



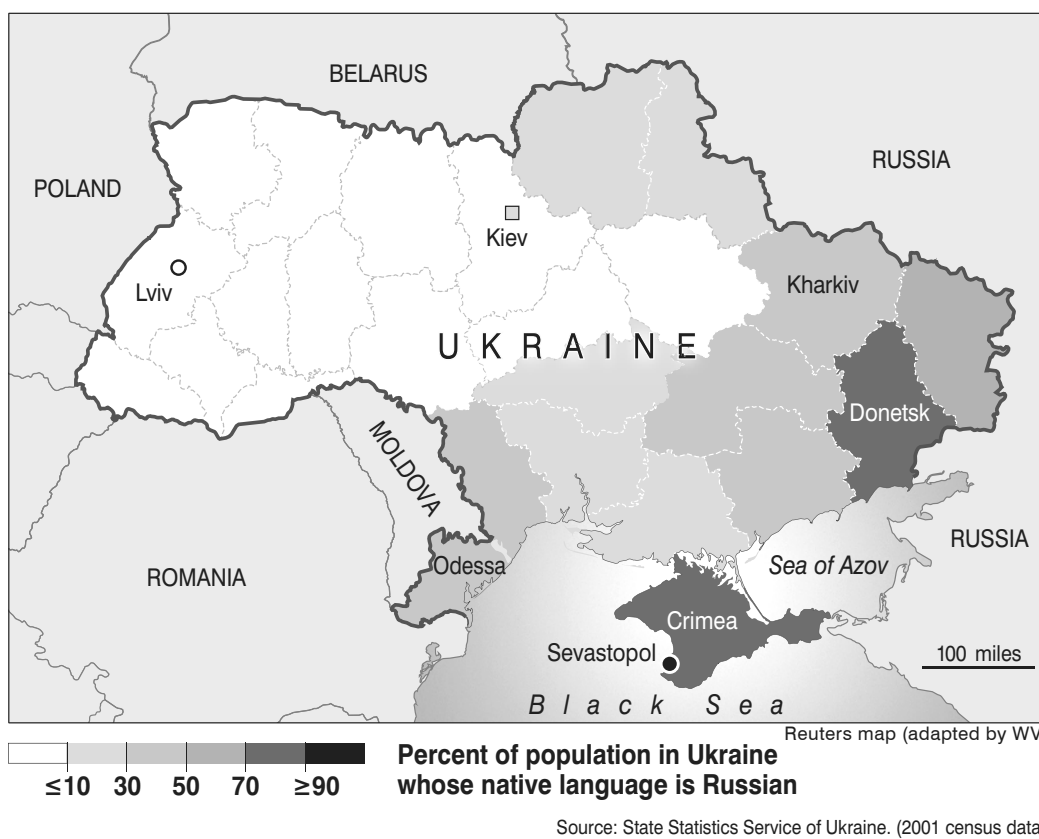
Reuters photos

Ukraine Coup: Spearheaded by Fascists, Backed by U.S./EU Imperialists

MARCH 3—As Russian strongman Vladimir Putin deployed troops into Crimea, following a resolution in the Russian parliament, the Western propaganda machine went into hysterical overdrive. U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry declared that Russia would pay “a huge price” for its incursion, threatening Russia’s removal from the imperialist Group of 8 and the freezing of Russian assets abroad. Without the slightest hint of irony, Kerry pontificated, “You just don’t, in the 21st century, behave in 19th century fashion by invading another country on completely trumped up pretext.” Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, etc.—the list of countries threatened and invaded by the U.S. imperialists “in the 21st century” goes on and on. Indeed, events in Ukraine have the hands of the U.S. imperialists in particular, as well as those of the European Union (EU), all over them.

Russia’s intervention into Crimea is a direct response to the overthrow of the government in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. On February 22, the corrupt pro-Russia president, Viktor Yanukovich, was toppled by a right-wing coup spearheaded by fascists and supported by the U.S. and EU; Yanukovich subsequently fled to Russia. The thugs toting Molotov cocktails who have been at the head of the three-month mass mobilizations in the streets of Kiev, seizing government buildings and violently confronting the police, now have the upper hand. The fascists of the Svoboda party have a deputy prime minister and several ministers in the new government. Svoboda cofounder Andriy Parubiy is now head of the National Security and Defense Council, which supervises the armed forces. The new deputy prime minister for economic affairs is Oleksandr Sych of Svoboda, a member of parliament infamous for his attempts to ban all abortions, including in the event

Crimea Is Russian



Top left: Drill by fascist “Right Sector” in central Kiev, January 25. Top right: European Union foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton meeting with Oleg Tyagnibok (left) of fascist Svoboda party and ex-boxer Vitali Klitschko, politician promoted by German imperialists.

of rape. While Arseniy Yatsenyuk, Washington’s favorite and head of the Fatherland party, is now in charge as prime minister, the thugs of Maidan square continue to dictate policy.

The seizure of power by a right-wing Ukrainian nationalist coup deeply alarmed the populace in Russian-speaking areas of eastern and southeastern Ukraine in particular. Indeed, one of the first acts of the new regime was to abolish a 2012 law allowing the official use of Russian and other minority languages. This was rightly seen as an attack on non-Ukrainian minorities, prompting widespread protests, including even in Lviv, where the fascists have a sizable base.

Thirteen out of Ukraine’s 27 regions, primarily in eastern Ukraine, had adopted Russian as a second official language, and two western regions adopted Romanian, Hungarian and Moldovan. In Crimea—where 58.5 percent of the population is ethnic Russian, 24.4 percent is Ukrainian and 12.1 percent are Tatars—Kiev’s new chauvinist law hit particularly hard, as some 97 percent of the region’s two million people use Russian as their main language, regardless of ethnic background.

The Russian military, with the aid of local “self-defense” forces, has established control over the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. Reportedly, the majority of Ukrainian troops in Crimea have

switched sides, with some resigning. Meanwhile, the head of the Ukrainian navy has defected to the Russian side, as well as the 800 personnel of a Ukrainian airbase in Crimea. Unrest has also spread to eastern Ukraine.

