

Pumped-Up U.S. Imperialists Threat to World

Bush Gloats Over Desert Massacre



Charred remains of U.S. military's slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait. As planes repeatedly bombed "killing box" for over 12 hours, pilots boasted it was "like shooting fish in a barrel."

U.S. imperialism's easy win in its one-sided, bloody war of devastation against Iraq is a deadly danger to working people and the oppressed everywhere.

The flag-wavers are out in force, with military parades and yellow ribbons everywhere. Congress staged a spectacle for the conquering commander in chief that resembled something between a football pep rally and a Nazi beer hall meeting. Democrats and Republicans alike repeatedly rose to chant "Bush! Bush! Bush!" and wore American flags like armbands. Bush gloats that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein "walks amidst ruins," while a pumped-up officer in the field trumpets Washington's message to "the rest of the world": "If the U.S. is going to deploy forces, watch out."

U.S. imperialism is "walking tall" over the corpses of tens of thousands of Arab people. It has shown the world what it has in store for anybody who steps out of line: the "highway of death" from Kuwait City to the Iraqi port of Basra, an air raid shelter in Baghdad blown to smithereens, cities devastated by night after night of carpetbombing. A doctor in Basra, desperately trying to treat wounded children with his medical facilities in tatters, commented bitterly: "Your great American soldiers can go home to their families now. They can tell them they devastated our lives and the lives of our children. Our country is no more."

But having devastated Iraq and destroyed its army, Washington finds it has now opened a Pandora's box. Two weeks after Bush urged Iraqis to overthrow Saddam Hussein, the U.S. seemed to be again tacitly backing its former Iraqi ally, as Iran proclaimed an uprising in Shi'ite-dominated southern Iraq. Meanwhile, Kurdish rebels temporarily allied with the Shi'ites claim to hold sections of the Kurdish-dominated north, where much of

Iraq's oil is located. And the Near East seethes with bitterness against the U.S. and the butcher Bush.

"By God, we've kicked this Vietnam syndrome," crows Bush. This bankrupt empire that can't produce a decent car or VCR has registered to the peoples of the world that it still excels in one area: high-tech mass slaughter "Made in U.S.A." Now Washington and Wall Street are out to resurrect the American Century, which was born out of the U.S. victory in World War II and died in America's stinging defeat in Vietnam.

But this is not 1945. The threadbare character of the imperialist triumphalism is captured in the simple fact that the center of world finance, New York City, is too broke to pay for its ticker-tape parade. Like the war itself, the victory celebrations will be financed hat in hand.

The world had better watch out. Who's next—Cuba, North Korea? It's not too hard to imagine "Desert Storm" being turned into "Caribbean Hurricane"—a blockade of Cuba, followed by merciless bombing and, finally, a ground assault. Already they've lined up the UN to

investigate "human rights abuses" in this small country whose social revolution still sticks in Washington's craw. But the Cuban people will fight to defend the social gains they wrested from the Mafia-run dictatorship and *yanqui* imperialists.

And at home in the U.S., blacks and working people are under the gun. Just since the beginning of "Desert Shield," 700,000 more workers have been added to the ranks of the jobless at home, while Bush vows to veto legislation which would prevent employers from firing strikers wholesale. And as Bush called to bring "that same sense of urgency" with which the Iraqi people were slaughtered to the "war on crime," the viciously racist LAPD complied, with a sadistic, near-fatal beating of a black motorist (see page 16).

As a factor in bourgeois politics, Bush and his generals did manage to spike the "Vietnam syndrome." The Democrats have been thoroughly cowed. But amid all the triumphalist hoopla, popular pro-war sentiment in the country remains shallow—it was hardly tested. Much of the black population refused to support the U.S. invasion. Many of the many hundreds of antiwar GIs who now face prosecution for refusing to take part in the slaughter of non-white Muslim peoples are black. The American working class, with its sizable black and Hispanic components, remains the Achilles' heel of U.S. imperialism. And it is our task to bring down this bloodthirsty imperialist power before it blows up the world.

U.S. War Criminals on the Loose

While the Pentagon preens itself on its high-tech war machine and Bush boasts that "America in Desert Storm was a first class talent," this was not so much a war

continued on page 15



Reuters

Victims of American blitzkrieg. Tens of thousands of Iraqi dead were left in the desert. This is about the only photo of corpses we could find. The Pentagon censored the rest.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal To War, For Empire!



"History," Black militant activist Malcolm X once noted, "is best suited to reward our research."

The fiery leader's axiom leapt to mind recently when I read of the growing anti-war positions taken by Vietnam veterans.

It is a fixture in the public mind that vets from the Vietnam War were somehow "different" from veterans of other wars. For quite a few years the term "Vietnam Vet" became a curse, a coded suggestion that the subject was somehow "off." According to the myth, vets of other, earlier wars were warmly embraced by society upon return.

Such a notion has fueled many a Rambo fantasy. Like most fantasies, it is false.

Back during the Depression, around 1932, veterans of the First World War converged on Washington, as part of a massive march and demonstration against the U.S. government policy of issuing "bonus certificates" due for cash payments, years in the future. Those at the Bonus Army March on Washington demanded Congress pay the vets off now, when money for survival was desperately needed.

They came, by the thousands, to personally petition their government, on whose behalf they had so recently fought the "Great War," for payment due them, to fight hard times.

Over twenty thousand people, men, wives and children, encamped in the area around the White House, and other federal buildings, to push the demonstration for "Payment now, not later."

The House of Representatives passed the bill, but it was defeated in the Senate, and some vets, discouraged, left.

Most, however, living in tents, lean-tos and cardboard boxes, stayed.

President Hoover issued eviction orders to the Army, and as historian (and present-day anti-war activist) Howard Zinn details in his remarkable *A People's History of the United States* (Harper & Row, N.Y., 1980):

"Four troops of cavalry, four companies of infantry, a machine gun squadron, and six tanks assembled near the White House. General Douglas MacArthur was in charge of the operation, Major Dwight Eisenhower his aide. George S. Patton was one of the officers. MacArthur led his troops down Pennsylvania Avenue, used tear gas to clear veterans out of the old buildings, and set the buildings on fire. Then the Army moved across the bridge to Anacostia. Thousands of veterans, wives, children began to run as the tear gas spread. The soldiers set fire to some of the huts, and soon the whole encampment was ablaze. When it was all over, two veterans had been shot to death, an eleven-week-old baby had died, an eight-year-old boy was partially

blinded by gas, two police had fractured skulls, and a thousand veterans were injured by gas." (p. 382)

The government's martial response to veterans who dared demand prompt payment puts the very real grievances of Vietnam vets into a certain perspective.

Rarely has history provided a better illustration of how soldiers serve government, but commanders of soldiers serve the ruling elite.

After the smoke has settled from the megabombing of Baghdad, and soldiers, their tour of duty ended, return to U.S. cities, they will find urban nightmares even worse than they left, full to the bitter brim of blight, homelessness, joblessness and aching hopelessness.

Who will reconstruct the bombed-out neighborhoods of the South Bronx, of Brownsville, of North Philly, of Harlem?

Once more, a generation returns from war.

Once more, a generation returns, after a war for empire, to emptiness.

1 February 1991

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.



TROTSKY

Women's Liberation and the Family

On the occasion of International Women's Day, March 8, we print below passages from the classic Marxist work on the rise of exploitative class society and the patriarchal family, the central social institution of the oppression of women. The bourgeois family has always served as a bedrock of conservatism to ensure conformity to bourgeois morality, which condemns anything that deviates, from premarital sex to homosexuality. Today

as family structures disintegrate under the hammer blows of decaying capitalism, which impoverishes the entire working class and carries out a policy of genocide against ghetto blacks, the answer is not to revive this institution that enslaves woman, but to ensure her full participation in social life and to struggle for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

With the patriarchal family, and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business, right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules....

With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership, the single family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are legitimate or not.

—Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884)



LENIN

Hearst Press Censors Warren Hinckle

When the U.S. began its dirty colonial war of devastation against Iraq in mid-January, the lap dogs of the bourgeois media with their laptop PCs slavishly obeyed their masters' voice. So when maverick liberal journalist Warren Hinckle submitted an antiwar column for the 17 January edition of the *San Francisco Examiner* titled, "If Saddam Hussein Is Hitler, Then George Bush Is Tojo," the article got the kibosh from *Examiner* publisher Hearst and Hinckle landed on "vacation" and "partially paid leave."

For William Randolph Hearst III, scion of the Hearst who brought you the Spanish-American War, if you can't say anything *nice* about the terror bombing of Iraq, you shouldn't say anything at all. Hearst, true to his heritage, in a 17 February editorial recommended "retaliating with short-range nuclear missiles," if "justified" by Iraqi attacks. The Hearst papers also led the charge when the U.S. interned Japanese Americans during World War II.

Now Hinckle has started his own paper, *War News*, explaining in the first issue, "Our editorial policy is, simply put, that it is not in America's national interest to kill Arabs and that the entire rationale for this war is a lie." The paper is a real blast from the past, including contributions from Paul Krassner, comix by R. Crumb, and a zany hallucinatory fax from "war correspondent" Hunter S. Thompson. The gonzo journalist warns that the current bombing of Iraq will soon "have dwarfed Guernica, as well as Dresden & Hiroshima," and refers us to the *Book of Revelations*, particularly Ch. 6:1-17 and Ch. 9:1-21, in re: the end of the world. To date, *War News* lacks a union bug.

Warren Hinckle first attained notoriety as editor of the '60s rad-lib magazine *Ramparts* and has over the years exposed and scandalized deserving targets including the CIA, Margaret Thatcher's Britain,

George Bush and his CIA drug trade escapades, Dianne Feinstein and the San Francisco police. He has written movingly in support of imprisoned former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt's fight for freedom and against Pratt's frame-up under COINTELPRO.

It's a real sign of the times that Hinckle—who's certainly no Marxist and hobnobs with the likes of Daniel Ellsberg (a *War News* contributor) who prefers that the U.S. had "merely" stayed with economic sanctions (starve them slowly) against Iraq—gets bounced in favor of more patriotic gore. Still, Warren Hinckle delightfully spits in the eye of bourgeois institutions and authority, reportedly earning the ire of SF mayor Art Agnos (whom he calls "Red Art" to spoof the mayor's "progressive" pretensions). Some Hinckle watchers are speculating his suspension from the *Examiner* has to do with the fact that Agnos and Will Hearst are thick as thieves and Agnos wants Hinckle off his back.

For our part, we condemn Hearst's censorship of one of the few decent voices on the journalistic scene. ■

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Daily News Strike: The Bitter End

MARCH 12—What began as an enormously popular strike with a high national profile almost five months ago ended in an obscene scramble by the bureaucrats of the New York newspaper unions to fork over hundreds of union jobs to the new owner of the New York *Daily News*, the infamous British press lord Robert Maxwell.

The union ranks did all right when it came to militancy. Quite a few scabs and hired "ninja" thugs got a taste of union power. The strikers pretty much kept the scab *News* off the newsstands, something Boss Hoge and his boss Brumhack never figured on. Over 200 unionists were arrested for defending their picket lines from scab assaults. Through their tenacity, the strikers were able to prevent the Chicago Tribune Company's attempt to hush their unions outright. But their leaders had no program to win.

As we go to press, the union chiefs in the Allied Printing Trades Council have agreed to proposed contracts that slash over one third of the union jobs at the paper, more than 800 in all. The New York press unions have been fighting a decades-long defensive battle over technology and jobs—if this deal goes down, the labor-hating *New York Times* bosses, with a \$450-million ultra-modern printing facility at Edison, NJ ready to roll, are ready to sock it to the unions.

All the talk is about how they've "saved" the *Daily News*. When Maxwell drove off in his limo, he was cheered by people on the street. Pickets in front of the *News* building on 42nd St. hoisted paper cups of champagne. The union tops patted themselves on the back. They bragged in a *Times* "insider" account of the strike about how "smart" they were in following AFL-CIO advice to do

From Boss Hoge to Captain Bob



Cap'n Bob says workers can starve in "dignity," while he lives it up on bloated profits. Maxwell and Liz Taylor at Malcolm Forbes' multi-million-dollar birthday bash in Morocco.



Ron Galella, Private Eye (cartoon)

The proposed cuts at the *News* will slam the pressmen and drivers unions hardest—unions which were the backbone of the strike. Three hundred out of 750 drivers will go back to the daily shape-up. Minority and women drivers will be almost wiped out. Half the pressmen's jobs in Local 2 are being sacrificed as part of the \$70 million in annual givebacks offered to Maxwell. The mostly white-collar Newspaper Guild will be cut by 238 jobs.

The *Daily News* strike could have been won, and should have been. We said how from the outset. To begin with, the printing plants should have been occupied so that no scab edition of the *News* ever hit the streets. The thousands of New York

historically excluded minorities and women from the crafts. If the press unions had demanded the *News* pay for a program of training and recruitment to redress this history of discrimination, it would have forged a powerful alliance of labor and the ghetto poor.

