

Liberals Beat War Drums Over Bosnia

U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!



Self-proclaimed leader of "world's only superpower" threatens terror-bombing of Bosnian Serbs. Right: U.S. unleashed death and destruction on Vietnam. AP



MAY 4—After leaking over the weekend that they had decided "in principle" to conduct air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, today Clinton administration officials let it be known that they were preparing to dispatch 20,000 to 25,000 U.S. troops into the former Yugo-

slavia within a matter of weeks. Emboldened by its success in incinerating a religious commune outside Waco, Texas, Washington is now preparing to enforce its writ with guns and bombs in the Balkans. The commander in chief of U.S. imperialism wants to show the rest of

the world who's boss. "We are, after all, the world's only superpower. We do have to lead the world," Clinton remarked at a recent press conference.

While Washington is talking of only 20,000 American soldiers initially, this is scheduled to expand to 34,000 out

of a 50,000-man NATO "peacekeeping force." A few days ago, Serbian nationalist leader Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leaders bowed to imperialist sanctions and formally agreed to the "UN"-brokered deal dividing Bosnia

continued on page 8

Russian Referendum: The Morning After

Yeltsin's Bloody May Day

Less than a week after his victory in an April 25 vote of confidence put the wind in Russian president Boris Yeltsin's sails, Moscow militia (police) and special OMON anti-riot troops provoked a bloody clash with several thousand anti-Yeltsin protesters in Moscow on May

Day. Earlier in the week, Yeltsin had decreed that the traditional rally site at Red Square be sealed off to all street protests. But police trucks and horse-mounted cops, wielding batons and water cannon, moved to block demonstrators when they tried to march to another site in the university area near the Lenin Hills. The anti-Yeltsin demonstrators responded with a hail of rocks and masonry.

Some 70 protesters and a larger *continued on page 9*



Campaigning for vote of confidence, would-be Tsar Boris takes aim at his opponents. Above: touring a weapons plant where AK-47s are made.





Prometheus Research Library Fund Appeal

The following appeal was issued by the Prometheus Research Library on May 3.

The Prometheus Research Library has embarked on a major fund drive in order to preserve and secure the premises we currently occupy. We are appealing to you to help maintain our library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League/U.S., American section of the International Communist League (Fourth

Internationalist). The PRL is also a working research facility for a wide range of Marxist studies, open to any qualified scholar needing our special collection.

This fund drive is urgent. Our present occupancy is at risk, confronting us with the immediate necessity of a substantial outlay to protect and secure these premises, as well as major additional upgrading costs over the next few years. This will cost tens of thousands

of dollars over the next few months and more tens of thousands over the next few years.

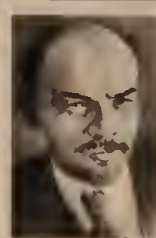
The purpose of the Prometheus Research Library is to collect, preserve and make available the indispensable historical record of the international workers movement. Our library's unique collection—centered on but not limited to the work and interests of the American Communist and Trotskyist movement—has been the basis for an active publishing program. Last year we published our first book, *James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism, Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928*. This 624-page volume, fully indexed and footnoted, has been favorably reviewed in a number of publications, including the Canadian academic journal *Left History*.



TROTSKY

Trotsky on Revolution in Europe

Washington's designs to be unchallenged cops of the world following the destruction of the Soviet Union have heightened rivalry not only among the major imperialist power blocs—the U.S., Japan and a German-dominated Europe—but within Europe itself. The postwar period has now given way to sharpened interimperialist conflict, as well as the prospect of sharpening class struggle. Writing in 1928, on the eve of



LENIN

the unparalleled capitalist economic crisis which paved the way to the second imperialist world war, Leon Trotsky addressed the relationship between the U.S. and European imperialist powers and the struggle for a Socialist United States of Europe.

We must clearly understand that if the first period of American intervention had the effect of stabilization and pacification on Europe, which to a considerable extent still remains in force today, and may even recur episodically and become stronger (particularly in the event of new defeats of the proletariat), the general line of American policy, particularly in time of its own economic difficulties and crisis, will engender the deepest convulsions in Europe as well as over the entire world.

From this we draw the not unimportant conclusion that there will be no more lack of revolutionary situations in the next decade than in the past decade. That is why it is of utmost importance to understand correctly the mainsprings of development so that we may not be caught unawares by their action. If in the past decade the main source of revolutionary situations lay in the direct consequences of the imperialist war, in the second post-war decade the most important source of revolutionary upheavals will be the interrelations of Europe and America. A major crisis in the United States will strike the tocsin for new wars and revolutions. We repeat: there will be no lack of revolutionary situations. The entire question hinges upon the international party of the proletariat, the maturity and fighting ability of the Comintern, and the correctness of its strategical position and tactical methods....

The slogan of the Soviet United States corresponds to the dynamics of the proletarian revolution, which does not break out simultaneously in all countries, but which passes from country to country and requires the closest bond between them, especially on the European arena, both with a view to defense against the most powerful external enemies, and with a view to economic construction....

Every new aggravation of the European and indeed of the world crisis is sufficiently sharp to bring to the fore the main political problems and to invest the slogan of the United States of Europe with attractive power.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

range of topics, are being closed and the books simply thrown away. Yeltsin's regime is engaged in wholesale destruction of volumes of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Our library is not simply a repository for such material, but is actively engaged in work with archives around the world. For example we are in touch with the Berlin Institute for the History of the Workers Movement, whose own premises were raided last year by the vindictive reunified German state. We also collaborated actively in providing sources for Wolfgang Lubitz' 500-page *Trotskyist Serials Bibliography, 1927-1991* (Saur, 1993).

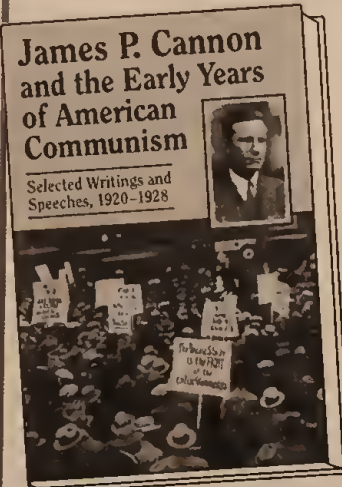
The Prometheus Research Library's collection now includes over 4,500 books and bound volumes of periodicals, as well as 100 reels of microfilm and 150 linear feet of archival documents and bulletins. Our holdings include substantial materials on the organizations inspired and led by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. We hold most of the protocols of the Executive Committee meetings and World Congresses of the Communist International, as well as extensive internal discussion materials and unique runs of leading committee minutes from the 1920s American Communist Party and the early Trotskyist movement. We also have a general collection of books on related topics, including history, science and other sometimes tangential subjects.

The present premises of the PRL have been built up over a 14-year period into a working archival facility which allows for the temperature and humidity control necessary to preserve old papers and books, as well as providing the work space and technology to accommodate researchers. If we are unable to meet the present challenge to our library facility, the large sums of money and the countless hours of painstaking labor already expended over the years to construct and upgrade this crucial resource of the socialist movement will be largely wasted and the work of the PRL will simply come to a halt for a period of time.

Please help us to preserve and upgrade our premises and maintain our unique collection. Send checks, payable in U.S. dollars, to "PRL Special" to: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

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No. 575 7 May 1993

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



MOVE and Waco: Deadly Déjà Vu

After 51 days of remarkable religious resistance, the U.S. government eliminated over 80 members of the Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Texas.

The sect, an offshoot of the 7th Day Adventists, had been held up at their Mt. Carmel headquarters after an armed and botched Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) raid, which left 4 government agents and an undetermined number of Davidians dead from a brief but fierce firefight. Throughout the 51-day standoff, the government sought daily to demonize the Branch Davidian leader David Koresh as a pedophile, a false prophet and a psychopath.

The U.S. government, its agents' egos aburst after 51 days with no "progress" (i.e., surrender), pursued a dangerous campaign of destruction of the front of the buildings for "CS/tear gas insertion," and after the thorough distribution of the airborne irritant, apparently touched off a firestorm which consumed over 80 men, women and babies at the scene.

Even before the fire had finished burning, the White House issued a statement determining suicide as the cause of death of the 80 people—before a moment's investigation!

There's an old Chinese saying: "No investigation—no right to speak!"

Under such an adage, the White House should've been silent—at least until a full, fair, impartial investigation was conducted.

The only source suggesting B.D. people killed themselves was the FBI itself, hardly an impartial source. The firestorm in Waco, Texas, which snuffed out an estimated 86 lives shares eerily reminiscent precedents with the police bombing of MOVE people on May 13th, 1985, in Philadelphia, PA.

Both scenes of carnage were preceded by government/media demonization campaigns that portrayed the people under government siege as insane for daring to resist the state.

By contrast, the government (i.e., the police) is always seen as reasonable.

In Philadelphia, where the contrasts were even sharper due to race, class and politics, the intentional mass murder of MOVE men, women and children was justified by the government. MOVE, they reasoned, were "terrorists"—bad niggers.

The Koreshians were "fanatics" who were sus-

pected of child physical and sexual abuse—thus psychologically expendable. Only after such social equations are made can the state drop bombs (as they did in MOVE) or punch holes in people's homes (as in Waco) and be reported in the media as "reasonable."

Predictably, in both instances, in the hours following the government assaults (or minutes) the government justifies the results as "suicide," thereby taking itself off the hook.

The initial ATF assault on Mt. Carmel, purportedly for a minor weapons violation, leading up to an infernal clash of egos that launched tanks and tons of gas into the Koreshian home, was an act of colossal government arrogance and impatience.

The flames and carnage of both Philadelphia and Waco merge at the strike ignited by a government that perceives itself more as a master than a servant of the people.

19 April 1993

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal 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 Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Waco Massacre: Texas Lawyer Fights Cover-Up

The following telephone interview with Dick DeGuerin, a Houston lawyer who represented David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidians, was conducted on May 2.

WV: You said that you thought you had an agreement to wait this out. What changed?

DeGuerin: I think the only explanation is that they were frustrated and felt that they needed to make it happen. They felt embarrassed that the FBI had been unable to get any success in 51 days.

I'm receiving information about this CS gas that was used that indicates it was not safe at all. The children didn't have gas masks. It would have been a terrible thing to subject them to, which flies in the face of their claims that they were worried about the children being

Interview with Dick DeGuerin

abused. I mean, that's like this old Vietnam attitude that we have to destroy the village in order to save it.

WV: What can you tell us about what was happening inside and how the fire started?