There are numerous Russian troops and naval personnel on the Crimean peninsula. By agreement with previous Ukrainian governments, the city of Sevastopol is the home base for the Russian Black Sea Fleet. The new pro-Russian government in Crimea has called a plebiscite for March 30 to decide the territory’s status: to remain part of Ukraine or to seek *de facto* independence and closer affiliation with Russia.

Predictably, the new Ukrainian government has denounced Putin’s intervention as a Russian seizure of Ukrainian territory, and bourgeois pundits have raised comparisons with the 2008 Russo-Georgian War. The Russian military intervention into Crimea is *not* akin to that war, during which Russian forces moved into Georgian territory. In that war, Marxists had a revolutionary defeatist line, opposing both bourgeois military forces. (Georgia was backed by Western imperialism.)

Contrary to how it is often presented in the Western media, the Russian intervention into Crimea is not an intervention into a “foreign country,” notwithstanding Crimea’s formal status as part of Ukraine. Crimea has been Russian since the late 18th century, when it was wrested from the Ottoman Empire. It was only in 1954 that Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev ceded Crimea to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Later, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, this took on significance, as the fate of the area was the subject of heated disputes between the now bourgeois states of Russia and Ukraine. In 1991, an attempt by local inhabitants to hold a referendum on Crimea’s independence was indefinitely banned by the Ukrainian authorities.

The main opposition from within Crimea to seceding from Ukraine comes from the Tatars, an overwhelmingly Muslim Turkic people. On February 26, fighting in the

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The Heritage of the Paris Commune



Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Saint-Denis

On the barricades of the Paris Commune, 1871.

On 18 March 1871, as the bourgeoisie fled Paris for Versailles, the workers established the world's first proletarian dictatorship in the French capital. The heroic Communards, as Karl Marx put it, "stormed heaven" and seized power, which they held until late May when the

Commune was drowned in blood by the resurgent capitalists.

We reprint below an excerpt from *1871: The Paris Commune*, a pamphlet written in 1927 by Max Shachtman, at the time a cadre of the American Communist Party. Shachtman explains how lessons

drawn from the Commune later helped guide the Bolshevik Party through the three Russian Revolutions referred to in the text below: the defeated revolution of 1905; February 1917, when the tsar was overthrown; and October 1917, when the working class took power. The shortcomings of the Commune laid bare the bankruptcy of the political program of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, an ideological father of anarchism, and of Auguste Blanqui, who envisaged an insurrection led by a conspiratorial group of revolutionaries. Typographical errors in the excerpt have been corrected.

* * *

The Commune is written large in the history of the working class of the world. It was the first great attempt of the proletariat of a nation to establish the rule of the working class thru the dictatorship of the proletariat, accompanied by weak, unclear efforts to adapt to this overthrow of bourgeois domination a new social order.

The weaknesses, shortcomings, hesitance, lack of clarity and insufficiencies of the Commune have been pointed out. The lessons to be learned from its experience must be studied by the struggling working class of the world.

The main source of the weakness of the Commune can be traced to the absence of a determined, conscious revolutionary party which would have given it direction, firmness and decision.

"If in September, 1870, there had been found at the head of the proletariat of France the centralized party of revolutionary action," writes Trotsky, "the entire history of France and with it the entire history of Humanity would have taken another direction. If on the 18 of March power was found in the hands of the proletariat of Paris it was not because they had consciously seized it, but because their enemies had quit Paris."

Without a revolutionary proletarian party, without such an instrument the Paris Commune could not, despite the unparalleled heroism and the self-sacrifice of its noble defenders, maintain itself. With a ruling body in which almost every delegate represented a different viewpoint, in which there did not reign a dominating single clear idea, it was natural that the results would prove fatal to the uprising. Even the vague viewpoint which united its two leading groups was shattered by the concrete experiences which they underwent. The Proudhonians found their doctrinaire hatred for association of labor and industry confronted by their own decrees in the Commune which aimed at the organization of great industries and the federation of the workers in every factory into one great association. The Blanquists, the doctrinaires of highly-pitched dictatorial centralism, failed to follow out even their own theories and neglected completely the centralization of the political and military apparatus, as well as the agitation in the provinces for the unity of revolutionary Communes thruout the land.

The Communards made the error of failing to use the power which had fallen into their hands to consolidate the rule of the working class and complete the ruin of the bourgeoisie. The failure to push the attack upon the Versailles and spread the hegemony of the revolutionary proletariat thruout the country was a fatal blow to the uprising. Their refusal to push forward determinedly the work of expropriating the expropriators, taking over the economic life and substance of the city was another source of weakness.

The feebleness of their attempts to put hands on the Bank of France, which as Engels says was worth ten thousand hostages, was an indication of this grave

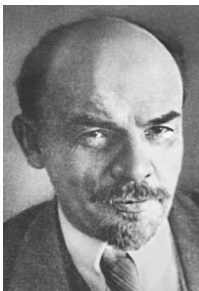
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Communism and the Family

International Women's Day, March 8, originated in 1908 among female needle trades workers who marched in New York City for the eight-hour day, for an end to child labor and for women's suffrage. To mark this proletarian holiday, we print an excerpt from a work by leading Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai that describes the early Soviet workers state's perspective to eradicate women's oppression, which is based on the institution of the family. The revolution-



TROTSKY



LENIN

ary regime understood that the full emancipation of women was dependent on qualitatively raising the material level of backward Russia, requiring the extension of proletarian power to the wealthy industrialized countries. Never having known genuine freedom, we cannot predict how human relations will unfold in a communist society. But Kollontai's projection provides a useful point of departure.