Cap'n Bob Eats Papers for Breakfast

The new owner of the *News*, also known in Britain as Max Robwell, is an egomaniac who specializes in debt-ridden buyouts of printing and publishing companies. And Cap'n Bob is an expert at slashing jobs (as well as firing editors left and right). When Maxwell took over the printing conglomerate BPC, he cut

honored none. He said there would be no redundancies (layoffs), there were bloody thousands."

Recently, Cap'n Bob, wheeler-dealer and spokesman for the right wing of the British Labour Party, led the witchhunt against British National Union of Miners head Arthur Scargill for receiving "Russian gold" during the 1984-85 miners strike. Maxwell's *Daily Mirror* "spent hundreds of thousands of pounds on his vendetta," and he once bragged, "I take delight and some pride in having got rid of the militants out of the labour movement" (*Socialist Worker*, 21 July 1990). This is the "humane" capitalist who will be running the *Daily News* from his yacht on the East River.

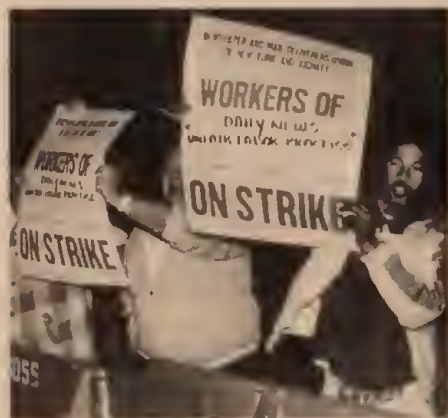
The Sunset Years?

The *Wall Street Journal* (26 February) quotes labor "consultant" Victor Kamber as saying that the unions "are willing to fight to the bitter end—even their own." This is the AFL-CIO tops' idea of a "victory," like the recent Eastern strike which lasted "one day longer" than the now-dead company. A recent study called the "Sunset Years of Collective Bargaining" estimates that the percentage of the private workforce that is unionized will fall to five percent by the end of the decade. That would mean the disappearance of five million union jobs! Today, among industrialized countries, only France has a lower percentage of unionization.

The "answer" of the traitors who have run the labor movement into the ground by chaining the unions to the capitalist parties of war and racism is...begging Congress to "outlaw" scabs. Their "replacement workers" legislation is billed as the solution to the string of defeats that began with PATCO, continued with Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern and now the *Daily News*. Aside from the fact that Bush will veto it, no law is going to win even a skirmish in the class war. These hard-fought strikes were stabbed in the back by the labor bureaucracy—and their fake-socialist water hoys on the left. Want to get rid of scabs? Play hardball and win a solid strike.

Running to Congress, appealing to the Bush/Reagan labor board, inviting "Cut-back" Cuomo and other Democratic Party politicians to don union windbreakers and blow air at their 42nd Street rallies, begging for a new owner—the labor fakery chained the unions to the horses and their parties. From the beginning of the *Daily News* strike, the Spartacist League told the truth:

"Around the world, the working class and the oppressed must rely on their own strength to win, shedding any illusions that this racist capitalist state can be 'neutral' when the fundamentally counterposed interests of labor and capital collide on the picket line. The Democratic and Republican parties are just two wings of the capitalists' property party, the 'bipartisan' war party. We need a fighting workers party." ■



WV Photo



Berman/NY Times

Initial militancy and popular support in four and a half month *Daily News* strike was dissipated by union tops' refusal to occupy the printing plant and shut down scab operation.

everything to avoid a strike. So they got to take the union-busting Tribune Co. owners to the Labor Board for "unfair labor practices."

And what did they get? An empty NLRB ruling and a new boss who talks about "partnership" while slashing hundreds of jobs. Union adviser (and sometime management adviser) Ted Kheel was looking for a new owner from the start, and now they're billing Maxwell as the "white knight" come along to save the day. But look at past examples of such "saviors." TWA unions brought in raider Carl Icahn, who promptly turned around and forced flight attendants into a devastating strike.

Take it from us, Robert Maxwell is no chivalrous knight. Cap'n Bob the pirate, as he's been dubbed by the British satirical weekly *Private Eye*, has sunk more papers than the Trih Co. ever owned. The union tops with their "Settle or Sell[out]" strategy figure they got the best deal they could cut. But with their no-strike, no-win defeatism, from the very beginning they were only bargaining over how much they would lose, or rather, give away.

City unionists who came out to repeated rallies should have been mobilized to ring the plants. In this battle which affected all NYC papers, the press unions should have struck all the dailies. And to win solid public support, they should have put out a daily *Workers News*.

The scab *News* could not have printed without the newsprint and ink delivered to it by Teamsters, longshoremen and railroad workers. A fighting union leadership would have called on the transport unions to "hot cargo" this vital material. Instead, the "progressive" labor fakery in charge of strike "support," led by hospital workers Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, launched a useless "corporate campaign," sending strikers out of town to plead for a consumer boycott of Trih Co. holdings.

The race question was a key issue here. *News* management, who have been convicted of racist discrimination, recruited many black and Hispanic strike-breakers, and then cynically exploited the homeless as hawks of their scab rag. The unions did nothing to address this, or the history of job-trusting which has

almost half the firm's 13,000 jobs. Another 2,000 heads rolled at the *Mirror* newspapers in 1985, where the editorial rule is "bottomless taste and topless women." One angry employee remembered: "He made numerous promises. He

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Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil

On March 1, a long-threatened national strike broke out in the Karaganda coal fields in Soviet Central Asia. While Karaganda miners have since returned to work, the strike has spread to mines in the key Donets (Ukraine) and Kuznetsk (western Siberia) basins, with a hard core in the Pechora mines around Vorkuta. The miners are demanding pay increases of 100 to 150 percent. But these demands are increasingly overshadowed by shrill calls from strike leaders for the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev and his government.

After six years of Gorbachev's perestroika program of market-oriented "reforms," the Soviet Union is lurching toward full-scale civil war. The economy is spiraling into collapse, the central government is locked in combat with a number of secessionist republican governments. And now the demagogic pro-capitalist Russian Federation president Boris Yeltsin cites the miners' "militant actions" as motivation to "declare war on the leadership of the country." He is not speaking metaphorically.

Union leaders claim 100,000 have downed tools—only about 8 percent of the USSR's more than 1.2 million coal miners, and not all of these are raising political demands. As the government prepares to introduce massive price hikes on essential goods, Soviet working people have good reason to protest the assault on their living standards. However, in the superheated atmosphere of Soviet society today workers must beware of those political and "labor" leaders who would use them as pawns in a dangerous and reckless power play for counterrevolutionary aims.

In the Kuzbass, strike leaders echo Yeltsin in demanding that the central government dissolve itself and hand power over to the various republics, essentially a call for capitalist dismemberment of the USSR. A leader of the Karaganda strikers, Pyotr Schlegel, rants: "Hell yes, I'm for capitalism. The first

thing I did when I took over at the union was take Lenin's picture down from the office wall." And miners union leader Pavel Shushpanov calls for a law establishing private ownership including of the mines.

These people are bitter enemies of the Soviet working class. They seek to turn the powerful Soviet miners into a battering ram for openly pro-capitalist forces whose victory would mean the destruction of every remaining social gain—the right to work, cheap housing and low food prices, free medical care—which the Soviet workers have as a result of the collectivized economy.

The answer to the woefully mismanaged Stalinist "command economy" is not the capitalist "free market" of unemployment and homelessness but a struggle to revive and revitalize the collectivized economy through genuine soviet democracy. The Soviet working people must once again become the political masters of society.

"AFL-CIA" Crows Over "Free" Miners Union

Concerted working-class struggle against the ravages of Gorbachev's market reforms can be the key to reversing the drive toward full-scale capitalist restoration and the disintegration of the multinational Soviet state. As we wrote two years ago:

"With the miners strikes of July 1989, the Soviet workers dramatically returned to the political scene with a display of proletarian power that shook the Kremlin bureaucrats of all factions and cliques as well as the imperialist bourgeoisies. Under revolutionary leadership, this is the decisive force which will determine the fate of the Soviet Union, together with the struggles of their class brothers and sisters throughout the world."

—"Soviet Workers Challenge Perestroika," WV No. 483, 4 August 1989

But a revolutionary leadership is precisely what is lacking in the Soviet Union today. In its absence, all sorts of sinister

political forces have moved to capitalize on the discontent and desperation of Soviet workers.

The newly formed Independent Union of Miners (NPG), which called the current strikes, claims a membership of only 80,000. The NPG was formed last October in Donetsk at a congress of delegates from various mining regions. Its aim, according to its draft programmatic declaration, is "to defend the rights and interests of the workers...under the conditions of a market economy" and to fight for higher pay "in accordance with

the U.S. Information Agency.

The congress was addressed by United Mine Workers of America secretary-treasurer John Banovic, who offered "solidarity" on "their road to an independent union." What the AFL-CIO tops mean by "independent" is independent from working-class struggle. With the election campaign of Arnold Miller for union president in the early 1970s, the UMW bureaucracy shoved this once powerful union into the hip pocket of the capitalist government. In the last decade, UMW membership has been cut in half,



Coal miners in the Kuzbass during the 1989 strike by half million miners that shook the USSR.

the market price of labor power." In other words, they accept the return of capitalist exploitation and condemn the workers in advance to whatever wages the capitalist market dictates.

One resolution submitted to the congress called for an "international conference on trade-union rights and freedoms," specifically inviting the AFL-CIO, Polish Solidarność and other "democratic trade unions" while excluding the official Soviet trade unions. Lech Walesa's Solidarność is now imposing brutal capitalist austerity on Polish workers in the service of the International Monetary Fund. What such "free unions" bring is not prosperity but soup kitchens.

When the NPG was proclaimed, the American AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs' *Bulletin* (November 1990) crowed: "USSR Miners Union—Free At Last." When this mouthpiece for CIA intervention into the international labor movement cheers, Soviet workers had better watch out. From breaking up Communist-led unions in West Europe after World War II to engineering coups against leftist governments in Latin America to propping up state-run company unions in South Korea and other dictatorships, this outfit has rightly earned the sinister title "AFL-CIA."

In fact, the creation of the NPG was essentially the result of a coup by a small minority of delegates in the last hours of the four-day congress, as a grouping of 130 of the 900 delegates present unilaterally "declared itself a founding conference" (*Pravda*, 27 October 1990). Hailing this "bold maneuver," the *Bulletin* gloated, "Many of those leading the successful push for a free union...are well-known to the AFL-CIO." As the *Bulletin* pointed out, some of them had been on a tour of the U.S. earlier last year. What it didn't say was that the tour was paid for by the Bush government through

while two-thirds of all coal mined in the U.S. is now non-union.

By no means do all the miners who look to the NPG favor restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. Many are simply defeatist about stopping the onrush of market forces being pushed by sections of the bureaucracy from Gorbachev on down, and seek to defend their own sectional interests as best they can. Others entertain illusions that the capitalist market can somehow be "controlled" by the working class. And many more miners are staying away from the NPG because of its acceptance of the market. Interviewing miners in nearby Donbass pits during its coverage of the congress, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (6 November 1990) reported: "In the miners' collectives, dissatisfaction with their leaders and disappointment in the movement in general are coming to a head.... If there is any interest in the congress, it is a kind of detached interest." Miners told them: "We aren't ready for privatization or a market right now...."

At the congress, many delegates showed themselves to be open to the authentic communism of Trotskyism, as representatives of the International Communist League argued that the restorationist drive could be stopped through proletarian political revolution to restore genuine soviet democracy. A bundle of 200 of the Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* ("What Is Trotskyism?") was sold out in 20 minutes; another shipment of 400 was snapped up in an hour, and many more miners ordered prepaid copies to be sent to them in their regions.

Not everything went the way the imperialists' lackeys wanted at the congress. A campaign to enlist the Soviet miners in an international anti-Communist witch-hunt against the British National Union of Mineworkers and its leader Arthur Scargill was stymied, in large measure as

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At miners congress in Donetsk last October (below), hundreds of copies were sold of Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* calling for defense of collectivized property against capitalist restoration.

Spartacist Photos



Where Is the Soviet Union Going?

After six and a half decades of Stalinist rule, the Soviet Union is lurching toward catastrophe. As the economy collapses, the forces driving toward capitalist counterrevolution and bloody nationalist strife have grown apace and the contending elements of the disintegrating bureaucracy are threatening each other with civil war.

President of the Russian republic Boris Yeltsin, who now leads the pro-Western forces of open capitalist restoration (the so-called "democrats"), has demanded that Gorbachev resign and surrender political power to the governments of the various republics. Gorbachev, now leaning for support on old-line apparatchiks and military men, responded that this will lead "to the path of confrontation, right up to civil war." And now Yeltsin has issued an open declaration of war against the Kremlin, vowing that the outcome will be decided by the end of March.

Meanwhile, the country is careening into chaos. Three-quarters of the meat shops in Moscow are empty as other republics have cut off supplies. Police in Tomsk use tear gas to "calm down" women shoppers waiting in line. While the bourgeois mafias and many intellectuals have stocked provisions, Kazakhstani miners and their children live from hand to mouth on rations.

