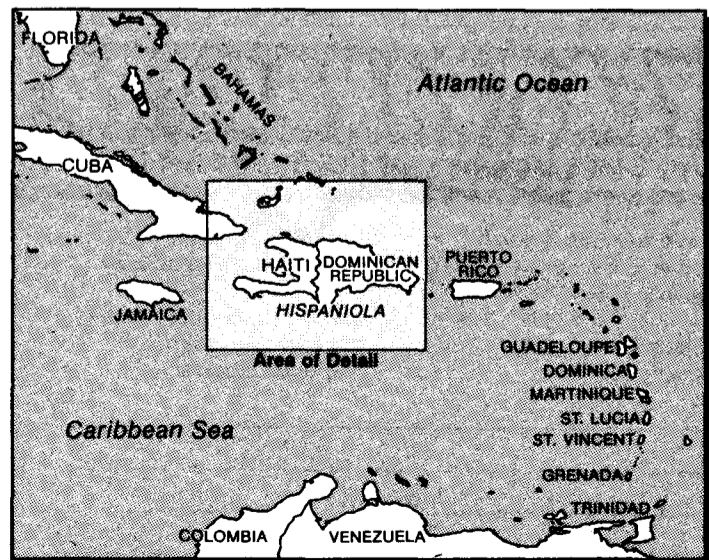
American Revolutions were the detonators of the Haitian Revolution—from the military experience of mulatto-commanders who fought in the French expeditionary force during the American Revolutionary War, to the adoption of the American revolutionary slogan "Live Free or Die," to the driving force of the watchwords "*Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité*."

The Haitian Revolution was a beacon in the fight against slavery and for national independence throughout the 19th century. But by abolishing slavery through a social revolution surging up from the very bottom of society, it struck fear into the slavemasters and

mark Vesey and Gabriel Prosser to Nat Turner. As the abolitionist fighter Frederick Douglass said, "When they struck for freedom, they builded better than they knew. Their swords were not drawn and could not be drawn simply for themselves alone. They were linked and interlinked with their race, and striking for their freedom, they struck for the freedom of every black man in the world."

#### The Richest Sugar Colony

At the end of the 18th century, Saint-Domingue was described by the English economist Adam Smith as "the most important of the sugar colonies of the



WV Maps

The Caribbean was divided among France, Britain and Spain. Slave revolts occurred nearly everywhere, but were successful only in French Saint-Domingue, renamed Haiti when it won independence in 1804.

privileges and immunities of persons born free." But a century later, these rights had been eroded so that "free" mulattos were forbidden to be on the streets after 9 p.m., to sit with whites in a public place, to bear a European name, or even to wear clothes of European material and fashion. Mulatto women could wear petticoats of cotton but not silk, and petticoat inspectors stood at church doors requiring them to raise their skirts as they entered! The 40,000 whites in Saint-Domingue resorted to such grotesque discrimination to shore up their caste privileges against an almost equal number of mulattos, many of whom were educated in Europe and far wealthier than the poor whites.

When the French Revolution refused to grant them political rights and threatened existing rights because of their color, the mulattos allied with the black slaves. But when the French bourgeoisie sought an alliance with them based on private property (i.e., slavery), they turned and fought the slaves. Thus in Saint-Domingue the questions of color and class were directly related, and the mulattos' changes in position were an immediate reflection of this intersection. Originally a reflection of the distinction between property owners (mulattos) and slaves, the color hostility took on a life of its own in the course of the war against the French and the civil war which followed independence, laying the basis for much of Haitian politics even up to the present.

But the central preoccupation of French colonial society was to keep down the more than half a million black slaves. And for this purpose they employed extreme violence with barbarous ferocity. Vastey, a former slave who was secretary to the future black "king" Henri Christophe, raged against the crimes perpetrated against the slaves of Saint-Domingue:

"Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive... flayed them with the lash... lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes... thrown them into boiling caldrons of cane syrup... put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss... consigned these miserable blacks to man-eating dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and dagger?"

—cited in Robert and Nancy Heintz, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492-1971* (1978)

The French masters were even more brutal than their British counterparts of the time as they were "breaking in" slaves imported from Africa in the murderous work of clearing new lands.

In barely 100 years of slavery in the French colony such extreme repression produced a succession of slave revolts, beginning as early as 1679 with the uprising of Padrejean and recurring throughout the 18th century—in 1724, 1730, 1734, 1740 and the legendary conspiracy of Macandal, who organized slaves in the North to poison their masters and was burned alive at the stake in 1758. In addition, there were bands of escaped slaves, the *marrons*, in the hills. In the last years before the Revolution (1785-1789), as a result of the explosive economic growth, 150,000 slaves were imported into Saint-Domingue. Unlike in the American South in the 1800s, where most slaves were born in captivity in the U.S., fully 60 percent of all slaves in Saint-Domingue were born in Africa. The Marquis du Rouvray wrote in 1783: "This colony of slaves is like a city under the imminence of attack; we are treading on loaded barrels of gunpowder."

### Beginnings of the Haitian Revolution

The French Revolution of 1789 overthrew the monarchy and landed aristocracy and brought the mercantile bourgeoisie to power. It proclaimed

the watchwords of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Yet the bourgeois revolutionaries in Paris dragged their feet on equality for freedmen and looked with horror on abolishing slavery in the colonies. This seeming paradox is explained by the fact that the wealth of the leading capitalists of the epoch—the shipbuilders, merchants and slave traders of Bordeaux, Nantes and Marseille—was dependent above all on the enormous profits flowing out of the sugar islands of the Antilles. The Girondins, who took power following the execution of Louis XVI and the proclamation of the French Republic in 1792, were named after the region around Bordeaux, the Gironde. Even as the Revolution radicalized, it was not until the end of the Jacobin reign in 1794 that they reluctantly abolished slavery, and then only in the face of black revolt and to ward off an English attack on France's most lucrative colony.