There is no escaping the fact: the old type of family has had its day. The family is withering away not because it is being forcibly destroyed by the state, but because the family is ceasing to be a necessity. The state does not need the family, because the domestic economy is no longer profitable: the family distracts the worker from more useful and productive labour. The members of the family do not need the family either, because the task of bringing up the children which was formerly theirs is passing more and more into the hands of the collective. In place of the old relationship between men and women, a new one is developing: a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal members of communist society, both of them free, both of them independent and both of them workers. No more domestic bondage for women. No more inequality within the family. No need for women to fear being left without support and with children to bring up. The woman in communist society no longer depends upon her husband but on her work. It is not in her husband but in her capacity for work that she will find support. She need have no anxiety about her children. The workers' state will assume responsibility for them. Marriage will lose all the elements of material calculation which cripple family life. Marriage will be a union of two persons who love and trust each other. Such a union promises to the working men and women who understand themselves and the world around them the most complete happiness and the maximum satisfaction. Instead of the conjugal slavery of the past, communist society offers women and men a free union which is strong in the comradeship which inspired it.

—Alexandra Kollontai, *Communism and the Family* (1920)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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7 March 2014



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Repudiating WV's Liberal Whitewash of Anti-Jewish Demagogue

Dieudonné: Front Man for Fascist Terror

As authorized by the International Secretariat of the International Communist League, the *Workers Vanguard* Editorial Board wrote in a February 24 statement posted on the ICL's Web site: "The headline in WV No. 1039 (7 February), 'Down With French Government Censorship of Black Comedian!' was false, prettifying the fascistic Dieudonné M'bala M'bala. Dieudonné is an active anti-Semite and front man for French fascists, skinheads and the far right." The headline exacerbated a weakness in the article—a reprint of a leaflet issued by our comrades in the Ligue Trotskyste de France—which understated the pestilent danger Dieudonné represents to all intended victims of fascist terror. At a time when the fascist National Front is making gains, Dieudonné peddles the Hitlerite lie that this unjust world is run by a global Jewish conspiracy. In an overwhelmingly white Catholic country like France, Dieudonné's anti-Jewish demagoguery can only benefit the fascists, among whose first victims in France will be the non-white population.

We repeat the warning the LTF leaflet sounded against the French bourgeois state's bans on Dieudonné's performances on the pretext that they threaten "national cohesion": "Such weapons in the ruling class' arsenal are ultimately aimed at the organized working class and its allies." The WV headline reflected liberal squeamishness about confronting reactionary ideas expressed by a target of state repression who is dark-skinned and postures as a spokesman for the oppressed.

The LTF leaflet stated, "The fascist scum must be swept off the streets and out of meeting rooms by the working class, not the capitalist state." Exposing sinister demagogues like Dieudonné, breaking illusions pushed by the reformist left in the neutrality of the capitalist state, and fighting indifference to racial oppression in the organized labor movement and the left are crucial tasks in forging the type of proletarian-centered anti-fascist mobilizations we call for.

Dieudonné's Gall and Guile

It takes a lot of gall for Dieudonné (whose audiences include many whites) to claim to speak for dark-skinned people in France. Hardly the brother from the *banlieue* (suburban ghetto), Dieudonné's father from Cameroon is an accountant; his white French mother is a sociologist. Dieudonné's "anti-establishment" posture is a lucrative means to rake in euros and build a political base while propagandizing race-hate terror.



July 2013: Dieudonné (left) conducts friendly interview with Serge Ayoub, leader of fascist skinheads who killed young anti-fascist activist Clément Méric in Paris the month before.

Dieudonné is suckled by the National Front, which pumped 60,000 euros into his coffers to rent his theater to train their fascist cadre. He is braintrustered by an entourage of politicians like Alain Soral, a former National Front leader. Dieudonné is their tool to ratchet up hatred against Jews and make the National Front more acceptable to the heavily North African and black residents of the *banlieues*, where white racists

Videos of Dieudonné on YouTube get hundreds of thousands of hits, making each performance the equivalent of a virtual and eternal rally for race-hate terror. In one video, Dieudonné tacitly exonerates the murderers of a young anti-fascist, Clément Méric, by conducting a sympathetic interview with Serge Ayoub, infamous leader of the fascist skinheads who killed Méric, shortly after the killing last

must be freed because Zionist thugs who killed Saïd Bourarach, a young Moroccan father, and tossed his body in a canal were released from prison. To conclude, Dieudonné whips up the crowd with a team of masked supporters on stage chanting "Free Fofana!" as they do the "*quenelle*," a modified Nazi salute invented by Dieudonné.

This is incitement to pogromist violence. Dieudonné does not do the wet work himself. His job is to create a climate of opinion that makes murdering Jews and leftists acceptable, indeed, even a laughing matter.

The *quenelle* has gone viral throughout France and has spread worldwide. Misinterpreted by people of seemingly all races and ethnicities as a way to say "up yours" to the system, it is also embraced by cops and soldiers—the guard dogs of the capitalist system—as well as by Jean-Marie Le Pen, historic leader of the National Front, and skinheads. Jew-haters post photographs of themselves doing the *quenelle* in front of Auschwitz; at the Holocaust memorial in Berlin; in front of the synagogue in Bordeaux on the anniversary of the deportation of 365 Jews from that very synagogue to Nazi death camps; in front of the school in Toulouse where three Jewish children and a rabbi were shot dead in 2012; in front of kosher shops and under menorahs decorating Jewish storefronts for Hanukkah.

It is fitting that Dieudonné readily accepts the moniker of "the French Louis Farrakhan." Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam in the United States, hailed Hitler as a "great man" and wanted Malcolm X dead because Malcolm broke with the reactionary demagoguery and bigotry that are Farrakhan's and Dieudonné's stock in trade. The Nation of Islam has accommodated the American Nazi Party and KKK out of a shared reactionary goal of racial separation. Dieudonné goes further as a stand-up propagandist (hardly a comic) for fascist and skinhead terror.

Dieudonné promotes the Nation of Islam's book *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*. This tract is in the spirit of the infamous tsarist forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Like Farrakhan, Dieudonné promotes the falsehood that Jews ran the slave trade. Since he flaunts his sub-Saharan African roots, Dieudonné should know that Muslims, not Jews, ran the slave trade in his country of ancestry. Arabs as well as black African rulers from the "Slave Coast" also raided the interior of the continent to sell other

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The Oppressed and Far Right Populism in France

could never get a hearing on their own, and to broaden its electoral support.

