

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

Bush has his declaration of war from Congress and is about to launch a massive attack on Iraq, beginning with the terror bombing of Baghdad and other population centers. The Pentagon also has on site a huge arsenal of chemical and tactical nuclear weapons. At the same time, the crazed rulers of Zionist Israel will use the war to carry out their "Final Solution," exterminating and driv-

Bush Goes for Mass Murder



Preparing for takeoff from aircraft carrier USS Constellation.

McDonnell Douglas Corp

Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. on the Impending War

ing out the oppressed Palestinians. Hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of Arab men, women and children will be slaughtered and maimed by American imperialism and its allies.

Democratic Congressman Les Aspin, who is privy to Pentagon war plans, promises a quick victory achieved solely through air power—2,000 sorties a day. But no war has ever been won by air power. The U.S. military dropped more bomb tonnage on Vietnam than the combined total of all the combatants in Europe in World War II! Yet American imperialism was defeated on the ground by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting for social revolution.

In Vietnam, U.S. forces faced light

continued on page 8

After Lithuania Crackdown

Imperialists Demand the Baltics

Every day we read about atrocities and massacres taking place around the world. Probably the Kurdish people in several countries suffer 20 fatalities a day. Of particular significance currently is the Turkish desire to seize the Kirkuk oil fields in the northern Kurdish areas of Iraq. In this they are apparently backed by the leadership of the new German Reich, provided that American force of arms prevails in the Persian Gulf.

Meanwhile the U.S. recently hailed its "liberation" of Panama in which a thousand or more people were killed in order to get General Noriega. This is called "Operation Just Cause." And now we are on the eve of a new major war, in which half a million American troops along with several hundred thousand soldiers

from Washington's client states are poised to fall upon Iraq and slaughter its people. This, of course, is called justice. But when the Soviet Union thrashes about attempting to preserve their union of nationalities, this is called criminal.

It is in this context that we view Mikhail Gorbachev's actions in Lithuania against the right-wing secessionist government of Vytautas Landsbergis. On January 13, Soviet armed forces, using tanks, took over radio and television stations in the capital of Vilnius. Reportedly, 14 people, including one Soviet soldier, were killed. It has been announced that a National Salvation Committee, loyal to the central Soviet government, has taken power in the Baltic republic.

The crackdown in Lithuania made

front-page headlines worldwide and has been blown up by the Western media into a new Soviet atrocity story. George Bush lectures Gorbachev that there was "no justification for the use of force" against "the legitimate governments of the Baltic states." The West European Common Market is threatening to suspend its \$1 billion in aid to the USSR. And erstwhile West European Stalinist parties, such as the French Communists and the German Party of Democratic Socialism, have joined the new anti-Soviet campaign over "poor, little" Lithuania.

"The West's Gorbachev honeymoon ends," proclaims the London *Guardian*. Western ruling circles have hoped and expected that the Gorbachev regime

would bring about the restoration of capitalism and dismemberment of the Soviet Union. He willfully abandoned East Europe to NATO and the Common Market. He agreed to the annexation of East Germany by the Frankfurt bankers at a time when there was still mass opposition to capitalist reunification among workers and intellectuals in the German Democratic Republic. Western, especially German, imperialism has been looking toward the breakup of the USSR, transforming the remnants into spheres of colonialist exploitation.

Since its declaration of independence last March, the Sajudis nationalist regime in Lithuania has been in the forefront of the drive to dismember the Soviet Union.

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**Down with Capitalist-Imperialist Dismembering of USSR!
For a Socialist Soviet Federation—Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!**

Fight the Anti-Arab Witchhunt!

If civil liberties are among the first casualties of war, then the toll is mounting even before the first bombing raid over Baghdad. The Pentagon has ordered censorship, press "pools" and military snobs to watch over reporters and keep the country in the dark about U.S. atrocities and the American body count. Antiwar activists have been arrested in Cleveland, Washington and Chicago. Now that it's officially "wartime," Bush claims the authority to arrest anybody suspected of being a "threat to national security." Federal and local cops are gearing up for a war on dissenters and a racist roundup of Arab Americans in the name of "anti-terrorism." Nightly, on TV there have been scenes of vicious bomb detection dogs attacking "suspects."

To help whip up a chauvinist frenzy and intimidate antiwar activists, Bush's "Justice" Department has ordered immigration authorities to photograph and fingerprint anyone with Iraqi or Kuwaiti passports entering the U.S. Most ominous

of all is the FBI interrogations of Arab immigrants and American citizens of Arab descent for "terrorist" links. Hundreds of business and community leaders have already been questioned, James Zogby, director of the Arab American Institute, pointed out, "When the long arm of government reaches into your living room, it creates a political chill and silences political debate."

But the government has more than an intimidating chill in mind—racist targeting, "loyalty" investigations and more. Already in Germany, anti-terrorist squads have broken into apartments of Arab "suspects." Expulsions of Iraqis from Germany and Britain have begun. Albert Mokhiber, president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), expressed for many the fears of what lies ahead: "this is shades of the Japanese-American experience of World War II." More than 100,000 Japanese Americans were stripped of their property and thrown into horrendous concentration camps after the U.S.' oil

embargo led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

To those who think it can't happen today—guess again. After the 1986 U.S. bombing raid on Libya, the government drew up plans to "intern" thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. The plan came to light in 1987 following the government's arrest and attempted deportation of seven Palestinians and one Kenyan who were well-established businessmen, students and working people charged with being supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. An INS document entitled, "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan," detailed plans to round up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. and herd them into an already prepared 100-acre reserve adjacent to the Oakland Alien Detention Center in southwestern Louisiana.

FBI spokesman Sharon Smith denied any intent to intimidate, disingenuously claiming the feds aimed "to protect these people." Japanese Americans were given the same lie after FDR's "national security" pretensions were debunked. Popular Los Angeles disc jockey Casey Kasem pointed out, "the FBI knows that there has never been an incident of terrorism against this country by Arab-Americans, but there has been case after case of violence against Arab-Americans, and one murder, Alex Odeh." Odeh, the ADC's first Western regional director, was the victim of a 1985 bombing murder. Although the FBI knew the fascist Jewish Defense League of Meir Kahane was behind it, no one has ever been arrested for this real act of terrorism.

This racist witchhunt must be stopped! The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights to smash this "terrorism" witchhunt and to defend those of Arab descent from government repression and racist thugs.



Santa Ana PD

October 1985: JDL terrorist bombing killed Alex Odeh of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in his Santa Ana, California office.

forgotten, and that the cause of their freedom is intertwined with the struggles against poverty, racism and war.

Currently we send stipends of \$25 per month to 19 prisoners: former Black Panthers, like Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt), David (Mondo) Rice, Ed Poindexter; Hugo Pinell; 13 members and supporters of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, including Ramona Africa, sole survivor of the 1985 Mother's Day bombing of the MOVE home which burned to death eleven black people, five of them children; Mumia Abu-Jamal; and in Britain, an imprisoned supporter of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Eddie McClelland.

The PDC just completed our yearly Holiday Appeal for the class-war prisoners. We sent over \$1,600 in holiday gifts to the prisoners and their families. With benefits in Chicago, New York, San Francisco and Atlanta we raised over \$9,000 for our stipend program. We would like to thank all WV readers who helped make this Holiday Appeal a success.

Many have been drawn by our work in defense of two former Black Panthers, Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo, framed up under the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO campaign to destroy the Panthers, has been behind bars 20 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit—FBI wiretap logs showed that Geronimo was 400 miles away. Jamal, a former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent journalist and supporter of MOVE, was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981. His case has become the rallying cry of death penalty abolitionists around the world. The holiday benefits brought orders for the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal," a valuable tool to publicize Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty. From his cell he continues to speak out against racism, poverty and war (see column, page 10).

The struggles to defend democratic rights, to free the class-war prisoners, to stay the repressive fist of the state, are indivisible. We seek to build a mass organization of class-struggle defense, one capable of organizing marches of millions of workers around the world to save Jamal and free the class-war prisoners, like the protests that saved nine black youth from the chair in the Scottsboro case of the 1930s.

To learn more about the work of the PDC, and to join the campaign to save Jamal, we encourage WV readers to read our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription. For a single copy, send \$1 to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 ■

American Imperialism— Enemy of Humanity

Today U.S. imperialism has invaded the Persian Gulf oil fields and is about to launch a war of mass murder against the people of Iraq. Proclaiming a "new world order," Washington props up the most murderous, reactionary regimes throughout the world, from the death-squad juntas of Central America to the Zionist butchers in Israel to sub-feudalist sheikdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. At the founding conference of the



TROTSKY



LENIN

Fourth International, with World War II looming on the horizon, the Trotskyists called for an implacable struggle against American imperialism and its foreign puppets through international proletarian revolution.

The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it.... An indispensable ally in this struggle is the million-headed mass of American Negroes, in industry and in agriculture, who are also bound by many ties to the other groups of Negro peoples oppressed by American imperialism in the Caribbean and in Latin America....

The revolutionists in the United States are obliged to rouse the American workers against the sending of any armed forces against the peoples of Latin America and the Pacific and for the withdrawal of any such forces where they now operate as instruments of imperialist oppression, as well as against any other form of imperialist pressure, be it "diplomatic" or "economic," which is calculated to violate the national independence of any country or to prevent its attainment of such national independence.

—Founding Conference of the Fourth International, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (September 1938)

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K4



Mindy Giannopoulos

It is with profound sorrow that we announce the death of our comrade Garry Gianninato. He died in his sleep on January 9, at the age of 43, after over a year of battling cancer.

Garry joined the Spartacist League in November 1978. He was a critical component of our Medical Commission, aiding in the treatment and care of members and their families even as he himself was dying. He also worked in our Circulation Department for most of his 12 years of membership, becoming the head of its production operation in January 1985 where he organized the printing of our internal bulletins and of our non-periodical literature, some of which had been out of print for years.

Garry was a Navy Medical Corpsman from November 1966 to July 1969, serving in Vietnam for eleven months in 1968. The war enormously colored his subsequent life. His recollections of this period are contained in "Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines—A GI's View of America's Dirty War," printed in *Workers Vanguard* No. 513, 2 November 1990. This article was the result of Garry's input into "Blacks Don't Buy Bush's War" in WV No. 509, 7 September 1990, and he and his wife, comrade Mindy, worked with the paper to produce "Government Spits on Vietnam Vets" in the last issue.

Garry worked from June 1983 to November 1989 as a physician's assistant at the Harlem Hospital Center. His knowledge in this area led to the article "Harlem Hospital Hell" in *WT* No. 412, 26 September 1986. He helped formulate our political and organizational response to the AIDS epidemic, including a substantial contribution to our seminal "AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos" in *WT* No. 462, 7 October 1988.

As comrades in Germany who had known and worked with Garry in the New York center wrote upon hearing of his death: "He experienced firsthand two of the most brutal crimes of bloody U.S. imperialism, its devastating wars against revolutionary Vietnam and against black Harlem. His acute rage at social injustice, bolstered all too often by those experiences, infused our Marxist worldview with a blistering realism and revolutionary urgency." Garry understood that to change the rotting world he saw, it was necessary to build a party. He had a keen sense for both the full collectivity and the binding discipline of a combat organization, and he felt the most important thing he could do with his life was to be a member of the Spartacist League.

We extend our deep sympathy to Mindy and share her grief and bitterness at the untimely loss of our comrade and friend.

A memorial meeting will be held in New York City on the afternoon of Saturday, February 2. Those who wish to join Garry's family and friends in remembering his life should call (212) 732-7861.

The following statement is translated from Espartaco No. 1, Winter 1990-91, published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.

Mexico is unique in having had no less than three bourgeois-democratic revolutions, which have not been "interrupted" as some would have it, but rather frustrated, their leaders killed, their promises unfulfilled. Thus it is striking that virtually every national hero is a martyr. This is no accident, for Mexico is also the country where the "First World" of imperialism directly abuts the "Third World" of impoverished capitalist countries along a 3,000-kilometer border and with a history of scores of U.S. intervention. For much of the left, this gives rise to impotent nationalist rhetoric, in which they end up playing the game of the PRI [the Revolutionary Institutional Party which has ruled Mexico for the last half century].

Unlike the opportunists, we don't wrap our struggle with the national tricolor but rather we raise the red flag of proletarian internationalism. In this perspective, the geographical location of the country, which has historically weakened the nationalist bourgeoisie ("poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States," lamented Porfirio Diaz) strengthens the position of the proletariat: the ties to the North American working class make it possible to unite the struggle for workers' revolution in Mexico with class struggle that can explode the most pow-

erful imperialism in the world *from within*. This is why Reagan and Bush are obsessed with their racist vision of a "red tide" of communism brought up from the south by brown-skinned immigrants.

The peasant-based Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 was the last of the bourgeois revolutions. It failed because the world had already entered the imperialist era and to succeed the revolution required proletarian leadership. The incapacity of Zapata and Villa to establish a revolutionary regime during the year in which they occupied Mexico City is perhaps the clearest example in history of the incapacity of the peasantry to establish its own class rule. This was also the negative confirmation of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution: that in the epoch of imperialism, to accomplish even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution requires that the proletariat, led by a Marxist party, take power. Expropriating the capitalists and undertaking socialist tasks, the proletariat will have to struggle to extend its revolution internationally, particularly to the imperialist countries.

The *positive* confirmation of the permanent revolution came in Russia when the working poor of the countryside supported the proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, in the October Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky fought to extend Red October to the entire planet. It is in this sense that we raise the hammer and sickle symbolizing international communism.

The Mexican workers revolution will succeed where the bourgeois revolutions failed, because it will be and must be internationalist from the beginning. It must come to the aid of the heroically struggling working people of Central America and extend to the north, in common struggle with the workers and oppressed in the very entrails of the impe-

rialist monster. It must be part and parcel of the class struggle in Asia, in West and East Europe, which has been key in the forming of the GEM. This is the goal toward which the Grupo Espartaquista de México is working as part of the International Communist League in the fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

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particular, the following are the main points:

Walesa's IMF Braintruster

Jeffrey Sachs Says: Let Poland Starve

Solidarność leader Lech Walesa kissed the red-and-white flag with the Polish eagle, brought in by the former anti-Communist government-in-exile in London, and proclaimed the "Third Republic of Poland" as he was sworn in as president on December 22. Walesa, who campaigned as "the man with an ax," vowed to continue the capitalist austerity policies which led to the unpopularity of his former Solidarność colleague, defeated prime minister Mazowiecki. After a year of this "shock therapy" Polish working people have experienced the shock, now many are asking where's the therapy?