DeGuerin: What the survivors say is that the people inside were moving away from the gas as much as possible, and moving away from the tanks that were crushing in the walls. There was propane, space heaters. There were dozens of gallons in single, one-gallon cans, of lantern fuel, which when heated has the same properties as gasoline, because they used Coleman lanterns for lighting.

WV: The papers mentioned a stairway collapsing, which trapped the people upstairs.

DeGuerin: Right. That was the main staircase that was used for the women and children upstairs. That stairway collapsed early on. Every time the tanks hit the building, the whole building would shake. In fact the hallways, both in the first and second floors, went the length of the building, and would have acted as almost a wind tunnel, a horizontal flue is what fire experts I've talked to called it. That's where the women and children were trapped.

WV: Now, about the allegations of child

abuse. It looks like this might be shaping up as the mother of all child abuse trials.

DeGuerin: Well, they're going to fail at that, because the previous allegations of child abuse have been thoroughly investigated by Child Protective Services. They found no evidence of child abuse. On one occasion, some former member of the community had said that there was going to be a mass suicide last Passover, in 1992. This Child Protection Services worker called David, told him of the report. He said it was ridiculous, and she could come out any time she wanted to, and she did. He also said he would bring the children in and have her see the children, and that suicide was abhorrent to them, it was contrary to their beliefs. And she satisfied herself as to that. So this excuse that the FBI went in because of child abuse just doesn't hold water.

WV: We've seen how the media have picked up the government's enormous lies.

DeGuerin: The media, for the most part, were simply going to the daily press briefings held by the ATF and FBI and reporting as fact everything that they were told. There were a few reporters that did try to dig and get stories, and every time they did, they'd find that what they were learning was contrary to what the ATF and FBI were saying.

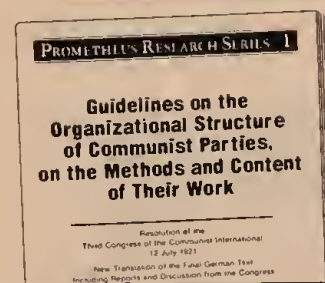
Why did the ATF start all this? It was a terribly planned and terribly executed raid. It was all out of proportion to the crime that was suspected. And it was probably done for the most venal of reasons, and that is, to have something to point to when [BATF chief] Higgins testified before the Congressional appropriations committee, so he can justify having this secret paramilitary force.

I think it also raises a vastly more important question, of whether as a country we're willing to see our police force militarized. To see the militarization of civilian police, that's a terrible thing to happen in a country. In the first place, it's contrary to our Constitution, but secondly, you have terrible human rights and civil rights abuses.

WV: Well, we certainly want to do what we can to see to it that the memory of this crime is seared into the collective memory.

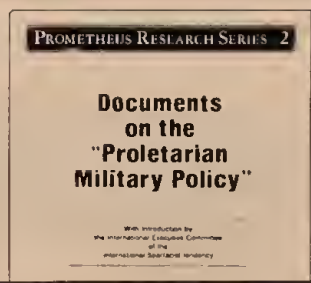
DeGuerin: Good. I applaud you in doing that. ■

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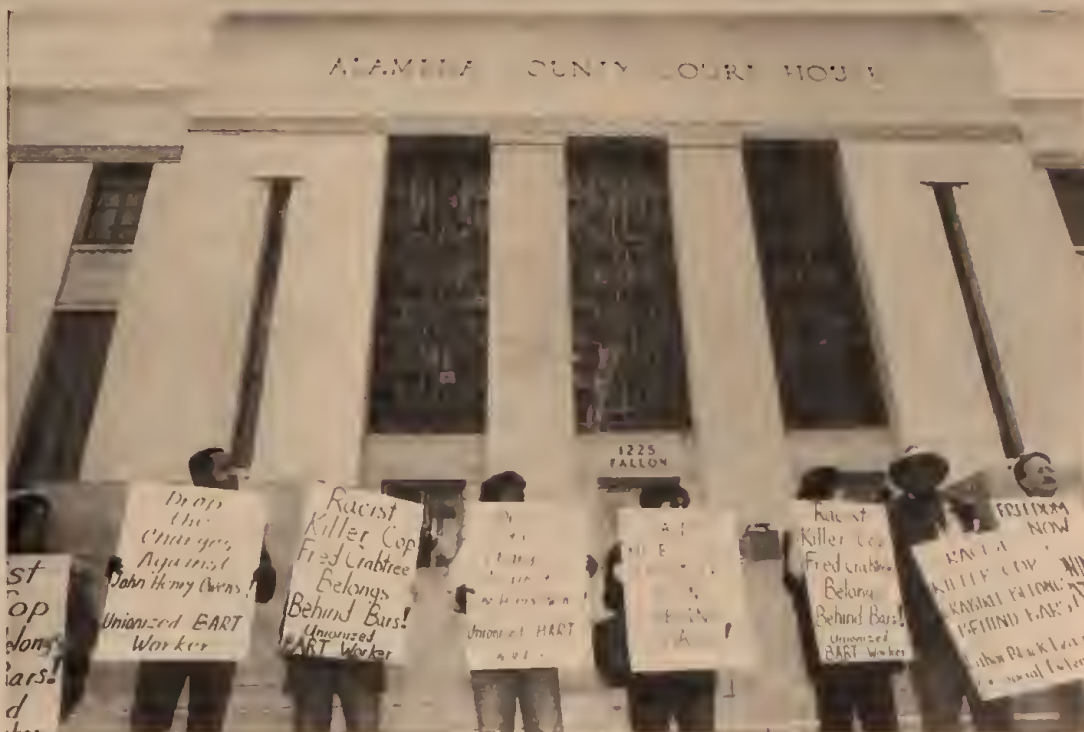
BART Bosses, Labor Fakers Cover for Killer Cop

We reprint below a letter from the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense to the *Oakland Tribune*. It was written in response to a scurrilous letter to the editor of the *Tribune* titled "They Don't Represent Us," signed collectively by presidents of two Bay Area Rapid Transit unions, the BART cops and the management association. The union bureaucrats, in collusion with the cops and management, alibi the wanton killing last November of unarmed black youth Jerrold Hall by a BART cop. Moreover, alleging that some of those shown protesting against the killer cop "claim to be members of BART unions," they cynically try to discredit the scores of union members who fought for union action over this racist killing. The *Tribune* has so far not printed the LBL's letter.

The demonstration initiated by the LBL which so upset the bosses, cops and labor tops took place in front of the Alameda County courthouse on March 16. The protesters demanded that charges be dropped against John Henry Owens, who was with Jerrold Hall when he was killed, and pointed out that BART cop Fred Crabtree belonged in jail for this wanton killing. Not only was the killing whitewashed, but it was reported that cop Crabtree was moved to an undercover unit, which, if anything, makes him even more dangerous.

The police killing of Jerrold Hall is so shameful that even the *New York Times*, the authoritative organ of the American ruling class, was sufficiently concerned to prominently publish on its 24 April op-ed page a powerful article by the victim's brother, Jeff Hall, denouncing the killing. Jeff Hall noted that "Under questioning by our lawyer, Mr. Crabtree admitted he knew he violated the law when he fired the warning shot but he had 'to get control of the situation.' When he fired the second shot, he intended to kill my brother, he said."

The initiative by BART workers to mobilize the power of their multiracial unions points the way to struggle against racist cop terror. The bureaucrats who opposed this effort are shackling the unions to their enemies—the bosses, the cops and the Democratic Party. Many BART workers remember when these same company cops beat strikers during the 1979 lockout/strike when unionists occupied the Concord maintenance yard. Later BART cops ran an undercover sting operation framing up and firing scores of workers on drug charges. Outrageously, the BART cops are affiliated to the Service Employees International Union, which also represents BART maintenance workers. The cops are the hired thugs of the bosses and have no



Oakland, March 16: BART union members at demonstration against racist killing of Jerrold Hall by BART cop.

place in the labor movement!

John Henry Owens returns to court for trial on June 14. For more information about the Labor Black League and its activities, write to the Labor Black League for Social Defense, P.O. Box 751, Oakland, CA 94604, or call (510) 839-0851.

* * *

12 April 1993

Oakland Tribune
Oakland, CA

Editor:

A letter published on April 9 jointly signed by Jayne Faria, President ATU Local 1555, Milt Waalkens, President UPE Local 790, and the presidents of the BART Supervisory and BART Police Officers associations dishonestly implies that they had no knowledge of the demonstration at the Alameda County courthouse on March 16 in defense of John Henry Owens and against Fred Crabtree, the BART cop that killed Owens' friend Jerrold Hall last November, and disowns those members of their unions that took part in this demonstration. In addition their letter takes the position of BART management and police that Crabtree killed Jerrold Hall "in the line of duty."

In fact, according to BART workers present that day, motions were brought up at the membership meetings of both union locals on March 10 calling for the unions to mobilize at the courthouse on March 16 to demand that BART cop Fred Crabtree "be brought to a jury trial for the racist killing of Jerrold Hall" and that "all charges against John Henry Owens be dropped." They said over 100 members from both locals co-signed the motion prior to the union meetings. Family members of both Owens and Hall spoke at one of the meetings in support of a union demonstration behind these demands. However in each union these same local presidents opposed the motion and after heated debate and some counter-mobilizing it was defeated, in one meeting narrowly. Lacking official union support the demonstration proceeded under

the auspices of the Labor Black League for Social Defense. Among the 60 demonstrators at the courthouse were at least 10 members of Locals 1555 and 790 who participated as individuals, identifying themselves on their signs as "Unionized BART Workers."

The thoroughly misleading and inaccurate character of this letter of April 9 indicates that these particular union officers, along with BART cops and management, obviously place other considerations higher than the fact that a white BART cop killed an unarmed 19-year-old black youth with a shotgun blast to the back of his head. These are not qualities that an integrated union membership needs in its leadership.

Sincerely,
Hursey Bush
for the Labor Black League
for Social Defense

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The New York Times
24 April 1993

New York Times published article by Jeff Hall, bringing nationwide attention to racist murder of his brother Jerrold.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

RWL at Washington Gay Rights March

The Lavender, Red, White and Blue

"Hail to the Chief" was the theme of the Lesbian, Gay and Bi March on Washington as contingents of veterans with a color guard of American flags and eagle-topped flagstuffs paraded for Clinton to hold to his electoral promise to end the ban on gays in the military. As Marxists we fight the oppression of gays in all spheres of life and support striking down the ban on gays in the military as an elementary democratic demand. But in contrast to this orgy of lavender, red, white and blue patriotism in Washington, we are opposed to the imperialist war machine, which Clinton is gearing up for intervention in the former Yugoslavia. As the banners at the Spartacist literature tables in Washington said, "End the Ban on Gays—Down with Racist U.S. Imperialism! Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!"