The successive stages of the French Revolution were directly reflected in the developing revolution in Saint-Domingue, but through the prism of race/color/class divisions of the plantation society. The first phase of the Haitian Revolution resulted from the debate in the French Constituent Assembly on the question of who should have voting rights. The *Amis des Noirs* (Friends of the Blacks), which opposed the immediate emancipation of the slaves, asked only for the rights of freedmen under Louis XIV's Black Code. But despite their modest demands, the Assembly's resolution of 28 March 1790 did not resolve the rights of mulattos. It decreed that "any adult male person" with certain property qualifications could vote, without specifying that freedmen were "persons." (Slaves were considered "property.") And implementation of the



Mansell Collection

Left: Henri Christophe, one of Toussaint's main generals, ruled the North 1807-1818. Right: Dessalines brought Thermidor to Haitian Revolution while winning final war of independence. Crowned himself Emperor Jacques I in 1804.

decree was put in the hands of the colonial assembly, which refused to promulgate it. Both the mulattos and the planters were infuriated. The balance of forces would decide.

The freedmen's response came from Vincent Ogé, a mulatto intellectual who had been active in Paris among the *Amis des Noirs*. Disappointed with the decree of March 28, he returned to Saint-Domingue via the United States where he obtained guns and ammunition. He was joined by Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, a professional soldier who had fought with the French in the American war. The mulatto revolt at Cap-Français in October 1790 was quickly crushed; the leaders fled to the Spanish side of the island, but were captured and turned over to the French colonists. Even though they appealed to the common interests of whites and mulattos as slave-owners, Ogé and Chavannes were brutally tortured and executed on the wheel—at the opposite end of the square



Flammarion

Painting by Delacroix (detail): "Liberty leading the masses." French Revolution sparked revolt by mulattos and blacks for freedom and abolition of slavery in the French colonies.

to that reserved for the execution of whites.

Blood was flowing in the colonies, and the division among the slaveowners threatened to provide an opening for the blacks to rise up. Raymond, leader of the *Amis des Noirs*, pleaded for equality for the mulattos, arguing that "if nevertheless the blacks want to revolt they will not be able to, because the persons of color, interested in keeping them in slavery, will unite with the whites and will then constitute a single class." On 15 May 1791 the Constituent Assembly granted the mulattos some

slave insurrection broke out. The leader was Boukman, a work-gang leader in Limbé, the same place where Macandal had launched his conspiracy. On the night of 14 August 1791, Boukman held the famous ceremony at Bois Cayman where the slaves vowed to revolt. A week later the insurrection was general in the northern plain—the richest and most prosperous area of the country. Some 200 sugar plantations and 600 coffee estates were laid waste and hundreds of whites killed. At this point, it was more an inchoate *jacquerie* (peasant revolt) than a revolution. When they attacked Cap-Français, they were defeated and Boukman killed.

### The Rise of Toussaint L'Ouverture

Yet the battle had been joined. It was at this time that Toussaint L'Ouverture threw in his lot with the rebels. Toussaint was, as his best biographer, C.L.R. James, has written, undoubtedly one of the political and military geniuses of the late 18th century. In ten years of warfare, he forged groups of illiterate slaves into a disciplined army which evoked the astonishment of European commanders and defeated both a British expeditionary force and the best troops Napoleon could muster at the height of his power. A British military historian, Fortescue, has put total British losses at 100,000, including 40,000 dead—more than the total losses of Wellington's army from all causes in the Spanish Peninsular campaign. The French lost over 55,000 soldiers in Saint-Domingue, including veteran troops of Napoleonic victories.

After Boukman's death, Toussaint rose rapidly. A small, frail man with an iron will, Toussaint had led a relatively privileged life under an enlightened master. He was literate and had read widely, including the 1780 treatise on the politics and economics of the Indies by Abbé Raynal, who declared of the fugitive slaves: "Those lightnings announce the thunder. A courageous chief only is wanted." From Caesar's *Commentaries* he derived valuable military knowledge. He had already gained organizational experience, having risen to the position of steward of livestock, in charge of hundreds of slaves and foremen. With this background, at the age of 45, "Old Toussaint" joined the slave revolt: But with the Constituent Assembly under Girondins in alliance with the mulattos, the former slaves faced the combined forces of the mulattos and the French.

The blacks were considered outlaws, *continued on page 8*



Haiti-Progrès

# Haitian Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

to be dealt with as such. In order to give himself time and establish a safe retreat, Toussaint formed a temporary alliance with the Spanish, retaining his freedom of movement and command, and the organizational integrity of his forces. Nevertheless, Toussaint was on the verge of failure when Louis XVI was executed in January 1793. The British, seeing an opportunity both to defeat the hated Revolution and regain a monopoly of trade in cotton, indigo, coffee—and slaves!—declared war on France and prepared to seize the French colonies in the Antilles. The threat of invasion of France and the Paris masses' demands to halt the spiraling price of food brought the Jacobins to power. Still the Revolution refused to come to grips with the question of slavery. But the all-sided civil war in Saint-Domingue forced the issue.

As the Republic was in its birth pangs, Paris had dispatched three commissioners led by the right-wing Jacobin Sonthonax. By the summer of 1793, he had pacified the South by placing the mulatto leader Rigaud in command, and defeated a royalist uprising in the North by forming black regiments with the promise of freedom to all those who fought against their former masters. On August 29, faced with a British fleet at sea, a Spanish invasion on land and Cap-Français in ruins, he took the fateful step, abolishing slavery with the proclamation: "The slave-drivers and cannibals are no more.... The Republic desires liberty and equality among all men regardless of color; kings are content only amid slaves." Sonthonax acted of his own accord. As late as November 1793, Robespierre attacked the Girondins for wanting to undermine France by plotting "to immediately free and arm all blacks to destroy our colonies."

By happenstance, the very day Sonthonax decreed the liberation of the slaves, Toussaint issued his famous proclamation, declaring:

"Brothers and Friends,  
"I am Toussaint L'Ouverture, my name has perhaps become known to you. I have undertaken vengeance. I wish Liberty and Equality to reign over Saint-Domingue. I strive to make them hap-



Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831, one of many slave revolts that looked to the Haitian Revolution for inspiration.

pen. Join with us, brothers, and fight with us in the common cause."

Since Sonthonax' decree had not been ratified by the Convention, Toussaint did not trust it and continued to fight against the mulatto armies under Rigaud and Beauvais. Faced with the British invasion and Toussaint's progress, in February 1794 the Convention finally ratified the abolition of slavery in the colonies. When news of ratification reached Saint-Domingue weeks later, the British were on the verge of successfully occupying the entire island. Toussaint immediately broke with the Spanish and rallied to the forces of the Republic against the slaveholding British. In a series of lightning campaigns, winning seven victories in as many days, Toussaint's army rapidly reversed the situation, and drove the British onto the defensive.