Dieudonné averts prosecution through guile, for example by deliberately and persistently substituting the word "Zionist" for "Jew." His cunning performances fall just short of explicit calls to kill Jews and leftists, but his murderous messages require no decrypting. He is a master of the verbal ellipsis. Here is a literal transcription of Dieudonné's remarks about Jewish journalist Patrick Cohen at one of his performances: "You see, if the winds shift, I'm not sure he'll have time to pack a suitcase...when I hear him speak, I say to myself, 'see, the gas chambers...ah, what a pity'" (*Jeune Afrique*, 30 December 2013).

June. This can only incite more fascist and skinhead violence against the left at a time when the far right is already dangerously emboldened.

In another video, Dieudonné launches a campaign to free Fofana, the jailed leader of a gang that kidnapped a working-class Jewish youth, Ilan Halimi, in 2006 and held him for ransom from the "Jewish lobby." Dieudonné smirked that Halimi, who died after being beaten and burned almost beyond recognition, was "turned into a grilled cheese sandwich" (*L'Express*, 26 February 2009). Choosing his words to deliberately echo Nazi propaganda, Dieudonné repeatedly refers to Jews as "rats" and argues that Fofana



AFP



La Horde

Far left: Youth giving Dieudonné's *quenelle* salute at right-wing January 26 "Day of Rage" mobilization in Paris, which featured slogans like "Jew: France does not belong to you." Near left: French fascists march at same event.

For Unconditional Military Defense of Chinese Deformed Workers State!

U.S., Japanese Provocations in East China Sea

U.S. military provocations have come in rapid succession since last November, when China declared an air defense identification zone over waters in the East China Sea, requiring planes passing through that area to declare their identities and flight paths and to maintain radio contact. Within days of the zone's declaration, Washington sent two B-52 bombers, well known as nuclear-capable aircraft, through the zone unannounced. Japan and South Korea quickly followed with provocative overflights. On December 5, an American guided missile cruiser almost collided with a Chinese warship as the U.S. conducted close surveillance of Chinese naval exercises. In a January hearing on policy in Asia, House Democrats and Republicans alike declared that the U.S. could not tolerate Chinese military "coercion." Last month, Secretary of State John Kerry toured Asia warning that Chinese actions posed the risk of military conflict.

Hawkish Japanese prime minister Shinzo Abe has seized on the establishment of China's air defense zone to accelerate his country's rearmament, stepping up the frequency of air patrols, increasing its military budget and planning a new base in the East China Sea near the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, which are claimed by Japan, China and Taiwan. Although the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Force constitutes the world's second-largest navy, a major obstacle to the Japanese rulers' exercise of military force are the constraints on overseas combat codified in Article 9 of the constitution imposed by the U.S. following World War II. Now Abe is seeking to change this by reinterpreting the constitution to allow military deployment under the guise of protecting allies.

Jacking up the rhetoric, on January 22 Abe declared that heightened tensions between Tokyo and Beijing were similar to the conflict between Germany and Britain in the run-up to World War I. Two weeks after Abe's tirade, Philippines president Benigno Aquino chimed in, calling on the major powers to support his country's maritime claims against China and drawing an analogy to the 1938 decision by France and Britain to refrain from going to war against Hitler's Germany over its occupation of the Sudetenland.

Countering the imperialist outcry, the Chinese government has pointed to the simple fact that the U.S. and Japan, along

with some 20 other countries, had established such air defense zones long ago. We defend Beijing's establishment of the air defense zone as part of our military defense of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Our article "U.S./Japanese Imperialists: Hands Off China!" (WV No. 1036, 13 December 2013) underscored that "it is crucial for the international proletariat—particularly in Japan and the U.S.—to oppose imperialist provocations" over the East China Sea.

This cluster of uninhabited islands, about 100 miles northeast of Taiwan and 250 miles from the coast of the Chinese mainland, constitutes a link in a strategically important military perimeter called the first island chain, which runs from the Southeast Asian coast and the Philippines up through Japan. Numerous military sources make clear that in the event of a direct confrontation with China, the U.S. projects establishing a naval blockade based on the first island chain, aiming to

(*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 54, Spring 1998) explains:

"Our position flows from the proletarian class character of these states, embodied in the collectivized property relations—nationalized property, planned economy, monopoly of foreign trade and banking, etc.—established by social revolutions that destroyed capitalism. Despite the bureaucratic deformations of these states, our defense of them against the class enemy is unconditional, i.e., it does not depend on the prior overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies, nor does it depend upon the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict."

The peasant-based 1949 Revolution overthrew the Chinese bourgeoisie, liberated the country from imperialist bondage and established a workers state, albeit one that was bureaucratically deformed from its inception by Stalinist misrule. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bureaucracy is guided by the dogma of "socialism in one country," a perspective that means opposing revolutionary struggles in other countries and accommodating the imperialists. The workers of the U.S., Japan and other capitalist countries, who are exploited by their ruling classes, are potential allies of the Chinese proletariat. This understanding is obscured by the nationalism inherent in Stalinist ideology. The task of the Chinese proletariat is to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucratic parasites on the workers state and institute a regime based on working-class democracy and revolutionary internationalism.

U.S. Imperialism's Pivot Toward Asia

Government spokesmen and the bourgeois media, especially in the U.S. and Japan, maintain a relentless propaganda barrage about the supposed threat posed by China's rising power. The aim of this disinformation campaign is to line up working people in support of the capitalists' goal of overturning the Chinese workers state and reimposing imperialist domination of that country. To that end, the imperialists pursue a two-pronged strategy: economic penetration to help develop internal counterrevolutionary forces combined with military pressure.

For both the U.S. and Japan bourgeoisies, China represents a major trading partner and a lucrative site for investment, with a relatively low-paid but educated and skilled workforce for exploitation in designated sectors of the economy. But China is not a capitalist country. Despite the inroads of "market reforms," the core of China's industrial economy continues to be based on state-owned enterprises. Almost all productive investment, outside of the foreign-owned sector, is channeled through predominantly state-owned banks.