Gays in full-dress uniform marched down the mall in Washington as the smoke had barely cleared from the killing fields of Texas, where 86 men, women and children were incinerated at the Branch Davidian compound near Waco for the "crime" of being different. To sear the horrendous Waco massacre into the consciousness of all fighters for social justice, the Spartacist League raised a banner at the Washington demonstration which read, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!"

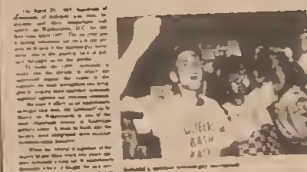
The Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) mobilized heavily for the march on Washington through its affiliate known as NWROC (National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition), calling to build a "militant integrated contingent." On April 3, the Spartacist League responded with a letter proposing a joint contingent, stating, "we think it important to bring together the forces of all those who seek to break illusions in Clinton and the Democratic Party, and to put forward a class-struggle, anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist intervention. To this end, we propose a joint contingent of NWROC, the Revolutionary Workers League and the Spartacist League in which each organization marches under its own banners and slogans."

We received no formal reply to this proposal. Instead the answer came in the form of the physical exclusion of our supporters from a public NWROC meeting on the eve of the demonstration. At the march itself, NWROC and RWL

Contingent of gay soldiers in Washington demo, April 25. Next stop Bosnia, as part of "Balkan Storm" U.S. invasion force? RWL's *Fighting Worker* (March 1993) barely mentions opposition to imperialist military.

FIGHTING WORKER

BUILD THE LESBIAN/GAY/BI MARCH ON WASHINGTON!



leaders acted like cub scout den mothers on acid, hysterically screaming at their own members to stop talking to the Spartacist League. As to their "militant" contingent, RWLers spent most of their time raising funds by selling "I fuck to come, not to conceive" T-shirts. (Needless to say, this isn't exactly an incisive slogan in a gay rights demo.)

What is the RWL/NWROC afraid of? While sporting a banner with a slogan borrowed from the SL, "Break With the Democrats, Build a Workers Party," the RWL barely mentioned opposition to the imperialist military. When it comes right down to it, the RWL actively opposes an open intervention by Leninists because their appetite is to pressure bourgeois organizations like the National Organization for Women (NOW)—and even the Clinton White House—to the left. Just as the bourgeois feminists of NOW (who the RWL calls on to build a labor party!) call the cops on the RWL at clinic defense mobilizations, the RWL excludes the Spartacist League on the grounds that we "don't want to build NWROC."

The RWL and NWROC spill a lot of ink writing resolutions in favor of diversity and on the need to link up and address all forms of oppression. But their

response to the Waco massacre was at best petulant indifference—"it happens all the time"—and at worst an ignorant whitewash of mass murder by the U.S. government. The simple truth that Clinton is a mass murderer cannot be reconciled with a strategy of pressuring the Democratic Party White House for reforms. In the context of the Waco massacre, the RWL/NWROC banner, "No Reliance on Clinton," and chants bleating, "You made a promise, don't back down—Lift the ban or we'll burn this town" and "Bill Clinton told a lie—He's going to let those Haitians die," reveal the depth of their opportunism.

When the Republican White House put wind in the sails of "right-to-life" anti-abortion terrorists, the RWL won a number of good, young militants who put their bodies on the line to defend abortion clinics. On the hush-hush, these youth were talked to about "socialism," but the RWL's explicit strategy was to conceal their ostensible views, all the better to pressure bourgeois feminist organizations like NOW to the left. With the election of Ms. Hillary and her husband to the White House, the bourgeois feminists have achieved their agenda. Now the RWL is lashing out at authentic Trotskyists who fight to build a genuine Leninist

party that is a tribune of all the oppressed.

A supplement to the RWL's *Fighting Worker* selectively distributed at the march contains the explicit response to our proposal for a joint contingent:

"The RWL is not interested in working with groups like the Spartacist League, which say they agree with these demands so that they can use this struggle, like all struggles, as an opportunity to rip off a few supposed 'cadres'."

Indeed, we do want to win subjectively revolutionary youth from the RWL who thought they had joined a genuinely Trotskyist organization, only to find out they're trapped in some pressure group on NOW and other Democratic Party constituents.

For the centrist RWL, "the movement is everything, the goal nothing." When they sneer at recruiting cadre, they give the lie to their professed desire to build a revolutionary vanguard party. The RWL will march behind the stars and stripes in hot pursuit of "the movement," but they can't stomach the idea of joining forces with genuine communists to take a stand against U.S. imperialism. Bans were made to be broken, and we encourage those members of the RWL and NWROC who are interested in genuine socialism to check out the "forbidden fruit"—the Spartacists. ■

WV Photo



END THE BAN ON GAYS—DOWN WITH
RACIST U.S. IMPERIALISM!
BREAK WITH THE DEMOCRATS!
BUILD A WORKERS PARTY!
SPARTACIST LEAGUE/ICL

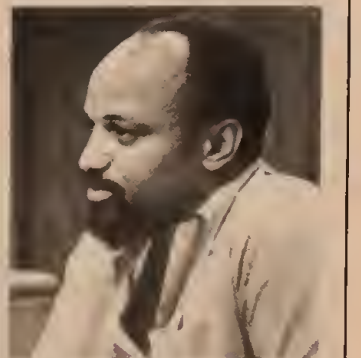


Spartacist banner in Washington calls for democratic rights for gays and opposition to U.S. militarism.

WV Photo

Free Geronimo!

On May 21 Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) appears before the California Parole Board. A former leader of the Black Panther Party, Geronimo has spent over 22 years behind bars, framed by the FBI and Los Angeles Police Department for a murder they know he did not commit. Ten times before, the Board has denied parole because Geronimo refuses to crawl before them and renounce his dedication to black liberation. After the 1987 hearing the D.A.'s representative bluntly put it, "He's still a revolutionary." Mobilize now to demand Geronimo's freedom. We urge you and your organization to send letters of support. Address them to the California Board



WV Photo

of Prison Terms and send them to the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107.

Capitalists Attack Postwar "Welfare State"

Workers' Protests Across West Europe

Over the past month, West Europe has experienced a dramatic upsurge of workers' strikes and protests, from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. In eastern Germany, warning strikes by metal and steel workers brought out tens of thousands, blocking roads, bridges and factory gates. British rail workers have shut down service twice in the space of two weeks. In Italy during the Europe-wide day of union action on April 2, schools, airports, railways and public buildings were shut down.

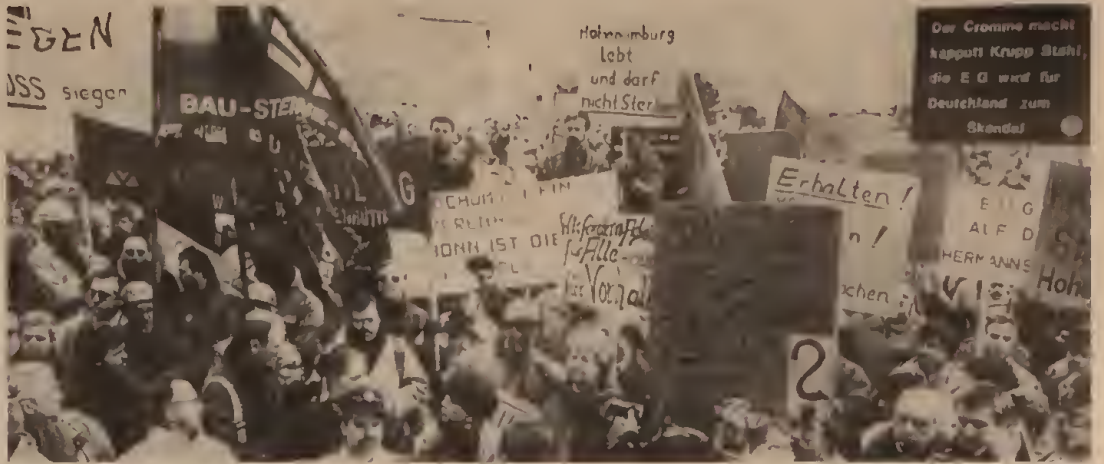
These labor struggles are part of mounting social unrest in post-Cold War Europe. The dramatic defeat of French social democracy in the March parliamentary elections and the victory of the right wing was quickly followed by police killings of minority youths. Spain's "socialist" government is about to lose its majority. The Italian political regime, which has remained constant through more than 50 governments since World War II, is collapsing. Fascist attacks and anti-immigrant pogroms in Germany were followed by large anti-fascist demonstrations.

This many-sided turmoil is the result, directly or indirectly, of counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, and generalized capitalist economic crisis in the West. Lacking the common Cold War enemy, interimperialist rivalries have intensified, not only Europe vs. America vs. Japan, but also among the European bourgeoisies. Mass unemployment is being combined with attacks on the social programs of the postwar era by a ruling class emboldened by the destruction of the Soviet Union. Pro-NATO social democrats thought they would prosper as a result of the collapse of Soviet Stalinism. But the opposite has occurred, as the bourgeoisie sees less need for its labor lieutenants and finds the vaunted "welfare state" an expensive and now dispensable overhead cost.

All of the euphemisms for a supposedly fundamentally reformed capitalism ("social market economy" in Germany, Sweden's "third way," etc.) are out the window. Even the most elementary social struggles today cry out for revolutionary leadership.

The New Capitalist Offensive

The Eurocrats of the Brussels-based European Community (EC) are proposing to lay off 50,000 steel workers—over half of these in Germany—in the next two years. If even the strongest section of the working class in the wealth-



Steel workers in the German Ruhr, the industrial heartland of Europe. On May 3, East German metal workers began strike action after bosses reneged on parity agreement to bring wages up to Western union scale. Spartakists call for full metal/steel/coal strike now, East and West.

iest capitalist country in Europe is threatened by the economic crisis, its effects are already devastating weaker sections in the poorer regions. In southern Italy, for example, unemployment among women workers has reached a staggering 35 percent!

The Italian government has launched a savage austerity program that eliminated the *scala mobile* (sliding scale of wages), a vitally necessary means of maintaining workers' living standards in a country prone to high inflation. The new right-wing French regime poses a Gallic version of Thatcherism—denationalizations and cuts in medical benefits—along with stepped-up state terror against the North African and black African communities in France.