Last fall, Jeffrey Sachs, the Harvard professor who has served as the key architect of the Solidarność government's economic "reform" program, sat in the glittering Marriott Hotel in downtown Warsaw. Out on the streets were old women, young men, mothers and children desperately trying to peddle whatever they could get their hands on in the hope of surviving another bitter winter. From his breakfast table in the Marriott, Sachs looked down at what his program of "free market" impoverishment had wrought and proudly told an American journalist that he is "extremely pleased" (*New Yorker*, 10 December 1990).

Almost a decade ago we warned that a victory for Solidarność would bring the "democracy" of brutal capitalist exploitation to Poland. Now you can see it: the unemployment lines, the soup kitchens, and a wave of crime born of desperate poverty. Even an anti-Communist journalist who visited Warsaw last spring, a bare three months after the Solidarność-led government implemented its "made in America" program for "rolling back Communism," was shocked at what he saw:

"The number of drug addicts has grown dramatically. Gaunt-looking, panhandling AIDS sufferers have become fixtures around Warsaw's shopping malls. Crimes against property and muggings have reached epidemic proportions. Friends and family members who used to accept happily such gifts from America as aspirin, toothpaste or electronic gadgets, this year demanded mace."

—*Detroit Free Press*,
28 March 1990

Jeffrey Sachs is the brains behind the misery, the poverty, the hunger, the escalating unemployment. No sooner had Solidarność been invited by the Stalinists to form a new government following the 1989 elections than Sachs was called in to advise the government on implementing its program for capitalist restoration.

DPA



Gdansk's Lenin Shipyard, home of Solidarność, now on the chopping block under Sachs' "economic shock treatment." Peddlers in Warsaw's "free market."



Der Spiegel

High-flying yuppie Harvard professor Sachs (left), whose "free market" plans mean unemployment and soup kitchens for Polish workers.



Der Spiegel

Certainly, he had the credentials to do the job with a vengeance.

Over the past few years, the pudgy Harvard *Wunderkind* has emerged as a pre-eminent advocate of bare-knuckled "free market" capitalism. Sachs says his

experience as an economic adviser to the right-wing regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia.

Sachs' solution to hyperinflation in Bolivia was to slash wages and state subsidies for food, and fire two-thirds of

any social security.

When confronted with present conditions of life in Bolivia, Sachs shrugged: "If you want to be cynical about it, you could say that Bolivia used to be a miserably poor country suffering from hyperinflation, and is now a miserably poor country without inflation" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 September 1989). Yet it was on the basis of the "economic miracle" that he worked in Bolivia that Sachs was called in as the premier adviser to the Solidarność government!

In the heyday of Solidarność mass mobilizations at the beginning of the '80s, a joke made the rounds in the Soviet Union: the Poles want to live like Germans and work like Russians. If Jeffrey Sachs has his way, Poles will live like Bolivians...and they will be lucky to find any work at all!

"Shock Therapy" for Polish Workers

Apparently Sachs was originally approached by the former bankrupt Stalinist regime in Poland who, having mortgaged the country to the Western banks, were looking for advice on imposing austerity measures to meet the demands of the bloodsucking International Monetary Fund. Sachs boasts that he replied, "Call me again when you've legalized Solidarność."

This got big play in an article in *Fortune* magazine (29 January 1990), titled "The American Out to Save Poland," which proclaimed that Sachs "works only for democratic governments or ones that are moving in that direction." Sure, like the right-wing Bolivian government which introduced Sachs' economic policies through the brutal military suppression of a 1985 general strike!

In an unpublished paper, "Creating a Market Economy in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland," Sachs and his co-thinker David Lipton (another Solidarność adviser who has also served several Latin American governments) deride the former Stalinist regime for being *insufficiently brutal*. Sachs couldn't work with them because of "the planners' fear of unemployment; and the Communist regime's lack of legitimacy to impose strong austerity measures with public support, and the regime's unwillingness or inability to do so by brute force."

In contrast, Sachs considered that

On the walls of Wrocław: "Solidarność is a whore."



Le Bolchéviek

ideas were influenced by the "clear thinking" of Milton Friedman, the architect of the "economic shock treatment" in Pinochet's Chile which was enforced by a military dictatorship that murdered 30,000 Chilean workers and leftists, and paid for through the starvation of millions. In 1985, he got his first "practical"

the tin miners. Today 50 percent of the population of Bolivia is unemployed. Tin miners and their families have been reduced to begging in the streets. Outside of cities, four out of five children die before their fifth birthday. Almost half of the population have no medical services and less than 20 percent get

Gilles Saussier



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Polish Elections: A Contribution From Ludwik Hass

We print below a commentary on the first round of the Polish presidential election written by veteran Polish Trotskyist Ludwik Hass, with whom we have a number of political differences. Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski note that in his contribution, Hass gives the impression that people who do not support Solidarność represent per se an anti-capitalist opposition. This is not true at the moment. Even if not directly organized by a pro-capitalist party, they could be won over by the Catholic church, which not only supports the government, but in the division of labor within the probourgeois forces continues to exert influence over the ranks of every kind of opposition. Hence the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, fighting for the sharpest programmatic clarification, which "will be built from above through splits and fusions of ostensibly revolutionary organizations," as noted in the agreement for common work with the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The SGP's analysis of the Polish elections, "For Workers Resistance Against Capitalist Restoration", was printed in WV No. 516, 14 December 1990.

In the first round of the presidential election (25 November 1990), out of 27.5 million eligible voters only 16.7 million took part—in other words, three-fifths (60.6 percent). Only 6,570,000—two-fifths (40 percent)—voted for the leader of the "Solidarność" movement, L. Wałęsa, while 2,973,000 voted for another leader of this movement, Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki. At the same time, however, an "independent candidate" (as Tyminski, the Polish millionaire from Canada, describes himself) obtained 3,798,000 votes, that is, almost one-quarter (23.1 percent) of the participating voters. The three other candidates ranked as follows: the former PVAP [Stalinist ruling party] youth functionary W. Cimoszewicz, now transformed into a social democrat, got 1,514,000 votes (9.2 percent); the leader of the former lackey peasant party, Bartoszcze, got 1,176,000 (7.2 percent); and the representative of the moderately authoritarian/nationalist grouping, L. Moczulski, only 412,000 (2.5 percent).

Solidarnosc had sufficient popularity to impose a program of starvation, poverty and mass unemployment as long as they did it fast. He calls it the "big bang" theory. Sachs and Lipton approvingly quote the minister of planning in Bolivia from 1986-89, who summed up his government's wholesale assault on workers and the poor: "If you are going to chop off a cat's tail, do it in one stroke, not bit by bit."

Last January, Solidarność brought down the ax in Poland. The price of coal which is used for home heating shot up 600 percent, electricity 500 percent, bus and rail fares 250 percent. Over the past year, wages have been slashed by 40 percent while the prices of the most basic foodstuffs have more than doubled. Workers, who now pay more than a day's wages for a kilogram of sausage, speak of the nightmare of "First World prices at Third World wages."

Sachs scoffs at official statistics that show a 30 percent decline in the standard of living in Poland: "That is simply false, tragically false, a complete statistical fluke. That's the kind of figure you'd see in starkest wartime." The jet set Harvard professor, who is described in *Fortune* magazine as living the life of "two-paycheck yuppie-dom writ large," boasts that store shelves are full, there are no more lines, inflation has been reduced. But in Lodz, women textile workers are barely able to feed themselves. Asked if

These election results came as a total surprise to the "patented" experts on the political situation in Poland, including those from *Le Monde* and *Libération*. Their predictions turned out to be ridiculous. The reason was that they had believed, as if spoken by an oracle, all the information and assurances of their political cohorts from the former KOR (Committee for Workers Defense), such as Geremek, Kuron or Michnik, now

her of votes was obtained not by this "democrat" but by Tyminski. And he will now be contending against Walesa.

Mazowiecki's pundits responded to this unexpected election tally promptly on the night of November 25-26: the people are spiritually sick and need to be cured! This was said in the TV studio and everyone heard it. Various representatives and intellectuals from this group—repeated the same thing afterwards in



"Man with an ax" Lech Walesa kisses prewar crowned-eagle Polish flag of counterrevolution (left). Protest vote of 25 percent went to "man from nowhere," dark horse candidate Stanislaw Tyminski (with his Peruvian wife, above).

leading figures in the Mazowiecki camp. For them it was self-evident that, if Mazowiecki would not outstrip his Solidarność comrade Walesa in the first round, neither would Walesa attain an absolute majority. Then, according to the election rules, there would be a second round on December 9. And that time Mazowiecki's victory would be assured, since voters for the other four candidates in the previous round would support him as a "defender of freedom and democracy." However, the second-highest num-

many newspapers. This defeat of the KOR successors who were united with the former Stalinist "left" Catholics, and the success of a man almost nobody had heard of even four weeks before, mean basically one thing: every fourth voter was not so much enraptured with Tyminski as opposed to further rule by this layer of the bureaucracy. Against the rule of those called the "nomenklatura" in Poland today. Following the big victory of the Solidarność movement in the June 1989 parliamentary elections, people had

ty's central political weekly, *Polityka*. The present election results are not just an ordinary defeat for this grouping, they sound its death knell.

Granted, this transformation is not so clear to the broad masses of working people. But they feel that their hopes were not fulfilled following the victory a year ago. The miners who protested in front of the Parliament building on November 23, two days before the presidential elections, shouted: "Down with
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they still had to stand in line to get food, they responded: "No. Now we just don't go to the store at all because we can't afford anything."

Sachs sneers back: "you're putting no value whatsoever on your time." According to this Orwellian "economic" logic, time equals money and now that people in Poland are no longer wasting time standing in line or trying to get goods from the black market, their "real" standard of living is just about the same!

Sachs is one of those whiz kids of American imperialism who concoct theories to justify starvation in the name of "freedom" for capitalist exploitation. Perhaps he was inspired by fellow Harvard prof Samuel Huntington, who called the mass bombing of Vietnamese villages part of a program for "accelerated urbanization" and "economic development."

Capitalist Hell for Bolivian Workers

Sachs' main worry is a rebellion by the Polish working class against the government's brutal austerity measures: "The great danger here now would be some sort of populist spiral—workers stampeded by inappropriate fears into desperate demands, a failure of nerve on wage restraint," he told the *New Yorker*. Almost immediately following the implementation of Sachs' program for capitalist restoration last year, 35,000 coal miners went on strike against

government-imposed wage controls. In May, a strike by rail workers demanding higher wages tied up a third of the country.

In their joint paper on restoring a market economy in East Europe, Sachs and Lipton point to their experience in Latin America in advising that "only decisive actions" by the government "can keep these populist pressures in check." An example of what is meant by the euphemism "decisive actions" can be found in the measures taken by Sachs' Bolivian clients against desperate tin miners.

Protesting the mass elimination of their jobs, 7,000 miners and their families set out by foot in May 1986 in a march for "peace and life" to the capital. The Paz Estenssoro government proclaimed that these men, women and children were a "subversive threat" and declared a state of siege. Forty miles outside of La Paz, the marchers were surrounded by tanks and thousands of troops as air force jets streaked overhead. The leaders were arrested, and many of them were sent into exile in jungle prison camps along

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Out of the Frying Pan, Into the Fire

Soviet Jews in Israel— Pawns for a Zionist “Final Solution”

The Zionist rulers of Israel have for years been preparing for the forcible expulsion of the Palestinian people from the occupied West Bank. The preparations are now essentially complete. Under the impact of three years of Palestinian rebellion, Israeli Jewish public opinion has become ever more virulently racist, with half now openly favoring “transfer” (mass expulsion). Bush’s invasion of the Persian Gulf has now provided a shooting war to serve as cover for the bloody population transfer. And the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union has given Israel a pretext to launch a new drive for *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian people.

This is the largest wave of immigration the state of Israel has experienced since shortly after its formation in 1948. By New Year’s, 200,000 Soviet Jews had entered Israel, with the prospect of twice that number to come over the next 12 months. But while they line up outside the Israeli consulate in Moscow by the hundreds every day, when they get to Israel they find themselves without jobs and often without housing. Israeli society is strained to the breaking point to accommodate the immigrants, but the Zionist rulers welcome them as cannon fodder in their drive to “cleanse” the Occupied Territories of Arabs. The pogrom against the Palestinian people has already begun, with the assassination of two of Yasser Arafat’s top aides in Tunis on January 14. Israel today stands poised to carry out its own “Final Solution.”

The Palestinian people are facing a murderous onslaught. The working people and oppressed of the world must come to their defense. The Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel must not allow themselves to be accomplices to the genocidal plans of their capitalist oppressors. Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Gearing Up for Genocide

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir hypocritically assures Washington and Moscow that no new settlements are being built in the Occupied Territories to house the influx of Soviet Jews. But as always the Zionists have been “creating facts” on the ground, expanding existing settlements as well as the perimeter of Jerusalem into Arab-occupied land beyond the “Green Line” (the pre-1967 border).

The number of Jewish “settlers” in the occupied West Bank has just passed the 100,000 mark. They are not about to leave without a civil war, and the Zionist rulers certainly have no intention of evicting them. Shamir explicitly vows “to keep the land of Israel from the sea to the Jordan [River] for future generations and for the mass immigration.” And while the Labor Party (a thoroughly capitalist Zionist party despite its name) now makes “dovish” noises about trading land for peace, it is the architect of the settlements program in the West Bank and of the mass expulsion of Arabs in the late 1940s.

The current Likud-led coalition government is universally acknowledged to be the most right-wing in the country’s history—with former fascist Shamir’s Likud arguably the most “moderate” of the five parties in the cabinet. The appointment of Ariel Sharon, the fascistic



Soviet Jews fleeing economic chaos and rising anti-Semitism arrive in Israel to face no jobs, no housing, and to be used in genocidal pogrom against Palestinians.

butcher of Sabra and Shatila, as Housing Minister (tantamount to a Third Reich “Minister for Resettlement”) left no doubts about the government’s intentions. Now it has announced a goal of settling 250,000 more Jews in the Occupied Territories over the next 20 years. The decision to exclude Palestinians in the Occupied Territories from the general distribution of gas masks in preparation for war with Iraq was a statement that they were officially deemed *Untermenschen* (subhumans).

Last October’s provocative massacre of Palestinians at Jerusalem’s Al Aksa mosque, the worst such Zionist bloodbath ever in the “City of Peace,” was a bloody signal of the Israeli rulers’ intentions. Immediately in its wake, the government announced policies aimed at securing a Jewish majority in the Arab areas annexed to “Greater Jerusalem.” Thousands of Soviet Jews are being funneled

into these areas through the lure of available housing and low, government-subsidized mortgages.

The displacement of the Palestinians is enforced not only through semi-official terror by the fascistic “settler” groups, but through army snipers now ordered to shoot on sight any Palestinian with a rock in his hand or a mask over his face! Israeli military terror during the three years of *Intifada* has been especially aimed at decimating a generation of youth—some 160 Palestinian children under the age of 16 have been gunned down in cold blood, and over 50,000 more wounded. Meanwhile Arab communities in the West Bank are literally being starved of water, as the Israelis channel the waters of the Jordan River basin off to Jewish areas.