In the non-Russian republics, the rise of anti-Soviet nationalism threatens to rip apart the USSR, with the remnants becoming neocolonies of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo. The secessionist governments of the Baltic republics are intent on joining the capitalist "free world," while the large and heavily proletarian Russian-speaking population in this region faces national oppression and expulsion. In Georgia, the rabidly nationalist Tbilisi regime has launched a murderous pogrom against the Ossetian minority. Gorbachev's March 17 referendum on preserving the Union will resolve nothing. Only the multinational Soviet working class can prevent the bloody dismemberment of their country which would accompany the restoration of capitalism.

Part 3: Working Class Must Fight for Genuine Soviet Power



Giant Uralmash machinery plant in Sverdlovsk. Soviet working class has the power to defeat forces of capitalist restoration and reactionary nationalism. Key is revolutionary leadership.

The advocates of outright capitalist restoration, from Russia's Yeltsin to Lithuania's Landsbergis, claim that the "free market" is the road to economic renewal and prosperity. In reality, it will mean closing down thousands of enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, runaway inflation and the total dismantling of medical care, child-care and other social programs. Look at the gutting of the livelihoods and wholesale impoverishment of the working people in Poland and eastern Germany following the triumph of pro-Western "democrats"!

Opposed to the "democrats" are the self-styled "patriots," especially strong in the armed forces, who call for a return to law, order and discipline. Their law and

order, despite its appeal to many, is aimed at making the working class restore and perpetuate the privileges of the bureaucratic elite. Many of the "patriotic" apparatchiks and military men will support using the army to suppress workers strikes and protests against the sharp consumer price increases announced by the Gorbachev regime.

Soyuz, the Russian Communist Party, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and allied "patriotic" currents claim to stand above all for the unity and preservation of the multinational USSR. Yet these "patriotic" organizations embrace Great Russian chauvinists, tsarists and vile anti-Semites, whose program can only fuel nationalist and communalist bloodletting. Genuine Soviet patriotism demands a return to the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky.

The Soviet working class has to date been trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Thus coal miners in the eastern Ukraine and Siberia are now striking in a desperate defense of their plummeting living standards. At the same time, leaders of the recently formed Independent Union of Miners—who have direct ties to American imperialism—are supporting Yeltsin's demand for Gorbachev's resignation and the transfer of effective economic power to the (pro-capitalist) republican governments.

Gorbachev accuses Yeltsin of using "neo-Bolshevik" methods, but in reality Yeltsin is a White Guardist. What the Soviet Union urgently needs today are real Bolsheviks. In 1991 an impending catastrophe threatens the working people, and no less than in 1917 a revolutionary

program is needed to fight it. Soviet working people must cut through the false division between "democrats" and "patriots," both products of the terminal degeneration of the reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Both are enemies and oppressors of the working class in the interests of world capitalism. The working class must take political power into its own hands and reconstruct society in its own interests.

For Centralized Economic Planning Under Workers Democracy

The stagnation of the Soviet economy during the last Brezhnev years has given way under Gorbachev to bureaucratized chaos. Both the central and republican governments have flooded the country with increasingly worthless rubles while state shops stand empty. The chemical industry is operating at a fraction of its capacity. Steel mills cannot get coking coal. Plants producing machinery cannot get steel. At the largest truck plant in the world, in Volgograd, the main production line stands idle for lack of inputs. And now the United States is auctioning off lucrative oil concessions in the Bering Sea which were signed over by ex-foreign minister Shevardnadze.

The same apparatchiks who for years have run the collectivized economy into the ground are now looting state enterprises in order to buy their way into a new bourgeoisie as junior partners of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Independent workers committees must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent bureaucratic sabotage as well as attempts at privatization.

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Christian Rakovsky (left) with Leon Trotsky in 1927: leaders of the Left Opposition to Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union. They fought for return to Leninist internationalism.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky! For a Socialist Union of Soviet Republics!

Soviet Union...

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Such workers committees can be the basis of *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists and those few members of the intelligentsia who overcome their corrupt appetites and embrace the cause of the working class. There must be no place in these soviets for the new parasites and exploiters, nor for those within the bureaucracy who are their ideologues and sponsors. The workers and their allies will themselves, by their free vote, indicate which parties they recognize as soviet parties. We stand for a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. These will not be talk shops such as the present legislative bodies, for which the Soviet people have developed a healthy revulsion, but organs to directly carry out the will of the working people.

The "democratic" agents of capitalist counterrevolution exploit popular revulsion against Stalinist bureaucratic rule to argue for a parliamentary system of government as in the West. In the economically privileged capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan, whose rulers brutally exploit hundreds of millions of impoverished toilers in the so-called Third World, parliamentarism serves as a "democratic" cover for the class rule of the bourgeoisie. However, the real basis of bourgeois rule in even the wealthiest capitalist societies is fear on the part of the workers that if their labor ceases to be of value to those who own the means of production, they and their families could be sleeping on sidewalks and eating out of garbage cans.

Denunciations of the Stalinist "administrative and command" system of the economy have become the main ideological cover for advocates of capitalist restoration. Many working people identify centralized planning and management as such with bureaucratic commandism, arbitrariness and parasitism. This is false. The central direction of the economy by a government of soviets is the *only* way that the working class can *democratically* determine the allocation of society's resources in order to ensure social equality at the highest level of productivity—more and better.

We oppose competition between atomized enterprises, which necessarily fosters greater inequality and undermines the social solidarity of the working class. For the same reason, we reject the syndicalist program of workers self-management of enterprises (which is cynically promoted by pro-capitalist forces to introduce a market economy), calling instead for centralized management by a workers government. At the enterprise level, democratically elected factory committees should control working conditions. They could debate the plan in conjunction with fellow workers in other plants. They could dismiss incompetent and corrupt managers, and achieve real labor discipline based on

socialist consciousness and the standards set by and enforced by workers collectives.

At a broader level, genuine soviets could make sovereign decisions on what to subsidize. Market forces will never provide adequate childcare, for example. The Soviet Union could easily have the best medical system in the world, far surpassing the class-determined care available (to some) in capitalist countries. By getting rid of the criminal chaos in distribution of agricultural products with an iron hand, a government of soviets could easily supply all its own wheat and have plenty of foreign exchange left over to provide the entire Soviet population with Japanese VCRs and quality pantyhose. And such a revolutionary regime would *increase* aid to countries like Vietnam and Cuba facing the economic strangulation of imperialism.

As Trotsky wrote in 1932: "Only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained." The highest soviet body should decide on a plan determining the basic direction of the economy: the level and structure of investment in the means of production, military spending, construction of new housing, schools,

for genuine national and sexual equality, and for maximizing individual freedom, i.e., the freedom to develop one's capacities to the fullest.

We fight for the political, economic and social equality of all Soviet peoples. In particular, we must combat all expressions of anti-Semitism, which in Russia today truly serves as "the socialism of fools," the diversion of class hatred from its rightful targets onto the backs of scapegoats. The new Black Hundreds of Pamyat and the rest of the fascist

landlords, capitalists, foreign imperialists and petty-bourgeois nationalists of all stripes. Bolshevik internationalism was exemplified by such individuals as the Armenian Stepan Shaumyan, who led the Baku Commune based on Azerbaijani, Armenian and Russian oil workers, and by Christian Rakovsky, the Romanian-born veteran revolutionary who headed the first Bolshevik government in the Ukraine and later became a leader of the Left Opposition.

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. 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. We resolutely combat capitalist counterrevolution even where it attempts to cover itself with the fig leaf of "national independence," as in the Baltic republics today.

It is necessary to politically arm the workers against Gorbachev & Co.'s lies that the capitalists of the world, from Washington to the rulers of the new Fourth Reich, have become friends and saviors of the Soviet people. The outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown the bounds of both the capitalist system and the nation-state. In the imperialist epoch, capitalism is inseparable from militarism and from wars for the division and redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation.

The October Revolution broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link, Russia. No less than 14 imperialist armed forces invaded the fledgling Soviet state, allying with and supporting the White armies. Lenin recognized that the Bolshevik victory in the Civil War was but a temporary respite. He ceaselessly told the truth that only the *world proletarian revolution* could save the Soviet workers state. For this reason, Lenin, together with Trotsky and other internationalists, formed the Communist International, which attracted to its banner the most revolutionary-minded workers and idealistic leftist intellectuals from North America to the Far East.

Stalin perverted and then liquidated the Communist International in the name of building "socialism in one country," a reactionary and utopian program for the *defeat* of revolutions abroad and ultimately of the Soviet Union itself. Stalin's global class collaboration in the 1930s—first the attempt at a "people's front" against Nazi Germany with the "democratic" imperialist powers of Britain and France, then the non-aggression pact with Germany—laid the basis for Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. Twenty million Soviet citizens were killed defending their country and liberating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, revolutions in East Europe as a defensive measure.

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Right-wing Lithuanian secessionists screaming at pro-Soviet demonstration in Vilnius last January. Anti-Soviet nationalism threatens to rip apart USSR amid bloody counterrevolution.



Demonstration last September in coal mining center of Donetsk against anti-Communist attempt to remove Lenin statue. Center sign says: "Hands Off Lenin!"

hospitals and the like. The production of consumer goods should take into account market calculation, so that the output of specific goods and services is continuously adjusted to meet demand. Democratically organized consumer cooperatives should oversee the price and quality of products.

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Among the prominent ideological opponents of Western-type capitalism are Stalin apologists such as Nina Andreyeva and Slavophile reactionaries such as Valentin Rasputin. Our intransigent opposition to capitalist restoration has *nothing* in common with "barracks socialism" or longing for traditional patriarchal Russian society. The Trotskyists insist that only socialization of the means of production can provide the material basis

filth must be smashed through working-class action. If not, these pogromists will spread their bloody terrorism far and wide.

The young Soviet republic opened the door of liberation for Jews and national minorities and they repaid by enlisting in the revolutionary effort to lay the basis for building a just society. From Soviet literature to science to military technology and the Red Army, the contribution of Jewish citizens has been inestimable. For years, the imperialists and Zionists have sought to rob the Soviet Union of its educated Jewish population. Now Gorbachev and Russian-nationalist anti-Semites are cooperating in this criminal attempt to stampede Jews out of the Soviet Union and into the Zionist deathtrap of Israel, crippling the creative forces of Soviet society. In the struggle to restore Bolshevism in the Soviet Union, it's important to recall that the Bolshevik Central Committee which carried out the first successful workers revolution in history was disproportionately composed of Jews and other ethnic minorities.

We stand for the social equality of women, which requires the right to free, safe abortions and free, quality childcare, and for the greater participation of women in the leadership of society. Fighting against Solzhenitsynite medievalism, we defend the right of individual freedom in sexual life (e.g., homosexuality, pornography). The early Soviet state abolished laws against homosexuality. Likewise, we oppose political and artistic censorship and other expressions of petty police tyranny.

The October Revolution and formation of the Soviet Union was possible because the Bolsheviks *united* the workers and peasants of all nationalities against their common enemy: the tsarist autocracy,



Openly pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin faces off with former ally Mikhail Gorbachev.

Young Spartacus

"New World Order" Means Racist Terror



Top Cops of the "free world": U.S. Army takes aim at Iraqi soldier after he surrenders (left).



The Empire strikes back at home too: blacks targeted with cop terror in racist "war on drugs" (right).

Blacks and the War at Home

As America's rulers whip up flag-waving hoopla for the empire's big kill of the Iraqi people, there's one section of American society that's not cheering. Blacks in racist America know their war is here at home against a government that gives them first crack only at death. We print below a Black History Month forum given by comrade Don Andrews on "Blacks in the Jim Crow Military" at UC Berkeley on February 23. Don's remarks have been excerpted for publication.

What nerve the racist war criminals have in appealing to blacks to die for their profits and their so-called right to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the working people throughout the world. With each passing day in this country black rights are going the way of the buffalo nickel. It is no accident that large sections of the black population look at the American flag as a worthless rag.

Black people have fought and died in most of this country's wars this century, and what have they got for it? More segregation, more racist police and Klan terror and murder, more unemployment, more brutal enforced ghettoization—these are the things that are heartily provided by this lying, vicious, hypocritical and criminal ruling class that loves to talk about "democracy."

Why in the hell would young black and Hispanic men and women and working-class youth be enthusiastic about dying for the filthy rich monarchies of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, or for George Bush and the Dixiecrat Democratic Party, when right here at home hundreds of thousands are homeless, when AIDS victims in the ghettos and barrios are criminally neglected while the profit-gouging pharmaceutical companies withhold drugs that can combat AIDS, when there are four times as many blacks in prison here in the United States than there are in South Africa, when the Supreme Court of racist injustice speeds up executions in a country in which black men in Harlem die earlier than males in Bangladesh, which is a very poor country indeed.

Black History Month Forum

Why would or should black women want to die for the feudalist swine in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia who hold women in virtual slavery, knowing that here in the USA, this racist capitalist government is starving black mothers and their babies by gutting welfare and pushing the genocidal "workfare" schemes



SL spokesman Don Andrews

which guarantee starvation. California's Republican governor Wilson and his state legislature now want to take a scalpel to the welfare program again because too many people—blacks—are "abusing" it by buying six-packs of beer. Many pregnant black women are being jailed for using drugs and their babies are being taken away from them.