## The Reign of Toussaint

Toussaint L'Ouverture soon became master of the island. The governor was General Laveaux, who after being saved by Toussaint from mulatto rebels at Cap-Français acclaimed his rescuer "that black Spartacus foreseen by Raynal, whose destiny is to avenge the outrages on his race." In France, in the

meantime, the Jacobins had been overthrown in the coup of 9 Thermidor. (24 July 1794) and the Directory was in power. Encouraged by Thermidor and by appeals from the colonists, the British hung on in isolated outposts for two more years before finally evacuating. The Directory formally approved Toussaint's victories and increasing power. He was made Lieutenant Governor of the colony in April 1796 and commander in chief of the French forces in March 1797. At the same time, the Directory rightly realized that the logical extension of Toussaint's course was independence and, unwilling to accept something akin to a commonwealth status, which Toussaint desired, they began plotting his overthrow.

In 1797 Paris sent a new emissary as Sole Agent to the colony, Hédouville. Hédouville had secret orders to do everything in his power to curb Toussaint's powers and eventually to eliminate him. Hédouville succeeded in poisoning relations between Toussaint and the mulatto leader Rigaud, so that the loose bloc between them became a de facto separation of Saint-Domingue into two entities: Toussaint in the rich plantations of the overwhelmingly black North, and Rigaud in the South, the historical center of mulatto power. When Toussaint defeated the British, he refused to allow Hédouville to accept General Maitland's surrender, accepting it personally instead. His triumphal entry into Port-au-Prince, renamed Port Républicain, as French representatives looked on, signaled his triumph. Yet Hédouville continued his intrigues, attempting to pit Toussaint's nephew, Moïse, against him.

Finally Toussaint reacted, dismissing Hédouville, who fled back to France. His last act was to promote Rigaud to equal rank with Toussaint and to declare him the independent commander in the South. In his official report, Hédouville called on the Directory to "embitter the hate which exists between the Mulattoes and the blacks and to oppose Rigaud to Toussaint." The mulattos were to be the beachhead for the return of French power and, eventually, the restoration of slavery. Toussaint obviously could not tolerate this situation and had to subdue the South. The bloody civil war, pitting blacks against mulattos, lasted about a year and cemented the distrust and even hatred between the mulattos and blacks. When Toussaint sent his lieutenant Dessalines to restore order in the rebellious army, Dessalines unleashed a bloodbath against mulatto officers. In response Toussaint is reported to have said: "I said to prune the tree, not uproot it."

With the South integrated, Toussaint marched on the slaveholding Spanish half of the island (directly contravening

the instructions of the French) and took it over in a lightning campaign. On

February 1801, he proclaimed in San Domingo the liberation of the slaves (Juan Bosch, *De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro: El Caribe, frontera imperial* [1969]). In contrast to Dessalines' later invasion and Solouque's bloody debacle in 1844, Toussaint carefully avoided aggravating racial tensions, appointing a mulatto governor. Ruler of a unified and rich island, Toussaint now faced problems more intractable than those posed by foreign troops. Twelve years of warfare and civil war had devastated the island's economy. Two-thirds of the whites had left or been killed (though three-quarters of the mulattos remained) and perhaps a third of the black population had perished. Ever since Sonthonax, blacks had said, "*Moin pas esclave, moin pas travaye*" (I'm not a slave, I won't work).

The plantations were in ruin: Toussaint urgently had to salvage them. To restore productivity, he was forced to militarize the entire economy, placing planters and laborers under what amounted to martial law, eventually confining workers to the plantations. Anyone without employment was to be conscripted into the army. Instead of breaking up the large plantations into subsistence plots, he maintained them as the most efficient form of production. At the same time, he banished the whip, that symbol of slavery, and decreed that laborers receive one-quarter of the produce. Realizing that he needed the skills that only the whites and mulattos possessed, Toussaint left them in charge of the plantations. But he made them directly answerable to the black army, and purchased 30,000 guns from America. He would wave a rifle at public gatherings, shouting to the black laborers: "Here is your freedom!" His general staff was composed almost totally of whites, but his army was led by black generals.

Not unlike Trotsky, who following the Russian October Revolution used tsarist officers in building the Red Army, Toussaint made use of the most talented and capable people he could find. And it worked: in the two years of his administration, Toussaint was well on his way to restoring the economy to its former wealth. There was a noted drop in black-mulatto hostility and a thriving trade with the United States, from which Saint-Domingue imported foodstuffs and arms. But he was faced with an intractable problem: the Haitian economy was based on large-scale plantation cultivation of coffee, sugar, cacao. At that point in history, before the industrial revolution mechanized farm production, the only possible way this production could succeed was with a degree of labor discipline at least roughly equivalent to what had existed under slavery, whether voluntary or not. Nevertheless, freedom was decisive for the black ex-slaves. As C.L.R. James put it:

"The black labourers were free, and though there might be dissatisfaction with the new régime, as in the Paris of 1800, there was no regret for the old. Where formerly the labourers had worked from dawn until far into the night, now work began at five and ended at five. No employer dared to beat them. Dessalines whipped blacks in his province, and Toussaint threatened to take away his command at the least complaint."

—C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (1963)

Toussaint's use of whites and mulattos in positions of privilege caused wide-scale resentment among the blacks, in particular in the Northern province, governed by Toussaint's nephew Moïse. In September 1801 revolt broke out, in some places under the slogan "Long Live Moïse." Moïse refused to take a clear position, and the revolt was defeated by Toussaint, Christophe and Dessalines. Toussaint had Moïse shot.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

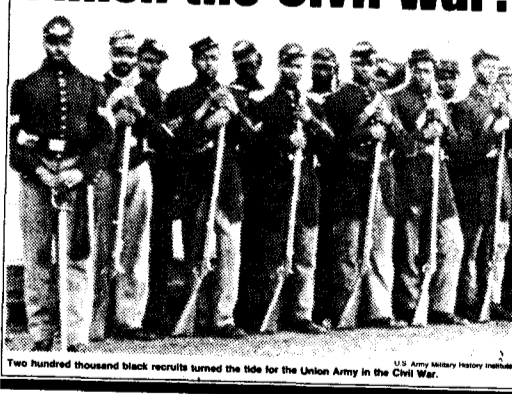
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# U.S. War on Nicaragua...