China became a central focus of the imperialists' military and economic designs following capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1991-92, which destroyed what had been the U.S.'s main military target and the most substantial counterweight to its drive for world domination. The CCP regime helped prepare that historic defeat for the working people of the world through its support to the U.S.-led anti-Soviet crusade.

The U.S. and its allies have advanced the military encirclement of China particularly since the fall of 2010, when the Obama administration declared that a "pivot toward Asia" was a top priority.



October 2013: U.S. Defense Secretary Hagel (far left) and Secretary of State Kerry sign agreement with Japanese counterparts strengthening countries' military alliance.

China's air defense zone covers the disputed Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, a cause for great saber rattling from both the U.S. and Japan. However, our article contradicted our stance of unconditional military defense of China against imperialism by restating a false assertion that had appeared at other times in our press: "In general, the question of the ownership of these uninhabited rocks and islets does not in itself pose defense of the Chinese deformed workers state."

Chinese control of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands is a key component of the military defense of China, even more so in the context of recent imperialist provoca-

close off shipping lanes and prevent Chinese naval forces from breaking out into the Pacific Ocean. U.S. forces based on the island chain would be used to launch strikes on China's eastern seaboard, the main engine of the country's economy. China aims to develop sufficient force to maintain its *own* barrier along these same islands so that it could prevent U.S. forces from approaching its coast.

Our military defense of China and other deformed workers states is not based on the particular policies the Stalinist rulers may be pursuing. The International Communist League's "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program"



Japanese Coast Guard and Chinese marine surveillance vessels near contested Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, 1 July 2013.

The military framework for the “pivot,” called Air-Sea Battle in tribute to the Air-Land Battle doctrine adopted against the Soviet Union in the 1970s, was developed by a Pentagon office that had devoted two decades to planning for war against China. Although details are classified, Pentagon officials have admitted that Air-Sea Battle is intended to destroy the radar and missile systems built to keep U.S. forces away from China’s coastline.

While Washington’s ability to carry out this policy has been obstructed by its quagmires in Afghanistan and the Near East, U.S. imperialism has strengthened its military alliances with Japan and Australia and increased arms sales to Taiwan. The U.S. has reinforced its existing bases in Guam, Okinawa and Australia and is negotiating for a larger military footprint in the Philippines. More than 5,000 U.S. troops are currently engaged in air, naval and ground maneuvers with 10,000 South Korean soldiers in a show of force directed against the North Korean and Chinese deformed workers states.

The First Island Chain

U.S. interest in the military importance of the first island chain goes back to 1949, four years after its defeat of Japan in World War II. In March 1949, U.S. General Douglas MacArthur declared:

“Now the Pacific has become an Anglo-Saxon lake and our line of defense runs through the chain of islands fringing the coast of Asia.
“It starts from the Philippines and continues through the Ryukyu Archipelago, which includes its main bastion, Okinawa. Then it bends back through Japan and the Aleutian Island chain to Alaska.”

MacArthur made his pronouncement when the CCP’s forces had taken power in Beijing and were consolidating their hold throughout China. With the addition of Taiwan, the chain of military outposts that MacArthur laid out became central to the American imperialists’ perspective in Asia. This was underlined after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, when the U.S. repeatedly moved an aircraft carrier to waters off Taiwan in a direct threat to China.

While the Japanese rulers have distinct and competing economic interests with the U.S., they are American imperialism’s most significant ally against China. Although Washington claims to have no position on the sovereignty of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, government officials have made clear that in the event of a conflict the U.S. is bound by treaty to militarily defend Japan’s claim.

As a rising imperialist power, Japan seized the islands, along with Taiwan, after routing China’s decaying Qing dynasty in 1894-95. The U.S. took over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands after World War II and turned two of them into bombing ranges.

In 1972, the chain was returned to Japan, although the U.S. retained control of the bombing ranges. The islands were thus one of the only conquests by Japanese imperialism that the U.S. allowed Tokyo to keep. As soon as the islands were returned to Japan, Tokyo extended its air defense identification zone, which had been established under the U.S. occupation, to cover them.

Over the past decade, the Chinese

counterrevolution in China since Chiang Kai-shek’s bourgeois-nationalist regime fled to the island in the face of the unfolding revolution on the mainland. Located on key shipping lanes a narrow strait away from the Chinese coast, capitalist Taiwan, described by MacArthur as the “unsinkable aircraft carrier,” has been propped up by decades of massive U.S. military aid. China’s air defense zone covers the most



December 2013: Guided missile cruiser *USS Shiloh* (foreground) departs Yokosuka, largest overseas U.S. naval installation in the world, as Japanese destroyer returns.

navy has made regular forays through the first island chain, undertaking a series of increasingly complex exercises to gain entry into the Pacific. Japan reacted in 2010 by extending its air defense identification zone to an area that comes within nearly 90 miles of the Chinese coast. Last summer, as reported in *Nikkei Shimbun* (7 February), the U.S. and Japanese militaries established a plan to deal with “an emergency in the Senkaku Islands” involving U.S. B-52s and Marine detachments from Okinawa as well as amphibious transport vessels stationed in the Japanese port of Sasebo. In October, Japanese warships and aircraft disrupted a Chinese live-fire exercise involving breaking through the first island chain. In January, the U.S. Marine Corps ran a military exercise at Camp Pendleton in California to train Japanese troops to carry out amphibious assaults on islands.

Together with our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan, the Spartacist League/U.S. stands for smashing the counterrevolutionary alliance between Japanese and U.S. imperialism through workers revolution on both sides of the Pacific. We also oppose military aid to Taiwan, which has been key to U.S. designs for

direct route the U.S. would use to deploy forces from its bases in South Korea and Japan in the event of a war over Taiwan. As Trotskyists, we call for the reunification of China through socialist revolution on Taiwan and proletarian political revolution on the mainland.

Support China’s Military Development

The U.S. Navy, with its eleven aircraft carrier groups, is designed to further the American capitalist rulers’ plunder around the world. Key to Beijing’s naval strategy is keeping U.S. warships far enough from China’s coast that naval aircraft lose much of their effectiveness. Taking a page from Soviet naval strategy, China has sought to counter the overwhelming predominance of the U.S. Navy by developing a submarine fleet, which also constituted the core of the Soviet Navy.