Capitalist Government Is Not Neutral

So much for the so-called "peace dividend" that the liberals and the reformists have crowed on and on about. As if ruling classes have ever voluntarily handed over the wealth created by the

working class which gives them the good life while they provide for working people and oppressed minorities only lives of indescribable horror, suffering and oppression. Throughout history the conflict between antagonistic classes for the social surplus produced in the course of human labor is what we call the class struggle. This is the motor force of history, and this class struggle assumes different forms, according to the level of development of the productive forces attained in any given society.

In racist imperialist America, the bourgeoisie possesses state power to defend its class rule, to defend the rule of capital. The exploiters have an apparatus of coercion to keep the working class down: the cops, the courts, the press, the capitalist political parties, the church, the army. The petty-bourgeois pro-capitalist misleaders of blacks and working people—from Jesse Jackson to Lane Kirkland to the reformist Communist Party—lie, deceive, and betray the masses when they tell us that this most vicious, terrorist ruling class and this system can be reformed and made to work in our interest.

We Trotskyists tell the masses the truth: only with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the expropriation of the capitalist class, culminating in a workers government and a socialist America, can we live like human beings. Our struggle is for workers revolution and workers power. The compromisers, the conciliators, the fake leftists advocate a more "humane, peace-loving" capitalism.

We say the only way we can put an end to this monstrous and nightmarish system is to struggle for a socialist, planned economy. The utter rottenness of the capitalist class and the decay of this system is acutely felt especially here in the United States but also in other capi-

talist countries. The system is obsolete. The bosses have destroyed basic industry, and large sections of the working class—which is the most important component of the productive forces—have been thrown out onto the streets by the thousands.

Black Workers Key to Socialist Revolution

In racist capitalist America, the doubly and triply oppressed black workers have registered the strongest opposition to this racist, imperialist war. There's nothing innate about this, instinctual about this or new about this. When you are on the bottom looking up, your eyes might open a little wider and you tend to be a little bit more alert when it's a matter of fending off the daily blows of a very sick racist system whose ruling class wants to maintain the most rigid segregation and oppression to keep the working class divided and down.

Black opposition to the American empire is nothing new. Black opposition to U.S. imperialist wars goes back to the Spanish-American War of 1898. In an 1898 editorial in the *Richmond Planet*, an influential black newspaper, the point was made: "The American Negro cannot become an ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race."

Black workers today can be the spark to mobilize the entire working class to challenge and defeat this arrogant ruling class. But it's not simply a matter of being repelled by the nauseating, racist hypocrisy of the modern-day capitalist slaveholders, who claim to stand for democracy and various eternal truths while lynching and beating down blacks and working people in every possible way.

The illusions still linger that the American ruling class and its capitalist state can be pressured into defending the interests of the oppressed. We hear this in the common refrain that goes like this: "Why doesn't the U.S. defend black South Africans against apartheid?" We live in a class-divided society, a capitalist

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War at Home...

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society. The capitalist state is not neutral. It is an instrument of class oppression. It is an instrument to maintain the domination of the capitalist class over the working class and to maintain this whole system of exploitation. That's why they don't move against their apartheid allies.

In 1967, at the height of the Vietnam War, we published "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom." (This is contained in the *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, a basic document of the Spartacist League.) This document contains our Marxist analysis of the roots of black oppression in the U.S. and puts forward a revolutionary working-class program and perspective to eradicate the special oppression of blacks. History provides the opportunity for this potentially vanguard layer of the working class to play a powerful and prominent role in the liberation of humanity from the shackles of racial oppression and the chains of capitalist exploitation. In this document we point to the fact that the struggle for

thereby become able to provide leadership to the class as a whole, they play a vital role in the success of the world revolution."

Working People Need a Revolutionary Party

To unleash the power of the integrated working class requires a struggle to break labor, blacks and all oppressed minorities from their illusions in the Democratic Party. The Democrats are the main party of war and racism. They are the party that dropped atomic weapons on the Japanese, that tried to smash the Cuban Revolution during the Bay of Pigs fiasco, that killed two million Vietnamese, that propped up the bloody death squad dictatorship in El Salvador which has already slaughtered over 70,000 people. The Democrats backed the brutal imperialist rape of tiny black Grenada, the bombing of Libya which killed Qaddafi's baby daughter, the downing of an airplane that killed over 200 Iranians, and they supported Bush's bloody invasion of Panama that killed thousands of dark-skinned Panamanians and left over 100,000 people homeless. And now they're talking about rebuilding Iraq!

This bipartisan support for the drive for U.S. world domination underscores



Support rally for Greyhound strikers, New York City, 1983.

in defense of working people throughout the world. The "labor lieutenants of capital"—and by that of course we're talking about the pro-capitalist misleadership of labor—are a very brittle layer and tied to the private property system and the twin parties of capitalism. Only with the destruction of the fatal alliance between the unions and the capitalist parties will class-conscious American workers be able to build their own class-struggle workers party that fights for socialism and a workers government. The key task today is to build an integrated revolutionary party that can lead the working class to the successful seizure of state power.

Leon Trotsky, the co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik 1917 workers revolution, pointed out in the Transitional Program that under capitalism the only serious right we have left is the right to a job. Today, in the black ghettos and barrios and the white working-class neighborhoods across this country there are millions who are jobless and who have never had a job. There are millions who can't afford decent health care—over 37 million people in this country don't have medical care. Now they're talking about rationing health care, so that if you have AIDS and you're going to die, then it's, "Screw you. You can die."

The American bourgeoisie can't come up with an ideology to justify the defense of the Saudi and Kuwait monarchies, so after a while we heard from the Texas oil millionaire Baker that the war was really about jobs! Now everybody knows that's a cruel hoax and these war criminals know it. Look at what Colin Powell said about his job and the fact that blacks and minorities are disproportionately on the front lines of Saudi Arabia. Powell said, "I ain't done so bad!" What a job! He gets to help orchestrate the mass murder of Arabs. The class question is easy to see here, just as it is in the case of Michael Williams, the black Republican in the education department who floated the proposal to eliminate minority scholarships. These people are on the

side of the bourgeoisie and they are conscious, implacable enemies of the oppressed and exploited.

Black Front Men for Racist Reaction

In the course of this racist colonialist war against Iraq, the black liberal capitalist Democratic establishment has given backhanded support to the intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf. Jesse Jackson initially supported the deployment of troops, but under increasing black opposition, he backed off in favor of sanctions which are acts of war—it's another way of saying "let the Iraqi masses slowly starve." Dellums also came out for sanctions and went to court to have Congress vote on war. Coleman Young threatened to call in the National Guard in Detroit to combat "terrorism," which means targeting Arab Americans who are being viciously witchhunted and whom we defend.

Farrakhan invoked "Islamic solidarity" in telling King Fahd to break off his ties with the Bush government! Of course Farrakhan can go on about how Bush wouldn't send his son Neil to Saudi Arabia but he carefully refrains from calling for the defense of Iraq. In a recent article in the *Nation*, Adolph Reed Jr., a perceptive black critic of Farrakhan's dead-end, pseudo-nationalist and pro-black-capitalist program, pointed out:

"Farrakhan has been successful in filling auditoriums and titillating rallies, but he has neither won mass adherence to the Nation of Islam nor ever demonstrated a capacity to galvanize popular action toward any end. Thus on the gulf he has opted for a characteristic Nation of Islam stance: a militant rhetorical posture that preserves an aversion to real political mobilization."

It is critical to understand the class role of the Uncle Tom black capitalist politicians and the black nationalist demagogues like Farrakhan and Sharpton. They are the ones who police the decaying ghettos for the white ruling class in this country. They target Korean and



New York's Lower East Side: black and Hispanic neighborhoods have been turned into human wastelands by decaying capitalism.

black freedom in this country is linked to the struggle for world revolution:

"The struggle for Negro freedom takes place not only within the national arena, but within an international context. U.S. capitalism, which doubly exploits black workers, is the cornerstone of world imperialism. The abandonment of a perspective which looks to the working class to lead the struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression is the hallmark of all revisionism...."

"The U.S. working class now has 'the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks,' the destruction of the bastion of world imperialism, the U.S. capitalist system. To the extent that the black workers, the most militant in the U.S. working class, become infused with a revolutionary socialist perspective and

the fact that imperialism is not a matter of misguided policies but a system of exploitation, organized and set up for the defense of the profits of the exploiters and for the permanent enslavement of the working class. It is only by the actions of class-conscious workers that the labor movement can break through the strait-jacket of class collaboration and class peace, and fling aside the labor traitors who have repeatedly stabbed the working class in the back (recently, for instance, in the Eastern Airlines workers strike).

Only by fighting for a class-struggle leadership in the unions can the American working class carry out its internationalist duties in defense of Iraq and



WV Photo

Spartacus Youth Clubs Class Series

NEW YORK CITY

Saturdays at 2 p.m.
41 Warren Street
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Date, time and room to be announced
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SAN FRANCISCO

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San Francisco State University
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Harvard University: Tara on the Charles?

Down With the Confederate Flag!

A couple of smug and privileged racists at Harvard University have raised the Confederate flag—the putrid banner of slavery and Klan terror—to wave in the face of black and other minority students on this campus. This flag means *racist murder*. It's the flag which rallied the slaveholders to keep blacks in chains in the South; it's the flag waved by racist lynch mobs in the North, from Bensonhurst to South Boston. At a white ruling-class bastion like Harvard, raising this flag is a deliberate incitement to racist violence against the few black students who make it through the ivy gates. It's time for some spring cleaning at filthy Harvard—those flags had better come down!

Bridget Kerrigan, an ultra-conservative creep with a cause, hoisted the Confederate flag from her window to challenge the “tyranny” of the “politically correct” at Harvard she likes to mouth off about. Soon other racists crawled out from the rocks to join her—Timothy McCormick raised a Confederate flag from his room in explicit solidarity with Kerrigan. When black, Jewish and Asian students demanded the removal of these flags, Kerrigan and McCormick snidely claimed that their flags were only symbols of Southern “honor and grace and dignity.” Who the hell do they think they are? Crimson “Gone with the Wind” clones of Scarlet O'Hara and Rhett Butler bedecking a Tara plantation on the Charles?

As Mecca Nelson, president of the Black Student Association (BSA), stated at a protest on March 8, the Confederate flag is “the battle flag” that “stands for slavery, white supremacy, lynchings, oppression, torture, and all the African people who died on the way over.” Harvard is a monument to white ruling-class privilege and is one nasty place for anyone who breaks the mold. Black students are routinely carded for IDs and challenged that “you don't look like you belong here.” Jewish students report a rise in anti-Semitism and have found the Star of David carved into doors around Harvard.

Attacks on minorities on campuses



Rally against Confederate flag at Harvard University, March 8.

across the country have surged in direct proportion to the racist policies emanating from the White House: the rollback of civil rights, threats to gut minority scholarships, union-busting, malign neglect of the homeless, the AIDS crisis, and unbridled cop terror in the ghetto. The American empire's racist massacre of the Iraqi people will only embolden outright fascists like the KKK and the Nazis and their effete apologists at the likes of Harvard. Bush's “new world order” means racist terror at home and abroad.

For anti-racist students, the question of how to fight these attacks is directly posed. One black student at Harvard, in attempting to throw a spotlight on the murderous message of the Confederate flag and encourage the university administration to ban all hate symbols, stupidly posted a swastika in her dorm window with the message, “Racism, No?” The BSA is similarly calling for university regulations against “hate speech” and emblems on campus.

This strategy is as dangerous as it is misguided. As the guardians of a premier think tank for U.S. imperialism, the

Harvard administration is an *enemy* of the oppressed. The Harvard administration and trustees blatantly raised the Confederate flag at the university's 350th birthday bash—a filthy fête whose guest list read like a “who's who” of imperialist war criminals. From the development of napalm which burned the flesh off thousands of Vietnamese victims of U.S. imperialism, to writing the fight song for Hitler's brownshirts, to authoring “academic” papers (the infamous Klitgaard report) suggesting blacks be segregated and dumped at “lesser” institutions than Harvard—the position of the men who rule Harvard is clear. To appropriate to them the right to determine what speech or emblems are “acceptable” is to invite more repression against the left and minorities.

The Confederate flag is a clarion call to racist attack—no different than hurling the racist epithet “n-----r.” Anyone waving that flag or uttering that word ought to get them shoved back down their throats. Anti-racist students at Harvard could learn a thing or two from militant Kentucky coal miners who teach would-be strikebreakers that “scabbing is dan-

gerous to your health.” Teaching that lesson would doubtless “raise consciousness” at Harvard too.