(continued from page 1)

or Cuban bases, no export of revolution, no subversion and no more delays in progress for democracy." In this drive to reassert U.S. military dominance both parties confront the spectre of their humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese masses. As Republican Senator Alan Simpson put it, "There's a confusion in the public over this issue. Every time they hear the word *Contras*, there's the word *Vietnam* in the back of their retinas, like a big neon sign." The heaviest threats came from the Democrats: New Mexico Democrat Bill Richardson warned the Sandinistas to "clean up your act" or else. Kansas Democrat Jim Slattery laid it out: "the United States lacks the moral justification to pursue a military solution until we have exhausted our diplomatic remedies."

Liberal columnist Mary McGrory wrote that the contra aid vote was "The Last Gasp for Reagan's War" (*Washington Post*, 31 January). Hardly. To begin with, it was never just Reagan's—the Democrats have voted *hundreds of millions of dollars* to the contras, who just came within five votes of getting another hefty increase. Eager not to be labeled the party that "lost" Nicaragua to "Communism," the Dems were falling over each other to declare the vote was "easily reversible." (House whip Tony Coelho promised, "We'll have 10 votes on Contra aid this year.") Moreover, the current spending appropriation doesn't run out until the end of February; administration officials are promising "a veritable Berlin airlift" of accelerated CIA drops in the meantime. And Gary Hart came out on TV the other day for a U.S. invasion if the Sandinistas ever got the MIG jets Nicaragua needs to interdict the contra supply line. Reagan has said as much, but the discredited administration can't deliver.

The Democrats' complaint is that Reagan speaks loudly while carrying a small stick. Now, while talking peace they are waving a very Big Stick over the Sandinistas' heads.

## Arias "Peace," More Contra War

The Democrats now want to use the threat of renewed contra aid to accomplish what Reagan claimed to be for all along: bludgeoning the Sandinistas into allowing an upsurge of reactionary forces to undermine the revolution from within. Where they say "democratization," read "destabilization"... and remember Chile. This is just what has been happening under the Arias plan. The trumpet of the internal contras, *La Prensa*, has been blaring away, financed by \$90,000 from the CIA conduit "National Endowment for Democ-

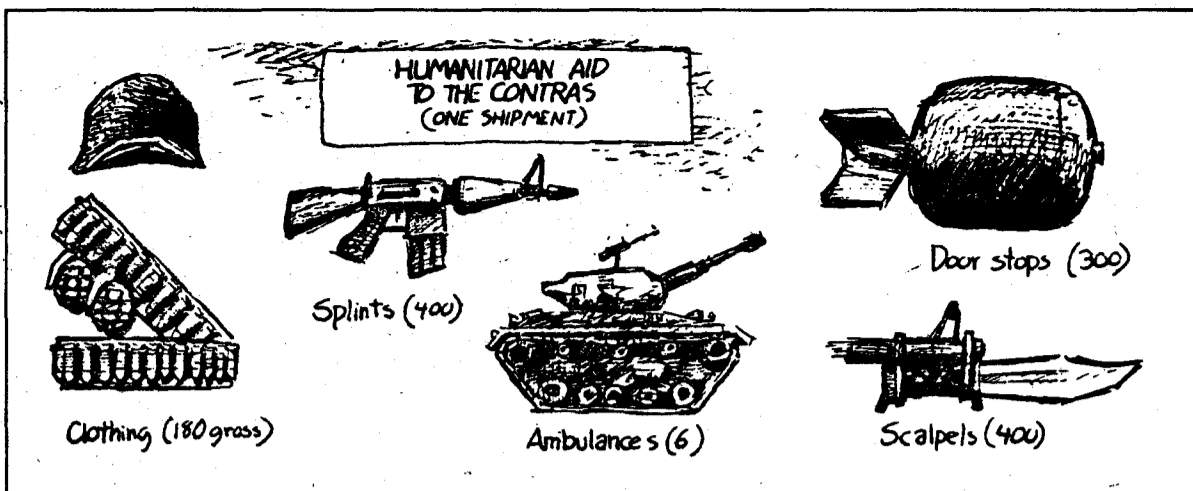
ocracy." According to Nicaraguan interior minister Tomás Borge, "A high percentage of the 1,000 people pardoned have reincorporated themselves into the ranks of the armed counterrevolution" (*New York Times*, 9 February). Yet the Sandinistas are preparing to free some 3,000 more. *Times* man Stephen Kinzer crows that rightists can now paint "Death to the Sandinistas" on the walls, former contra leader Fernando Chamorro returned to Nicaragua, and arch-anti-Communist crusader Jimmy Swaggert has been given permission to hold a revival meeting in Managua.

Meanwhile, the contras, knee-deep in gore as they appealed for more dollars from Congress, upped their "body count" by vicious attacks on civilian targets. In the early morning of February 2 they descended upon the families of the Panfilo Campos farming cooperative, pulverizing their homes with heavy calibre weapons and killing eleven—including three women and three children. Two days later a contra unit ambushed a truck carrying 60 civilians near the northern town of Quilali. Using rifles and Claymore mines, the contra scum killed 16, including six children, and wounded 16 more. Since the Arias plan was signed last August, they have murdered 125 civilians in Nicaragua. To keep up their military exploits and make up for the cancellation of open U.S. funding, General John Singlaub (head of the fascist World Anti-Communist League) and convicted Contragater "Spitz" Channell have launched a drive for contra "war bonds" (which will soon be as worthless as Confederate war bonds). These killers are losers, but their godfathers in Washington are desperate.

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega cautioned against taking the Congressional vote as a victory. "This is only a setback for the Reagan administration. The war continues. There should be no rejoicing in Managua." "We won't let down our guard," Ortega said. "As long as the war goes on, all Nicaraguans must remain massively, permanently mobilized to defend our revolution by every means...and to complete the total defeat of the mercenary forces" (*Washington Post*, 5 February). He warned that "The miracle of converting the

Bill Plympton/SF Bay Guardian

Democrats' "humanitarian aid" to contras.



President of the United States into a man of peace is not likely. The danger of provocation and the danger of invasion are real."

## Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

After Congress voted down Reagan's contra aid bill, the Communist Party's *People's Daily World* (5 February) crowed "Peace Gets a Chance!" insisting that here was "Cause for Celebration." Likewise, the signing of the Arias "peace plan" elicited paroxysms of jubilation from the American fake-left. The

betrayal" (*WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987). And ever since, the contra war has *escalated*, the number of death squad murders in El Salvador and Guatemala has risen, the blackmailing demands of U.S. imperialism have grown shriller and steeper. To defend the Nicaraguan Revolution, it must be completed by expropriating the bourgeoisie, and extended throughout the region.

Today, even Michael Harrington's Democratic (Party) "Socialists" of America admit that the net result of the peace plan to date has been the release of death squad killers in El Salvador and continued war against Guatemalan leftists. But this is the gang that went "all the way with LBJ" over Vietnam in '64 and hollered for Humphrey in '68. Is the DSA preparing to support another Democratic administration invasion against "Communist totalitarianism"? The DSA had a raging internal debate at its recent convention over whether Sandinista Nicaragua is... "democratic."

What they're all talking about is "democratic" with a big D. For all their hot air about "solidarity" with Sandinista Nicaragua and the Salvadoran insurgents, the fake-lefts march in lock step behind the Democratic Party right here at home. But after years of being the best builders of "peace" demos for the Democrats, all they get is more contra aid from Congress... and deadly surveillance from the FBI. The *Guardian* (20 January) quotes the complaint of one "anti-intervention" activist: "There is very deep anger and frustration among activists, who feel the Democrats have repeatedly sold out."

*Sold out!*? This is the party that brought you the Bay of Pigs, the Vietnam War and the 1965 invasion of Santo Domingo. Indeed, the Democratic Party has always been the primary party of imperialist war, succeeding with its "friends of labor" rhetoric in mobilizing the population for war where the Republicans cannot. The Democrats are no less committed to the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union than the Reaganites: today the Democrats try to bleed the Nicaraguan masses dry through negotiations and economic sabotage; on the morrow, it may be a Democratic administration that orders U.S. troops into Nicaragua. We say: "Bay of Pigs, Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

The struggle against U.S. military intervention in Central America, in defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, requires the independent mobilization of the American *working class*. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! From the start we have insisted on the necessity for "hot-cargoing" military supplies to Central America and labor political strikes in the event of a U.S. invasion. The key to mobilizing U.S. labor for concrete solidarity action with its Central American class brothers and sisters is a fight against the pro-imperialist labor tops and *breaking the stranglehold of the Democratic Party* by forging a revolutionary workers party in opposition to the partner parties of American imperialism. ■



Young Spartacus

## SL contingent in Harvard protest against contra terrorists.

SWP's *Militant* (28 August 1987) headlined it as a "Blow to U.S. War." The CISPES "solidarity" crowd hailed the "Winds of Peace in Central America" (*Alert!*, September 1987). Irwin Silber's *Frontline* (17 August 1987) praised it as a "Historic Step."

While the American "left" either whitewashes or enthuses over every concession by the Sandinista leadership to U.S. imperialism and its contra cutthroats, the Nicaraguan masses who gave their blood to free their country from the yoke of Somoza are less sanguine. The amnesty of National Guard killers, which is part of the Arias agreement, has led to particular outrage. Rosario Antunez, a National Assembly member tortured by the National Guard and one of the "Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs" (her daughter was murdered by Somoza's butchers), exclaimed: "To accept that the Guard go free...to forget that past...I would have to forget that I had ever given birth."

At the time of the signing of the Arias plan, we called it "an attempt to reverse by negotiations the spread of revolution...the 'Arias plan' would impose international controls to guarantee the survival of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. It would prop up Duarte's death squad 'democracy' in El Salvador by banning aid to leftist insurgents. The signing of this counterrevolutionary accord by Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega is a



Brack/Black Star

Democratic House leader Jim Wright (left), architect of counterrevolutionary "peace plan," with Costa Rican president Arias (right).

# FBI Witchhunt...

(continued from page 3)

their terror network is making widespread use of "free enterprise." The documents obtained by the CCR reveal that the operation against CISPES was aided by the Young America's Foundation (YAF), a right-wing outfit whose board of directors includes Reagan's chief political adviser, Frank Donatelli, and Kenneth Cribbs, an assistant to Reagan for domestic affairs (*Village Voice*, 9 February). YAF spied on CISPES meetings and "discovered" a plan to "provide direct military assistance to the Soviet supported Marxist terrorists." This turned out to be a publicly announced CISPES campaign to build a shoe factory in Tequeque, El Salvador!

All roads in this private/governmental COINTELPRO operation lead straight to the basement of the White House and the president's fall guy on the National Security Council—Lt. Colonel Oliver North. An article in *Newsday* (10 February 1987) detailed the activities of Los Angeles cop Jay Paul, who in 1981 and 1982 fed LAPD red squad files on 6,000 Central America activists to an outfit called Western Goals, which disseminated them to other cops and right-wing organizations. And who is Western Goals? Its führer was Contragate arms supplier and head of the fascist World Anti-Communist



Wide World  
May 1960: Police attack demonstrators protesting McCarthy's HUAC witchhunters in San Francisco.

League, "retired" General John Singlaub. Singlaub was succeeded at Western Goals by North's chief Contragate fund-raiser, Carl Channell.

The CCR speculates that the whole operation came together through the NSC: The man who ran the "terrorism unit," FBI executive assistant director Oliver Revell, and Oliver North both sat on the Restricted Interagency Group, along with CIA Central American operations boss Duane Clarridge. This was the directorate behind the spying, break-ins and death squad terror. Now the "review" of the FBI's operation is being conducted by none other than Attorney General Meese, presumably between his grand jury appearances.

The FBI's war on Central America protesters isn't just Reaganite policy, it is shared by the Democrats—just as they are equal partners in the anti-Soviet war drive. They simply want it "limited" to "legitimate" targets—labor, blacks and the left. And the Congressional FBI "oversight" committees were informed every step of the way. Democratic Representative Edwards, himself a former FBI agent, defended the core of the FBI's operation:

"There may have been a proper basis for the investigation initially, but it just got

out of hand. What troubles us is the scope of the investigation."