Last summer, Israel Shahak, the prominent Israeli anti-Zionist and survivor of Auschwitz, noted that “not only the great

majority of the ruling right-wing coalition but also many important figures in the Labour party, are united in their desire that the state of Jordan, as presently constituted, should be destroyed by Israel” (*Middle East International*, 3 August 1990). Many of these “Jordan is Palestine” advocates, observed Shahak, intend to “use this opportunity to ‘transfer’ the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into it, while disguising such forced mass expulsions as ‘repatriation’ to the newly established ‘Palestinian state’.”

Recently a member of Shamir’s cabinet declared that Jordan’s “King Hussein has become an Iraqi satellite, and is posing a new security problem for Israel.” And we all know how the Israelis deal with “security problems”!

While the heroic Palestinian *Intifada* has clearly challenged the Zionists’ capacity to maintain stable military rule, it has simultaneously undercut the reliance of Israeli capitalists on Palestinian labor. As West Bank journalist Hanna Siniora put it, “The *intifada* has achieved a separation of our economies, to our detriment.” The Israeli capitalists look to the Soviet immigrants, overwhelmingly highly educated, to do the “Arab work” which even the lower-caste and deeply impoverished Sephardic Jews refuse to do. A quarter of the 120,000 Palestinian laborers from the Occupied Territories who worked in Israel have already been displaced by Soviet Jews.

Simcha Dinitz, of the Jewish Agency which oversees the “in-gathering” (*aliya*), crows: “Any job Ahmed can do, Boris can do as well.” The Histadrut, the corporatist trade-union federation of “Labor Zionism” erected on the sole principle of “Jewish labor only,” is now demanding that all able-bodied unemployed under the age of 30 have their benefits cut off if they refuse to accept job retraining for the construction industry, which has heretofore been an almost exclusively Arab domain.

Whether “Boris,” with his PhD and 10 or 20 years experience in a scientific laboratory, will want to take the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs, which have previously been left to “Ahmed,” is another question. Whatever illusions Soviet Jews might have had as they were boarding their El Al jetliner, they rapidly learn that they have not come to the land of milk and honey. The Israeli economy is a basket case, with unemployment running at 10 percent even before the flood of Soviet immigrants began escalating toward the end of the year.

Three out of four Soviet immigrants have not been able to find work, while hundreds of women have been forced to turn to prostitution. Of 3,000 scientists who have arrived in the past year, only 160 are now employed! One recent immigrant whose husband had been an electrical engineer in Kiev and was now working a \$2.50-an-hour factory job (until he got fired for demanding a raise) complained: “We feel worthless, taken advantage of and miserable.”

And unlike the earlier wave of Soviet immigration in the 1970s, these people are not horn-again Orthodox Jews or Zionist fanatics but overwhelmingly secular and assimilated products of Soviet society, many of them intermarried. Now they have landed in a theocracy where the religious right increasingly rules the roost. Recent legislation would even

Defend the Palestinians!



Palestinian terrorized by Israeli policeman during Zionist massacre last fall at Al Aksa mosque in Jerusalem.

outlaw the production and sale of pork in Jewish areas.

Minister for "Absorption" Yitzhak Peretz, a member of the fundamentalist right, created a furor when he declared that many of the arriving immigrants are not "true" Jews and insisted on having their religious credentials scrutinized. The ultra-Orthodox Israeli Chief Rabbinate has now dispatched a rabbi to Moscow whose job is "to decide who is a Jew and who is not." Will prospective male immigrants have to strip down to show they are circumcised, as suspected Jews were forced to do by the Nazis? And how will the rabbis have women prove they are Jewish?

Russian Revolution Emancipated Jews

It is a horrible irony of history that the largest concentration of Jewish survivors of Hitler's "Final Solution" in Europe are to become the pawns for this Zionist "Final Solution." The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was a beacon of emancipation to the downtrodden Jews of East Europe. Russian Jews fought and distinguished themselves in the Civil War against the White counterrevolutionaries and went on to take leading roles in the Bolshevik government. In World War II, Jews played a valiant and disproportionately large role in the Red Army and particularly in Soviet and Soviet-allied partisan detachments, which succeeded in pinning down 10 percent of all Wehrmacht forces on the Russian Front and seriously disrupting German logistics and transport (see Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, 1974).

Writing about Red Army veteran Alexander Zamulson, who recently came to the U.S. for medical treatment, *Newsday* (7 January) claims "he is believed to be the Soviet Union's only decorated Jewish war hero." This is nonsense: 550,000 Jews served in the Red Army during World War II (excluding partisan units)—including more than 200 Jewish generals!—and they ranked fourth among all Soviet nationalities in the number of decorations won for heroism. Perhaps the reason *Newsday* could write such a monumentally ignorant statement is that many such Soviet Jewish Communists, such as General David Dragunsky, were for years barred under McCarthyite laws from entering the U.S.!

It is a singular crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy that a significant proportion of this valuable component of the Soviet Union's multinational society is now being driven to emigrate to the Zionist deathtrap. This will have a debilitating effect on the future of the Soviet economy; more than 53 percent of the emigrants are in academic professions, fully 13 out of 100 are either scientists or engineers.

While anti-Semitism has been rife in Stalinist Russia at least since the 1930s, it remained modulated and underground. But Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika brought to the surface the most backward excrescences of the old tsarist days. And Gorbachev has encouraged the groundswell of anti-Semitism by inviting into his advisory council the notorious anti-Semite and counterrevolutionary Valentin Rasputin, who denounces the Jews in the same breath as "Christ-killers" and as leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution!

The pogromist Black Hundreds have come back under the name of Pamyat. One elderly Jew in Chernovtsy had his house broken into by a gang who burned his stomach with a hot iron. A family in Moscow had their apartment burned down, killing a 33-year-old woman, with a note left behind reading, "Let Jews die!" The Pamyat fascists are protected by and overlap with far wider layers of Great Russian chauvinists outside and within the ruling bureaucracy, including in the middle and upper echelons of the military. The editor of an officially sanctioned military journal recently interviewed in the *New York Times* proudly explained how he was planning to run an



Israelis, primarily poor Sephardic Jews, made homeless by massive influx of Soviet immigrants.

excerpt from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that hoary anti-Semitic fabrication concocted by the tsarist secret police with the aim of instigating anti-Semitic pogroms to crush the 1905 Revolution.

On the other hand the level of hysteria and fear which is driving hundreds of thousands of Jews, who had until recently seen themselves as loyal and patriotic members of Soviet society, to leave their homeland appears to be at least in part manufactured. Early last year, there were widespread rumors throughout the Soviet Union that May 5 would be marked by massive pogroms. The threat of pogroms was a key impetus fueling the large-scale emigration, but in the upshot nothing transpired. A *New York Times* (3 March 1990) article datelined Odessa reported, "Some Jews even accuse other Jews of feeding the current pogrom rumors to justify the exodus." It would certainly not be out of character for the Zionists to fuel such rumors, and even engage in anti-Semitic provocations, with the aim of driving Jews to emigrate to Israel.

Israeli leftist Michel Warshawski, who recently completed a prison sentence for publishing pro-Palestinian literature, noted, "Israel's emissaries in the Soviet Union—as well as the Israeli propaganda media aimed at the Jews of the Soviet Union—are doing everything in their power to inflate the significance of the phenomenon of Soviet anti-Judaism and to create a mass psychosis among Soviet Jews" (*Against the Current*, July/August 1990). One need only recall that the Mossad was instrumental in fueling the last major *aliya* to Israel, by the Sephardic Jews of the Near East in the 1950s, by, among other crimes, bombing a synagogue in Baghdad filled with worshippers.

But, by and large, it is not anti-Semitism, not even the fear of pogroms, which is fueling the current mass departure of Soviet Jews. They are leaving, quite simply, because they can get out and have somewhere to go as life in the Soviet Union becomes ever more unbearable and the economy collapses. Overwhelmingly, they would far rather emigrate to the United States, as they were doing until Israel struck a deal with Washington and Moscow to channel the Soviet Jews to Tel Aviv.

As a result of this arrangement, not only are Soviet Jews forbidden to switch their destination from Israel to elsewhere in transit, but they automatically have Israeli citizenship imposed on them the moment they leave Soviet airspace. Once they land in Tel Aviv, they find out that they are truly "prisoners of Zion," indentured to remain in the Zionist state for five years unless they can pull together the cash (some \$6,000 per head) to "pay back" the expenses of their trip and resettlement.

That most Jews leaving the Soviet Union would prefer to go virtually anywhere other than Israel is demonstrated by the large numbers pouring into Germany recently. "Israel is a militarized state," explained one, "We want to be in a peaceful country like Germany." This, too, is an illusion, but even the Fourth

Reich looks good compared to "Greater Israel." The German government threatened to clamp down on the wave of refugees, restricting them to 1,000 a year, but the ensuing furor (keeping Jews out would not be good PR for the new "democratic" united fatherland) forced Bonn to back down.

As soon as this scandalous *Judenstopp* came to light, the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany organized a protest in Berlin on September 19 demanding, "Down with the Fourth Reich's ban on Jewish immigration!" Our comrades' unique internationalist protest against anti-Semitism in Germany was featured in a spread in *Israel Scene* (December



German Trotskyists protested in Berlin, 19 September 1990, demanding "Down with the Fourth Reich's Ban on Jewish Immigration." Photo of our comrades was featured in *Jerusalem Post's* magazine.

1990), monthly magazine of the *Jerusalem Post*.

The Zionists, like the misnamed Anti-Defamation League in the U.S., seek to smear all opponents of their expansionist, racist project as anti-Semites. This favored Zionist hobbyhorse has been used particularly against the Spartacist League when the ADL has sought to sabotage united-front action initiated by the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee against the fascist Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

In fact, it is Zionism which has worked hand in glove with nativist anti-Semitism, as Yitzhak Shamir well knows. While he was one of its central leaders, the fascist terrorist Lehi (the "Stern Gang") sought to cut a deal with Hitler's "New Order" on the basis of agreement that the Jews had no place in Germany, pleading that: "A commonality of interests is possible between the aims of the New Order in Europe according to the German approach and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people."

Today the Zionists espouse a similar "commonality of interests" with the likes of Pamyat, as a United Jewish Appeal mailing last summer made clear: "Right now neo-fascist organizations like Pamyat are threatening to carry out pogroms unless the Jews get out of the Soviet Union. BUT EMIGRATION IS EXACTLY WHAT SOVIET JEWS WANT."

While defending the right of Soviet citizens to emigrate, we warn Soviet Jews that they are being set up to become shock troops for genocide against the Arabs. They will be spitting on the graves of their parents and grandparents who fought to defeat the Hitlerite menace. One Jerusalem woman of German-Jewish origin painfully recalled the German *Kristallnacht* pogrom of 1938 after witnessing Kahane's funeral demonstration, as crazed rioters screamed, "Death to Arabs!" and "Death to all leftist Arah-loving Jews!" A soldier whose company was ordered to break into Arab houses and heat and drag villagers out in the dead of night later said, "I swear, that night I saw the Nazis again."

It would be far better for Soviet Jews to remain in their homeland and be part of the struggle to regenerate the internationalist foundations of the October Revolution, linking up with the multinational Soviet proletariat in defense of the collectivized economy through political revolution. Soviet workers must sweep the Pamyat fascists off the streets in the course of combatting all the Great Russian and other nationalist excrescences!

For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away the Zionist Butchers!

The narrowly based Israeli economy is simply incapable of smoothly absorbing hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. The financial cost alone will come to tens of billions of dollars in the next few years. Already, the Israeli ruling class has imposed a simultaneous wage cut and tax hike on workers to help

finance the *aliya*, leading to numerous strikes, including a two-week shutdown of the Absorption Ministry itself. In the past, the Zionist rulers have looked to their American cousins to bail them out. But while Texas oil millionaire Bush is quite willing to collaborate with Israel in keeping Soviet Jews out of the U.S., he is far from happy with his uppity Israeli *schmorrer* (beggar) clients.

Apparently, when American Zionist leaders asked Bush for even more than the \$400 million in loan guarantees already granted to finance immigrant housing, "that request outraged Bush" (*Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January 1991). And Bush warned them, "If you keep opposing the deliveries of weaponry to Saudi Arabia, I am going public to explain to the American nation who is with us and who is against us." The Zionists may soon find that the right-wing American politicians they have cultivated are far from committed to a "Greater Israel." Moreover, they can easily appeal to popular anti-Semitism in pursuit of their own global interests.

The Palestinian Arab people, educated and cosmopolitan, scattered in their diaspora throughout the Near East as well as Europe and North America, are key to exploding the Zionist garrison state from within and breaking the nationalist stranglehold on the region. Under an internationalist leadership they

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Defend Iraq...

(continued from page 1)

infantry armed with rifles and mortars. Now they are going to attack an entrenched, battle-hardened army of a million men armed with modern weaponry. American combat deaths in this war could be as great or greater than in the entire eight years of the Vietnam War. The Pentagon has already shipped 45,000 body bags (now called "remains pouches") to the Persian Gulf. And a disproportionate number of those killed will be poor black and Hispanic youth who joined the military to escape the hellish conditions of America's inner-city ghettos and barrios.

Within Washington ruling circles, opponents of an immediate attack on Iraq are worried about the popular antiwar backlash once the body bags start coming home. But they are just as committed to U.S. imperialist dominance of the Near East as is Bush. The "dovish" Mitchell-Nunn resolution, which was narrowly voted down in the Senate, authorizes the "use of force" for the blockade and explicitly "does not rule out declaring war" on Iraq...a little bit later. Its chief sponsor, Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, declared: "If war occurs, the constitutional and policy debates will be suspended, and Congress will provide the American troops whatever they need to prevail."

"Give the economic sanctions more time to work," is the line of the imperialist doves. And whether they explicitly support sanctions or not, the competing popular-front "peace coalitions" are playing to the pro-"sanctions" Democrats. But the blockade is itself an *act of war*—the attempt to starve the Iraqi people into submission. If Saddam Hussein bows to the economic strangulation and threatened war, U.S. imperialism will have won a great, *costless* victory. The power-mad rulers of this country will be emboldened in reasserting their role as "cops of the world," launching new military adventures from Latin America to the Far East.

Even if the U.S. wins a big, bloody war and overthrows Saddam Hussein, this will not bring peace to the Near East. Washington will have to maintain a huge army of occupation, imposing a puppet regime on the Iraqi people through a reign of terror. Iraq is not Panama or Grenada, small powerless countries raped by U.S. imperialism. The Arab and Muslim masses of the Near East will certainly rise up against the American colonialist occupation in a prolonged war of national liberation.