One focus of Chinese military leaders has been to deploy submarines that are difficult to detect but capable of sinking aircraft carriers and other warships. To this end, China has obtained top-notch engines from the German supplier MTU to build modern diesel-electric subs, which can be harder to detect than Ameri-

can nuclear subs. In 2006, a Chinese Song class submarine shocked the U.S. Navy when it surfaced about five miles from the U.S. carrier *Kitty Hawk*, well within torpedo range, in waters off Okinawa. U.S. officials acknowledged that the submarine had been undetected while shadowing the carrier group. Reporter David Lague concludes that “the Pentagon’s favored method of modern warfare—parking carriers near the coast of an enemy and conducting massive air strikes—would be very risky in any clash with China” (Reuters, 19 December 2013).

Island chains have particular importance for submarine warfare, providing cover from enemy sensors and making submarines harder to find, let alone engage. The peculiar and complex geography of the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands makes them ideal for this purpose. The shallow depth of the East China Sea—less than 200 meters in most places and much less around the islands—results in unusually strong tidal currents. Also, the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands are separated from the Ryukyu Islands to the east by the Okinawa Trough, which plunges to a depth of over 2,000 meters.

Taiwan sits at the edge of another deep-water zone that runs eastward into the Pacific. A Chinese military analysis noted: “Owing to the enormously strong and warm western Pacific current in these waters, submarines operating there can submerge to a certain depth of water and anti-submarine sonar above the water finds it very difficult to detect them directly” (quoted in Lyle Goldstein and William Murray, “Undersea Dragons: China’s Maturing Submarine Force,” *International Security*, Spring 2004).

Unlike the impoverished, poorly defended countries the U.S. is accustomed to riding roughshod over, China has some capacity to defend itself, crucially including a nuclear arsenal. The Bei-dou satellite navigation system gives the Chinese military independence from the American-controlled GPS system. A new class of ballistic missiles, the DF-21D, has been designed to strike a moving ship up to 1,700 miles away. These missiles are designed to cripple an aircraft carrier.

We welcome these and other advances that can help to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism—the only power to have ever used nuclear weapons—and its allies. As revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted: “Any weapon in the hands of the imperialists is a weapon directed against the working class, against the weak nations, against socialism, against humanity. Weapons in the hands of the proletariat and of the oppressed nations are the only means of ridding our planet of oppression and war” (“Declaration to the Antiwar

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Fears of a New Stolen Generation Grow

Racist Capitalist State Snatches Aboriginal Children

Australia

The following article is reprinted from Australasian Spartacist No. 222 (Autumn 2014), newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

“Our children are being removed at such a rate that I feel really sick in the stomach every time I look at the stats.” So declared Auntie Lorraine Peeters, a member of the Stolen Generations, at a Melbourne forum last year. According

**Australasian
SPARTACIST**

to government figures, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children make up a third of those removed from their families and are ten times more likely to be in “out-of-home care” than other children. At 30 June 2012 there were 13,299 Indigenous children in “care” across Australia, most enforced by government agencies. This is almost a five-fold increase since 1997 when the damning *Bringing Them Home* report detailed the horror faced by tens of thousands of Indigenous children brutally torn from their families by successive capitalist governments over more than one hundred years.

Fears that another Stolen Generation is occurring are very real. The backdrop to this scandal is the police and military occupation of Northern Territory (NT) Aboriginal communities, launched by the federal Liberal/National Coalition government of John Howard in June 2007 and strengthened and expanded under the subsequent Rudd/Gillard ALP [Australian Labor Party] governments and now the Abbott Coalition government. The “NT Intervention” was orchestrated around a witchhunt over “child sexual abuse,” with Howard declaring “a national emergency in relation to the abuse of children” in these communities. It is a bitter irony, all too predictable, that capitalist state intervention in the name of “protecting children” has resulted in its opposite.

Following the announced takeover, Pat Turner, a former senior Indigenous public servant, aptly remarked, “this Government is using child sexual abuse

as the Trojan horse to resume total control of our lands” (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 2007). The crude land grab that followed has served the interests of the bourgeoisie, who want unrestricted access to the mineral riches on vast tracts of land where Aboriginal communities were allowed some measure of self man-

ual activities people engage in as long as it is consensual.

The state’s prurient interference in the private lives of Indigenous people has had devastating consequences. Clifton Pamkal, a 22-year-old man from Arnhem Land, was allegedly driven to suicide in August 2008 after his loving relationship

from daily experience that the greatest instigators of violence are the armed, uniformed gangs of the capitalist state.

Australia—Racist Hellhole for Aborigines

Unrelenting oppression is the ongoing daily reality for Aboriginal people. And even more so for those in remote communities deemed “unviable” by the capitalist rulers. Aboriginal people face a life expectancy ten years lower than other Australians. They are largely excluded from jobs, with employment for those aged 15-64 years falling to little more than 46 percent according to 2011 figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. While horrendous infant mortality rates have reportedly fallen, as the recent documentary film *Utopia* by liberal journalist John Pilger graphically depicts, the horrendous “Third World” living conditions of Aboriginal communities continue unabated. Many remote communities lack basic infrastructure, face overcrowding in homes and other indices of poverty, including endemic, chronic health issues such as rheumatic heart disease, trachoma and malnutrition. The very real social pathologies of domestic violence, abuse of children and drug addiction exist throughout capitalist society, but are exacerbated by the brutal enforced marginalisation of Aboriginal people.

Far from assisting the most oppressed and downtrodden, much of the paltry budget for Aboriginal Affairs goes towards enforcing intrusive, repressive measures to take control of Aboriginal lives. The degrading “income management” scheme forced on some 20,000 Aborigines in the NT has only made their lives harder. The Abbott government is building an army of truancy officers to police black youth as opposed to providing decent education or jobs training. Dollars are spent on sending government bureaucrats to inspect derelict, overcrowded housing as opposed to actually building decent homes and providing basic sanitation and clean water. Racist contempt for the rights, health and lives of Indigenous peoples is not an aberration of a particular official or governing party, but is woven into the very fabric of the bourgeois state.