—New York Times, 28 January

In other words, just get CISPES and the left, like FBI director Sessions says. But from the moment the Varelli operation was exposed, CISPES placed their hope in the demand for "a full Congressional investigation into possible FBI violations of the law" (CISPES Alert!, March 1987). CISPES and the APC police antiwar protests for the Democratic Party, excluding Spartacist contingents calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents." But this hasn't done them much good.

## War Drive and Witchhunting

The bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive, ushered in under Jimmy Carter and deepened during the Reagan years, is necessarily accompanied by an attack on even purely liberal dissent at home. This was certainly the case in Cold War I, when McCarthyism served to whip into line all sections of U.S. society. Class-struggle militants today can learn, however, from the reception longshoremen gave the government witchhunters on the West Coast. When the House Un-American Activities Committee targeted labor, it:

"ran into an unforeseen obstacle when it barged into San Francisco to open a 'subversive' hearing in City Hall. Some 6,000 members of Local 10, ILWU (independent), 'hit the bricks' on December 3, 1953, to protest [the] investigation. The waterfront was paralyzed. The CIO Council in the East Bay area denounced [the] committee as an enemy of democratic rights.... At the first real resistance by organized labor, the government witch-hunters had to cut and run."

—Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step* (1964)

But the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops knuckled under to Taft-Hartley anti-Communist clauses, and purged Communist Party supporters and other leftists from the labor movement. What finally cracked the years of witchhunt and reaction was the explosion of black struggle in the civil rights movement.

The original McCarthyite witch-hunting was able for a time to line up the country for a crusade against Communism. But Reagan-style McCarthyism has not been successful in overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome." In 1983 the Spartacist League filed a successful lawsuit against the Reagan/Meese Guidelines for Domestic Security/Terrorism Investigations, which falsely targeted the SL and all political opponents of the government as "criminal enterprises" and "terrorists." In a modest but real victory the government conceded the central aim of our challenge—that Marxist advocacy cannot be equated with violence or criminal terrorism. We have no illusions that capitalism's secret police will stop their war on the left, on blacks and all working people. In a speech on our victory, SL General Counsel Rachel Wolkenstein spoke of the government's "foreign intelligence" cover for its COINTELPRO-type operations:

"... the government may be thinking of using something more sinister against us, like declaring us a target for 'foreign intelligence' surveillance. The foreign intelligence guidelines are so broad, and give the government so much room for maneuver, that the guidelines themselves are classified—Congress can't get them."

—"Marxists vs. FBI Repression," WV No. 385, 9 August 1985

As we stated when we began the suit against the targeting of the SL: "We are compelled to undertake this legal battle, not only to defend ourselves against the new FBI red-hunt but also to fight to preserve the existing democratic rights of the working-class movement. We do not intend to be blown away—faceless, nameless victims in the dead of night. As the organization which embodies the continuity of revolutionary Marxism in the U.S. today, our task is too important: the liberation of the workers and oppressed from the chains of this decaying, racist system through victorious socialist revolution." ■



Le Bolchévick Photos  
German Trotskyists (left) say "Bury Le Pen at Bitburg!" French Trotskyists (right) call for vengeance for victims of racist terror.

## French Protest...

(continued from page 12)

its words: we offered savagely critical support to the PCF in the presidential elections of 1981 if it stood in its own name against the anti-Soviet Mitterrand and his coalition with the bourgeoisie. But instead, the PCF launched its obscene anti-immigrant action, bulldozing the housing for African workers in the Paris suburb of Vitry, to prove its loyalty to the bourgeois order.

The PCF leadership crawled into the Mitterrand government, the recruiting sergeant of the imperialist war campaign against the Soviet Union in Europe. Today, the PCF leadership is still intent on getting its members to swallow a vote for the anti-working-class Mitterrand on the second round of the presidential election. This perspective is so unappetizing for many militants that at the last PCF congress, the leadership didn't dare put to a vote a motion calling explicitly for a vote to Mitterrand on the second round.

Le Pen owes his "respectability" to the anti-immigrant policy of police terror and the anti-Soviet campaign waged since 1981 by governments of the "left" which put wind in his sails. Supporting a new popular front means not stopping Le Pen, but opening the road to him. Our contingent underlined the bankruptcy of the popular front and the need for socialist revolution when we chanted, "Mitterrand, anti-worker! Mitterrand, anti-immigrant! Mitterrand, anti-Soviet! Workers government!" Opposing the anti-Soviet war drive and the French nuclear arsenal, the LTF contingent also chanted: "Down with NATO! Down with the

'force de frappe'! Defend the Soviet Union!"

## The "Far Left" to the Right of the PCF

At this decisive moment, when the Communist Party finally did call for everyone to demonstrate against the fascists, where were the fake-Trotskyists? The bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lieutenants opposed this mobilization and the "far left" followed suit.

The apostles of impotence of Lutte Ouvrière (LO) deliberately chose to desert the anti-fascist workers' mobilization of January 27. For LO, Le Pen is only an "unscrupulous demagogue" and his racist, anti-communist terrorists are only "poor people fooled by a millionaire." This disgusting economist pabulum which LO continues to serve up, after the fascist raids against immigrant communities in Marseille and Lyon, after the murder of Philippe Brocard by National Front thugs in March 1986, after the dozens of attacks against immigrants and working-class militants—including its own militants—is becoming more and more disturbing.

As a result of working the minefield of the "little man" and the backward fringes of the proletariat, LO has ended up hypocritically refusing to see the daily reality of racial segregation and racist terror by not wanting to recognize a fascist danger. The January 27 demonstration was not—as the social democrats also say—a "diversion" by the PCF. On this day, LO chose the camp of the anti-communist social democracy. The anti-social-democratic pretenses of LO are, like the rest of its politics, "revolutionary" hot air.

The Mandelite LCR (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire), on the other



Elle Kagan  
French Communist Party finally holds mobilizations against fascist threat, after shamefully "debating" Le Pen on TV.

## Worker/Immigrant Mobilizations to Smash the Fascists!

# Le Pen—Enough is Enough!

### Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!

The following is the text of the leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France calling for a contingent at the January 27 demonstrations organized by the Communist Party against the leader of the fascist National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen.