In Britain, the Tory government of John Major wants to close down the remaining 60 percent of the nationalized coal mines, thereby finishing off the destruction of the historic core and most militant section of the labor movement. British Rail is also targeted for privatization and further job-slashing. The German ruling class, with the Social Democrats in tow, is demanding "sacrifices" from the working masses to pay for its takeover of the German Democratic Republic (DDR—East Germany).

Reformist union bureaucrats and politicians accept the destructive logic of the capitalist system, only pleading for a measure of damage control. Oskar Lafontaine, the one-time stormy petrel of German Social Democracy and premier of the Saarland, told protesting steel

workers: "Further layoffs are unavoidable, but they must be made socially bearable for those affected." However, rising unemployment has been accompanied by the ripping up of the social safety net supposedly designed to protect the victims of the anarchy of the market.

Even the most left-talking social-democratic trade-union bureaucrats have shown themselves utterly impotent to defend the workers' interests against the capitalist offensive. Arthur Scargill, the "radical" head of the British National Union of Mineworkers, diverted the explosion of working-class anger when Major announced the pit closures last fall into protest demonstrations that in no way threatened the Tory government. Furthermore, this former *bête noire* of the British establishment embraced Tory local councillors, liberal politicians, Anglican church leaders and the like, who for their own reasons object to the wholesale deindustrialization of Britain.

For months, Franz Steinkühler, the left social democrat who heads IG Metall—self-proclaimed as the most powerful trade union in the world—has made ringing declarations of "solidarity" with his union members in eastern Germany, a region reduced to an industrial wasteland by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich. But now Steinkühler states that "there can no longer be an all-encompassing contract" for metal workers in Germany. The gutting of the workers movement in Prussia and Saxony will necessarily undermine the unions west of the Elbe

too. A plant council official in East Berlin's KWO cable manufacturer noted: "It's quite clear that the employers are taking on the union here in order to prepare the ground for a wider attack in the west" (London *Guardian*, 2 April).

There is a widespread sense throughout West Europe, especially among the youth, that something has gone very wrong with the social and economic order. Even the *New York Times* (4 April) observed from its ideological vantage point that "three years after the epochal changes that followed the collapse of Communism in Europe, signs of crisis in the political systems that ensured the success of its free societies during the cold war remain evident everywhere." Among the losers in the post-Cold War order, a mood of despair and hopelessness is spreading, leading for example to the anti-immigrant pogrom cheered on by hundreds in the eastern German port city of Rostock last August.

Fascist parties are channeling economic fears and resentments into attacks on dark-skinned "foreigners" and minorities. The ultimate aim of the fascists, who are now appealing to backward workers as well as unemployed youth, is the destruction of the organized labor movement. In short, capitalist counter-revolution against the bureaucratically ruled workers states in East Europe is being followed up by a capitalist offensive against the bureaucratically led workers movements of West Europe. And the bureaucrats don't have a clue as to what to do about it.



Immigrant workers have strategic position in German heavy industry, now threatened by plant closings with the loss of tens of thousands of jobs. Sign at left reads: "Germans and Foreigners, One Class, One Struggle."

The Cold War and the Welfare State

The complex of social programs known as the "welfare state"—free or inexpensive medical care, government-funded pensions, unemployment insurance—were *not* won through trade-union struggles or social-democratic pressure politics. They were a response of the West European bourgeoisies in fear of social revolution in the immediate aftermath of World War II. That fear was accentuated by the very existence of the Soviet Union, which had just acquired new prestige from the Red Army's victory over Hitler's Germany, while large sections of the European bourgeoisies were tainted by their collaboration with the Nazi occupation forces. Especially in Latin Europe, the national Communist parties had also gained greatly increased authority in the working class.

In order to pacify the working masses, with the precious help of the social

democrats and the Stalinists (who joined postwar "popular front" governments with capitalist parties in France and Italy), the bourgeoisie had to offer a far better deal than the prewar conditions of the Great Depression and the rise of fascism. At the same time, American imperialism was promoting and funding social-democratic bureaucrats in the unions and anti-Communist reformist parties in order to cohere the NATO alliance against the Soviet bloc.

In the 1960s-early '70s, West Europe experienced another period of instability arising from a series of long, losing colonial wars—Algeria, Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique. A new generation of militant workers and leftist intellectuals came to the fore, hostile to the traditional social-democratic and pro-Moscow Stalinist parties. In Latin Europe, this period of radicalization culminated in the pre-revolutionary crises of the May-June 1968 events in France and Italy's "hot autumn" the following year, and later the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-75.

To restabilize the bourgeois order in the southern tier of NATO, greater concessions were made to the working class while social democracy was deliberately strengthened in this region. The *scala mobile* was the main gain Italian workers extracted from the 1969 "hot autumn," which saw the beginnings of dual power in the factories of Lombardy and Tuscany. The real scare which the French bourgeoisie received in May '68 led to the reconstruction of French social democracy around François Mitterrand. In the Iberian peninsula, the right-wing despotisms of Franco and Salazar were replaced by social-democratic governments.

The shoring up of NATO's southern flank laid the basis for Cold War II in the early 1980s, with the social democracy marching arm in arm with Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl. This was exemplified by the unholy alliance of support for Polish Solidarność, stretching from its patrons in the Vatican and the White House to Cold War "socialists" and most of the "far left." NATO social democrats like Mitterrand glorified the "welfare state" as part of the imperialist propaganda campaign to subvert the Soviet bloc. Workers in East Europe were told—and many believed—that capitalist restoration would enable them to live like the workers of West Germany and Scandinavia, the wealthiest regions of the imperialist world. In reality, counterrevolution has degraded East Europe and the former Soviet Union to the condition of Third World neocolonies.

And in West Europe, the social-democratic welfare state is now under attack by a bourgeoisie for which it has outlived its historic usefulness. That attack has been intensified and accelerated by the economic repercussions of German reunification. Especially after the defeat of the Portuguese Revolution, in which the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (named after the German SPD leader famous for saying he hated revolution like the plague) played a key role, West Germany acted as a godfather to social democracy in Latin Europe. Spain's Felipe González and Portugal's Mário Soares were creations of the SPD. Through the European Community, Bonn helped fund social programs and industrial subsidies in the poorer Mediterranean countries.

But German imperialism's takeover of the DDR changed all that. With the vindictive dismantling of the DDR's industrial plant, millions of unemployed East Germans were put on the dole. Last year Bonn transferred \$130 billion to Germany's eastern states, mainly for unemployment benefits, pensions for forced retirees and special projects like paying people to demolish closed-down factories. The "reconstruction" of the ex-DDR has been financed through massive deficit spending, drawing in money capital from the rest of West Europe via high interest rates maintained

by the Bundesbank.

The wealthy godfather of the European Community has become its Scrooge. The 1991 Maastricht Treaty, proclaiming a new era of "European unity," is now a dead letter. The pipe dream of Mitterrand and EC Commission head Jacques Delors, that the Bundesbank would share its financial wealth with France, collapsed last fall along with the European Monetary System. Likewise, Spanish social-democratic premier Felipe González' project of a "cohesion fund" for the poorer EC countries has been shot down by the rulers of the new Fourth Reich.

German capital has become a force for austerity and industrial retrenchment throughout West Europe. For example, Krupp and other German steel giants are demanding an end to government subsidies for the state-owned steel industries in Italy and Spain. This protectionist campaign has the wholehearted support of the social-democratic union leaders, with IG Metall's Steinkühler calling for a "German steel concept."

Collapse of Stalinism, Crisis of Social Democracy

Nowhere is the link between the collapse of Stalinism, leading to counter-revolution in East Europe, and the bankruptcy of social democracy in West Europe clearer than in France. For the past decade François Mitterrand was the personification of an anti-Soviet social democrat. In fact, he was more bellicosely hostile to Moscow than his bourgeois (Gaullist and Giscardian) predecessors in the Elysée Palace. Yet in the wake of the destruction of the Soviet Union, Mitterrand's Socialist Party has suffered a political defeat so shattering its future existence is in doubt.

Initially, the Mitterrand regime attempted a policy of economic expansion—"Keynesianism in one country"—during the 1982-83 world slump. Its nationalization of banks and several large companies was largely in order to prevent them from going bankrupt. After the predictable capital flight and two currency devaluations, the Paris social democrats made a U-turn in economic policy in favor of monetarist *rigueur* (austerity) in the name of a strong franc. As a result, unemployment in "socialist" France hovered around 10 percent for half a decade



Striking Tlmax workers in Dundee, Scotland confront scabs.

Financial Times

before the current recession made things even worse. The American *Business Week* (5 April) noted that "German companies such as Volkswagen and Thyssen are only starting the big layoffs and plant closings that took place in the 1980s at Renault and Usinor Sacilor [steel]."

Unemployment dominated the French March 22 parliamentary elections, with one poll showing that 70 percent of voters considered this issue number one. The Mitterrand social monetarists were punished for the wretched state of the economy, as the bourgeois right gained its biggest electoral victory in a quarter century. The Socialists were reduced to 19 percent of the vote on the first round, not much higher than the 12.5 percent garnered by the fascist National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The new right-wing government—a none-too-stable bloc between the Gaullists and Giscardians—has co-opted the National Front program of anti-immigrant racism against the North African and black African communities (see "French Cops on Racist Rampage," WV No. 574, 23 April). The new Gaullist premier Edouard Balladur has announced plans to privatize a number of nationalized companies, which especially under conditions of severe recession will mean layoffs and cuts in wages and benefits, and to cut the reimbursement rate for medical treatment and drugs.

The magnitude of the Socialist Party defeat on March 22 threatens to shatter this faction-ridden electoralist machine. Mitterrand's heir apparent Michel Rocard is calling for a "big bang"—the dissolution of the social democrats into a broader political formation somewhat analogous to the American Democratic Party, open to ecologists, liberals and anyone regarding themselves as left of center.

The Communist Party (PCF), once hegemonic over the French working class, has been reduced to its hard core of support in the "red" suburbs, its electoral following less than that of the National Front. With the social democrats demoralized and in disarray, the PCF has recouped a bit in the most recent period. However, the PCF will never regain its former position as the reformist party of the proletariat.

With a dramatic weakening of both the social democrats and erstwhile Stalinists, working-class resistance to attacks by the new rightist regime could well take the form of spontaneous, combative struggles led by raw militants without clear political direction. And given the common identification of Marxism-Leninism with Stalinism, one might see in France a resurgence of anti-parliamentary syndicalist currents such as dominated the French workers movement in the decades before World War I.