The exploited toilers and oppressed peoples of the world have a life-and-death stake in the defeat and humiliation of American imperialism in the Persian Gulf. American working people must fight their *real* enemy: the capitalist rulers who exploit and oppress them at home and are now sending their sons and daughters to die for the profits of Big Oil and Wall Street. Defend Iraq! Break the blockade! U.S. out of the Near East!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

The declared aim of this war is to restore the sovereignty of the wealthy oil sheikdom of Kuwait. Why are America's rulers going to war to defend the Islamic feudalist regimes of the Arabian Peninsula, where women are enslaved to the veil and executed for adultery, chattel slavery is still practiced, labor organizers are thrown into scorpion pits, and even Christian religious services are outlawed?

Because the Saudi monarchy and lesser sheikdoms are the junior partners of the Anglo-American oil cartel. Their hundreds of billions in petrodollars from the extortionate pricing of oil—more than 20 times the cost of production in the Persian Gulf—are recycled back to Wall Street, the London and Frankfurt banks.

The former ruling emir al-Sabah of Kuwait has financial holdings in the West larger than the gross national product of Greece; the Saudi monarchy's



One million died in the eight-year-long war between Iran and Iraq. U.S. aided both sides to prolong the killing in this squalid border war. Now Bush and Congress plan to kill hundreds of thousands more to go after their erstwhile ally Saddam Hussein.

investments in Western banks, corporations and governments are four times greater than the gross national product of South Africa! American youth are being sent to fight and die in the Persian Gulf to increase the flow of petrodollars to Wall Street.

To whip up war hysteria, Bush and his propagandists are portraying Saddam Hussein as power-mad, "another Hitler" bent on dominating the Near East and blackmailing the Western world. Yet both the U.S. and its West European allies supported and armed Hussein's Iraq in its eight-year-long border war with Khomeini's Iran. Washington only turned against Hussein when, by taking over the Kuwaiti oil sheikdom, he claimed a bigger share of the world's petrodollars.

Saddam Hussein is a bloodthirsty tyrant who (with U.S. complicity) has executed thousands of leftists and worker militants, devastated entire Kurdish villages and sent a quarter million Iraqi youth to their death in the senseless border war with Iran. While resolutely defending their country against American imperialism, the toiling masses of Iraq must work for the overthrow of the bloody Ba'athist regime and its replacement by a workers and peasants government. For a socialist federation of the Near East through proletarian revolution against the feudalist sheiks, nationalist colonels and Zionist butchers!

Bankrupt U.S. Empire Goes for War

By invading and occupying the Persian Gulf oil fields, America's rulers are trying to reverse their economic decline through brute military force. The owners of the Fortune 500 corporations have run U.S. industry into the ground. Once-bustling Midwest factory towns have been turned into a rust belt. Washington's massive budget deficits and Wall Street's speculative orgy have been sustained by ever-greater foreign borrowing. In the mid-1980s the U.S. went from being the world's leading creditor nation to the world's biggest debtor.

U.S. imperialism has been fast losing ground to its more economically dynamic capitalist rivals. The German ruling class is forming a Fourth Reich by taking over East Germany and establishing its finan-

cial dominance in Europe, both East and West. Japan, Inc. is forming a new "co-prosperity sphere" in East Asia and has already become Wall Street and Washington's main creditor.

Over 70 years ago, during World War I, the Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin declared that capitalism in the imperialist epoch inevitably produces wars over the division and red division of world markets and spheres of exploitation. By seizing the Persian Gulf oil fields and occupying Iraq, the U.S. will be positioned to economically blackmail Europe and Japan. Washington is already demanding tens of billions from Frankfurt and Tokyo to finance its war mobilization.

This is being called the first post-Cold War war. In past decades fear of provoking a war with the Soviet Union restrained to some degree military adventurism by the American ruling class, especially in the Near East. But with the disintegration and capitulation of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy, George Bush—echoing Adolf Hitler—proclaims himself master of a "new world order." Next on the hit list is Castro's Cuba.

In exchange for U.S. hacking (and a few billion dollars and D-marks) the servile Gorbachev regime is now supporting Washington in a war against Moscow's former client state of Iraq. The American ruling class hopes that Gorbachev's perestroika will bring about capitalist restoration and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Washington is exploiting the crisis of the Kremlin Stalinists to tighten its military encirclement of the USSR, from eastern Germany to the Persian Gulf. The Soviet working class must link the defense and regeneration of the collectivized economy, through the restoration of workers democracy in the USSR, to the struggle against imperialist militarism on a world scale.

For Working-Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!

Despite all the efforts by the American ruling class to whip up war hysteria, polls show that half the population opposes attacking Iraq at this time. "Why die for Big Oil?" is a sentiment commonly voiced in factories, offices, schools, coffee shops and bars, and also in the

U.S. troop barracks in the Arabian desert. Even before the shooting has begun, morale is reportedly poor, with many soldiers wanting nothing more than to come home. "This is not our war," U.S. troops shouted to reporters as Bush was dining in the desert on Thanksgiving Day.

Fully one-third of the American troops in the Gulf are black and Hispanic, a proportion far greater than their share in the civilian population. For many ghetto youth, joining up is their only way to learn a job skill and get ahead in a racist society where there are far more black men in prison than in college. Now these young black and Latino men and women are to be used as cannon fodder to defend the profits of Exxon and Citibank.

The war against Iraq comes after a decade of war at home against the working people and poor. Workers have seen their strikes broken by scabherding cops, their pickets killed by scabs, their unions busted, their wages and benefits slashed. Young workers today, superexploited by two-tier wage systems, earn 25 percent less than their parents earned a generation ago. Millions have been thrown into the streets, forced to beg for food and sleep in public parks or homeless shelters. Blacks and Hispanics are targeted by rising Klan and skinhead terror and racist cop killings.

The real enemies of the American working people are in this country: the



U.S. women soldiers in Persian Gulf: Black and Hispanic youth are being used as cannon fodder in war for Big Oil.

profit-gouging capitalists, the Wall Street swindlers and their bought-and-paid-for politicians in Washington—liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans alike. The social power of the organized working class, allied to youth and oppressed minorities, must be mobilized to defend Iraq against American imperialist aggression.

For labor political strikes against the war! While Teamster tops wave the flag, the heads of nine major unions declare, "we emphatically oppose the initiation of offensive military action...at this time" (their answer is "sanctions"). And the ILWU West Coast longshore union declared: "a US invasion of Iraq is unacceptable, indeed, unthinkable." This is empty talk, but it's a pale reflection of the discontent in the ranks. For action by longshoremen, Teamsters, shipyard workers and transport workers to stop shipping of munitions to the Persian Gulf!

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), calls for a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers movement, for a revolutionary workers party to link the factory to the ghetto and fight for the liberation of all the oppressed. Down with the capitalist system of exploitation, of poverty amid wealth, of racism and war! Imperialist war can be the mother of socialist revolution!



Commander in chief Bush looks forward to bloodbath in Gulf to restore U.S. Imperialist power.

15 January 1991

WORKERS VANGUARD

Alexander Cockburn Up the Persian Gulf

Pinko Journalist Turns Yellow

Columnist Alexander Cockburn has made his reputation as a radical gadfly, who would be called on by TV talk show hosts who wanted to spice up their repartee with a really "way out" opinion. But recently this wisecracking *enfant terrible* raised hackles among readers of his column in the *Nation* magazine and provoked a slew of letters to the editor for coming out for "United Nations" sanctions against Iraq last summer. Throughout the fall he was wagging his finger at leftists who called for "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf." Instead, he insisted, "The call should now be for the conversion of the forces confronting Iraq in the region into a genuinely multilateral force—with diminished U.S. presence—under a genuine U.N. command" (*Nation*, 8 October 1990).

We already noted Cockburn's enlistment in the UN "Fig Leaf Brigade" last August when he endorsed the "entirely proper effort to establish U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait." In our article "Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves" (*WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990), we noted, "Cockburn and the CP want economic sanctions against Iraq, but nothing 'messy' like troops and warships. But to enforce sanctions, you need a blockade, and a blockade is an act of war.... Cockburn and the CP know full well that it was under the UN flag that Washington carried out its brutal war against the Korean people 40 years ago."

A host of letters objecting to Cockburn's wretched position poured into the *Nation*. He replied in a November 26 exchange that many thrashed him for "being naive about the U.N. One *Nation* editor plucked my arm and broke the news that the Security Council was inhabited by imperialist powers!" He magnanimously conceded that "the letter writers have a point undisputed by me when they say that at significant times the U.N. has been the cat's-paw of imperial knavery." Only "at significant times"? Not like *this* time when under the wand of George Bush it's somehow magically become *not* a cat's paw? Even the Old English Queen of Air and Darkness would have trouble with this feat.

"All the same," Cockburn goes on, "the U.N. Charter is a document of mostly laudable intent, and nations ought to adhere to it. I don't know of anything better on offer and many schemes a good deal worse." He even drags in UNESCO. Who but the most hardened, cynical beast among us could deny the UN cares about little children, like the ones in features on those tacky liberal Christmas cards? He agrees, "naturally," that the "legitimate national boundaries" such as those between the British-created oil emirate Kuwait and the British-created state of Iraq were "carved out by imperialist cartographers," but "at this point in



WV Photo

the twentieth century I don't see much alternative."

But what passes for "collective security" and "international law" is the rule of the strongest imperial power. In fact, the UN Charter codified the post-World War II domination of the "big powers" led by the United States as it embarked on its short-lived "American century." For the past 15 years, the U.S. has been trying to recover imperialist hegemony after its humiliating defeat in the rice paddies of Vietnam. Today, as Washington poses as world policeman in the Persian Gulf, its purpose is to gain control of world oil supplies so that it can turn the spigot on or off against its economically more dynamic imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan.

As a rad-lib writing for a liberal audience, Cockburn regularly cited UN resolutions condemning contra terror in Nicaragua, Salvadoran death squads, etc. He was for UN "sanctions" against apartheid South Africa. Sure, as the number of Third World states increased during the 1960s and '70s, they passed a lot of resolutions in that impotent talk shop. Nothing is ever done about these pieces of paper: look at the calls for Israel to withdraw from the Occupied Territories, or the near-unanimous condemnation of the U.S. invasion of Panama last year. But when George Bush waves his magic wand a string of resolutions is passed and enforced by the U.S./NATO armada in the Gulf and the "multinational" expeditionary force in the Saudi desert, all under the blue flag of the UN.

Lenin rightly called the League of Nations, British imperialism's creature, a "den of thieves." It had its appeal for well-meaning liberals, as Alex's father, Claud Cockburn, wrote in *The Devil's Decade*: "the League Idea" was among the most powerful of imponderable political forces in Britain during the thirties. It was as intangible, as pervasive, and as uplifting as laughing gas; except that it was not to be laughed at.... For huge numbers of people the League, too, had become an ally and instrument of US

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waiting to be exploited by the Democrats. Bush's own standing in the polls had started to plunge.

The president soon bounded out ahead of the entirely proper effort to establish U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait and hijacked the crisis.

—Dick Cheney

Radical gadfly Cockburn came out last August for Bush's "entirely proper" UN "sanctions," the prelude to Gulf war against Iraq.

against Them. Celebrants of the Silver Jubilee could feel that it was just the kind of good thing that George V and Queen Mary were surely in favour of."

During the '80s, Alexander Cockburn played the shockingly radical jester in the bourgeoisie's court of public opinion, one of those clever wisecracking types that Claud used to call "Smart-Alecs, the fly-boys of political punditry." Equally in vogue at the World Peace Council or among the glitterati at Elaine's, his particular role was to link the liberals with the radicals within the framework of the popular front. In George Bush's America, after eight years of Reaganism in which "liberal" became "the L-word," Cockburn has moved to the right along with the audience he plays to. As the bourgeoisie trumpets the "death of Communism" (in reality, the collapse of Stalinism), Cockburn sees no role at all for anything smacking of leftism. He dismisses anyone talking today of anti-imperialism or calling for defending Iraq as "rather sad, like an old lion being put through hoops in a circus."

In reply to his critics, Cockburn writes: "Absent the countervailing weight of the Soviet Union, mostly now in Bush and Baker's amen corner, the United States is indeed seemingly without challenge as 'the capitalist world's chief enforcer,' but it's not at all clear to me that this contour of the 'emerging world order' will be particularly durable." Leaving aside Cockburn's evident faith that the U.S. will simply agree to Germany and Japan joining the big boys with veto rights at the Security Council, what is this "new world order" that Bush envisions? The *Realpolitiker* in Washington evidently are looking back to the counterrevolutionary "Holy Alliance" formed under the aegis of Austrian foreign minister Metternich in 1815. Is Cockburn to be the "left-wing" scribe for the new Holy Alliance?

"Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism"

Still and all, our parlour pink journalist doesn't want to be leading the charge of the heavy armored brigades into Ku-

wait the way Hearst's yellow journalism whipped up war fever to seize the spoils of the decaying Spanish empire. So after beating the drums for UN sanctions all fall, he is now for "peace" protests as Bush gears up for D-Day. But a reasonable, responsible peace crawl, if you please, the kind that will make Saddam Hussein the heavy while making namby-pamby criticisms of Bush. In his year-end *Nation* column, Cockburn denounces those who "espouse the cause of Iraq and eschew criticism of Saddam Hussein." This he identifies as "Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism of a sort much savored by the Workers World Party, which seems to be the animating force behind the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, decorated by Ramsey Clark."

Really, Alex. We thought we were the real "Marxist-Leninist-Bonkerists" in your book. Why, it seems only yesterday when you first awarded the Spartacist League that title because of our commie contingent at a 1982 Washington demonstration on El Salvador: "The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, but their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes" (*Village Voice*, 6 April 1982). By which Cockburn meant that we should have acquiesced to the attempt by march organizers, particularly from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, to kick us out of the staging area because our red flags and call for "military victory" for the "enemy" might scare off the liberals they wanted to entice.

But the reformists saw red at Cockburn's eccentric leftist praise of our "unimpeachable" line, so he had to do public penance, joining in the Big Lie campaign that we had engaged in "low-level violence" in a piece the next week titled "Assholes Revisited." Then a few years later Cockburn got burned again, fired from the *Voice* for offending a cabal of Zionists by accepting a grant from the Institute of Arab Studies to write a book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Naturally, we defended him then. And now he's lined up with Israel and the U.S. behind the Arab reactionaries. Cockburn has stuck many a thorn in the Zionists' side—what's the matter, Alex, are they finally getting to you?