“Something like 35 percent of children removed, are removed for neglect,” reported Frank Hytten from the Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care (SNAICC) in November last year. “But neglect can be seen as a cultural issue.... It just means things like kids playing barefoot or kids sleeping on the floor,” he noted, concluding, “abject poverty is probably the single biggest issue that creates a lot of this” (www.sbs.com.au, 16 November 2013). In a raid on a house in one remote NT community, five children were removed by “child protection” officers. They were flown hundreds of kilometres to Darwin, separated and placed with carers who did not speak their language. Others report that newborn babies have been taken from mothers in hospital.

Under the codeword “neglect,” infants can be and are being taken away if health workers report a “failure to thrive.” One woman faced the devastation of having her one- and two-year-old children taken away when they lost weight and ended up in hospital. Both had feeding problems and were being fed via liquid to gain weight but feeds were missed despite the



Glenn Campbell



Flickr

Aboriginal family in wretched Northern Territory (NT) government housing. As police and military occupy virtually all Aboriginal townships and camps in NT, government bans pornography and alcohol for dispossessed indigenous population.

agement, albeit in conditions of great privation. The occupation of their communities has brought more devastation to Aboriginal lives, ensnaring people in an ever-widening net of state control and oppression.

Alongside punitive welfare “quarantining” [in which the government determines how welfare recipients spend at least half of their payments] and puritanical bans on alcohol and pornography, came demeaning “medical examinations” of Aboriginal children and youth. Of the thousands “examined,” barely 0.5 percent were assessed as “at risk” of neglect or abuse, while 40 percent were referred to specialists for poverty-related health problems. A 2008 review of the Intervention by the North Australian Aboriginal Justice Agency reported there was no “spike” in child abuse prosecutions, but there was “a noticeable increase in the number of prosecutions of teenage relationships.” We oppose the state’s attempt at social regimentation, whether through censorship, anti-sex witchhunts or mandatory reporting of “under-age” sexual activity. Against the reactionary “age-of-consent” laws, we uphold the principle of *effective*, i.e., meaningful, consent. It is nobody’s business, least of all the state’s, what sex-

with his 15-year-old girlfriend made him a target of the state. The NT Family and Children’s Services reported the couple to the police. The police then charged Clifton with multiple counts of “carnal knowledge.” When the police found out that Clifton had gone back to his community in order to be with his girlfriend, they locked him up for breaching bail conditions. After escaping custody, Clifton became the target of an extensive police hunt. He was found dead the next morning. The police didn’t bother to tell his mother, in hospital in Darwin, until some 12 hours later.

The coroner’s report into Clifton Pamkal’s death noted that it was likely the young man “was concerned he would be locked up for many years.” This is a valid fear given that Indigenous people are 15 times more likely to be imprisoned than other Australians. Juveniles are 28 times more likely to be detained! Roughly 2.5 percent of the total population, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders made up 27 percent of all prisoners at the end of June 2013. The largest group is in the 25-29 year age group. Meanwhile suicide rates are soaring and gruesome deaths in “police custody” are an all-too-familiar occurrence for Aborigines, who know

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mother's efforts to do everything right. One health worker noted that if the mother had just been given some basic support, this situation would never have happened. The legal requirement for health workers to report possible "neglect" seeks to turn doctors and nurses into auxiliaries of the police. It can also drive parents to avoid seeking medical help for their children when it is needed for fear of the consequences. Applying a punitive response to the symptoms of poverty revives the paternalistic interference that was used to "justify" the Stolen Generations.

Racism—Bedrock of “White Australia” Capitalism

Australian capitalism was founded on the historic genocide, uprooting and dispossession of the Aboriginal peoples, alongside anti-Chinese pogroms and driving out of other non-“Whites” in the early 1900s. Unrelenting racist barbarism against the Aboriginal peoples was intended to render the Aboriginal population extinct. Massacres and disease, along with the violent suppression of heroic Aboriginal resistance to colonial invasion, wreaked devastation on Aboriginal populations, as they were driven further off their lands.

The Australian rulers justified their brutality by declaring that the Aborigines were a doomed population that would die out. To this end, they pursued a conscious policy of “forced assimilation” towards those of mixed race. The Stolen Generations abductions were central to this, deliberately designed to smash cultural continuity between Indigenous generations. Under state Aboriginal Protection Acts, Aboriginal children were forcibly taken from their families and placed in children’s homes, missions or foster care. Many never saw their parents or siblings again. Multiple generations of some Aboriginal families have not known their parents. Punished for speaking their native language, their customs suppressed, children were subject to the absolute control of the institutions’ administrators, with the “Chief Protector” their legal guardian. Once old enough, they were forced to slave as domestic servants or farm labourers for white families.

Such “Protection Acts” also condemned others to be virtual prisoners on reserves or church-run missions. Health, housing, employment, marriage, care of children were all subject to the mission-keeper

or reserve manager. Those Aborigines not on reserves were forbidden contact with family who were, and the protection boards had the power to remove people to or from reserves. Aborigines on missions worked solely for rations; those not on missions had their wages taken by the government "in trust." Hundreds of millions of dollars in unpaid wages were stolen from Aboriginal workers last century, along with misused trust funds, unpaid child endowment, workers' compensation and deceased estates.

It is estimated that more than 30 per cent of all Aboriginal children were stolen from their families between 1910 and 1970. Almost all Aboriginal families and communities were affected. While the laws may have changed, the removal of Aboriginal children continues today. Many have noted with alarm that the rates of removal outstrip the years of the Stolen Generations. Behind this grim statistic is the grinding oppression and intense social degradation under racist Australian capitalism. It highlights the hypocrisy of then Labor PM [Prime Minister] Kevin Rudd's "Apology to Australia's Indigenous peoples" in 2008. Intended to sugar-coat the NT Intervention, it was yet another cruel hoax foisted on Aboriginal people.