In Italy, conditions are even more fertile for the re-emergence of syndicalist tendencies and attitudes within the working class. As in France, anarchist and syndicalist groupings were strong in the Italian workers movement in the pre-1914 era. And such currents resurfaced during the radicalization of the 1960s-early '70s. Today, once again, the Italian working class has demonstrated great combativity in defying the reformist parties and union leaders. Last fall, when right-wing Socialist prime minister Giuliano Amato announced a new austerity program of "blood and tears," hundreds of thousands of workers, joined by pensioners and students, poured into the streets, clashing with police and pelting the sellout union leaders with coins.

These tumultuous class battles are taking place at a time when the entire post-war political order in Italy has all but collapsed. Since the U.S. Army entered Rome in 1944, the heavy hand of American imperialism has directed the political stage in the peninsula. Washington was determined to keep the powerful Communist Party out of the government, even after the abjectly reformist PCI only asked to become junior partners of the Christian Democrats during the mid-'70s (the so-called "Historic Compromise"). The Cold War in Italy meant a perpetual coalition made up of the venal and fractious cliques of the Christian Democrats and social democrats.

With the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the accompanying split in the PCI, the anti-Communist glue holding together Italy's ruling cliques dissolved.

continued on page 11



Italy: Cobas (Rank and File Committees), above, have come to fore as militant workers protest against government and union leaders' complicity in destroying union gains.

Corriere della Sera

La Repubblica



Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

into a patchwork of "cantons" dominated by the several ethnic groups. But whether this agreement will hold on the ground, or go the way of the countless "cease-fires" that preceded it, is utterly unclear. Should the NATO troops go in to enforce the crazy-quilt "peace" agreement, they would either have to roll back heavily armed Serbian forces entrenched in mountainous and heavily forested terrain, or, if they maintain the status quo, American and West European troops risk attack from Croat and Bosnian Muslim militias.

The self-proclaimed "cops of the world," like the racist cops in America's inner-city ghettos, are used to terrorizing defenseless people. But the Serbs are in a rather better position to defend themselves than the Branch Davidians. Explaining last week his hesitations over using U.S. ground forces in Bosnia, Clinton told reporters, "in the Second World War, Hitler sent tens of thousands of soldiers to that area and never was successful in subduing it" (*New York Times*, 26 April). Today's murderous Serbian nationalists are a far cry from the Yugoslav Communist Partisans who courageously fought off the Wehrmacht in World War II, but you know what they're talking about in the White House situation room when an American president, with unintentional honesty, compares the U.S. role to that of fellow imperialist Adolf Hitler.

Ever since Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has tried to conduct its foreign military adventures on the cheap, minimizing American casualties through overwhelmingly superior firepower—the rape of the tiny black Caribbean island of Grenada; the invasion of Panama; Operation Desert Slaughter in the Persian Gulf; and the colonial occupation of the famine-ravaged East African country of Somalia. Gun-shy over a Vietnam-scale intervention, the U.S. military much prefers terror-bombing raids from the air.

Once again we read about "surgical strikes," but over 100,000 Iraqis were slaughtered in the Persian Gulf "war," including hundreds of women and children in the Baghdad air raid shelter pinpointed by U.S. "smart bombs." Meanwhile, the German Fourth Reich wants to throw its weight around militarily, beginning with airmen in AWACS planes directing bombing runs on Serbian forces in Bosnia.

The U.S. Air Force chief of staff told Congress that bombing Serbian gun positions could be accomplished with "virtually no risk" to attacking American warplanes. And then? While the former Vietnam "dove" in the White House is gung ho to go into the Yugoslav quagmire, the Pentagon brass, still smarting at their humiliating defeat in the jungles of Indochina, is well aware that getting out will be a lot harder than getting in. And the American population is anything but sold on an Operation Balkan Storm.

America's rulers, too, are divided over intervention in the Balkans. The Pentagon, the *New York Times* and other leading imperialist spokesmen are worried about getting bogged down in "another

quagmire." Ironically, it is the liberals, from State Department career officers to pundits like *Times* man Anthony Lewis, who are on the cutting edge of the drive to get Yankee imperialism into the Balkans. Reacting to the barrage of war propaganda focusing on the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims, bleeding-heart liberals are making common cause with mad dog conservatives like William Safire and Margaret Thatcher.

Revolutionary Marxists take no sides

an imperialist-imposed "peace" agreement. The London *Guardian* (22 April) had an eyewitness account: "Street by street and house by house, the Croat commandos hounded the Muslims out, murdering many as they sought to flee in terror from land they have inhabited and tended for hundreds of years." And Serbs have also been victims. A year ago, there were 10,000 Serbs in the Bosnian district of Goradze. Today, there are only 1,000 left; the other 90 percent have either been

of Bosnian refugees into their own countries. The Germans, who precipitated the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia, are now appalled at finding the victims on their doorstep. Furthermore, the European bourgeoisie are concerned—and rightly so—that Western military intervention in Bosnia would provoke a wider Balkan war drawing in Macedonia, Albania, Greece, Turkey, etc.

U.S. imperialism has used the breakup of Yugoslavia as an opportunity to demonstrate its superpower prowess. Bush maneuvered to make Serbia a U.S. client through a deal with Milosevic to appoint an American businessman of Serbian descent, Milan Panic, as prime minister of the rump Yugoslav state. From the outset Clinton has taken a more belligerent anti-Serb stance than Bush. But Clinton put new UN sanctions against Serbia on hold for a few weeks in order to help Boris Yeltsin win the April 25 Russian referendum without having to face a hostile reaction from Russian nationalists who regard the Serbs as their fellow Slav "little brothers."

To whip up popular support for a war against Serbia, Clinton is posturing as a champion of the battered and besieged Bosnian Muslims. Yet he doesn't give a damn about the Bosnian Muslims, any more than Bush did about the Iraqi Kurds. After Saddam Hussein seized the oil-rich sheikdom of Kuwait, the Washington propaganda mill suddenly discovered that Iraqi Kurds and Shi'ites were brutally oppressed by the Baghdad Ba'athist regime, and Bush called on them to rise in revolt. But then Washington stood by as not only Saddam Hussein but America's Turkish client state ruthlessly bombed the Kurdish population.

U.S. Senator John McCain, an ultra-hawkish, right-wing Republican, stated: "I have yet to talk to a military expert who believes that air strikes alone will beneficially affect that tragic situation." That's because Clinton's proposed air strikes are not intended to end the war. They are intended to force Milosevic and the Serbs to accept an imperialist-imposed deal, and to demonstrate to the world—including to the U.S.' imperialist "allies"—that American power holds sway.

As revolutionary Marxists and internationalists, we have opposed all sides in the communalist warfare unleashed by the breakup of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state. Under Tito, an attempt was made to establish an equitable national solution, albeit within the Stalinist framework of "socialism in one country." Pre-WW II capitalist Yugoslavia was dominated by the Serbs, and to assure the non-Serbian nationalities that they had an equal place in society, the territory of the Serbian republic in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was sharply reduced. The Stalinists even created a Bosnian republic with a Muslim plurality, even though there was no Bosnian nationality.

As long as the collectivized economy remained in place, such territorial revisions were of little concern. But with the destruction of the proletarian state, the dog-eat-dog logic of capitalism and the interests of the nation-state impelled the bourgeois-nationalist forces on all sides into a revanchist fury aimed at grabbing as much territory as they could and seeking to drive out their former neighbors.

The only way out of this murderous cockpit is through socialist revolution throughout the region. Trotskyists fight to build proletarian-internationalist communist parties that will wage uncompromising struggle against all forms of nationalism, and put an end to "ethnic cleansing" once and for all in a Socialist Federation of the Balkans. Today, as the Serbian people face military attack by U.S. imperialism, the greatest mass murderer in world history, class-conscious workers everywhere are duty-bound to defend the Serbian forces against the Pentagon war machine. Down with Washington's bloody "New World Order," built on the destruction of the Soviet Union! ■



in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia as an outcome and motor force of capitalist counterrevolution. But we warn that the imperialists are the incomparably greater threat to mankind. In the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders on the road to reformatting a genuinely internationalist socialist federation of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

"Ethnic Cleansing": Product of Capitalist Counterrevolution

Western journalists have depicted the communalist massacres, now called "ethnic cleansing," unleashed by the breakup of Yugoslavia as a revival of ancient Balkan blood feuds. Yet for the four and a half decades of the Cold War the Western powers incited nationalist fervor in East Europe and the former Soviet Union as the key element in their anti-Communist crusade. The CIA's Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty spewed out the most vile nationalist demagoguery, including anti-Semitism. Western intelligence agencies financed and ran Croatian and Ukrainian fascists, Russian monarchists, Polish clerical-nationalists and the like. Now, with the collapse of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy, mutually hostile nationalist fanatics have come to power in East Europe. The results are not always to the liking of their imperialist godfathers.

Ever since the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia began in 1991, the Western media have portrayed the Serbs—and they alone—as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorizing peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. We've been deluged with heart-wrenching photos, gruesome accounts and harrowing stories of mass rape, torture, concentration camps, the killing and maiming of children at the hands of Serbian nationalist forces. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among peoples engulfed by fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

Thus recently the Croats have turned on their former Bosnian Muslim allies and are engaging in their own "ethnic cleansing" to improve their position for

killed or have fled fearing for their lives.

In reality, the war in Bosnia is being driven by the murderous logic of trying to cohere nation-states in regions of geographically interpenetrated peoples. By 1990, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy had all but completely fractured along national lines. The final blow was given by German imperialism, which in mid-1991 pushed through the international recognition of an independent Slovenia and Croatia. The Bosnian Muslims were thus faced with the hapless prospect of being reduced to a minority in a rump Yugoslav state that was in fact Greater Serbia, moreover under the rule of fanatical Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic.

The Muslim leaders like Alija Izetbegovic responded by declaring Bosnia an independent state in which they, as representatives of the largest ethnic group, would predominate. The Serbs in Bosnia—a third of its population—aimed to detach and incorporate the regions they inhabited into a Greater Serbia. As the militarily stronger force, the Serbs have driven the Muslims out of the regions of mixed populations and have occupied large tracts of land formerly predominantly inhabited by Muslims. The Muslims are thus being compressed into a rump Bosnian state.

The Western media and politicians have demonized the Serbs and routinely compare Milosevic to Hitler. Yet Croat president Franjo Tudjman first gained notoriety as an apologist for the clerical-fascist Ustashi regime, which, under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht, slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. Tudjman also dismisses the Nazi murder of six million Jews, but this did not stop Clinton from entertaining Tudjman in Washington and even inviting the Croatian Nazi apologist to the opening of the Holocaust Memorial Museum!