Racist attacks and violence are everywhere around the country today, and to fight them, students must mobilize alongside the social power of the integrated labor movement to stop the race-haters in their tracks. In bringing students out to join big battalions from labor, and all intended victims of racist attacks, the Spartacus Youth Club has been successful in helping rout the KKK and Nazis, stopping them from goose-stepping with swastikas and Confederate flags in cities coast to coast—including here in Boston. In 1984 our comrades tore down the flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center—an elementary act of decency hailed by working people and minorities throughout that city.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club celebrate a different Harvard tradition—that of John Reed, who broke from the ruling elite and became a communist fighter for human liberation and an active participant in the Russian Revolution of 1917. We honor the memory of Robert Gould Shaw, a former Harvard student who became the commanding officer of the Massachusetts 54th, the heroic black regiment which led the assault against the slavocracy at Fort Wagner. We honor the memory of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, another former Harvard student, who commanded the black First South Carolina Volunteers and dedicated his life to fighting continuing racist oppression after the Civil War.

If Higginson and Shaw were around today, they'd form an integrated force and tear down the flags of slavery flying outside of Kirkland and Cabot houses quicker than Harvard's racists could whistle “Dixie.” Anti-racist students, alongside members of the heavily minority Local 26 union of campus workers, could do the same in an elementary act of self-defense and self-respect against the racist ruling-class brats that threaten them today. *Down with the Confederate flag of racist terror! Finish the Civil War!* ■

Arab grocery store owners while ignoring the Klan, all the while assisting in the impoverishment and deepening misery of many black people who mistakenly consider these demagogues brothers and sisters because of their skin color and their largely humble origins. As “people of color” (and Papa Doc of Haiti was a “person of color,” likewise Idi Amin) their “empowerment” is our disempowerment.

For Class Struggle Against Bush's “New World Order”!

During this period of heightened war hysteria, the Ku Klux Klan and the skinheads have stepped up their murderous racist assaults. Arab Americans are now targeted by racists in white sheets and blue uniforms and the FBI is increasingly widening its sinister witchhunt. For the racists in the White House and Congress this is nothing new: in World War II over 100,000 Japanese Americans were seized, interned and had their property taken away. It was the Trotskyists then who defended the Japanese Americans—and they too, leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, were imprisoned by the Democratic Roosevelt government for their revolutionary opposition to the second imperialist world war. The bourgeoisie is actively grooming their potential shock troops and that's why the fascist David Duke is all in our faces these days.



“We stopped the Klan!” November 1982 labor/black mobilization, initiated by SL, takes the streets of Washington, D.C. in victory march.

The Spartacist League bases its program on the class struggle, the independent mobilization of the working class and its allies to fight for our own class interests. We are proud of our history and our record. Concrete examples are the successful labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League that have stopped the fascists from marching in many big cities over the past decade. From Detroit in 1979 to Washington, D.C. in 1982 and Philadelphia in 1988—we have mobilized the tremendous power of the integrated labor movement and stopped the racist terrorists from

murdering and maiming black, minority and working people.

In conclusion, our party faces the challenge today of winning new recruits from among those layers we've intersected in the fight against this racist imperialist war. We urge young people to learn more about the Spartacist League, our political work past and present, about history and Marxism as the means for understanding the world in order to change it. We are building a revolutionary party to intervene in the explosive political battles ahead.

This country is a gigantic pressure

cooker. There is a lot of social tinder in this country and the working class will explode one day. We look to the international working class to show the way forward out of the poverty, racism and war that are the only future that capitalism holds out for the young people of today. The real enemy of the working people is right here at home. Only if you join in and help in building that party that's integrated, Marxist, that has blacks, whites, men and women in it, can we actually succeed in overthrowing this very arrogant bourgeoisie that has outlived its usefulness. ■

1972: Vietnam



U.S. War Crimes



1945: Nagasaki

George Bush threatened to bring war crimes charges against Saddam Hussein. This comes from the Führer of the "New World Order" whose war machine just massacred tens of thousands of Iraqis. Under both Democrats and Republicans, the U.S. ruling class has incinerated Japanese civilians in World War II, napalmed and bombed the Vietnamese people, armed and orchestrated death squad terror in El Salvador, and bombed black people in its own cities. The enemy of humanity is right here at home: U.S. imperialism. We neither forgive nor forget. The working people of America, united with our class brothers and sisters around the world, will avenge the victims of the bloody imperialists through proletarian revolution!

1991: Baghdad



Estrella/AFIP Der Spiegel (inset)



1985: MOVE



UPI Photo/Newsweek (inset)

1980: El Salvador



Philippot/Sygma Der Spiegel (inset)

Young Spartacus

Trotsky on the Sino-Japanese War

The following notes were contributed from Tokyo by comrade Price of the Socialist Group Japan.

Not surprisingly, and in every country, we are engaged in a political struggle with our opponents over our line on the Persian Gulf War. Our Marxist position on revolutionary defense on behalf of Iraq against U.S. imperialism is causing problems for our reformist, centrist and possibly ultraleft opponents. As usual, they are caving in to the pressures of



Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico, 1940.

their own bourgeoisie, and criticisms of the butcher Hussein and his "invasion" of "poor little Kuwait" are the usual excuses offered for not defending Iraq. We have cited a number of times Lenin's basic position of defending oppressed, dependent and unequal states against predatory Great Powers. Morocco, Persia and China are good examples that Lenin used at the time he wrote "Socialism and War" in 1915.

In recent discussions in Tokyo we have been thinking about additional examples that would have a strong impact on the left here, and the Sino-Japanese War that broke out in 1937. Rereading Trotsky's articles on this war fits our needs quite well and I think some of these polemics could be used against our opponents everywhere. They complement Lenin's points in "Socialism and War" very well. I've included here some of Trotsky's responses to Hugo Oehler and Paul Eiffel, who refused to militarily support the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War and Chiang Kai-shek in the Sino-Japanese War because of the "reactionary" and "bourgeois" character of these regimes!

Excerpts from the following writings by Trotsky are compiled in *Leon Trotsky on China*, Pathfinder Press, 1976.

* * *

Trotsky wrote in "On the Sino-Japanese War" (23 September 1937):

"In my declaration to the bourgeois press, I said that the duty of all the workers' organizations of China was to participate actively and in the front lines of the present war against Japan, without abandoning, for a single moment, their own program and independent activity....

"We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutionary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the tsar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy....at all events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abd-el-Krim rose up against France, the democrats and Social Democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a 'savage tyrant' against the 'democracy.' The party of Léon Blum supported this point of view. But we, Marxists and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Rifians against imperialist domination as a progressive war.... To speak of 'revolutionary defeatism' in

Letter from Japan

general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists....

"But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of the independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.

"Let us use the example of a strike to clarify the question. We do not support all strikes. If, for example, a strike is called for the exclusion of Negro, Chinese or Japanese workers from a factory, we are opposed to that strike. But if a strike aims at bettering—insofar as it can—the conditions of the workers, we are the first to participate in it, whatever the leadership. In the vast majority of strikes, the leaders are reformists, traitors by profession, agents of capital. They oppose every strike. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the objective situation forces them into the path of struggle....

"The case of the Sino-Japanese War, is from this point of view, entirely analogous. If Japan is an imperialist country and if China is the victim of imperialism, we favor China. Japanese patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive. To place the two on the same plane and to speak of 'social patriotism' can be done only by those who have read nothing of Lenin, who have understood nothing of the attitude of the Bolsheviks during the imperialist war, and who can but compromise and prostitute the teachings of Marxism."

* * *

Two days later, Trotsky wrote in "Pacifism and China" (25 September 1937):

"At the same time we must carefully distinguish between the imperialist countries and the backward countries, colonial and semicolonial. The attitude of the working class organizations in and toward these two groupings cannot be the same. The present war between China and Japan is a classic example. It is absolutely indisputable that, on the part of Japan, it is a war of rapine and that, on the part of China, it is a war of national defense. Only conscious or un-

conscious agents of Japanese imperialism can put the two countries on the same plane.... The working class movement in China, Japan, and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army.

"This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang Kai-shek.... In participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working class organizations must preserve their entire political independence of the Chiang Kai-shek government....

"A pacifist who has the same attitude toward China as toward Japan in this terrible conflict is like one who would identify a lockout with a strike."

* * *

A month later Trotsky wrote to the I.S. to again underline the fight against the "ultralefts" who refused to take the side of China because of the crimes of Chiang Kai-shek. I've also included a quote from Trotsky's insistence that our Chinese comrades' slogan, "Prepare the war



Edgar Snow Collection

The 1937 rape of Nanking: Japanese imperial army slaughtered over 40,000 Chinese.

against Japan," was correct and useful. While the situation is quite different from 1937 there is a certain parallel to our demand, "Break the Blockade of Iraq!", the position we fought for before the shooting war started, which cut a sharp line of demarcation from the pro-imperialist "sanctions" crowd and their leftist apologists:

In "Concerning the Resolution on the War" (27 October 1937), Trotsky wrote:

"We have a war. The first question is, should our Chinese comrades and with them all the others accept this war as their war or reject it as a war imposed

war is in bad hands. We must survey its direction severely, and we must prepare to replace it.' This is the only real plan for agitation and propaganda."

* * *

What prompted this last letter was objections raised to Trotsky's position on the Sino-Japanese War by leading Belgian Trotskyists. I'm not familiar with the prewar Belgian Trotskyists, but will dig deeper soon. Trotsky's original statement to the bourgeois press is entitled "Japan and China," dated 30 July 1937, and its most salient point is a clear statement: "But if there exists in the world a just war, it is the war of the Chinese people against its oppressors. All workers' organizations, all progressive forces in China, without abandoning their programs or their political independence, will carry out to the end their duty in the war of liberation, regardless of their attitude toward the government of Chiang Kai-shek." It was this statement—that prompted the external and internal criticisms of Trotsky's position on the Sino-Japanese War—that certainly has relevance for us today.

Price
27 January 1991



Der Spiegel

The Chinese army of Chiang Kai-shek in the trenches during Japanese siege of Peking, 1937.

* The Berber tribes of the Rif region of Morocco revolted against Spanish colonial rule in 1921 under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim. Defeating the Spanish forces in 1924, the Rifians attacked the French sector the following year but were defeated in 1926 by a combined Spanish and French army.

"Anti-Imperialists" Who Denounced Defense of Iraq

MLP: "Ex"-Stalinists Adrift

Demonstrators at antiwar marches in January were handed an odd leaflet denouncing "Bush's war" and declaring "No more blood for imperialism," while ending with a polemic against the slogan "Defend Iraq." Published by the Marxist-Leninist Party (MLP), this tract is a case study in political schizophrenia. Filled with anti-imperialist phrases, the polemic appears to be directed at the most left-wing antiwar protesters. But what the

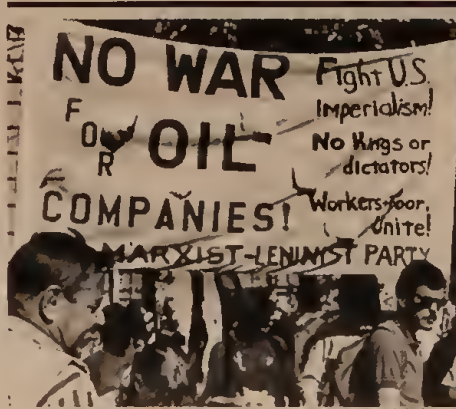
PART ONE OF TWO

MLP tells them is that they should *oppose* calls to defend the country which has been devastated by the Pentagon's murder machine.

In contrast, the Spartacist League called to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" We Trotskyists say that the working people of the world had a side in this war, to stand with the people of Iraq, an oppressed semicolonial nation, against the bloody onslaught of the imperialist powers and their cohorts and flunkies. While denouncing the tyrant Saddam Hussein and calling for the working people of Iraq to work for the overthrow of the bloody Ba'athist regime, we drew a sharp *class* line against imperialism. As one SL sign put it, "Down With Washington's New War—A Defeat for 'Our' Rulers Is a Victory for Us!"

Why are the MLP "Marxist-Leninists" so exercised to denounce those who sided with Iraq against the U.S. government? First off, this reflects a not-so-veiled effort to ingratiate themselves with the social-patriotic organizers of the "antiwar movement." The MLP's constant practice is to offer left criticisms while being careful not to overstep the bounds of what is acceptable to the organizers of such "popular-front" protests which tie the left to the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism. The MLP wants to carve out a niche as the left tail of the pop front. But the price of admission to climb on board the bandwagon of the red-white-and-blue "peace" movement is to swear a loyalty oath. And the MLP's opposition to "defend Iraq" did that.

Its tailism was captured in one headline of its leaflet that declared, "Defy the Liberals, Don't Split the Movement." Of course, the MLP criticized those who called for "UN sanctions" and who declare they "support our troops." No problem, so did the SWP, FIT, RWL and a host of housebroken leftists. But the Democratic Party liberals drew the line at defense of Iraq. They even split from the January 19 D.C. demo organized by the rotten reformist Workers World Party and held an even more right-wing peace crawl the next



MLP talks "anti-Imperialism," refuses to defend Iraq.

week because the WWP didn't condemn Iraq. But the MLP did, with gusto.