On Wednesday, 27 January, the anniversary of the date the victorious Red Army liberated the Auschwitz extermination camp, Le Pen, the fascist gang

leader for whom the massacre of Jews in the Nazi gas chambers is a "detail," will appear on "The Hour of Truth" [TV program] to push his calls for racist murder. At long last, the PCF is calling for protest demonstrations across France, expressing the hope that they will be joined by "others—organizations and individuals—for this demonstration." Yes, *Le Pen—enough is enough!*

Like hundreds of thousands of Communist militants, the Ligue Trotskyste is pleased to see mass working-class mobilizations against the fascists. After the victory of the Antilles anti-fascists in December, it is high time the Le Pen-ite scum were given a taste of the social

power of the organized working class. The LTF, together with the Tribune Communiste group, calls on workers, youth, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals, all those targeted by the National Front stormtroopers, all anti-fascists to participate in the 27 January demonstrations and to join our contingents in Paris and Rouen. *Le Pen, enough is enough! Mass working-class demonstrations are needed to crush the fascists before they crush us!*

The fascists' first target is immigrant workers and their families. *Worker/immigrant defense groups based on the unions must defend the factories and immigrant neighborhoods against the fascist goons! But you can't mobilize*

immigrant workers for that kind of action behind the slogan "Produce French." We must demand *full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families*, and wage a relentless struggle against all forms of racist segregation and discrimination.

Ever since 1981, Mitterrand's anti-Soviet, anti-working-class and anti-immigrant popular front has paved the way for reaction and the fascists. Four times, that's enough! We must break the infernal cycle of popular front/reaction, build a revolutionary party which fights for a real workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie, to undertake the socialist reconstruction of France in the framework of the Socialist United States of Europe and to inflict the fate of the Russian pogromist Black Hundreds on Le Pen's gangs.

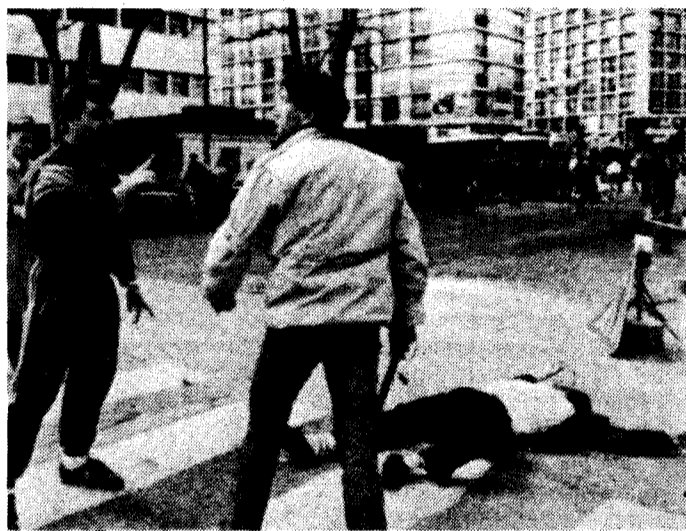
**EVERYONE OUT FOR THE DEMONSTRATION 27 JANUARY!**

Join the contingent of the Ligue Trotskyste!

PARIS: République 6:30 p.m.  
ROUEN: Place St. Sever 5:00 p.m.



AFP



AP

**Fascist Le Pen spews racist genocide; his thugs beat immigrant workers in Marseille, 4 April 1987.**

hand, was present. The bourgeois press even made a big deal of them. Why? Because of their impressive mobilization, their strength, their militant slogans? To the contrary, the LCR did not carry any banners. The LCR's contingent would hardly have been identifiable without the well-known face of its honcho Alain Krivine, strolling with the anti-Soviet Juquin, leader of the "Renovators" group who split from the PCF in the direction of social democracy.

Indeed, the LCR was mixed into the "Renovators" contingent—about 700 demonstrators in Paris—behind an anonymous banner held by Juquin and his faithful Krivine, calling for "Unity Against Racism and Fascism." But the LCR did nothing to build the demonstration with contingents, for example, from the CFDT unions in which it has a certain influence. No, its anonymous banner was emblematic of its criticism of the PCF *from the right*, which is that any mobilization must include "the left"—i.e., a new class-collaborationist Union of the Left. For the LCR, there's no redemption outside of the popular front. *Rouge* (21 January) explains: "And, while having our sympathy, the thousands of demonstrators assembled on that day by the PCF won't be equivalent to the gigantic demonstrations which will inevitably respond to the call of the left and democratic associations."

But the left which *Rouge* is talking about is liberal SOS-Racisme leader Harlem Désir, who still prefers "debating" with racist terrorists, and Socialist leader Jospin, who declares that Le Pen should have been protected from the just outrage of the masses of Martinique and Guadeloupe. (Last fall the National Front leader and his fascist cohorts were run off these Caribbean islands as thousands surrounded their plane.) The reformist misleaders tremble at the thought of thousands of the most militant workers of Paris marching to the

Bastille with Le Pen as their target. The social democrats didn't want to be there. On the 27th the LCR came as agents for Juquin and Mitterrand, whose popular front opened the gates to reaction; for this "contribution" these anonymous salon "Trotskyists" were hailed by the bourgeois press.

Trotsky remarked of the pre-1933 German Social Democracy that political corpses were of no use in a fight, but serve to prevent the living from fighting. Today that characterization applies to Krivine & Co. There was only one Trotskyist organization which unfurled its banners in this demonstration, underlining that there is indeed only one Trotskyist organization in this country. The Ligue Trotskyste de France has fought for years, with our modest forces, for actions to stop the fascists. When fascist thugs attacked far left newspaper sellers, the LTF initiated a 400-strong demonstration (called by a dozen trade unions and organizations) in Rouen on 11 December 1981. This demonstration drove the fascist rats back into their holes, albeit temporarily.

More recently, the LTF mobilized (together with Tribune Communiste in Paris, with trade unionists, North African youth and the MRAP at Rouen) against racial discrimination at the Flunch restaurant in Rouen last spring. When the fascists came to the rescue of the racist manager, we wrote, "It is now more than ever up to the leadership of the workers movement—and above all the CGT and PCF—to take up the challenge" (*Le Bolchévik* No. 75, July-August 1987).

#### Program for Victory

Our contingent offered a political perspective opposed to popular frontism and anti-Sovietism. What's necessary to annihilate Le Pen and his fascist bands is independent workers' mobilization, bringing into play the organized social

power of the proletariat, and which can draw behind it the millions of oppressed who are the intended victims of the fascist killers. This requires an all-sided struggle by the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard against all manifestations of racist terror and oppression.