Back then Cockburn sided with Marcy's WWP in calling us "Bonkerists," today he applies this label to the Marcyites. Self-evidently, who is "bonkers"—i.e., crazy, beyond the pale—depends on your vantage point. And Cockburn's has demonstrably shifted. This is not just an individual quirk but reflects the response of a layer of disillusioned intellectuals to the "death of Communism" syndrome. It reminds us of the flight of the American fellow travelers, notably the *Partisan Review*

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UN "peace-keeping" troops in Lebanon policed Israeli border against Palestinian guerrillas (left). UN Security Council raises hands for U.S. war resolution (right).



From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Big War for Big Oil



This silent sea of sand shifts over the Hejaz, dry abrasive waves whipped by desert sciroccos into shifting mountains.

The air is, by day, fiery; by night, frigid.

Hunkered under tents, dressed in brown camouflage, sit hundreds of thousands of American men and women, armed for war.

In the space of one generation, America is once again on the brink of war.

This time, with the willing submission of the Gorchachevian Empire, Communism is not the Enemy.

Indeed, contrary to reports, neither is Iraqi strongman, Saddam Hussein.

This is a war, not for ideology, nor for land.

The reason for war is simple—oil.

Standing, drilling, sitting in the desert are tens of thousands of African-Americans—Blacks, on the front lines of battle once more.

If war comes, and there is every reason to believe it imminent, there will be death, dislocated lives, and dismembered bodies among all combatants.

For what?

For once, the U.S. does not claim "democracy," for

does it not now defend a royal theocracy?

Its claim to oppose "international aggression" is equally empty, for did it not sit back while South Africa for years pummelled Black African frontline states with air power?

The war preparations in Saudi Arabia are for one thing—oil.

So, thousands of African-Americans sit under a sapping broiling sun, to protect America's own Plutocracy—a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. Like their fathers and mothers, who still awaken in shuddering cold sweats from the nightmare of Viet Nam, they are ready to embark on a deadly journey.

While political leaders cried crocodile tears over taxing America's millionaires, they rejected efforts to pass civil rights bills into law, designed to protect workers from job discrimination.

The message emerging from Washington is explicit—the job of government is to protect the rich, not the poor!

While politicians are solicitous of wealth, the poor, armed and trained to defend the wealthy, will return

(if they live) to communities where joblessness, homelessness and hopelessness reign supreme; where those few who find jobs have no job protection; where the courts, home to wealthy appointees, act only in the interests of their class.

This is a war for U.S. and Western dominance for one of the planet's largest oil supplies.

Of what import if Saddam owned more access to Kuwaiti oil fields following his August invasion?

Would he drink it?

Or would he sell it, at a fair price? Isn't that the very essence of "free enterprise"?

As for the invasion itself, the invaders of Grenada, and Panama, have little room for criticism.

Indeed, is not Puerto Rico, a fruit of invasion—in fact, is not the United States itself?

29 October 1990

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

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Cockburn...

(continued from page 9)

crowd, when liberals broke with Moscow over the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939-40. In the heyday of the People's Front in Spain, "progressives" comfortably supported both Stalin and FDR. But when the Pop Front broke down and they had to choose between the two, they lined up with their own bourgeois masters.

As long as it was all the good guys against Reagan, Cockburn could comfortably appear on the gab shows while sporting some leftist threads (along with his Berber rug trousers). But when the liberals went for Bush's "UN sanctions" ploy, so did the erstwhile "rad-libs" around the *Nation*, Verso Press and the Berkeley-in-the-'60s crowd who now fax in from the Santa Cruz hills. Earth to Area Code 408: if you think about it for a minute, the idea that you could have a truly multinational, equitable new world order via the United Nations with "Poppy" Bush calling the shots is, in a word, "bonkers."

So today Saddam Hussein's seizure of "poor little Kuwait" has sent the Democrats scurrying into Bush's arms. And Cockburn excoriates the "savage and implacable tyranny" of the greedy Iraqi strongman while extolling the "dignity" of the Kuwaiti feudal autocrat. In response to us, he writes:

"As far as the namby-pamby factor is concerned, the *Workers Vanguard* said airily in one recent issue that from the point of view of the working class it 'matters not one whit whether Kuwait... is controlled by Saddam Hussein or the filthy rich Kuwaiti merchants or Saudi monarchs.' Really?"

He goes on to say that the lives of Egyptian guest workers and others in the region have "been rendered horrible by Saddam's invasion." At that level, you could make a good case that the lives of Egyptian workers in Iraq or Palestinians in Kuwait have been rendered pretty miserable by Bush's sanctions.

Cockburn, meanwhile, writes of the Kuwaiti emir, "As such dynasties can go, the Sabah family has not been vile and is certainly more dignified than the Grimaldis." Frankly, we'd take the gambling, drinking, smoking and bikini-clad haven of Monaco over the feudal "dignity" of Kuwait where women go through life enveloped in black bags. Asked why he wasn't heading for the "battle line for freedom" in the Gulf, gonzo journalist



Depardon/Magnum

Bush demanded sanctions to defend "our way of life." Here's what Cockburn calls "dignified" lifestyle of Gulf oil sheiks: gun-toting guards for Rolls Royce with solid-gold grille.

Hunter S. Thompson said, "Cover a war in a place where you can't drink beer or talk to a woman? Hell, no!"

But the real issue is not who's the worse dictator but what class forces are arrayed against each other. Cockburn says he's sick of people "writing to remind me that in the 1930s leftists of principle—Trotsky and Togliatti are two favorites cited by my correspondents—supported feudal Ethiopia against the invading Italians." So we know Alex knows it all, but for the benefit of other readers, we'll point out that you have in the Gulf a war between the most powerful imperialist power in the world and a relatively backward capitalist state. "Sanctions" are just the run-up to the shooting war. If the imperialist "coalition" wins, the result will not be democracy or defense of national sovereignty but mass murder, the obliteration of Iraq and the imposition of a satrap of Washington's choosing.

So back to "bonkers": in the current war of the "antiwar" demo dates, Cockburn favors January 26 ("a broad-based peace drive") as opposed to the "Bonkersists" who are having their D.C. do on January 19. In fact, both demos are would-be popular fronts. If Cockburn is actually opposed to war in the Gulf, then he ought to support a policy of genuine united-front actions where people may express their own political points of view on the war, as well as criticisms of other viewpoints. This was summed up by the Communist International in the phrases, "March separately, strike together" and

"Freedom of criticism, unity in action." But the pop-fronters are opposed to this principled practice precisely because they want to censor "red" views, including self-censoring even their own reformist

politics, in order to make their movement "safe" for the Democrats.

As for us, we say forthrightly that proletarian communists have a side in that war: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" And that doesn't mean softening one iota our revolutionary opposition to the despot Hussein, murderer of Kurds and communists (see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Reign: Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists," *WV* No. 517, 4 January, and "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990). Rather than siding with Washington to support the feudal sheik against the bloody Ba'athist, we call for workers revolution throughout the Near East against the sheiks, colonels and Zionist butchers. And the Spartacist League fights to bring down "our" imperialist ruling class, the biggest butchers of all and the main enemy of mankind, through class struggle at home.

Well, there we go again, it's that old-time Marxism-Leninism. As Alex said of the glass house on the East River, we "don't know of anything better on offer and many schemes a good deal worse." ■

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Gulf Protests...

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from the Vietnam War "antiwar movement" to Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition," are being the "best builders" of a new "popular front" centered on Ramsey Clark, the attorney general in Lyndon Johnson's war cabinet who once prosecuted anti-Vietnam War protesters, but today agrees with Bush's aims while disagreeing with his methods.

The Campaign (January 26), which is supported by the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action, International Socialist Organization and rad-lib writer Alexander Cockburn, as well as the virulently anti-communist liberals of SANE, also has its featured Democrats including Congressmen Major Owens and Charles Hayes and local pols like Harry Britt and Gus Newport. In contrast to the squabbling leftist brokers for class collaboration, the Spartacist League follows the line of Lenin, who fought against the empty "peace" slogans of the opportunists during the first imperialist world war, insisting that "a struggle for peace without a revolutionary struggle is a hollow and false phrase, and that a revolutionary struggle for socialism is the only way to put an end to the horror of war" ("The First Step," October 1915).

The Proletariat and the Iraqi Invasion

World War I was a war between two competing imperialist coalitions. The first step in fighting against the U.S.-instigated Armageddon in the Persian Gulf is to recognize that the world's workers must take a side in this war, with Iraq, in seeking the defeat of imperialism. Those would-be "progressives" who support "UN sanctions," in contrast, join Bush in condemning Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. Thus Alex Cockburn takes the SL to task (see article, page 9) for stating that, from the proletarian standpoint, "it matters not one whit whether Kuwait—that oil well turned into a state by British colonialism—is controlled by Saddam Hussein or the filthy rich Kuwaiti or Saudi monarchs" ("The Left and the Persian Gulf: Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves," WV No. 510, 21 September 1990).

The fact that Saddam Hussein is a butcher of his own people does not determine a working-class attitude toward a confrontation between Iraq and imperialism. No one seriously believes that CIA/ contra chief Bush would bring democracy to Baghdad: just look at Panama, where the American invasion replaced one drug-money-laundering U.S. puppet (Noriega) with another (Endara). During the Italian invasion of the African kingdom of Ethiopia in the mid-1930s, some leftists took a neutral stance saying that both sides were reactionary despotisms. Trotsky replied, "They thus define the character of the war by the political form of the state...without taking into consideration the social foundations of both 'dictatorships'":

"If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus [Ethiopian ruler Haile Selassie], however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this."

—Leon Trotsky, "On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

Following the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, the Spartacist League stands on the ground of proletarian communism: we don't give a rat's ass whether Saddam Hussein or Emir al-Sabah lords it over Kuwait, but we resolutely defend Iraq against the U.S.-led imperialist war. In contrast, one ostensibly Trotskyist organization, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) which was bureaucratically expelled by the SWP a few years ago,



Battle in Arabian desert against battle-hardened Iraqi army won't be easy walkover like U.S.' rape of tiny Grenada.

has an internal fight going over whether to tail the liberal bourgeoisie in condemning Hussein's takeover of Kuwait or to tail Arab nationalism and hail it as an anti-imperialist act!

FITers Dave Riehle and Samuel Adams argue that "the overthrow of the pro-imperialist Kuwaiti monarchy is an extremely positive development. And Saddam Hussein's call for the Arab masses throughout the Middle East to rise up against their rulers—a call admittedly made to serve Hussein's own interests—is also nonetheless progressive." Steve Bloom and Tom Barrett counter that "we are for pan-Arab unity against imperialism, but Saddam Hussein is a fraud—as demonstrated by his eagerness to accept U.S. and other imperialist aid during the recent war against Iran" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, November 1990).

With their allegiance to Ernest Man-

region in class struggle behind an internationalist, communist vanguard.

Faced with this division, the FIT maintained internal détente by endorsing both January demos. And last fall they argued that "antiwar" groups should "limit demands to 'U.S. Out Now!'" and not take up the question of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, October 1990). Rather than seeking Marxist clarity, they try to reconcile competing opportunist appetites.

The FIT yearns for the salad days of the SWP-led "antiwar" movement of the late 1960s and early '70s when they could cozy up to big-time Democratic Party politicians. Today Jack Barnes' SWP wants to be the U.S. cheerleaders for Fidel Castro. On paper it claims to "advocate a victory for Iraq over the blockading imperialist-organized armies" (*Militant*, 21 December 1990). Yet it is



At 1971 antiwar conference, SWP goons assaulted members of PL and Spartacists for opposing presence of bourgeois politician—Democratic Senator Vance Hartke was keynote speaker. SWP antiwar honcho Fred Halstead with social-patriotic sign (right).

del's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (Usec), which has long upheld the myth of "the Arab Revolution," both sides in this dispute agree that there is a "progressive" Arab bourgeoisie. They just disagree whether the Iraqi strongman is it. But all the various sheiks, emirs, kings, colonels and nationalist "rais" (leaders), from Gamal Abdel Nasser to Saddam Hussein, are enemies of the working people and oppressed minorities. They have abandoned (and often themselves brutally repressed) the Palestinian people who suffer under the boot of the kill-crazy Zionist maniacs. And at one time or another they have all been on the imperialists' payroll.

The idea that a Nasser or a Hussein could lead a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and Zionism flies in the face of Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. Trotsky held that in the imperialist epoch, even "democratic" revolutionary tasks in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, such as national independence and the elimination of feudal holdovers, cannot be achieved by the weak bourgeoisie but only through the proletariat, led by a Marxist party, taking power. And if workers rule is to survive, that must lead to undertaking socialist tasks. What's needed is to unite the toilers of the

part of the (January 26) Campaign which supports the imperialist sanctions (except for food and medicine, thank you). And while the SWP is now distributing a pamphlet *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* (1990), supposedly as a model of anti-imperialism, this includes Cuba endorsing most of the sanctions and condemning Iraq's seizure of Kuwait!

Cynics and Confusionists

Perhaps the most cynical of all organizations claiming to be socialist revolutionaries while adapting themselves to the popular-front demonstrations is the Chicago-based International Socialist Organization (ISO) which is angling to be the organizational movers and shakers of the antiwar popular front in the Midwest. In an article by John Molyneux entitled "Socialists and the Gulf War," the ISO says that "in the case of the blockade and in the event of actual war, we are on the side of Iraq." However, the article goes on to say that raising the slogan "Victory to Iraq" would be "a serious tactical error" that would "sow all sorts of confusion in our audience" which would not distinguish between political and military support. So to avoid "confusion" these charlatans bury

any mention of military support!

More to the point, says the ISO, it would be "a sectarian error erecting a barrier between ourselves and many of those who are genuinely opposed to the war drive or are moving to a position of opposing it but have not yet thought matters through to the end." To put matters plainly, it might make them unpopular, horror of horrors, so the ISO refuses to tell the truth to the masses. In any serious class battle, the key question, as the coal miners' song puts it, is "which side are you on, boys, which side are you on?" So in the face of a monstrous impending war, these yellow "socialists" with the backbone of an amoeba can only muster up enough guts to whisper (stage left) that they are secretly "on the side of Iraq."

The class line is something the ISO and its mentors of Tony Cliff's British SWP have never understood. In 1950, the Cliffites broke from the Trotskyist movement by refusing to defend North Korea against the U.S., which then also fought under the UN flag. During the squalid, murderous Iran-Iraq war in the '80s, when there was never any side for the working class, the ISO abandoned its initial defeatist line to side with Khomeini's Iran! Where the Trotskyists see the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the Cliffite "State Department socialists" refuse to defend it against imperialism (claiming the USSR is "state capitalist"). And in the bitter 1985 British coal miners strike, SWP supporters waltzed across miners' picket lines. No wonder such "scab socialists" can't take a forthright stand in defense of Iraq.