Western Imperialism: Hands Off Bosnia!

There is a difference between Washington and West European capitals on how to deal with the Bosnia crisis. The Europeans want to end the war quickly, even if this means underwriting Serbian territorial gains, in order to stop the flood

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

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Russia...

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number of police were wounded in the bloodiest street fighting seen in Moscow since Yeltsin seized the reins in August 1991. Demonstrators responding to the call of the "red-brown" National Salvation Front (NSF) chanted "Death to Yeltsin!" Moving to the Russian parliament's "White House," the headquarters for Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in 1991 and now the center of the anti-Yeltsin bourgeois opposition, demonstrators raised barricades and hoisted red banners and monarchist white-yellow-black tricolors.

NSF spokesman Ilya Konstantinov, connected to the fascist Russian National Sobor, warned of a sharper clash next week on Victory Day, commemorating the Soviet defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II (portrayed by Stalin as the Great Patriotic War): "This is the beginning of the real resistance. We can say that on May 9, the OMON will be met differently, Motherland or Death!"

At the head of the march were several of the failed putschists from the August 1991 "Emergency Committee," whose trial finally went to court last month and has now been indefinitely suspended. While their hotbed "perestroika coup" made no attempt to go after the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionaries but rather opened the way to Yeltsin's seizure of power, we Marxists condemn this anti-Communist trial by the nascent bourgeois state against the losers at the bureaucratic trough.

The bloody May Day clash capped a week of moves by would-be Tsar Boris aimed at consolidating power in the wake of last Sunday's referendum victory, including a ban on Communist Party activity in all state enterprises and a decree outlawing the nationalist newspaper *Den*. The National Salvation Front's blustering notwithstanding, it is not this ragtag coalition of Stalinist has-beens and anti-Semitic Great Russian chauvinists which is presently Yeltsin's main concern, but the corporatist-nationalist Civic Union parliamentary bloc for whom the "red"-browns serve as shock troops.

Two weeks before the referendum, Yeltsin publicly humiliated his vice president, Civic Union spokesman Aleksandr Rutskoi, stripping him of his government Mercedes and bodyguards, and removing him from his post overseeing agriculture. Rutskoi in turn accused the regime of being rife with corruption, claiming that defense minister Pavel Grachev had illegally sold Soviet military property in East Germany. After the vote, Yeltsin declared his rival was no longer in charge of the government's anti-corruption investigations.

Yeltsin's victory in the referendum certainly gave the would-be strongman what he wanted, a vote of "Da, Da, Nyet, Da" on the four questions posed in the

vote: 58 percent "yes" to his presidency, an unexpectedly high 53 percent approval of his "shock treatment" economic policies, just under half were for new presidential elections, with 64 percent in favor of new elections to the Congress. Yeltsin's imperialist paymasters whooped for joy. "This is a very, very good day," burbled Clinton. A *New York Times* (27 April) editorial gushed that "Yeltsin's trust in the people was overwhelmingly reciprocated." To produce this result, Yeltsin's Western backers pulled out all the stops.

New York ad agency Saatchi and Saatchi "covertly" ran Yeltsin's media campaign, which harnessed the state-run TV for an "unrelenting stream of government propaganda" (London *Guardian*, 26 April). Yeltsin was shown "at home" with his wife in a modest three-room apartment—while the government spends 100 million rubles a month to build him a lavish new penthouse suite complete with tennis court and swimming pool. In the days before the vote, Yeltsin doubled old-age pensions, canceled rent increases, raised subsidies to the mining industry and promised more money for veterans. He also promised to restore the Cossacks' privileges and lauded these tsarist pogromists as "one of the most important entities of the new democratic Russia."



Giant Uralmash machinery plant in Sverdlovsk (now known by its tsarist name, Ekaterinburg). Soviet workers have class interest in fighting to preserve Russia's industrial base.

Meanwhile the Group of Seven imperialist powers did their bit by promising a new \$28 billion aid package, while the World Bank threw in a billion more to keep Russia's oil wells pumping. Even then, many people voted for Yeltsin only because they were even more fed up with the Congress' shenanigans and wanted a "strong hand."

On the eve of the referendum, the International Communist League took the position that it was in the workers' interests that Yeltsin suffer a resounding defeat, calling for a vote of "Nyet, Nyet, Da, Da" on the four questions. In an earlier article ("Yeltsin Meets His Paymaster," WV No. 573, 9 April), we noted that "the implicit alternative offered is to support the nationalist-corporatist policy of the Civic Union opposition," and wrote, "Russian workers have no stake in the outcome of this referendum, the continuation of a power play between two wings of the capitalist counter-revolution." While the working class cannot give political support either to the imperialist stooge Yeltsin or to his corporatist-capitalist opponents, this general statement did not adequately address the specific questions posed in the referendum.

The *New York Times* (26 April) observed that "Nyet, Nyet, Da, Da" was how anti-Yeltsin voters "who tended to be from the pox-on-all-their-houses school" voted. Any class-conscious worker would certainly say "nyet" to Yeltsin and his economic policies, which amount to the immiseration of the population and the destruction of industry. And, while we do not fetishize abstract



Bloody May Day in Moscow as Yeltsin's cops provoke clash with anti-Yeltsin protesters.

democracy, when posed with the question of new elections for president and parliament our answer could only be yes. With Russia now a capitalist state—moreover one in which all the contending bourgeois forces seek to establish bonapartist rule—it is necessary for the revolutionary party to maintain the utmost vigilance with respect to democratic forms.

Marc Cooper in the *Village Voice*

leaders to Moscow to endorse his draft for a new constitution, which would enshrine a semi-bonapartist "presidential republic," replacing the legislature with a toothless bicameral "representative" body, whose lower house would, appropriately, be called the State Duma. The Duma was an impotent "advisory" council set up (and repeatedly disbanded) by the last tsar, Nicholas II, as a "democratic" sop following the 1905 Revolution.

To get the support of regional leaders, Yeltsin is prepared to intensify the centrifugal forces tearing the country apart and sharply limiting the central government's writ. A number of districts had already added a fifth question to the referendum, promoting regional autonomy or independence, and some, like secessionist Chechnya, boycotted entirely. Meanwhile, Yeltsin's "privatization" scheme would destroy the country's industrial base, turning Russia into a neocolonial supplier of oil and other raw materials to the imperialists. But while corporatists like Rutskoi talk of preserving the country's heavy industry and a strong Russian state, they would be no less dependent upon imperialism. Meanwhile, Rutskoi openly appeals for bonapartist rule, vowing that "law and order must be restored in a strong state."

As we wrote in "Dogfight in Moscow" (WV No. 572, 26 March): "The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship." Nothing short of socialist revolution to sweep away all the contending factions of the nascent bourgeoisie state can save the Soviet working people, whose very existence is threatened by the ravages of counterrevolution. The key lies in the formation of a genuinely communist party, based on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, to lead the multinational working class of Russia and the other former Soviet republics to power. For a planned, collectivized economy based on soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism! ■

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Scenes from the counterrevolution: Old-age pensioner passes swank boutique.

Waco Massacre...

(continued from page 12)

claiming David Koresh and his followers set the fire themselves. We have no reason to believe this lying government. But the inescapable fact is they died as a result of a deliberate assault after weeks of government terror and torture. This was government mass murder."

Already at the time of the February 28 raid, we wrote that "the U.S. government will go to any lengths to disarm the population—even if they have to kill 'em. Now these people near Waco are being killed for 'resisting arrest' over a non-crime" ("Murderous Fed Assault on Christian Sect," WV No. 571, 12 March).

We Marxists came to the defense of this small religious group whose only "crime" was their attempt to practice their religion and bear arms—both rights supposedly guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Less than four hours after Clinton's killers laid waste to the Branch Davidian commune, we staged an emergency protest outside the Federal Building in New York City with signs including "We Will Not Forget: MOVE Massacre, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust." Two days later we picketed outside FBI headquarters in Washington, the J. Edgar Hoover Building, with placards



Reuters
Survivors of government massacre hauled off in chains.

declaring: "FBI Baby Killers." We demand that all the survivors of Clinton's holocaust be freed immediately!

Feds: "This Is Not an Assault"

The entire world saw Operation "Prairie Slaughter" live and in color on TV, through the shaking lens of cameras kept almost two miles away on the Texas plain. On the first day, Clinton kept his mouth shut and let Reno take the heat, feeding rumors that he might accept her resignation. The *New York Times* editorialists slapped the Democratic administration's wrists for an "ill-conceived and unwarranted operation." But by the next day, the White House had launched a massive campaign to, as the *Times* (22 April) put it, "fix the damage from what the American people saw that happened this week." Attorney General Reno went on a whirlwind media tour from Good Morning America to good night Ted Koppel. In whitewash hearings before a Senate committee, Democrats and Republicans held a lovefest, praising "Madam General" for her handling of the situation. The White House made it clear that this was a loyalty test, and the liberals and media quickly fell into line.

Reno claimed that April 19 "was not meant to be D-Day," and the murderous assault was "just a step forward in trying to bring about peaceful resolution." In fact, the resolution was meant to be bloody from the outset. For 51 days an army of hundreds of state police, National Guard, FBI and BATF agents, using M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting



Strong/Sipa
During the siege, Branch Davidians appealed to press to tell their side, but bourgeois media parroted government's lies.

vehicles from the Texas National Guard, gradually tightened a noose around the farm buildings. They were determined to exact revenge for the deaths of four BATF agents and the wounding of 16 others in the February 28 raid.

As the siege approached the third month, the feds were getting itchy trigger fingers. They had early on cut off water and electricity to the buildings, and gradually tore down trees and walls on the perimeter, laying down miles of razor-sharp concertina wire. At night, as blazing floodlights lit up the area, the FBI engaged in "psy-ops" tactics dreamed up by their "cult experts." Huge loudspeakers played wretched Nancy Sinatra songs, Tibetan monks chanting, the sounds of roaring locomotives and the squeals of rabbits being slaughtered. A local paper wrote, "If there were a contest for the most deranged...the feds would win hands down."

At 6:04 a.m. on April 19, the FBI announced by phone and over their loudspeakers, "This is not an assault." They then unleashed their combat engineering vehicles—M-60 heavy tanks rigged with bulldozer blades and huge booms—which began to smash gaping holes in the side of the farm buildings and drench the inside with CS gas. These 58-ton main battle tanks are evidently the military's weapon of choice for mass murder—they were used to bury thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches during the opening assault of the Persian Gulf War.