In fighting racial oppression—the dunghill which generates racism—it is necessary to raise the elementary demand for full citizenship rights for immigrants. This demand, in response to their situation as pariahs, is the only answer to the government's maneuvers around the "Code of Nationality." This barrier which dramatically isolates immigrants and second-generation

immigrant youth from the rest of the working class must be broken. Every racist attack, every crime committed by the racist cops and fascists in immigrant neighborhoods must be answered: Cops out of immigrant neighborhoods! For self-defense patrols, based on trade unions, uniting French and immigrant workers and residents of these neighborhoods to ensure their defense!

There must be an intransigent struggle against the popular frontism which has far too long enchained the French proletariat. The formation of workers militias to protect strike picket lines and sweep the fascists from the streets can only occur in opposition to the bourgeois state, which will oppose any challenge to its monopoly of power. The road of the popular front is the road of bowing to the state power of the exploiters. Only independent workers' mobilization leading to the expropriation of the exploiters is capable of crushing the mortal danger which Le Pen represents to the workers and oppressed.

For class struggle to destroy capitalism, by overthrowing the bourgeois state and installing a workers government, rather than managing moribund capitalism! A real fight against fascist barbarism means the struggle for socialist revolution and a new leadership for the proletariat: the revolutionary party armed with the Leninist-Trotskyist program. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Trotskyists in United-Front CP Protest

# France: Thousands March Against Fascist Le Pen

Adapted from *Le Bolchévik* No. 80, February 1988, newspaper of the *Ligue Trotskyste de France*.

PARIS—On January 27, throughout France the streets resounded with the slogan, "Le Pen ça suffit!" (Le Pen—enough is enough!) For years one racist murder has followed another as the fascist thugs strut and storm. Finally the Communist Party (PCF) launched a national call to come out onto the streets against this scum. The January 14 call by the Political Bureau of the PCF was addressed to "the workers of Paris and its region, men, women and youth in favor of progressive values, freedom and human rights...." It concluded, "We will be happy if we can join together with others—organizations and individuals—for this demonstration."

This could only mean the united front: march separately and strike together. All those who participate in common action against a common enemy should mobilize under their own political banners. And we answered: Yes, *Le Pen—enough is enough!* For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the fascists! Full citizenship rights for immigrants! Together with the Tribune Communiste group, the Ligue Trotskyste de France mobilized all of our forces to build contingents to participate in the January 27 demonstrations.

In Lyon, Rouen and Paris, the LTF marched with numerous signs and red flags. In Paris, our 130-strong contingent was organized jointly with Tribune Communiste, a group which came out of the "anti-opportunist" milieu of the PCF. Also marching behind our banner were militants of the Union of Tunisian Immigrant Workers, as well as delegations from different sections of the international Spartacist tendency, notably the Spartacist League/Britain, the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia and the



Joint contingent of Ligue Trotskyste and Tribune Communiste joins thousands of militant workers January 27 in Paris protest. Banner reads: "Le Pen—Enough is enough! For worker/immigrant mobilizations to crush the fascists! Full citizenship rights for immigrants!"

Spartacist League/U.S. To emphasize the key importance of the struggle against racial discrimination and racist terror, our mobilizing leaflet for January 27 (of which 20,000 were printed) was published in French, Arabic and Turkish.

These demonstrations could be the harbingers of other larger, broader actions determined to crush the fascists. Or the PCF leadership could seek to divert its ranks' outrage against Le Pen into a popular-frontist and electoralist dead end. With an eye on the upcoming presidential election and the mooted candidacy of "Socialist" president François Mitterrand, the PCF's *L'Humanité* (19 January) headlined, "The Right, There's the Enemy." It is

necessary to break with the endless cycle of alliances with the bourgeoisie and its lieutenants like Mitterrand!

### PCF Militants: What Now?

For many Communist Party members, their party's call was a long overdue change. They remember the humiliating spectacle of PCF presidential candidate Lajoinie "debating" the pig Le Pen on an earlier television appearance. Three times, Le Pen was allowed to spew his appeals to racial genocide on television. The fourth time, he chose the anniversary of the Red Army's liberation of Auschwitz, where the full horror of the Hitlerite "final solution" was played out. But this time, the PCF said: four times, enough is enough!

While at the beginning of its campaign for January 27, the PCF rightfully emphasized in its propaganda the 104 racist murders in the last few years, at the demonstration, it spoke mainly of "liberating" television from Le Pen. But the struggle against the fascists will not be waged nor won in the studios of TV station Antenne 2, any more than in the voting booths or from the seats of the National Assembly. It is the streets and cities which must be liberated from the fascist gangsters! When the LTF denounced the repulsive Lajoinie-Le Pen "debate," we struck a chord among PCF militants. They know that you don't debate fascists, you fight them!

As is only to be expected from an organization which for decades has invested (or rather squandered) its resources in class collaboration, the

PCF's mobilization, while real, was partial and minimal. Where there should have been hundreds of thousands under the banners of the CGT and the other union federations, and hundreds of thousands of North Africans, blacks, Jews, homosexuals, marching against their common enemy, there were some 12,000 people at the Bastille. But the country was watching; for every person who demonstrated the 27th of January, there could be dozens the next time.

These demonstrations come in a situation where the policies of the leadership of the USSR (*glasnost* and *perestroika*) are creating turmoil in the various CPs around the world. The PCF is wracked by contradictions. Many of its militants know that there is no alternative to a struggle to the death against the fascists, but the PCF is a party imbued with decades of reformism. For its social-patriotic leaders, Le Pen can be "stopped" by an obscene competition as to who is the greatest "defender" of "national interests"—the logical consequence of the PCF's own chauvinist slogan "Produce French," a slogan which pits French workers against their foreign class brothers.

Eight years ago, PCF leader Georges Marchais said of the popular front, "three times is enough"—referring to the PCF's participation in class-collaborationist coalitions with the Socialists and capitalist parties in 1936, 1946 and 1973. We Trotskyists seized on this fleeting admission of the truth to demand that the PCF follow through on

*continued on page 10*



French Trotskyists say: "Mitterrand's racist and anti-Soviet campaign puts wind in the fascists' sails."