In contrast to the ISO cynics, the Marxist-Leninist Party (MLP), an odd Stalinist sect which hails Enver Hoxha



Young Socialist

(the departed Stalinist boss of Albania), openly polemicalizes against defending Iraq while denouncing as reformist the two January demonstrations. The MLP sees no difference between military defense of Iraq and political support to Saddam Hussein, and therefore accuses sundry "Trotskyists" of perpetrating "a total fraud" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 December 1990). "In the real world," they say, "you can't separate the military from the political." So to defend Nicaragua against Yankee imperialism you have to

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and political opposition to Saddam, to the dictatorship, to the repression of trade unions and the oppression of the Kurds.

If we support Iraq should we then campaign and agitate under the slogan "Victory to Iraq?" This would be a serious tactical error.

In the first place it would sow all sorts of confusion in our audience, who would not, from the slogan, be able to make a distinction

ISO cynically claims to stand on side of Iraq, but to say so out loud would be "tactical error" because it would be unpopular.

Gulf Protests...

(continued from page 11)

politically support the Sandinistas? To defend the Spanish Republic against Franco you have to politically support the popular front? To defend the Teamsters against government union-busters you have to politically support the corrupt sellout bureaucracy?

Taking out WWP and ISO for their undercover "support" for Iraq, while falsely accusing them of being Trotskyists, the MLP doesn't even mention the Spartacist League. They do, however, read *Workers Vanguard*, and felt compelled to polemize against a quotation we used from Lenin and Zinoviev's 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*:

"For example, if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, irrespective of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressive, slave-holding and predatory 'Great Powers.'"

Now that's clear enough, but these "Marxist-Leninists" can't see "any parallel" of Iraq vs. the U.S. today with "the hypothetical wars Lenin was discussing." Why not? Because India was a colony. So what about China? Well, Hussein is a reactionary who didn't want a confrontation with imperialism. But as we pointed out, "When Lenin wrote this, Morocco was ruled by the sultan Mulai Yusuf, Persia by the military dictator Ephraim Khan and China by the warlord Yuan Shih-kai—rulers just as bloody and reactionary as Iraq's Saddam Hussein."

American imperialism certainly qualifies hands down as a "predatory great power" which must be defeated. The MLP states, correctly, that "Saddam deserves to be overthrown but it's not up to Washington to deal with him—that's a task before the Iraqi and other oppressed peoples of that region." And a victorious defense of Iraq against the imperialist military juggernaut would enormously embolden the working masses in Iraq and throughout the Near East. For would-be communists not to see that is to be willfully blind.

Aside from its quirky theorizing, pushing further and further back the historical



Antiwar protest in Washington, D.C., January 1973: Spartacists fought for revolutionary victory of Vietnamese workers and peasants.

moment when the "communist movement" went wrong while still clinging to Stalinism, the MLP's contradiction lies in its desire to be the left wing of a "movement." Its criticism of "the movement" is that somehow the reformists are dupes of their liberal bloc partners! *Workers Advocate* (1 January) declares "defy the liberals, don't split the movement!" Yet while it makes "left" criticisms, the MLP's own program remains very much in the popular-front framework. Take their front-page headline, "Take to the streets against Bush's war." This is an appeal for a pro-Democratic Party "peace" movement. The Spartacist League calls for labor political strikes against the hipartisan imperialist war! We say the workers in Iraq and the U.S. need a revolutionary, vanguard party to lead them and the oppressed masses in struggle for socialist revolution.

Pop Front "Peace" Crawls

All of these various pseudo-socialists are trying to sell one or another version of an "antiwar" popular front whose "classless" slogans are intended to tie radical youth, oppressed minorities and militant workers to the class enemy. While the Communist Party and various liberals push "no war," about as empty a pious wish as one could imagine, *Workers World* says "stop Bush's war," appealing to the Democrats. Meanwhile,

the SWP/SA/FIT/ISO/MLP are for "out now"...and join with the January 26 "Campaign" which calls for no such thing. Behind the maneuvering, they are one and all bidding for a political bloc with a defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie, the imperialist "doves."

Today's "war of the demo dates" pitting the "Coalition" against the "Campaign" mirrors the organizational maneuvering during the Vietnam War between the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the smaller CP-led People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). NPAC said "out now," PCPJ said "peace now," and later "sign the treaty." NPAC was "single-issue," PCPJ was "multi-issue." They all had their favorite bourgeois politicians on the stage to show respectability (NPAC had Indiana Senator Vance Hartke, PCPJ had NYC Congresswoman Bella Abzug). Secretly they had more "advanced" positions: if you carefully read the *Militant* you might possibly get an inkling that the SWP was for the NLF. But their "points of unity" and "policy of alliances" were liberal polines.

Internally, these various coalitions were characterized by the murkiest organizational machinations, often accompanied by dirty redhating, because the various "leftists" were intent on hiding their politics. But when there was a real radical impulse, they would show their true colors and act as cops to defend the bourgeoisie. Thus NPAC "marshals" chanted "peaceful, legal, peaceful, legal" and formed "daisy chains" of goons with linked arms to cordon off SDS groups marching with NLF flags. In those days thousands of New Left militants hated the reformist SWP for pacifying the "antiwar movement." And on the July 4th weekend of 1971, the SWP drew the line in blood by brutally heating up and throwing out leftists, including the Spartacist League, who protested against Hartke and UAW bureaucrat (and former CIA bagman) Victor Reuther at an NPAC meeting. Meanwhile, the CP and liberals of the PCPJ would disappear every other year to become open organizers for Democratic Party "peace candidates."

Now the reformists are trying to sell young antiwar activists a bill of goods, claiming that "peace" parades down Fifth Avenue stopped the Vietnam War. This bogus claim is supported also by the right-wingers, with their Hitlerite "stab in the back" myth that blames the humili-

ating defeat of U.S. imperialism on the "comic press" and "long-haired peace-niks." The rampant dissension on the "home front" did have an effect, in the first instance on the morale of U.S. troops who wouldn't fight (something the right-wingers don't want to face). But the basic fact is that the U.S. was beaten militarily on the battlefield by an armed people fighting for social revolution. And as soon as U.S. troops were pulled out in 1973, the "peace movement" simply vanished even though the war continued for two more years.

In peddling their rewrite of history, the various denizens of the reformist swamp recall the social-patriotism in which they wrapped their "peace" propaganda. "This interaction between millions of people at home and their loved ones in Vietnam ultimately proved to be irresistible," says *Socialist Action* (December 1990), another grouping of SWP expellees. "Bring our hoys home," proclaimed the SWP. The Trotskyist Spartacist League, in contrast, proclaimed from the outset of the war "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" Our "hoys," we said, were the "Viet Cong." Our response to the U.S. bombing of Cambodia and the massacre at Kent State in 1970 was to raise the slogan, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" When Kissinger negotiated the 1973 Paris accords, the SL declared "There is No Peace: The Civil War Goes On."

In the early 1980s, "anti-intervention" activists in El Salvador protests raised the slogan "No more Vietnams." Interestingly, this motto was taken up by none other than Richard Nixon, as the title for a volume of his memoirs. This is because it expressed the political standpoint of the American bourgeoisie which mourned its defeat in the rice paddies of Indochina. The Spartacist League, however, declared: "Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" With Lenin and Trotsky, we saw and see imperialist war as the mother of socialist revolution. We look not to the liberal bourgeoisie but to the working people at home and abroad.

At a 1967 antiwar march the Spartacist League distributed a leaflet entitled "From Protest to Power" calling for "concretely building to a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization." And in a July 1971 supplement distributed at the NPAC meeting where the SWP sealed its popular front in blood, we called: "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War! No amount of student strikes and weekend peace crawls can force U.S. imperialism to end the Indochinese war. But a strike by U.S. workers in solidarity with the Indochinese working people could compel the capitalists to face an enemy even more potent than the Vietnamese Revolution—a powerful, organized and conscious working class in struggle for its own class interests in the very citadel of imperialism."

To those who want to fight imperialist war, we point to the only victorious "antiwar movement" in history, Lenin and Trotsky's 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which ended the slaughter of World War I for the Russian workers and peasants and opened up the perspective of achieving a world without war through socialist revolution. This is the perspective of the Spartacists today. ■

Zionist "Final Solution" ...

(continued from page 7)

can play a vanguard role in uniting the Arab workers and peasants and national minorities in revolutionary class struggle and in appealing to the Hebrew workers to break from their crazed, expansionist rulers.

Unfortunately, in their desperation, the Palestinians are being driven to see in the despot Saddam Hussein a potential savior. Many, frustrated over the nationalist PLO's bankrupt appeals to the Western imperialists, are embracing the reactionary fundamentalism which has swept the Muslim masses of the Near East. And with Washington's invasion of the Persian Gulf, many Palestinian workers have been forced out of their strategic roles as workers in the oil fields.

Should the Zionist state succeed in a genocidal onslaught against the Palestinians of the Occupied Territories, with the necessarily horrific repercussions this will have on Arab citizens of Israel, it will have no less an impact on the political future of the Near East than the Hitlerite eradication of millions of Jews had on East Europe two generations earlier.

But if war with Iraq is the Israeli rulers' hoped-for vehicle for a "Final Solution," it may also trigger social upheavals throughout the Near East. And while the mass of the Israeli people are currently under the sway of racist reaction, Israel remains a class society and a

far from stable one. The influx of Soviet immigrants has created further fissures in Israeli society, as the oppressed Sephardic Jews in particular find themselves displaced one notch lower on the social ladder.

The number of homeless has skyrocketed in the past year, with tent cities springing up all over the country. Sephardic youth scream "Russians go home" at the new immigrants, and in November a delegation of Oriental Jews even went to Moscow to call on the Soviet government to halt further immigration to Israel. But Sephardic Jews today provide fodder for the parties of the fascist far right, seeing as their main enemies the Arabs who are even more oppressed than they are.

It is certainly in their class and social interests to ally with the Palestinian workers in struggle against the Israeli capitalist oppressors. And should a generalized conflagration in the Near East extend to Israeli soil, it may well shatter the seemingly monolithic Zionist consensus of this fragile garrison state, creating openings for joint class struggle.

What is needed is a Trotskyist party which can appeal to all workers and oppressed on the basis of their common internationalist interests, guaranteeing the national rights of both the Hebrew and Palestinian peoples within the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the only road to destroying the genocidal Zionist war machine. Now more than ever—*Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!* ■

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Daily News Strikers: Shut Down the Presses, Stop the Newsprint!

"Corporate Campaign" Is a Loser's Game!

The *Daily News* strike is in grave danger. From the first day, the Tribune Co. owners have been able to run the presses at the *News* plants in Brooklyn, Garden City and Kearny, New Jersey. Yes, for 12 weeks the 2,200 striking *Daily News* workers have stood up to armed thugs and professional strikebreakers, taking almost 200 arrests. Striking drivers have kept the scabloid off the city's newsstands, and the strike has been hugely popular among workers and minorities throughout the city. But the union tops, with their impotent consumer boycott and 42nd Street rallies to blow off steam, have pissed away the strike. The convicted racists of *News* management have enlisted an army of 2,000, mostly black homeless, to hawk the scab paper. And now a crew of slick, "progressive" labor fakers are greasing the skids to send the strike into a long, losing tailspin.

At a conference of striking unions held at New York Technical College on January 8, the heads of the Allied Printing Trades Council unions launched a national "corporate campaign." This consists of dispersing strikers around the country to beg consumers to boycott the Tribune Co.'s far-flung operations, everything from the Chicago Cubs to the Joan Rivers Show. This is a *diversion* from the crucial battle to *shut down the scab paper*. This is a losers' game! If it is not reversed, it will spell defeat for this first critical class battle of the '90s.

Not once has the strike leadership appealed to the Teamsters, longshoremen and railroad workers for a *workers boycott* to choke off the deliveries of newsprint, ink and fuel to the presses. Newsprint from the Tribune-owned Quebec and Ontario Paper Company mills moves from Baie Comeau, Quebec into New

York untouched. Union officials admit that boxcars of paper roll into the Harlem River rail yard in the Bronx and ships unload it at the Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks.

Daily News strikers must set up picket lines calling on rail workers and longshoremen on both sides of the border to do their elementary duty and *refuse to handle that newsprint!* The Tribune bosses will howl and run to the nearest judge for an injunction, but no working-class victories were ever won by crawling before the bosses' courts. Throw their strikebreaking injunctions in the gutter together with their scab newspaper!

While the labor-traitors throw away the momentum of the *Daily News* strike, Democratic Party hatchet men Governor Cuomo and Mayor Dinkins have cracked the whip against city workers. In a move that the *New York Times* (8 January) gloated "virtually amounted to a reopening" of the teachers contract, the United Federation of Teachers bureaucrats have offered to "defer" pay in the face of Dinkins' threats to lay off over 4,000 teachers. Some bitter NYC workers are just now getting checks from the last time they "deferred" pay—in the 1975 "budget crisis"!

City workers in AFSCME District Council 37 and Teamsters Local 237 were just handed a contract that amounts to a *cut* in real wages, and loots money that is supposed to go to their pension fund. Even this was too rich for the labor-hating *Times*, who editorialized that Dinkins should "Go Back to the Table." They want to loot the pension funds to pay off the city budget deficit! DC 37 head Stanley Hill and Teamsters local president Barry Feinstein traded a wage freeze next year and thousands of layoffs

for this garbage. Transit workers, already hit with big layoffs in track and structures divisions, are next on the hit list when their contract expires in April.

The hudget cuts and layoffs literally mean murder. When the city closed engine companies in the fire department, overwhelmingly in poor and minority communities, it took less than three days for the first deaths to occur. Two brothers died in Queens because the local engine company had been closed, and the more distant pumpers didn't have the correct connections for the hydrants. City workers: vote this contract down and organize a strike alongside your brothers and sisters at the *News*! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law! NYC pays \$2.1 billion yearly to the banks just in interest—Cancel the debt, screw Wall Street!

The "corporate campaign" game is being run by the "progressive" New York union bureaucrats like Dennis Rivera, president of hospital workers Local 1199, who runs the CLC "support" committee on the *News* strike. But "Saint Dennis," as some of the old line craft union tops are labeling him, is no savior for the *Daily News* strikers. His corporate boycott campaign is modeled after the one that sealed the defeat of the 1985-86 Hormel meatpackers strike. With the advice of their reformist misleaders, the strikers abandoned the roving pickets which had been their strength, and retreated into a "Cram Your Spam" boycott while scabs continued production. Just as in the Hormel strike, Rivera and crew are getting help from the fake-left as they bury the *News* strike with a consumer boycott.