Far from "defying the liberals," it went further, declaring that those guilty of "cheerleading for the Iraqi side" represent a "current of opinion which...is also a problem for the anti-war movement," and which "undermines building a serious anti-war movement." The "serious anti-war movement" that the MLP was building had as its main slogan "hrring the/our troops home now." It was emphatically social-patriotic, talking only of American casualties and waving the stars and stripes all over the place. It also disappeared the minute it was clear that Bush could get the oil without spilling hardly any *American* blood, while making the Tigris and Euphrates run red with *Iraqi* blood. Obviously communists siding with "the enemy" would be considered "a problem" for such a movement which agreed with Bush's goals and only begged to differ with his methods.

The MLP's broadside against defense of Iraq was based on an article "Should the Anti-War Movement 'Defend Iraq'?" in their newspaper, *Workers' Advocate* (1 December 1990). Therein they criticized the WWP, ISO, Socialist Action and other nameless groups who are falsely equated with Trotskyism and who semi-, hemi-, demi-, sort-of sided with Iraq, usually in the fine print on the inside pages of their papers (since they are congenitally loath to take a stand that would be unpopular with the popular front). The unnamed chief culprit was the genuinely Trotskyist Spartacist League which uniquely and forthrightly defended Iraq against imperialist attack. We took the MLP (and other left groups who



Military defense vs. political support: Spartacists backed Nicaraguan army against Reagan's contra terrorists, while giving no confidence to petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime.

Workers' Advocate ★
1 December 1990

Should the anti-war movement 'defend Iraq'?

A few anti-war demonstrators have emerged. Like any other mass movement, there are different lines and political lines involved. To build the movement, we must be clear about our

The war of an oppressed nation against imperialism

It is said that since Iraq is an oppressed nation, and thus imperialism, against imperialism. Lenin wasn't wrong, but the Trotskyists who conclude his ideas are

"liberal, not political, support"

men supporting the war

But such an imperialist stance only bring jobs to the ruling regime, it means ignoring the lives and the same

imperialist it means knowing that there taking on the Middle East war's

defeating the oppressed regime

Sedition's

I honestly think that the war-movie should encourage the Middle East nations and their differences. But so many from our movement

The January 11 issue of Workers Vanguard, devoted to the central apparatus of the Spartacist movement, the article "Break with the Imperialist Labor Struggle against the War!" (Down with the New Iraq) is the section of the article that mentioned

The Workers' Advocate Supplement ★
20 February 1991

More on the "defend Iraq" slogan: Building an anti-imperialist movement or putting hopes in Hussein's military?

With the factions against Iraq replaced with open warfare, the anti-war movement has become even larger

and the Democratic Party

But the value of a slogan is not measured by how red it is

finched at defense of Iraq) to task in our article "Down With the Two War Parties!" in WV No. 518 (18 January). Now the MLP has come back with a lengthy (seven-page) response in their *Workers' Advocate Supplement* (20 February).

Before responding to their specific arguments, we'd like to say a word about why we are making the effort. In the first place, unlike the general practice on the left, the MLP didn't try to duck the issues but took them on directly, even reprinting the section of our article dealing with their group. As we noted in our article, in contrast to consummate cynics like the ISO or WWP who hide their supposed socialist politics whenever they become inconvenient, the MLP is noteworthy more for its confusionism. And secondly, these "Marxist-Leninists" have been put up against the wall politically by the terminal crisis of Stalinism. After having been some of the zaniest "The East Is Red" Maoists around, then following the lead of the helmsman of the Adriatic, Albania's Enver Hoxha, the MLP is now adrift on a sea of contradictions.

Leninism vs. Liberal Pacifism

So what arguments does the MLP use to justify its refusal to stand with Iraq against the onslaught of the most powerful imperialist military juggernaut in history? First and foremost, they try to paint calls for military defense of Iraq as "support for the tyranny of the Iraqi regime." This willful equating of military defense and political support is at the heart of the MLP's rationale. But they know full well that the Spartacist League doesn't "cheerlead" for Hussein. In fact, in their *Supplement* article they say the SL carries "hypocrisy to new heights" by being "among the most loudmouthed in demanding support for Hussein's military efforts, while at the same time it also shouts against Hussein."

But, they claim in order to cover their blatant distortion of our position, "this stand is impossible in practice," and accuse the SL of using "verbal tricks" to cover this up. So what are these "Spart tricks"? Well, that "when it talks about support for Hussein's army, it talks of 'defending Iraq' or 'defending Iraq against American imperialism,' but when it talks of overthrowing the Iraqi regime, it is 'nverthrow Hussein'." Some trick! In fact, the MLP is forced to admit that this stance might be appealing to would-be anti-imperialists: "To overthrow Hussein while defending Iraq might sound reasonable, if one forget[s] that what is meant by defending Iraq is lauding Hussein's military efforts."

What they're referring to is the "military effort" against the 500,000-plus U.S. troops and the warplanes that flew over 100,000 sorties against Iraq in the most concentrated bombing campaign in history. Any Iraqi worker or peasant, soldier, mother, father or youth who burns with anger against the mass murderers who turned their country into a killing field could only despise those leftists who refuse to support a war against the imperialist oppressors.

So why would professed Marxist-Leninists take such a position? The article in the December *Workers' Advocate* lets the cat out of the bag when it says that "the working people and youth instinctively feel" that since the "Iraqi regime is a despicable tyranny," Iraq "has no noble or progressive goals in the war"—and therefore should not be defended. Obviously they are not referring to the workers and youth of the Near East, who demonstrated in the hundreds of thousands in defense of Iraq and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Rather they are responding to opinion in the U.S., where the population has had Bush's "Saddam equals Hitler" war propaganda relentlessly pushed down their throats.

When I came down to the duty of revolutionaries in the hell of the imperialist beast to stand for the defeat of their "own" rulers' bloody aggression, as the White House whipped up patriotic war frenzy at home, the MLP shamefully took a dive, beating like any good pacifist liberal that "this is a criminal war on both sides." This is exactly the kind of thing Lenin was talking about when he insisted:

"There must be no toleration of the verbal condemnation of imperialism while no real revolutionary struggle is waged for the liberation of the colonies (and dependent nations) from one's *own* imperialist bourgeoisie."

— "The Tasks of the Third International" (July 1919)

And what does the MLP say to the Iraqi masses? Well, "to the working people of Iraq and the Middle East, we say they are right to oppose the U.S. imperialist buildup...." But, pray tell, how are they supposed to do that without defending Iraq? And if this is an "unjust war on both sides," does this mean they call upon Iraqi soldiers to turn their guns around? This would have been quite pleasing to Washington, which hoped that its terror bombing would provoke a rebellion of officers in Iraq who would then fire in the same direction as Washington's troops. In other words, an organization that sought to put the MLP's line into practice in Iraq could only play a

quishing role as U.S. puppets in the face of imperialist attack.

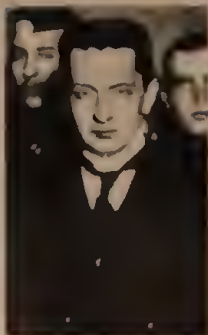
Defense of Oppressed Countries Against Imperialism

Evidently feeling pressure to defend its neutrality in Washington's bloody war on Iraq, the MLP's polemics have grown increasingly tortured in attempting to square this shameful position with Leninism. Last fall the Spartacist League, in going after pseudo-socialists who refused to defend Iraq ("The Left and the Persian Gulf: Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves," WV No. 510, 21 September 1990), cited a classic quotation from the 1915 pamphlet by Lenin and Zinoviev, *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 oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great Powers'."

In its December article, the MLP claimed that there was no parallel between the "hypothetical wars Lenin was discussing" and Iraq today, because India was a colony, and besides, Hussein wasn't seeking a confrontation with imperialism. After we pointed out that at the time Morocco was ruled by a sultan, Persia by a military dictator, and China by a warlord—all of them reactionaries every bit as bloody as Saddam Hussein—the MLP now comes back with pages of a thoroughly scholastic attempt to prove that Lenin's 1915 position on China, India, Morocco "and so on" was not a general position on wars between imperialist countries and countries oppressed by imperialism.

They accuse us of quoting out of context in the service of the SL's "view... that since the U.S. is an imperialist power and Iraq is a Near Eastern country, the war is automatically a just war on the part of Iraq." What the MLP derisively calls a "little set of stereotyped dogmas" is in fact the body of political principles of Bolshevism. They can twist and turn as much as they want, but we can cite

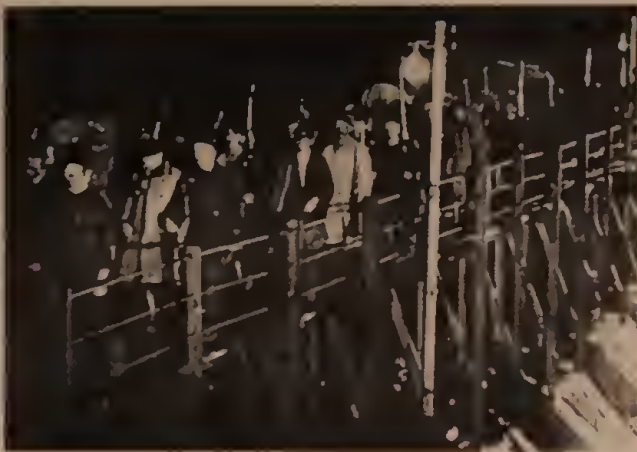


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In August 1917 the Bolsheviks called on workers to block coup against liberal government of Kerensky (left) by right-wing general Kornilov. Armed workers mobilized against Kornilov attack (right).



Viktor Bulla

Determination" [February-May 1914]).

The MLP also implies that Iraq is not an oppressed country. It quotes Lenin's reference to "semi-colonies, as, for example, Persia, Turkey and China," and then concludes: "This meant that their situation was quite different from present-day Iraq." Under Hussein, they say, Iraq seeks "to become a regional bully." Would the MLP like to claim that Turkey was not then acting as a bully toward the subject peoples of the collapsed Ottoman Empire? In his famous "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions" at the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920), Lenin stated:

"The characteristic feature of imperialism is that the whole world...is now divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, which command colossal wealth and powerful armed forces.... The oppressed nations...are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies such as Persia, Turkey and China, or else, having been defeated by the armies of a big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties. This idea of distinction, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through all the theses."

Not relevant to Iraq today, comrades?

Does this mean that the SL "has lost

and semicolonial countries (see page 11).

It was Stalin who used the Menshevik theory of alliance with a "progressive" bourgeoisie in a "two-stage revolution" to subordinate the Chinese Communist Party to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, leading to the beheading of the Chinese workers revolution in 1927. Ever since, the Stalinists have pushed the program of class collaboration with the "anti-imperialist, progressive bourgeoisie," from Indonesia to South Africa to Chile, etc., with similarly disastrous results.

Military Defense vs. Political Support

That the MLP attempts to pass off its capitulationist line as rip-roaring "Marxist-Leninist" politics testifies to the fact that, despite all its "study campaigns," it keeps its members in the dark about some very basic Marxist conceptions. Thus *Workers' Advocate* claims that "in fact the formula of 'military, not political, support' isn't Lenin's. And it isn't Leninist or Marxist or materialist." No doubt most MLPers believe this distinction between military defense and political support is really a "Trotskyist deviation."

Yet Lenin himself insisted on the distinction between military defense and

broader question of the united front. When this tactic was adopted by the Communist International in late 1921, the watchword was "march separately, strike together." In fighting against the common enemy, there must be no mixing of political banners. This was perverted by Stalin into the program of the "popular front" (codified at the Comintern's Seventh Congress in 1935) which, far from preserving the political independence of the proletarian vanguard, instead subordinated it to the bourgeoisie. This is very relevant today, for example to the anti-war protest "movement" which the MLP vows not to "split."

In its polemic against the SL in the *Workers' Advocate Supplement*, the MLP chastises us for being too charitable about its attitude toward the January peace demos (we said it denounced them as reformist), and their point is well taken. Notwithstanding some criticisms of reformist leaders, the MLP insists it "supported the Washington demonstrations" called by the pro-Democratic Party social-pacifists on the basis of liberal slogans. After emphasizing that it "supported" the peace crawls despite their social-patriotic program and leadership, the MLP underlines that it refused to defend Iraq since that would mean "support for Hussein's army." An interesting counterposition, wouldn't you say?

In line with the opportunist view that only those struggles are desirable that are possible, and those that are possible are the ones going on at the given moment, the MLP sneeringly dismisses the SL's call for labor strikes against the war as pie in the sky. "The problem...is that such strikes, even small ones, aren't going to take place at the present time." Not thanks to the MLP, they won't. The MLP's tailism meant that when one of their supporters in the NYC Transport Workers Union was faced with the choice of standing with the bureaucrats when they called on everyone to "support our troops in Saudi Arabia," or sitting down in protest as did supporters of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, he remained standing with the bureaucrats (see "TWU Bureaucrats and Wannabes Stand Up for War," WV No. 521, 1 March).