Shortly after nine o'clock that morning, after three hours of pounding by the tanks, someone inside the farm hung out a banner demanding: "We want our phone back." But the FBI wanted them sealed off—an offer to mediate by Richard DeGuerin, Koresh's attorney, was turned down flat. DeGuerin later told CNN that "I thought we had an agreement to wait this out...they were going to come out peacefully." But the government didn't want them to come out alive. The fire began at 12:06 p.m., but the FBI waited eight minutes to even call the fire department. When fire engines arrived, the FBI refused to let them in for 21 minutes.

Clinton's Apocalypse Now

So who started the fire? As part of its Big Lie campaign, the government insists that Koresh's followers deliberately started the blaze. We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government.

In his appearance before the House Judiciary Committee, FBI Director William Sessions (who is a former member of the Waco city council) claimed the fire started nowhere near where the tanks were tearing the building to shreds. This contention is repeated by some fire "experts" interviewed by the *New York Times* (28 April), who "dismissed the possibility that the F.B.I. tanks battering holes in the compound could have started the fire." But these henchmen for the capitalist state have a problem—millions of people saw the siege live on CNN—and some taped it on their VCRs.

In fact, the smoke first came out of a

second-floor window above and right next to where the M-60 had been smashing the building. Around noon, Waco time, CNN was broadcasting live coverage of the same tank rumbling in and out of the building. As the first flames appeared, CNN's anchorwoman switched over to their reporter on the scene:

Mike Capps: "Bonnie, for the last 15 minutes we've watched this M-60 vehicle, this combat engineering vehicle, make large holes in the side of this building and pump tear gas in there. And at times, as you well know, tear gas can be incendiary and apparently this is what's happened. And it looks like—now we have a very large-scale fire breaking out on what must be the south side, right near the front side of this building.... As I said, this combat engineering vehicle has been working very diligently around the front door of the complex." CNN Anchor: "Mike, it appears that the portion of the building that is on fire right now is part of an observation tower that is adjacent to the front door. It's also on the second floor, which is where the women's sleeping quarters are."

As protection against BATF snipers, the Davidians had covered the windows with black plastic and stacked bales of hay in front of the windows. Kerosene lanterns were used all day to light the inside, as the FBI had cut off the electricity in the second week of the siege. Survivors later explained how "collapse of a wall and part of a ceiling tipped over a Coleman portable lamp, spewing burning kerosene over the floor and igniting part of the compound" (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 April). In seconds, driven by 40-mile-per-hour winds and feeding on the bales of hay and tarpaper which lined the walls, the entire complex became an inferno.

FBI spokesmen endlessly repeated that the gas that was pumped into the farmhouse was "non-lethal" and "non-flammable." Clinton claimed that the CS gas "would force anybody who breathed it to run outside." Buried in news stories was the fact that CS is covered by the Paris Convention on chemical weapons, which bans its use in international warfare—but that doesn't stop the government from using it against a Christian sect on the Texas prairie. Carried in 50-gallon drums on M5 gas dispersers mounted on the tanks, the CS was injected in massive quantities as a fine powder. It was also delivered in liquid form in 300 "Ferret" rounds fired by riot guns at the upper windows of the complex.

The FBI knew exactly what they were doing—in testimony afterwards they bragged of their consultations with chemical warfare specialists at the Edgewater Arsenal, and commanders of the Army's Special Operations Command. What news accounts haven't reported is that the Army's own *Field Manual 19-15* on "Civil Disturbances and Disasters" warns that in using CS gas on large groups of people, "Open pre-determined escape routes are mandatory." More specifically, it states that "Large quantities of the CS agent should not be introduced into closed structures, rooms, and buildings," and notes that "excessive exposure to CS1 may make them incapable of vacating the area" (cited in Col. Rex Applegate, *Riot Control—Material and Techniques* [Paladin, 1981]).

But instead, the government sprayed gallons of CS into the buildings for hours

to disorient and trap their targets inside. The burning of almost 100 people in Waco ignited memories of Vietnam, where the imperialists destroyed cities and villages in order to "save" them from Communism. And it was in Vietnam that CS was first widely used by the U.S., provoking worldwide protests.

All the survivors say there were no plans for mass suicide, and that the demolition tanks started the fire. As DeGuerin points out, even the location of the bodies gives the lie to the government's claim of "mass suicide." Small groups of five or six, then eight, then nine, sometimes a mother holding a child. And most of the bodies were lying face down, an indication of death by smoke inhalation. Those on the second floor of the complex of buildings were trapped. In the first minutes of the tank assault on the complex, the stairs leading from the front door area to the upper level were wiped out.

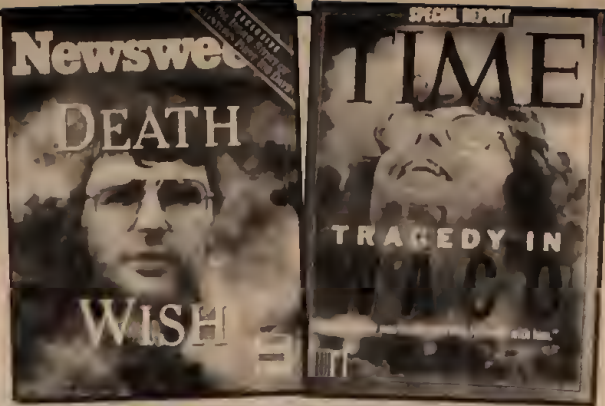
This is how a small, racially integrated religious group paid for "refusing to submit to proper authorities." The American capitalist state exercised in blood its "sovereignty" over the Davidians' 77 acres of Texas prairie.

New Age Witchhunt: "Child Abuse"

As the fire raged in Waco, phone calls and faxes denouncing the feds' butchery poured into the Justice Department. So Reno and the FBI launched a media blitzkrieg claiming they had to go in because Koresh was "slapping babies around." Child abuse is the all-purpose witchhunt of the '80s and '90s. "Protecting the kids was the ultimate rationale for going in," said Clinton spokesman George Stephanopoulos. The government's ultimate justification: we had to kill the kids in order to save them.

This was pure, cynical media manipulation—although the bourgeois press hardly needed much manipulating. The FBI held a special three-hour briefing for the press, and suddenly there were reams of stories that the "children would die of hunger or disease" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 April). Janet Reno oozed "concern." But the entire exercise was a charade to reverse public opinion. After the "child abuse" hysteria, *Newsday* (22 April) noted: "Critics say what some may view as 'child abuse' others may consider spanking!" The *Washington Post* (25 April) reported that "none of the 21 children released from the compound in the early stages of the 51-day siege has shown signs of abuse, Texas child protective service officials said." But by then Reno and Clinton had the polls inverted, running 90 percent in the government's favor.

The *New York Times* (4 May) continues to push the child abuse angle, with a feature story based on "deprogramming" by the shrink from the Baylor College of Medicine who has had his hands on the kids for the last two months. Claiming they "learned to substitute the word 'love' for fear," that the sect had "a number of unusual ideas about combining fruit and vegetables in the same meal," that "the girls were likely exposed to inappropriate concepts of sexuality," the report by Dr. Bruce Perry concludes that parental ties were undermined by "a



whole variety of destructive emotional techniques" including "shame, coercion, fear, intimidation, humiliation, guilt, overt aggression and power." Sounds like a typical American family to us. As for his allegation that the children's heart rates were elevated to 140 (compared with a normal rate of 70 to 90), mightn't that have a lot to do with the fact that they were brought out after a murderous assault by the feds that killed several of their parents and playmates?!

"General" Reno is no stranger to this kind of witchhunt. Columnist Alexander Cockburn, writing in the *Nation*, details Reno's savage persecution of an innocent 14-year-old for "satanic abuse" who she kept locked up, frequently in solitary, for 20 months. Writing in the *Boonville, California Anderson Valley Advertiser*, Cockburn captures the hysterical nature of the "child abuse" bugaboo: "To call someone a child abuser these days is like calling someone a Communist in the 1950s or a witch in the seventeenth century. Normal standards of evidence or even reason cease to apply." And Cockburn notes that the Cult Awareness Network "experts," who boast of assisting the BATF in Waco, are offering to "deprogram" the children so that they testify on behalf of the FBI against their parents!

Lies and More Lies

On February 28, the BATF "went in there like Marines on Iwo Jima." With one spectacular raid they hoped to drag the "gun running Jesus" away in chains and reap a huge publicity bonanza to ensure the future of this agency of state terrorism. When the smoke cleared, and the BATF took away their dead cowboys, nobody could even point to a crime that anyone in the Branch Davidians had committed.

During the siege and subsequent assault, the press retailed the BATF's



Spartacist League uniquely raised cry of outrage. Picketing FBI headquarters in Washington, April 21.

charge that Koresh had an "illegal .50 cal. machine gun." In fact, every weapon they owned, including a Barrett .50 cal. semi-automatic rifle, had been examined and returned by the local cops as perfectly legal. The government was playing to Congressional liberals pushing Clinton's program of gun control and 100,000 more cops on the streets. For shock effect, Arizona Senator DeConcini came onto CNN's *Larry King Live* talk show brandishing a grenade, asking the Waco victims' lawyers if their clients were going to explain this before Congress. "My client is dead, Senator," replied DeGuerin.

The bourgeois media dutifully parrots this pack of lies in order to alibi Clinton and Reno. With the same groveling subservience they displayed during the Persian Gulf War, the press tamely accepted

being kept almost two miles away during the entire siege and inferno. Only three days later were reporters allowed to move within 200 yards of the smoldering ruins, while the government was removing all the evidence and shipping it off to the FBI in Washington. The pages of newspapers and magazines are full of photographs of murdered Bosnian babies—so where are the photos of the two dozen children incinerated in Waco?! The quintessential expression of the "free but responsible" capitalist press were the identical covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* blaming the Waco inferno on the victims.

The bourgeois press is echoed by Clinton's foot soldiers on the left. Lamenting the "lax gun laws," Gus Hall's Communist Party buys the feds' line: "The Waco cultists, armed with a .50-caliber machine

gun and assault rifles, engaged in a fire-fight in which cultists and FBI agents died" (*People's Weekly World*, 24 April). Unlike the CP, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party denounces the "Waco massacre," but they must be hoping nobody will remember their headline greeting Reno's nomination: "Can Establishment live with woman 'top cop'?" (*Workers World*, 25 February). As for the rad-lib crowd, the *Nation* lamely called the Waco holocaust "disgraceful," but on the eve of the assault they practically scripted the government's case, painting Koresh as a crazy, gun-toting polygamist, the "N.R.A. Gun Nut of the Month."