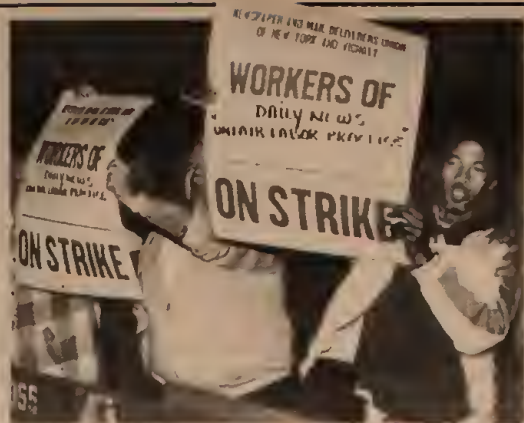
Some reformists, like the supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and their badly misnamed *Militant*, are simply

press agents for the union misleaders who are killing the strike. The SWP, which went all the way with the Machinists' union bureaucrats in *opposing* solidarity strike action with the Eastern Airlines strike, played a similar role in covering the betrayals of the Hormel strike leaders. Others, like the *Labor Militant* group, nod in the direction of mass picketing or plant occupations, before pushing the useless consumer boycott and supporting the current leadership of the strike.

A dubious outfit called the Workers League has been seen on the picket lines selling their paper, the *Bulletin*. (Pressmen will notice the *Bulletin* has no union bug—it isn't even printed by union labor.) The Workers League, like the Progressive Labor Party and others, issues paper calls for a "general strike." How is this to come about? The WL's answer is to lobby the certified sellouts in the Central Labor Council! Meanwhile, the Workers League is silent on the Tribune Co.'s attempt to pit the majority white unions against the black and Hispanic poor of New York. What else would one expect from the outfit that *supported* the 1971 strike of the racist NYC cop "union"?

The Spartacist League has called for NYC labor to call a citywide strike, joining together *News* strikers and municipal workers, and connected this to the urgent tasks of shutting down the presses and choking off the newsprint. We joined with militant transit workers in calling on the TWU to chase the hawkers of the scab *News* out of the subways. We have fought to mobilize labor in defense of the strike; in the first four days over 10,000 copies of a special *Workers Vanguard*

continued on page 15



Pickets outside *Daily News* Brooklyn printing plant the night the strike began.

Defend RCP Flag Fetishists!

CLEVELAND—For protesting U.S. imperialism's war moves in the Persian Gulf, Cheryl Lessin, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), was sentenced December 28 to one year in state prison. Police arrested Lessin for burning an American flag at a demonstration last August. When they found out that burning a flag isn't illegal, the cops then charged her with "aggravated disorderly conduct" and "inciting to violence." This outrageous attempt to censor political opponents of the U.S. Persian Gulf invasion must be stopped!

To push through this political witch-hunt, the police painted 46-year-old Cheryl Lessin as a violent nut who was kicking and swinging at bystanders. But numerous defense witnesses, including a reporter from the *Plain Dealer*, refuted the cops' lies. From beginning to end the trial was a farce: Judge Patricia Cleary even claimed, in a letter to the Ohio Supreme Court, that RCPers were planning to throw a pie at her

during the trial! Lessin's supporters were forced to undergo body searches before being allowed in the courtroom, while right-wing yahoos waving flags were not.

One of Lessin's lawyers was cited for contempt and threatened with jail for questioning potential jurors' views on communism and flag-burning. Twice the jury declared themselves deadlocked, but were eventually hadgered by the judge into returning a guilty verdict. Judge Cleary even tried to jail Lessin for a month before her sentencing, at which she told her that she wasn't a candidate for probation since "you indicated no intention of obeying the rules."

The RCP's flag-burning antics are hardly a serious opposition to U.S. imperialism. They make a fetish out of burning American flags, as if trashing the symbol could incinerate U.S. imperialism. But in Bush's "New World Order," even isolated acts of resistance are to be met with the full force of the state's repressive apparatus. Assistant County

Prosecutor Robert Coury declared: "if she wants to laugh at the system, which she did during the trial, at the pre-

Chicago Cops Attack Antiwar Protesters

CHICAGO—On the night of December 29, Chicago's notoriously brutal police seized on a small protest organized by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—youth group of the RCP) outside a joint concert by Public Enemy and Sonic Youth as a pretext for a full-blown cop riot. About a dozen protesters against the U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf were huffhorned and leafletting the young, mostly white crowd as they exited the Aragon Ballroom in Uptown Chicago.

The melee began when undercover cops in the crowd started a shouting match with a protester, then threw him to the ground and dragged him away. When bystanders objected, the cops

sentence report and now, let her laugh in Marysville [prison]."

Lessin's lawyers are appealing her conviction. We demand that Cheryl Lessin be immediately released. Donations to her defense can be made to the Cheryl Lessin Defense Committee, P.O. Box 06082, Cleveland, OH 44106.

waded into the crowd, throwing people to the pavement and heating them bloody. In all, 18 people were arrested, including two RCYBers, all charged with "mob action"; at least one has also been charged with assault.

Every time there's a large rap concert the Chicago cops turn the area around the performance into an armed camp and make a sport of harassing black youth who attend. This time they saw a triple opportunity, to terrorize antiwar protesters, as well as white kids who listen to black rappers, and to smear Public Enemy for "inciting violence."

The Spartacist League demands that all charges against the victims of this blatant cop provocation be dropped.

Jeffrey Sachs...

(continued from page 5)

with other labor and opposition leaders. Today most of the tin mines in Bolivia have been closed down. The miners and their families have been reduced to haggling or selling trinkets on the streets to survive. In a paper on Bolivia written in 1988, Sachs argues that to "preserve fiscal balance" the government "had to launch a brutal battle to reduce payrolls" in the mines. But it was not just a matter of "balancing the budget," it was a cold-blooded program designed to eliminate the tin miners, who were the most class-conscious and combative proletariat in all of Latin America.

In this paper, Sachs notes with admiration that "illegal narcotics traffickers have demonstrated enormous entrepreneurial skill in mobilizing resources into the sector, developing transportation and communications lines, etc." While the rest of the population starves, the drug barons have flourished in Bolivia, where cocaine is the biggest money-making export. This is the kind of raw exploitation, thievery and murder that is at the heart of the robber baron capitalism that Sachs expounds and Solidarność seeks to implement—survival of the fittest and devil take the hindmost.

The prescription of Walesa and his cohorts in Poland today is the "cultivation and promotion of small entrepreneurial activity, the creation of new elites from below." These are code words for a desperate struggle for the division of the spoils, in which black marketeers and other like-minded thieves come out on top.

Imposing the Bloody Dictatorship of Capital

In Poland, however, Sachs is confronted with a proletariat which despite its hatred of the former Stalinist regime is used to living in a society where, in however deformed a way, workers' interests were supposed to be paramount. Sachs carps that his plans to sell off the former state industries are complicated by workers who think "they own the firms." Or as an editor of one of Poland's new business magazines put it last year: "Our people hate Communism but when you start talking about privatization, many of them act like Communists."

As we wrote in our article "East Europe: Reaction and Resistance" (WV No. 505, 29 June 1990):

"Capitalist restoration is a bloody business, and the shock troops of counter-revolution have begun openly mobilizing. Should the proletariat, misled and atomized by the Stalinists for decades, fail to assert its class power to oppose and defeat counterrevolution, the resulting governments will not be stable parliamentary democracies but fascist dictatorships forged through crushing the deformed workers states and the workers organizations."

The need for a "strong" government to discipline the Polish working class, modeled after the vicious right-wing regimes they have advised in Latin America, runs



Sachs-style austerity requires "decisive actions" against the people. Above: Bolivian miners whose jobs were axed, surrounded and arrested in August 1986 hunger march. Sachs' starvation plans also provoked food riots in Argentina, put down by police and army (right).



San Miguel/Buenos Aires

throughout Sachs' writings.

A decade ago Solidarność attempted to rally Polish workers behind its counter-revolutionary bid for power against the despised, bureaucratic Stalinist regime with the Cold War cry for "free elections." From behind Harvard's ivied walls, the Solidarność government's chief economic adviser warns against "voicing based on proportional representation" in Eastern Europe, arguing that this "tends to produce weak multi-party coalition governments that have a particularly difficult time in reducing an inherited budget deficit."

Indeed, popular opposition to Sachs' immiseration program was a major factor leading in the fall of the Mazowiecki government in the recent elections. A big reason for the surprising success of the eccentric émigré businessman Tyminski in the first round of the elections is that he denounced the Mazowiecki regime for a "betrayal of the nation" for selling state-owned enterprise to foreign capitalists at dirt-cheap prices.

Veteran Trotskyist Ludwik Hass observed (see article, page 5) that this regime came to be identified with the old Stalinist apparatchiks (the *nomenklatura*), many of whom still staff the Polish state bureaucracy. Walesa exploited this popular sentiment, attacking Mazowiecki (whose government was openly capitalist restorationist) from the right. Aspiring to be a new Pilsudski, the fascist dictator of interwar Poland, Walesa called for a wholesale anti-Communist witchhunt of anyone with a "history of perceived collaboration," and railed that "a gang of Jews has got hold of the trough and is bent on destroying us." Meanwhile the fascist KPN of Lech Moczulski

daubs walls with slogans quoting Hitler that "The Jews are multiplying, and soap is lacking."

One prominent member of Walesa's Centrum wing of Solidarność says baldly: "Centrum doesn't intend to be a party for workers. The thing that has to be done is to emphasize development over stabilization, to clear a path for the winners and to demobilize the losers." The *New Yorker* journalist added sardonically, "the losers being all those industrial workers who would quickly be losing their jobs were the development process to accelerate."

Over the past year over one million Polish workers have lost their jobs. Sachs and his Solidarność clients are planning to drive more onto the streets in their push for privatization. Sachs is trying to sell the Polish proletariat off as a cheap labor pool: "With skilled workers in Eastern Europe now earning about \$1 per hour, the region will provide an enormous opportunity as a production site for European, Japanese, and U.S. firms sell-

ing mainly in the West." The problem is that none of the imperialist hackers of Solidarność want to put a dime into the sinkhole of the Polish economy.

For Revolutionary Unity of Russian, Polish and German Workers!

A decade ago, the Spartacist League was unique in recognizing Solidarność as the counterrevolutionary agency of the International Monetary Fund, the CIA and the Pope. The rest of the left echoed their own imperialist rulers in heralding Walesa & Co. as the champions of "freedom and democracy" in Poland. The corrupt Stalinists, who ruined the economy, mortgaged the country to the Western banks and conciliated the forces for counterrevolution, drove the overwhelming bulk of the Polish proletariat into the arms of Solidarność. But today, Polish workers have come to see the former leaders of this "union" not only as traitors but as their enemies.

More starkly and openly than in any other East European country, the drive toward capitalist restoration in Poland means the immiseration of the working people. The perspective of Trotskyists is to direct working-class resistance to Sachs' economic shock treatment into the formation of organs of proletarian dual power (such as strike committees, factory committees, workers militias), which can be the basis for overthrowing the Walesa regime of the International Monetary Fund bankers and establishing a government based on workers democracy.

The fight to resist the ravages of capitalist restoration urgently requires a communist leadership that can revive the proletarian internationalist traditions that once animated the Polish working class. As our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, now a sympathizing group of the International Communist League, wrote in the agreement for common work with the ICL (*Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91):

"Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!"

When the working class triumphs over the imperialists, accounts will be settled with Sachs and the other "economic advisers" for bloody counterrevolution in Eastern Europe. ■

Ludwik Hass...

(continued from page 5)

the White *Kommuna*." To their minds, this slogan meant "Down with the Rule of the Layer of the Bureaucracy." For "*Kommuna*" means the bureaucracy to the common man, and "White *Kommuna*" is a bureaucracy that doesn't employ socialist phrases (that would be a "Red *Kommuna*") but rather invokes god, the fatherland, etc. And the people that thought this way voted for Tyminski. His voters are—this was shown by the initial election analyses—youth and workers. In the Katowice electoral district, one of the typical working-class districts, he even defeated Walesa with 31.1 percent to 31.0 percent. And these are not votes for capitalism. That [capitalism] is what Walesa praises, he is the one calling for speeding up recapitalization! Most of these are votes of potential supporters of a candidate of a revolutionary workers party, which we still have to create.

Walesa was supported by only four out of every ten voters, i.e., one-quarter of those eligible to vote. And this was the case even when this petty bourgeoisie which dreams of rapidly transforming itself into a bourgeoisie went all out in supporting him, when the former land-owners and factory owners publicly call for assisting him. When one part of the nationalist leaders stands on his side and he himself didn't even come out

with "völkisch" remarks (in the sense of the German interwar period [i.e., right-wing populist]) in the course of the campaign.

In the atmosphere of an anti-leftist witchhunt, the 1.5 million votes for Cimoszewicz, who posed as a representative of "leftist forces," are not without significance. And it was not the bureaucrats who voted for him, as part of the press interpreted it. They were with Mazowiecki, who was and remains one of them. Cimoszewicz's public are supporters of one or another kind of socialism. Part of them must be won by us.

In the 40 percent who abstained from voting at least 10 percent are people who didn't participate in these elections because they felt none of the candidates were theirs. If one takes this group into consideration, then the supporters of the two Solidarność candidates comprise 49.5 percent of all those who are politically active (or rather, politically not passive).

Thus the Solidarność movement no longer enjoys the support of a decisive majority of the populace. And this movement's influence has already peaked, now it is diminishing. The number of those adhering to the leftist forces is not too small. But they have to come forth with a clear program and carry out systematic organizing work. Class divisions and class struggle have not ceased. And this is the most important lesson of the election campaign. ■

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Bensonhurst Killers Get Off Light

Racist Stabs Al Sharpton

The worst possible scenario for New York City's already racially polarized tinderbox was nearly played out Saturday, January 12 when a white racist in Bensonhurst stabbed black demagogue Al Sharpton in the chest with a five-inch knife. The attack occurred as Sharpton and some 200 supporters were about to march through the white, mostly Italian neighborhood to protest the outrageously light sentences given to members of the racist mob which murdered black teenager Yusuf Hawkins in August 1989. The would-be killer waited for Sharpton in the very same schoolyard where the lynch mob gathered the night of Yusuf's murder.

Fortunately, Sharpton was not seriously injured, and the attacker was wrestled to the ground by one of Yusuf Hawkins' brothers. The hundreds of

police present arrested the attacker, who is being held without bail on charges of attempted murder. Black mayor David Dinkins and his police commissioner, Lee Brown, frequent targets of Sharpton, both rushed to his hospital bedside, terrified of a potential explosion sparked by the attack, which Dinkins lamely labeled "an isolated incident."

The outcome of the numerous Bensonhurst trials convinced most New York City blacks of what they already knew—there is no justice in the racist U.S. courts. Of the 30 or more in the racist mob which murdered Yusuf Hawkins, only eight were ever arrested, and only dimwitted Joseph Fama was convicted of murder. Keith Mondello, the mob's acknowledged ringleader, was convicted only of "riot," "discrimination" and other minor charges. John

Vento, who reneged on a deal with the prosecutor to turn state's evidence, received only two to eight years for "unlawful imprisonment" and "menacing," and James Patino was acquitted of all charges.