At the most fundamental level, these "Marxist-Leninists" have no conception of the class line. And the MLP is so insistent on refusing to defend Iraq and denounces those who do, because it senses, rightly, that if it admits that one can militarily defend Iraq without politically supporting Hussein, this would call into question its justifications for refusing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Because we Trotskyists recognize that the Soviet Union, despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution under Stalin and his successors, remains a workers state, we therefore defend it against the forces of internal and external counterrevolution. In contrast, the MLP, like other Maoist-derived "M-Ls," claims that the USSR is "state capitalist" in order not to defend the Soviet peoples against the looming threat of bloody capitalist restoration. It all comes back to the Russian question.

[TO BE CONTINUED]



Nauri Ojeda Photos

Military defense vs. political support: In June 1973, leftist-led Chilean farm workers rallied in Santiago to stop attempted military coup against Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government. SL called for arming the workers, no confidence in popular front.

any number of other quotes from Lenin making the same point. For example:

"A war against imperialist, i.e., oppressing, powers by oppressed (for example, colonial) nations is a genuine national war.... 'Defence of the fatherland' in a war waged by an oppressed nation against a foreign oppressor is not a deception. Socialists are not opposed to 'defence of the fatherland' in such a war."

—"A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism" (October 1916)

The MLP wants to claim that in *Socialism and War*, Lenin was not speaking of a war against imperialism by the bourgeois rulers but rather a "revival of the revolutionary movement." Not so, Lenin stated explicitly: "To the extent that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, to that extent, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, for it, because we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression" ("On the Right of Nations to Self-

sight of the toiling masses and the revolutionary movements," that we engage in Maoist-style "cheerleading" for "Third World" bourgeois governments as the MLP claims? On the contrary, the Trotskyists have always fought against any political alliance with the bourgeoisie, both in imperialist and in backward capitalist countries. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which was confirmed by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, explains that the "national" bourgeoisie in nations of belated capitalist development is tied by a thousand threads to the imperialist order, and is therefore incapable of carrying through the tasks of bourgeois-democratic revolution. These can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat, resting on an alliance with the poor peasants, and extension of the revolution to the imperialist metropolises. Part of this perspective is uncompromising struggle against imperialist attacks on colonial

political support. In August 1917, the Bolsheviks blocked militarily with Kerensky's Provisional Government in Russia against the right-wing revolt led by General Kornilov. Lenin wrote at the time:

"We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky. On the contrary, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is a rather subtle difference, but it is highly essential and must not be forgotten."

—"To the Central Committee of the RSDLP" (30 August 1917)

Lenin castigated as petty-bourgeois moralists those who sought to take "revenge" on the SRs and Mensheviks by refusing to defend them against Kornilov. Far from giving political support to Kerensky, the Bolsheviks' intervention to defeat the Kornilov revolt prepared the overthrow of the tottering bourgeois Provisional Government a few weeks later.

This issue of military defense vs. political support is closely related to the

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 6)

Now Gorbachev's abject capitulation before imperialist military and diplomatic pressure, beginning with the pullout from Afghanistan, has unraveled the post-World War II order. The Afghanistan intervention, although undertaken by Brezhnev for narrow defensive military reasons, opened the possibility to extend the social gains of October to the peoples of hideously backward Afghanistan. We supported the Red Army intervention and condemn the withdrawal as a deadly danger to the Afghan masses, first and foremost to unveiled women, and to the USSR itself.

Far from appeasing imperialism, the withdrawal from Afghanistan signaled to the NATO capitals that the Soviet government had lost its will to fight. Far better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than to have to now fight it within the borders of the Soviet Union! With the Soviet leadership's withdrawal from Afghanistan and acceptance of German reunification, U.S. imperialism invaded the Persian Gulf to assert control over world oil supplies and used the Pentagon's arsenal of megadeath to batter Iraq, a former Moscow client state. This

has further emboldened the imperialists, for whom the USSR remains the main target. The Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union—weakened and betrayed for decades by Stalin and his heirs in the Kremlin—against the forces of capitalist imperialism.

The defense and regeneration of the

Soviet Union must be linked to the perspective of socialist revolution worldwide. Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replace-

ment of the imperialist-dominated world market by an internationally planned socialist economy. A planned economy, implemented on the scale of the world productive forces and under the control of democratic workers soviets, would have spared mankind the wars, Holocaust, misery, hunger and threat of nuclear annihilation of the last half century.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary program of Red October. Stalin was the gravedigger of the Bolshevik Party, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purges of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most militant, class-conscious workers with the most committed Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reformed Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies sweep away the remnants of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy and defeat the forces of capitalist restoration, laying the basis for a socialist future. ■



Spartacist

The red banner of Trotskyism is raised in Palace Square, Leningrad on 7 November 1990, anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Soviet Miners Strike...

(continued from page 4)

a result of the active intervention of the ICL representatives. Particularly since the heroic 1984-85 NUM strike, the capitalists have incessantly howled for Scargill's blood because he refused to bow to them.

Among the cabal of CIA types present at the congress was a delegation from the scab "Union of Democratic Miners" in Britain as well as representatives of the Russian fascist "National Union of Toilers." Spokesmen for the UDM purveyed an internationally orchestrated Big Lie campaign that Scargill had "mishandled" funds donated by the Soviet miners union. Having at the time denounced Scargill and the NUM for accepting "Russian gold," the UDM scabs now called on Soviet miners to demand that Soviet contributions being used to support other miners struggles internationally be handed over to the UDM! Unaware of what the UDM represented, the delegates gave a hearing to the shrill attacks on Scargill.

Our comrades engaged numerous delegates in corridor discussions, explaining the aims of the UDM and how it was a creature of the Thatcher government and the British mine bosses set up to scab on the 1984-85 coal strike with the aim of destroying the real miners union. Articles from the Spartacist press exposing the anti-Scargill witchhunt for what it was were distributed to members of the congress presidium and to a commission set up to investigate the matter further. Many Soviet workers still remember the British miners strike as a heroic struggle by workers in the West who refused to kowtow to Reagan/Thatcher's Cold War crusade against the Soviet Union.

Stalinist Hardliners Appeal to Chauvinism

What allows the Yeltsinites and other pro-imperialist forces to gain influence over sections of the miners and other Soviet workers is the utter bankruptcy of any existing alternative committed to defense of the planned economy. The official Soviet trade-union federation all but pronounced its own obituary last October, as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions voted to dissolve in favor of a looser General Confederation of Trade Unions. The chairman of the confederation, Vladimir Shcherbakov, "described his main task as defending workers' interests in the transition to a

market economy" (*Guardian* [London], 29 October 1990).

One organization which claims to speak on behalf of Soviet workers and is explicitly opposed to the imposition of a market economy is the United Front of Toilers (OFT). The OFT is aligned with anti-Gorbachev Stalinist hardliners in the Communist Party and is allied to the Interfront movements, composed overwhelmingly of Russian, Polish and Ukrainian workers in the Baltic republics who oppose the pro-capitalist secessionist governments.

In its charter, the OFT "sets as its goal the carrying out in practice of Lenin's Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and Exploited People," denounces "'socialist' millionaires" and "speculation and exploitation under the guise of cooperatives," and calls for the "development of soviets of deputies of workers of industrial enterprises as the primary cells of Soviet power." Yet a Novgorod OFT official criticized Stalin, the liquidator of the soviets which issued out of the Bolshevik Revolution, only for not leaving behind "a system flexible enough to be run by lesser people than him!"

The OFT is fond of professing proletarian internationalism—when denouncing the nationalist leaders of the minority republics. But there is not a word in its charter against the most insidious nationalism, Great Russian chauvinism. Instead the charter rails against "soullessness" and "amoralism," calls for struggle against "the dissemination of pornography" and repeatedly insists on defending "the united socialist Motherland." This harkens back to the tsarists' "Russia, one and indivisible."

When Spartacist representatives met with the OFT in Moscow, these Stalinist bureaucrats fumed against "Zionism" as the main danger facing the Soviet working people. Our comrades retorted: what was the OFT doing to combat anti-Semitism and the Great Russian fascists of Pamyat? In response, the OFT officials defended the Pamyat blackshirts as largely well-meaning "Soviet patriots" who sought only to fight corruption in Soviet society. Were they to denounce Pamyat openly, one of them admitted, the OFT would lose a large part of its "patriotic" supporters!

Reforge the Bolshevik Party!

The hardliners' calls for a return to the order and stability which marked the pre-Gorbachev period strike a chord among many Soviet workers. One older miner in Karaganda, complaining that he cannot afford to retire, exclaimed: "Look, 10 years ago at least there was something to buy.... I remember World War II and life

even then was better than it is now." But there can be no return to the Stalin and Brezhnev days—Gorbachev's perestroika is the culmination of more than six decades of Stalinist misrule.

Nor can Soviet workers defend even their sectional interests through purely economic demands. Prime Minister Pavlov may well have been speaking truthfully when he said: "I would like to raise everyone's pay tomorrow as high as the miners wish. There's only one question: Where will we get the money?"

Where indeed? The Soviet economy is grinding to a halt. Demagogues like Yeltsin claim that if each region and republic is allowed to go its own way, there will be a pot of imperialist gold at the end of the rainbow. One look at Poland or the former DDR should dispel that illusion. But with the collapse of the centralized economy, there has been increasing sentiment for regional and enterprise autonomy as a measure of self-defense.

This is a dead end. Fully half of all Soviet mines operate at a loss. If they are subjected to enterprise or regional self-management, the workers will simply be thrown on the slag heap. Indeed, one reason for the relative quiescence of Donbass miners in the current strikes is that all the mines there were put under the administration of the Ukrainian re-

publican government in January—and it has no money. When, two years ago, the Kuzbass miners demanded "independence" from the bloated coal industry bureaucracy in Moscow, we warned:

"This will only benefit the strongest, most profitable enterprises, producing harmful disparities—including unemployment—even among the Kuzbass miners. What is urgently needed in the interests of all the Soviet working class is central planning based on soviet democracy."

—WV No. 482, 21 July 1989

Particularly in the present conditions of economic chaos, the disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucracy and looming civil war, workers unions cannot limit themselves to defending the wages and conditions of their members. If these unions do not fight to defend and regenerate the collectivized economy, they will inexorably fall into the hands of pro-imperialist elements.

The only road out of the catastrophe facing the Soviet proletariat today is the struggle for genuine workers soviets, democratically elected, centered on the workplace and subject to immediate recall. To regain political power, the deeply interpenetrated multinational Soviet working class must fight for an internationalist program and be led by an internationalist Bolshevik party. That was the key to victory in October 1917, and it is the key to victory today. ■

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Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

as a one-sided, ruthless massacre. London *Guardian* columnist Martin Woollacott observed: "The essence of the war was that a military machine that had been built to confront the Soviet Union in Central Europe was relocated in Saudi Arabia to deal with an enemy that had not a twentieth of Soviet capacity or offensive power." Indeed this one-sided slaughter would have been inconceivable even a couple of years ago, when Iraq was Moscow's client and Washington still had to take Soviet military might into account.

The whole war was a display of the capacity of the U.S. to kill. For all the hype about "precision bombing," insofar as one can tell from the lying coverage in the Pentagon-controlled press, it was overwhelmingly the same old Vietnam-style terror bombing by B-52s dropping their multi-ton bomb loads at high altitude (and missing most targets). "Smart bombs" worked, but Apache helicopters ran out of gas, laser range finders were screwed up by sandstorms, and a big chunk of the reported "Allied" casualties came from "friendly fire." But that made little difference, as Hussein ordered his troops to withdraw from Kuwait after the second day of the ground offensive. Only a handful of the thousands of Iraqi military casualties were sustained in combat; most were apparently shot in the back.

New York Times (2 March) correspondent R.W. Apple described the "scene of terrifying destruction" along the road from Kuwait City to Basra: "Burned-out, bombed-out vehicles of every description littered the highway, with charred Iraqi bodies everywhere." As retreating Iraqi units were bottled up by U.S. forces, "F-15, F-16 and F-111 fighter-bombers, unsloved by anti-aircraft fire, swept overhead again and again." Like the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki after Japan was prepared to surrender, the grisly massacre along the "highway of death" was coldbloodedly aimed at showing the world the full extent of American bloodthirstiness against any who dare to challenge U.S. imperialism.

As part of its "New World Order," the U.S. is intent on establishing a "regional security pact" in the Near East similar to the short-lived Baghdad Pact (CENTO) after World War II. But while America's new-found Arab allies are more than willing, Zionist Israel refuses even to pay lip service to Washington's appeals to trade "land for peace" in order to mollify the Arabs, confident that the endless flow of foreign aid dollars will continue no matter what. The entry of the Moledeet party, committed to the expulsion of all Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, into the Israeli cabinet is a signal of the government's determination to carry through a genocidal "final solution."

As anti-government fighting broke out in Iraq, Washington began to talk like Saddam Hussein was once again a semi-client of the U.S. This was the import of American warnings to Baghdad not to use poison gas against the rebels. In Riyadh, American military briefers praised Iraqi treatment of POWs. One American official was quoted as saying, "it's far easier to deal with a tame Saddam than with an unknown quantity" (*New York Times*, 10 March). The prospect of an Iraqi Shi'ite regime linked to Iran was particularly unsettling. And were the Kurds in Iraq able to finally carve out an independent state, it would be a nightmare for NATO Turkey, where more than ten million Kurds chafe under an oppressive dictatorship.