Gun control is the program of a vicious capitalist class that is hell-bent on asserting its monopoly of armed force in order to rule over defenseless subjects. The reformists and liberals preach faith in the capitalist state. The flames which consumed a racially integrated group of 86 men, women and children in Waco, Texas illuminate yet again the basic Marxist truth that this state is a deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed. Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was intended as a deadly warning to all those who "have a hostile attitude" toward this racist ruling class.

The Branch Davidians' "crime" was to want to be left alone to live as they chose on their 77-acre piece of Texas. We understand that religious superstition in all its variants is at best a fanciful refuge from—and more often, a cynical apology for—the horrors of this capitalist world. As communists committed to forging a party that can bring workers and the oppressed to power through a socialist revolution, in this country and around the world, we intend to make sure that those who carried out the holocaust in Waco will be brought to justice by a future workers government. ■

West Europe...

(continued from page 7)

Rome has witnessed an orgy of politician corruption scandals, with one-third of the parliamentary deputies being investigated for taking bribes and kickbacks. The Italian bourgeoisie wants to rid itself of the parasitic, faction-ridden Christian Democratic party machine and the bloated bureaucracy of the nationalized industries, replacing them with a streamlined governing apparatus and a "strong state," preferably some form of presidential bonapartism. But for the moment chaos reigns.

The Italian workers movement, too, is in a state of turmoil. In the wake of the capitalist reunification of Germany, the Communist Party, for decades the largest in West Europe, split. The smaller, more left-posturing Rifondazione Comunista (RC) capitulated grossly to Amato's austerity last fall, violence-haiting the workers who took to the streets. The main CGIL trade-union federation, led by erstwhile Eurocommunist hacks, has been widely discredited, and various groupings of shopfloor militants have come to the fore, such as the Comitato di Base (Rank-and-File Committees).

In late February, 200,000 workers answered the call by the United Factory Councils to march on Rome in defense of their jobs. At their head were 300 coal miners from the Sulcis mine in Sardinia, the site of a dramatic occupation. When ENI, the giant state-owned conglomerate which runs the mine, announced plans to cut the workforce in half, nine miners chained themselves in the pit for 46 days as the entire surrounding community rallied to their support. At the February demonstration, thousands of workers called for a general strike. Given the deep political as well as economic crisis, a general strike in Italy would pose the question of which class shall rule. Even a one-day protest intended by the union tops to let off steam could get out of hand.

It is precisely the decisiveness of political power which is denied by the syndicalist program and prejudices. At one level, syndicalism serves as an ideological legitimization for trade-union militancy or, in Leninist terminology, militant economism. Militant economism can be effective only when the capitalist class is willing to bargain over the terms of exploitation. When a multinational corporation is determined to shut down a factory, or a bourgeois government to close a state-owned mine, strikes, protests, even occupations lack economic power. At a more fundamental level of class struggle, militant economism offers no defense against a bonapartist regime prepared to kill, imprison and torture workers' leaders.

Furthermore, trade-union militancy is necessarily nationally centered, and as such has an organic tendency toward economic nationalism. The syndicalist program, which denies in principle the need for centralized economic planning on an international basis, offers no answer to the reformist advocates of protectionism and trade war, the illusion that the interests of workers in one country can be defended at the expense of workers in other countries.

Especially in a period of sharp economic downturn and a determined capitalist offensive against the labor movement, the defense of working-class interests must be directed toward the struggle for state power. A revolutionary workers government will expropriate the means of production and distribution, establishing within the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe an internationally planned economy.

For a Socialist United States of Europe

Germany—the industrial powerhouse of the continent—is the key to Europe's future. During the Cold War, we Trotskyists called for the revolutionary reunification of Germany, through antibureaucratic proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution

in the West, within a Socialist United States of Europe. The imperialist reunification has had devastating consequences for the working masses of Europe, from Siberia to Sardinia. It has also fundamentally destabilized the bourgeois order in the Fourth Reich itself, long based on institutionalized class collaboration between capital and the social-democratic bureaucracy.

Over half of the adult population in the former DDR is now unemployed, and a much higher percentage of women. The new eastern states have become a mass of Hitler hostility to the new order. Across the bleak urban landscape of Prussia and Saxony is the hand-scrawled slogan "Verraten und verkauft"—betrayed and sold out.

The harsh conditions in the east are also undermining the social-democratic labor bureaucracy in the west. A few months ago the employers' associations in the region reneged on a 1991 agreement with IG Metall to raise the wages of steel and engineering workers by 26 percent on April 1. Ripping up a union contract was unheard of in the tightly orchestrated relations between labor and capital in the old federal republic of West Germany.

Nonetheless, the Social Democratic tops are bending over backward to prove themselves loyal and useful servants of the Fourth Reich. In March, the SPD and Kohl agreed to a "solidarity pact" supposed to put the income transfers to eastern Germany on a sound financial footing. However, the German ruling class and their SPD lieutenants have only a narrow margin to maneuver. How long will the east German populace tolerate mass unemployment and degrading poverty, compared to their western fellow citizens, without a social explosion and political radicalization? How much can living standards in the west be cut—through government austerity and the effect of the worst economic slump since WW II—without encountering serious working-class resistance? The public workers strike that Kohl provoked in May

1992 was a foretaste of real class struggle.

At the same time, the German nationalism and economic strains of the Fourth Reich have also provided a fertile soil for the growth of fascism, with Nazi skinheads killing and terrorizing dark-skinned immigrants and asylum seekers. In March local elections in the western state of Hesse, the Republikaner party—led by a veteran of the Nazi SS—and other fascist parties got around 10 percent of the vote.

The growing fascist danger has produced a strong defensive response in German society. A new generation of radical youth have come of age in battles to defend immigrants and asylum seekers against Nazi terrorists and also government attacks. More fundamentally, the most powerful and best organized industrial proletariat in Europe—including millions of Turks, Kurds, South Slavs and other non-Germans—could crush the Nazi scum like stepping on an eggshell. The decisive missing factor is revolutionary leadership. In Germany, France, Britain, Italy and throughout Europe, the sections of the International Communist League are campaigning for labor/immigrant mobilizations to smash the fascists.

Fascism is an organic product of decaying capitalism, as large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and unemployed youth are driven to desperation and crazed hostility to the existing political order. The workers movement, under communist leadership, must demonstrate that it can reconstruct society, providing a decent life for all. And that cannot be achieved through "welfare state" reformism. As the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany wrote in an article on the recent metal worker strikes and protests in eastern Germany:

"The destruction of entire industrial regions and millions of jobs is not the result of a 'false government policy,' but rather reflects the iron logic of decaying capitalism with its system of production for profit. Capitalism cannot be reformed, nor can parliament be forced to provide decent living standards: this system must be destroyed root and branch through workers' revolution." ■

Waco and the White House First the Massacre, Now the Lies



Aydelotte/Waco Tribune Herald

MAY 4—As gloating FBI and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents and Texas Rangers raised the flags of the United States, the Lone Star state and the BATF over the burned rubble of the Branch Davidian compound outside of Waco, Texas, the government and media geared up a cover-up that would have made Nazi propagandist Goebbels jealous. This isn't "spin control," it's the Big Lie. Not even their grotesque attempts to blame their victims can cover up the stench of the horrendous crime that Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno ordered on April 19.

Millions of TV viewers around the country and around the world watched in horror as the flames engulfed the Branch Davidian commune. Clinton and his cohorts could not erase this image, so instead they called it "mass suicide." To justify sending in tanks to ram and wreck the complex, pouring in massive amounts of potentially lethal CS gas, allowing the house and its inhabitants to burn to the ground while fire engines were deliberately kept away from the blaze, U.S. top cop Reno claimed the feds had to act because of "child abuse." From the blossoming Rose Garden, Clinton pontificated that "Mr. Koresh's response...was to destroy himself and murder the children who were his captives as well as all the other people."

Tom/Sygma



Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Mass murderers Attorney General Janet Reno and President Bill Clinton ordered assault on Waco compound which incinerated Branch Davidians.

No, they were all captives of this blood-thirsty government. *From the White House to the "Justice" Department and the FBI, those who perpetrated the massacre of 86 people, including 25 children, in Waco are mass murderers.*

The "final solution" of Waco, as we noted last issue, came directly in the wake of a massive police-state mobilization aimed at crushing in blood any

protest around the verdict in last month's trial of four Los Angeles cops who beat black motorist Rodney King. The *New York Times* (21 April) confirms the direct link between the L.A. verdicts and the Waco assault: "Ms. Reno decided to approve the bureau's plan on Saturday evening, after a long meeting in her office with senior aides who had been euphoric and relieved over the verdicts

earlier in the day in the Rodney King beating case."

When the Nazis herded millions of Jews into ghettos, boxcars and gas chambers, they obscenely claimed the Jews were "diseased." Now Clinton denounces Branch Davidian leader David Koresh as "dangerous, irrational and probably insane." Drawing up "personality profiles" of Koresh as a psychopath and sociopath, the "experts" use this verdict to justify state murder. Having launched the murderous February 28 raid, based on warrants that were only unsealed two months later, the feds declared the compound a free-fire zone because the inhabitants exercised their right of self-defense against the BATF stormtroopers.

Reno and Clinton say that Koresh was a religious nut, the Davidians were a crazed cult, and so, following the motto of the CIA's truly crazed mercenaries, they decided to "Kill 'em all, and let God sort 'em out!" Child abuse, guns, cultism—these are all cynical pretexts which have nothing to do with what happened on the morning of 19 April 1993. An authoritarian religious commune is not how most of us would choose to live our lives, but it's none of the state's business. The government decided that this tiny racially integrated religious group, which had done no harm to anybody and probably had fewer guns than half the households in Texas, deserved to die because they espoused "doctrines hostile to law enforcement and particularly the A.T.F." A top FBI official justified the slaughter, saying they "were thumbing their noses at the criminal justice system." Watch out, America—the government has announced its right to incinerate you in your home if you have "a bad attitude!"

We intend to scar the government's Waco holocaust into the memory of the working class. The Partisan Defense Committee, the class-struggle defense organization linked to the Spartacist League, denounced the Waco holocaust in a protest statement to Reno the same day:

"The FBI and BATF agents had no right to be there in the first place. Now the government alibis this mass killing by
continued on page 10



Members of integrated Waco commune destroyed by government. Left: Rachael Howell and her children Syrus, 8, and Star, 6, all dead. Middle: Melissa Morrison, 6, dead. Right: Floracita Sonobe, 34, dead, with her daughter Angelica, who left compound on February 28.