The Saturday protest march was in response to last week's retrial of Vento on riot charges, which resulted in no new prison time. Joseph Serrano, who handed Fama the gun, got only 300 hours of "community service." This week three others will stand trial, but in this system of racist injustice they too will predictably get off light.

With New York on the edge, and angry blacks looking for leadership, the dubious Rev. Sharpton, cynical "black capitalism" hustler and self-admitted FBI informant who wore a wire and spied on black officials, led protest

marches through Bensonhurst in which small numbers of blacks, "protected" by hundreds of New York cops, were confronted by screaming hordes of white racists waving baseball bats and watermelons. After nearly 30 such marches, Dinkins last June brokered an agreement between Sharpton and "community leaders" in which blacks were supposedly to stop marching through Bensonhurst. Last Saturday's march was the first since then.

Obscenely, Bensonhurst "community leaders" are now blaming Sharpton for getting stabbed, claiming he "violated" the "pact." In response, over 500 marched through the neighborhood the next day, chanting "Murderers!" and "Racist-hurst!" The racists who uphold the "decency" of Bensonhurst are just the respectable face of the thugs who killed a young black man because they thought he was going to a white girl's birthday party. This is not apartheid and black people don't need a pass to walk, march and live wherever they please! If anyone has a problem with that, the considerable muscle of the integrated labor movement of New York should be mobilized to teach the racists about democratic rights.

Baltics...

(continued from page 1)

In itself the secession of the small Baltic republic would not seriously diminish Soviet military and economic power. But Lithuania has become a testing ground for the breakup of the Soviet Union amid murderous nationalism and intercommunal pogroms of all kinds. As Leninists and internationalists, we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that opposes counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. But in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics the fig leaf of "national independence" is being used as a cover for capitalist restoration. And this must be fought.

Landsbergis & Co. have made no secret of their desire to make "independent" Lithuania an appendage of NATO and the Common Market. They have repeatedly called on the Western powers to engage in economic and political blackmail against the Soviet government. The Sajudis nationalists waved the flag of the fascist Lithuanian bourgeois state of the interwar years while destroying monuments commemorating the Red Army's driving out the Nazi German forces. The Baltic states have large populations that the nationalists sneeringly refer to as "Soviet peoples" (Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, etc.)—almost half in Latvia, 40 percent in Estonia, 20 percent in Lithuania. If the pro-capitalist secessionists succeed, these entire populations will be gone in one generation. No wonder Moscow has support, even enthusiastic support, against the virulently anti-democratic and racist Baltic nationalists.

On the eve of the crackdown, the new Sajudis prime minister, Albertas Simenas, declared his intent to impose an economic "shock treatment" modeled on Solidarność-ruled Poland. The Vilnius nationalist regime's attempts to install a "free market" economy had already undermined its base of support. A week ago, there were large demonstrations of ethnic Lithuanians, Russians and Poles against sharp consumer price increases, which were then immediately rescinded. The heavily working-class Russian and Polish minorities were mobilized effectively against the anti-Soviet nationalist regime. The crackdown took place as factories, railroads and the Vilnius airport were shut down by striking workers demanding direct presidential rule from Moscow.

Gorbachev has accused Landsbergis & Co. of seeking to set up a "bourgeois

regime" under the cover of democratic slogans. This is unquestionably true. But who is Gorbachev to denounce anyone for trying to return to capitalism! The Soviet president's declared intent is to transform the Soviet Union into a market, i.e., capitalist, economy, although not as rapidly as Yeltsin and Wall Street would like. A recent presidential decree grants foreign investors the right to own 100 percent of Soviet enterprises and to repatriate their profits in hard currency. Thousands of square miles of agricultural land are to be leased to private farmers. Prices of consumer goods are scheduled to be increased this coming year by 50 to 70 percent. And Gorbachev has adopted Yeltsin's proposal to drop "Socialist" from the USSR and rename it the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics. If Gorbachev has his way, in three or four years Lithuania would be part of a federated capitalist country.

Many of the hardliners in the military pushing for a crackdown on the Baltic and other secessionist forces are no more committed to preserving collectivized property than is Gorbachev. Their appeals to "Soviet patriotism" are often simply a cover for Great Russian chauvinism, which can easily become a vehicle for counterrevolution. A leader of the conservative Stalinist Soyuz (Union) faction in the Congress of People's Deputies, Col. Vladimir Petrusenko, talks about "our plans for the future of a great Russia," echoing the language of the tsarist minister Stolypin.

For some time, Western bourgeois forces have looked to Boris Yeltsin as a possibly preferable alternative to Gorbachev. The Lithuania crisis reveals Yeltsin as an outright traitor to the Soviet Union. He is now calling upon Russian soldiers to disobey the Soviet military command and is demanding UN action to prevent Soviet military operations in the Baltic republics. What does he want—an economic blockade of the USSR or the

carpetbombing of Moscow and Leningrad by the U.S. air force?

At best the crackdown against Lithuanian secessionists will buy some time for the multinational Soviet working class, through building a genuine communist leadership, to oust the Gorbachevs and Yeltsins (both end-products of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy) and to purge from the land of the October Revolution all reactionary nationalist forces, including those Great Russian chauvinists who now masquerade as Soviet patriots. The protests, against the price increases in Lithuania point to the real possibility of unifying the multinational Soviet proletariat against the forces of bloody capitalist counterrevolution. To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the *proletarian internationalism* which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Daily News...

(continued from page 13)

strike supplement, "Press Unions, City Labor, Minorities, All Out to Defend Daily News Workers!" went out across the city.

For Class-Struggle Leadership

If the beg-on-your-knees policy of the pro-capitalist labor traitors is followed, the *Daily News* strike will be added to the long list of labor defeats over the past decade: PATCO air controllers, Morenci, Arizona copper miners, Hormel meatpackers, Eastern Airlines workers and Greyhound drivers (twice!). An authoritative, militant strike leadership is needed, with a citywide elected strike committee representing all the unions, to turn the strike around.

• For labor solidarity in action: Send out flying squads of pickets now to the

Newark docks and the Harlem River rail yard in the Bronx to demand ILA longshoremen and the railroad unions "hot cargo" the newsprint for the scab *News*!

• If Boss Hoge can't print his scab rag, then he can't sell it. Occupy the printing plants, backed up by mass pickets of city workers, hospital workers and transit workers. No *New York Post*-style givebacks! If the *News* threatens to close and abandon New York, the strikers will be on the inside, holding their presses and real estate hostage!

• Smash the injunctions and no-strike laws! The *Daily News*' union-busting RICO suits against the drivers union can be turned into scraps of paper by a solid union victory. For workers defense guards to sweep the *News*' thugs off the streets!

• Turn the *Real News* into a daily strike paper for the workers of New York. Instead of a flyer pushing the bureaucrats' boycott, the unions need a mass paper that will be a strike organizer.

• The striking unions must champion the rights of the black and Hispanic unemployed by demanding union-run recruitment and training programs, at the *News*' expense, to bring minorities into the ranks of the newspaper craft unions. For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—fight for jobs for all!

• The labor fakers invite their Democratic pals in City Hall and Albany to strike rallies, even as Governor Cuomo attacks the state unions and Dinkins helps the *News* recruit hawkers in the shelters and the NYPD guards the Brooklyn plant. Enough! We need a workers party that will fight for workers and all the oppressed, from class battles on the picket lines to the struggle for a workers government that will get rid of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war once and for all. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m. Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025



Soviet paratroopers in Lithuania last April.

Waik/Novosi

WORKERS VANGUARD

**Break with the Imperialist "Doves"!
For Labor Strikes Against the War!**

Down With the Two War Parties!

On January 12, hundreds of thousands demonstrated across Europe in London (100,000), Berlin (80,000), Hamburg (50,000), Paris (100,000), Rome (100,000) and elsewhere in a coordinated international day of action against the looming war in the Persian Gulf.

In the U.S. as well, as Washington has built up a colossal arsenal of megadeath and poured hundreds of thousands of troops into the Saudi desert since last August, a new "antiwar movement" has formed comprising a political spectrum ranging from church groups to avowed socialists. The *New York Times* (11 January) finally noticed that "before a shot has been fired between allied forces and Iraq, an antiwar movement has been building quietly in the United States since late October, drawing on the legacy of Vietnam War peace activists."

On October 20, tens of thousands protested in cities around the U.S. against a Persian Gulf war. Since then, teach-ins, rallies and demonstrations have popped up all over the country. With George Bush out to bomb Baghdad and murder thousands of Iraqi civilians, public opinion polls and man-in-the-street interviews show enormous opposition to a U.S.-launched attack with the prospect of tens of thousands of war casualties within the first few days. A decade of Reagan and Bush in the White House has not erased the "Vietnam syndrome."

But the crucial question is how to fight against the desperate attempt by the bankrupt U.S. empire to grab the huge Gulf oil reserves. Two competing national demonstrations have been called, one for January 19 by the "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," and another on January 26 by the "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East." With similar names and slogans, the murky war of organizational shenanigans and "unity"-mongering between the

Coalition and the Campaign has left many confused.

January 19 demonstration flyers say "Stop Bush's War Now!", "Fight Racism and Poverty at Home!", "Bring the U.S. Troops Home!" and "Money for Jobs, Healthcare, Housing, Education and AIDS." The January 26 demo slogans are: "No War in the Middle East," "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Money for Human Needs, Not War." The rad-lib *Guardian* (9 January), which has been running ads for both demos, writes of the "storm of charges and countercharges, with the coalition insisting that the proximity of Martin Luther King Day and the preponderance of people of color on its planning committee weigh in favor of Jan. 19," while the Campaign claims it will be easier to mobilize students on the 26th.

Those arguments are merely for public consumption, however. The Campaign

says the big difference is that "we condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, while the Coalition has not taken a position on this" (*Guardian*, 19 December 1990). This might seem to be a real issue, and when you look at the respective demands with a magnifying glass you can see that the Campaign's "no war" demand carefully doesn't put the onus on the U.S. But in reality, both are seeking to entice liberal Democrats. With their mushy demands, the ostensible leftists organizing the two demos tailor their line to collaborate with the imperialist "doves."

Thus despite all their "anti-racist" phony baloney, the fact is that while Washington prepares to murder hundreds of thousands of Arabs, neither the Coalition nor the Campaign dares to stand with the Iraqi people against the imperialist attack. While these reformists in liberals' clothing sidled up to the pro-"sanctions" Democrats, the Spartacist League forth-

rightly declared "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" While others trim their line to the taste of Arab nationalists or imperialist liberals, the SL has been unique in putting forward a consistent, proletarian internationalist program. We say loud and clear: **Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq! Break with the Warmongering Democratic "Doves"!**—For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!

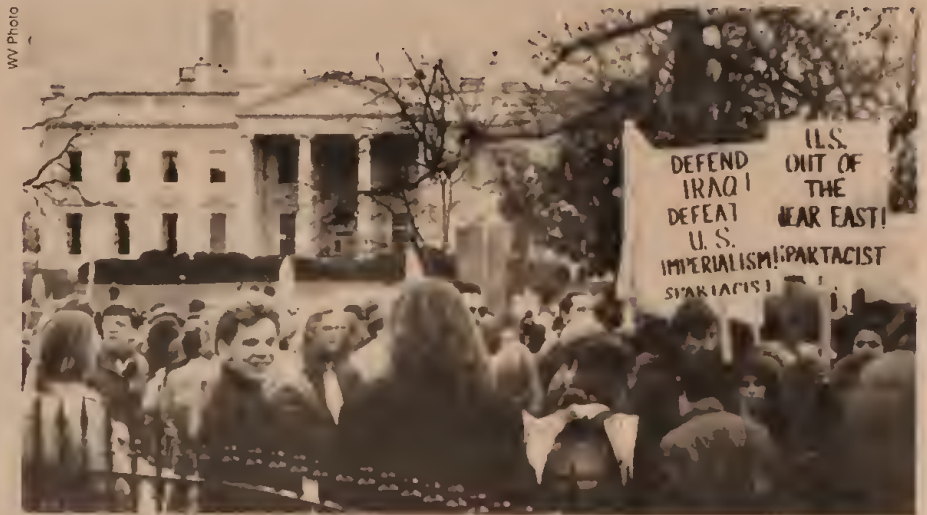
And because we Trotskyists tell the truth about the fundamental issues at stake, we can also tell you what's going on in the opportunists' confusing shell game. For one thing, since they're capitulating to bourgeois politics, as they get down and dirty these pseudo-socialists red bait each other. As one observer put it, "the cry of 'redbaiting' every time someone dares to mention that Workers World plays a central role in the coalition only serves to keep the rank and file of the movement in the dark about a major player in the movement. It is particularly absurd when directed at the campaign, which is crawling with almost as many 'reds' as the coalition" (*Guardian*, 26 December 1990).

But, then, for Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP), which engages in sycophantic adulation of Korean Stalinist nepotistic megalomaniac Kim Il Sung, and offers parliamentary advice to the Russian nationalist "Soyuz" faction in the Soviet Union on how to stage a show trial of foreign minister Shevardnadze, to put itself in the leadership of a liberal "peace" movement it's not surprising they try to hide their politics so as not to ruffle the feathers of the imperialist doves.

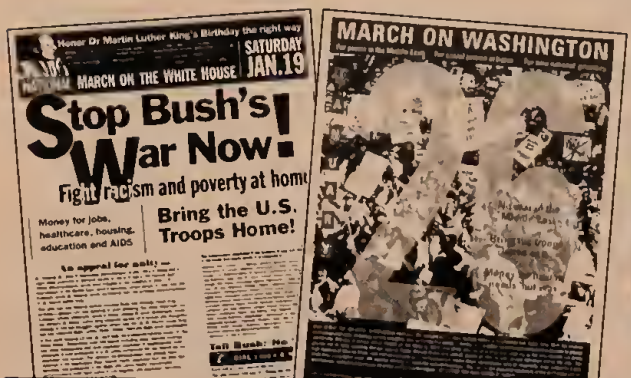
Coalition (January 19) linchpin Workers World claims that "as the Jan. 15 war deadline approaches, the objective need for unity is greatest." By this they mean unity with a section of the Democratic Party on the basis that military intervention in the Gulf is a losing proposition from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism. The Marcyites, experienced operators

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Spartacists at antiwar protest outside White House, January 12, call for defense of Iraq against imperialist attack.



Persian Gulf Protests: Behind the Demo Dates Squabble



Competing coalitions' leaflets for January 19 and January 26 demos both appeal to Democrats, capitalist party of war and racism, with social-patriotic slogans.