The imperialist invasion created turmoil throughout North Africa, conjuring up images of a new wave of Western crusaders intent on gang-raping the Arab peoples. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 March) writes, "The gruesome pictures of the slaughter of Iraqi troops retreating from Kuwait and the allied onslaught in the closing hours of the war are likely to exacerbate anger among radical and anti-

Western Arabs." Washington planners are particularly worried that Egypt, with its sizable proletariat, could blow.

And the behavior of the oil-bloated rulers of Kuwait since the war ended will only inflame the impoverished Arab masses. Over the years Kuwaitis have amassed personal fortunes ranging into the high billions while imported laborers—mainly Palestinians, but also other Arabs as well as Bangladeshis and Filipinos—did all the work. The returning slavemasters are now haughtily taking out their wrath against their defenseless slaves. As soon as Kuwait was "liberat-

coalitions to whatever would be acceptable to a hoped-for defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie. In the name of "unity," they either rejected or buried the call for defeat of U.S. imperialism. From the Communist Party to the International Socialist Organization, they pleaded "No Blood for Oil!" "Out Now!" said Socialist Action. "Stop the War Now 'By Any Means Necessary,'" echoed Workers World, trying to sound militant like Malcolm X. And those—like the Revolutionary Workers League and British Workers Power—who nominally called for defense of Iraq were more than willing to

So this time around the U.S. won, and the imperialist "doves" were revealed to be imperialist chickens. When the imperialist bullies went in and carried out their slaughter, the liberals joined in the cheering, and their "socialist" cheerleaders were left empty-handed. Now Bush has "stopped" the war, by his means. U.S. troops, most of them, will soon be "home." Precious little American blood has been shed for oil. The social-patriotic "peace" movement got what they called for, and the result was a bloody disaster that spells more wars, because U.S. imperialism was not defeated.

We of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, took a clear, principled stand, for defeat of U.S. imperialism and defense of Iraq. We have the right to voice our outrage over the tens of thousands of Iraqis who lie dead under the rubble of Basra and Baghdad or in the desert slaughter fields. As for the so-called "antiwar left" patriots, we hope you gag on your goddamn yellow ribbons!

Bush said the Gulf War was not a "war to end all wars." Indeed, it represented the opening shots of the next world war, marking the intensification of interimperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism sought to demonstrate in the Gulf War that it has the capacity and the stomach to brutally police the world. But Japan and Germany—who were Washington's indirect targets in this war—are far more economically viable than America, whose industry has been turned into a giant rust bowl. The United States is the world's biggest debtor nation, and despite rosy economic forecasts the recession is deepening.

The U.S. also has the accumulated social tinder which can blow up this rapacious imperialist system from within. Among the doubly oppressed black population it is widely understood that "our war is at home"—against racism, unemployment, homelessness and all the other social evils of this truly evil empire.

Bush may be high on his transient 89 percent poll ratings, but the class struggle is the decisive motor force of history. To take but one recent example: following her successful Falklands/Malvinas adventure in 1982, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's popularity rose as high as Bush's is now, while returning British troops threatened striking railway workers: "Call off the rail strike, or we'll call an air strike." But a year later, Britain was hit by the most explosive and deep-going class struggle it has seen this century, as the yearlong miners strike galvanized wide layers of British society, especially minorities and other working people, against the Thatcher government.

Sharp struggles lie ahead. Key to victory in the coming class battles against the American ruling class, and indeed in determining the fate of all humanity, is the timely forging of an internationalist party of socialist revolution. ■



Spartacists at Wall Street student demo on anniversary of assassination of Malcolm X, February 21, protesting Gulf War and cutbacks in education.

ed," a bloodbath was launched against the resident Palestinian population and all others deemed "collaborators."

While the Western media trumpeted reams of manufactured "Iraqi atrocities" against Kuwaitis—such as Bush's favorite tale of yanking newborn babes out of incubators, which turned out to be a flat lie—the Kuwaitis have been carrying out gruesome torture and systematic assassination of Iraqis and Palestinians who fall into their hands. Kuwait City's predominantly Palestinian Hawali district was surrounded and ransacked by self-styled "resistance fighters" who rounded up hundreds and indiscriminately shot scores, while U.S. officers kept Western journalists away.

It has been the hapless fate of the Palestinian people, who serviced the technical and social infrastructure of the Gulf states and many other Arab regimes, to be the first victims of every conflagration in the Near East. Driven from their homes by Zionist mass terror in 1947-48, they now face persecution and terror in every corner of their diaspora. Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, devoid of any perspective other than pressuring (begging) the Arab bourgeoisies and the imperialists, latches onto one after another despot as hoped-for "savior" of the Palestinian people, from Egypt's Nasser to Saddam Hussein.

National justice for the Palestinians, Kurds and myriad other oppressed minorities requires that the working class throughout the Near East determine the fate of the region, instead of being subordinated to various national/religious movements which only lead to endless cycles of fratricide and perpetuate the power of imperialism. The key is forging a revolutionary internationalist leadership which can unite the toilers of the region in common struggle to assure the national rights of all the peoples of the region. For a federation of workers republics in the Near East!

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Hoping to cash in on a replay of the Vietnam antiwar movement, various reformists tailored their numerous "antiwar"

bargain it away for a seat on one or another coalition steering committee.

Socialist Action, schooled in the Vietnam antiwar popular front, spoke for the lot of them when it claimed: "The criminal war on the Arab people can be brought to a halt, just as the assault on the Vietnamese people was halted—by millions marching in the streets of America." What stopped U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Indochina was not "peaceful, legal" peace crawls but a Vietnamese victory on the battlefield, as even liberal journalist Murray Kempton noted: "Vietnam inspired peace marchers, including myself, in hundreds of thousands from 1965 to 1973; and the war still went on to be lost not to the home front but to General Giap" (*Newsday*, 3 February). The Vietnamese people were spurred on to victory because they were fighting for a social revolution, while the Iraqi people had nothing more inspiring to look to than the despot Hussein, who was more adept at waging war against his own people than against the imperialists.

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Sadistic Beating by Racist Cops

"New World Order" LAPD-Style

LOS ANGELES—The scene of a gang of sadistic cops, wielding their nightsticks like baseball bats, ferociously clubbing, stomping and kicking a defenseless black man who lay at their feet, has shocked the country with a chilling example of what Bush's "New World Order" means for minorities at home. As footage of the beating was played on nationwide TV, millions watched in horror at the racist torture of Rodney King. In the two minutes of the beating that was videotaped by an amateur cameraman, the 25-year-old Altadena man received 53 to 56 vicious blows from hilly clubs and seven kicks. King also got at least two jolts from a 50,000-volt Taser stun gun.

You couldn't miss the connection to Bush's "New Order." Just before its coverage of the L.A. atrocity, ABC News (5 March) showed the U.S. president grandstanding for his "crime bill" before a cop convention. "The kind of moral force and national will that freed Kuwait City from whose can free America's cities from crime," Bush vowed. But the kind of kill-crazy sadism and thug mentality that uses non-white people for target practice with high-tech weaponry is nothing new for the LAPD. This paramilitary force acts as a law unto itself with its "Blue Thunder" helicopters and the search-and-destroy "anti-gang" sweeps of Operation Hammer that target the ghettos and barrios.

On Sunday, March 3, around 1 a.m., George Holliday was in his Lake View Terrace apartment when he was awakened by the whir of the police chopper and saw about ten squad cars pull over a white Hyundai. When Holliday began videotaping the incident from his balcony, the beating had already begun. King is seen on his knees, desperately trying to cover his head, then rolling

man at Dodger Stadium, King was targeted by the California Highway Patrol on the Foothill Freeway—CHP radioed the LAPD when he started down the off-ramp and they were waiting when he came to a stop. An eyewitness told the *Los Angeles Times*, "He looked up at the helicopter lights and began to laugh." Then King stepped out and put his hands on the roof of his car.

"He never moved his hands," said Josie Morales, a resident of the apartment complex and Water Department worker. She said a voice yelled out, then she saw King lie down and ten cops surrounded him. King later explained, "I was scared for my life. So I laid down real calmly and took it like a man." He was cut up so bad he needed antibiotics and 20 stitches, five inside his mouth, where he lost several teeth. Dr. Edmund Chien stated that King could have easily died from his injuries, the most serious of which are a fractured right eye socket, brain damage and a broken ankle.

The videotaped beating sparked outrage across the country. When he saw it on TV, an antique dealer in Rhode Island said, "It was the most disgusting thing I ever saw. When I saw those pictures I kept thinking that the only thing those police were lacking were the white robes." In Los Angeles, some 300 people turned out for a March 9 protest organized by the NAACP and Urban League outside the Police Department's downtown headquarters. One woman's sign read, "The Enemy Is Not in Kuwait—The Enemy Is Here! LAPD/KKK!" Demonstrators from the Spartacist League carried signs saying, "Bush and the Democrats: Terror Bombing in Baghdad, Cop Terror in L.A." and "New World Order—War on Blacks and Labor."

The night before in the Westwood area near UCLA, up to 1,500 black youth, most of whom had been turned away from an over-sold performance of the movie *New Jack City*, used the occasion to express their bitterness and outrage at the LAPD by taking over the streets for close to three hours, stomping on American flags in spite of the presence of at least 100 riot cops. "Some youths shouted 'Black power!' and 'Fight the power!' as they roamed the streets and made angry references to the videotaped beating," reported the *Los Angeles Times* (10 March).

The LAPD is a notorious violence cult with state power, from ex-cop mayor Tom Bradley to police chief Daryl Gates who stated that blacks die from the police choke hold more often than whites because "the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do in normal people." Now with the heat on, Gates claims the King incident was an "aberration," and he may even sacrifice a few cops to civil prosecution. But anyone familiar with the Los Angeles police knows that this is their standard *modus operandi*.

Racist terror by Los Angeles area cops is so rampant that videotape documentation of the cops' brutality is itself becoming S.O.P. In 1989, black ex-cop Don Jackson was filmed driving an old car down Pacific Coast Highway in Long Beach when he was stopped for no apparent reason. The two cops who slammed him against the hood and then shoved his head through a plate-glass window are due to go on trial this week. That same year 80 cops raided a bridal shower of a Samoan family in Cerritos. The hosts who were videotaping the party ended up with footage of the indiscriminate clubbing of their friends and relatives.

There are many more incidents that never made it on videotape, like ex-Cincinnati Reds baseball star Joe Morgan being beaten up at L.A. airport for being a "suspected drug-runner" (read: well-dressed black man), and this past December ex-Laker Jamal Wilkes being pulled over and handcuffed for a registration that was "about to expire." In another 1989 case, scores of cops



George Holliday Video
Video by amateur photographer showed vicious L.A. cops repeatedly beating and kicking defenseless black man.



WW Photo
Spartacist League at March 9 Los Angeles demo protesting racist cop beating of Rodney King.

around on the ground as the cops methodically club him on his legs, on his back, on his kidneys, as they kick him in the head, the throat, the groin. At least 15 cops, all of them white, stand around watching, jostling each other to step into the inner circle and deliver a blow. According to a witness, they "were all laughing and chuckling, like they just had a party."

"Before they started hitting him, he was pretty much cooperative," said Holliday. "It was a weird feeling. I was trying to think what could he have done to deserve that?" Rodney King's "crime" was speeding, for which the charges were eventually dropped. A laid-off construction worker and former maintenance

ransacked two well-kept apartment buildings on Dalton Avenue in a black neighborhood, using sledgehammers, heaving furniture out the window, dragging residents out naked and making the place unlivable. Scrawled on the walls was the warning, "LAPD rules."

The terror of the LAPD is felt in communities throughout the city. Remember the score of striking janitors, largely Central Americans, who were viciously clubbed by waves of riot cops during a peaceful labor demonstration in June 1990. Now, autopsy reports show two Samoan brothers killed by Compton cops on February 12 were shot 20 times, many of those in the back!

Across the country in America's big cities, the cops cut a swath of racist terror, as they seek to intimidate, jail, and ultimately eliminate whole sections of the oppressed black and Hispanic populations, who are unwanted as anything but cannon fodder for the wars against other non-white peoples waged by this racist capitalist system. New York *Newsday* has begun a series of articles, "When Cops Kill," noting that NYPD killings (overwhelmingly of blacks and Hispanics) are at "the highest level since the mid-1970s—most cases...have not resulted in an indictment."

The scourge of racist cop violence cannot be solved by the resignation of particularly vicious representatives like Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates, or impotent schemes for civilian review boards. The police are a clear and present danger to the general population, and oppressed minorities most of all. The situation cries out for a thousands-strong mass mobilization of trade unions, with their combative black and Hispanic components, at the head of the ghetto and barrio masses in a show of social power to beat back the racist attacks. And it will take a workers revolution to permanently remove the racist hired thugs of the capitalist class from the streets that they terrorize today. ■