For a Class-Struggle Fight for Aboriginal Rights

Capitalist governments have been ratcheting up attacks on workers' jobs, wages and conditions while eroding unemployment benefits, health care and other social services. Whipping up racism and nationalism as a wedge against a fighting workers movement, they scapegoat and stigmatise the most marginalised in society in order to bolster capitalist class rule. Aborigines, small in number and largely excluded from the working class, are a vulnerable target. In attacking Aboriginal rights today, the bourgeois rulers aim to make it easier to further their attacks on the working class. Indeed the welfare quarantining that was first foisted on Aboriginal people has now been extended to oppressed working-class communities in some cities. Workers have a vital interest in fighting in defence of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. It is inseparable from the fight for their own class interest.

With its unique role at the point of pro-



Battye Library

Aboriginal children, part of earlier "stolen generation," inspected by state governor and abbot at St. Joseph's Orphanage, Western Australia.

duction, the working class holds enormous power in this society. Most importantly, it is the only class with both the social power and historic interest to end the system of capitalist exploitation. For the unions to become weapons of struggle they need a class-struggle leadership that mobilises the integrated workers movement behind the cause of all the oppressed. This includes defending Indigenous people against racist state terror, consistently championing their rights and supporting their attempts to regain some of the land stolen from them by the capitalist rulers. A class-struggle leadership of the unions would lead workers in a fight for full legal equality of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, for massive programs in housing, health, education, and basic services, and for jobs for all, at union conditions and equal wages!

Giving a taste of the kind of social power that can be brought to bear was the action of unionists in August 1996 during a protest opposing Howard's anti-union and welfare attacks by some 35,000 outside Canberra's Parliament House. When cops attacked an Aboriginal contingent that was leading a 6,000-strong march into the main rally, unionists came to their defence, forcing the cops to retreat into Parliament House, where they were besieged for two hours. In vile contrast to this exemplary defence action, the ACTU tops joined the subsequent witchhunting

frenzy whipped up by a ruling class horrified at the sight of unionists defending Aborigines. They fingered the anti-racist militants to the state. Their class betrayal highlights the pernicious role of the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucrats. Joined at the hip to their ALP parliamentary "mates," they act as a transmission belt for, and reinforcement of, backward consciousness in the proletariat.

A class-struggle fight, in opposition to Laborism, is the key to winning away the proletarian base of the ALP to a revolutionary party that stands as a tribune of the people. Opposing every manifestation of capitalist injustice and oppression, such a party will strive to transform the proletariat into a conscious instrument for socialist revolution. It will take socialist revolution to open the road to a society that serves human need, not the profit of the privileged few. As we state in the program of the Spartacist League of Australia (October 1998):

“Only the destruction of capitalism can hold out the possibility of voluntary integration, on the basis of full equality, for those Aboriginal people who desire it, and the fullest possible autonomy for those who do not, and make it possible to address the special needs created by more than two centuries of injustice and oppression.”

Make the unions weapons of struggle!
For a class-struggle fight for Aboriginal
rights! ■

China...

(continued from page 5)

Congress at Amsterdam," 25 July 1932). Nevertheless, China's economic and military development remains extremely uneven, a legacy of rural backwardness and poverty reinforced by the imperialist subjugation that was broken only through the 1949 Revolution.




China's collectivized economy has achieved enormous gains, including during the past six years as the capitalist world has been mired in economic stagnation,

despite the gross bureaucratic mismanagement of the CCP regime. But China is still far less developed than the former Soviet Union, which covered one-sixth of the globe and possessed a wealth of mineral resources. While the USSR achieved enormous advances over the backward and impoverished society ruled by the tsars, growing into an industrial and military powerhouse second only to the U.S., it could not on its own match much less surpass the economic level of the advanced capitalist countries. Under President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, the U.S. pushed the Soviets into an arms race whose enor-

mous cost played a major role in precipitating the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule there. Today, China faces a U.S. military behemoth that dwarfs the arsenal of any other country, with Washington lavishing more on its war machine than the next ten highest spenders combined.

It is the duty of the workers of the world to defend the workers states—China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and

Laos—against the common class enemy. Only through proletarian revolutions in the advanced industrialized countries will the imperialist military machine be smashed and the basis laid for achieving socialism—a classless society of material abundance. To provide the necessary leadership for that fight, the ICL is committed to reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

<p>スパルタシスト </p> <p>2006年9月</p> <p>パンフレット 無料</p> <p>国際原則の宣言と 綱領のいくつかの諸要素</p> <p>組織規約及び指針</p>	<p>スパルタシスト </p> <p>No. 36 (労働組合員による印刷) 60円 2012年 12月10日</p> <p>ギリシャ議会総選挙:さらなる緊縮に直面する労働者たち</p> <p>EUを打倒せよ!労働者のヨーロッパを!</p>  <p>3月15日、アテネの村屋名の外で若い学生が暴徒と対峙する時々の写真。</p>
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Ukraine...
(continued from page 1)

Crimean capital of Simferopol broke out between Tatars and pro-Russian demonstrators, leaving two dead and 30 injured. Distrust of Russian authorities among the Tatars dates back to the period of Joseph Stalin, who deported the Crimean Tatars en masse in 1944 from their historic homeland to Central Asia and other parts of the Soviet Union.

Since the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state in 1991-92, we have emphasized the need for working people to join together in struggle against capitalist exploitation and all manifestations of oppression, national subjugation and anti-Jewish bigotry. In a 3 April 1995 statement by the International Communist League, issued at a time when we were banned from Ukraine as part of an anti-communist witchhunt, we stressed that “today, in our quest for the democratic rights of the working people and all nationalities to be asserted and defended, we believe that a plebiscite on national affiliation is in order in the Crimea and Chechnya” (WV No. 620, 7 April 1995).

The people of Crimea have every right to self-determination, including independence or incorporation into Russia. In the present juncture, exercising that right might well depend on the support of Russian forces. Indeed, it was the new Crimean government that requested Russian intervention.

It is principled for Marxists to support the Russian intervention into Crimea so long as Russia were to implement special rights for the Crimean Tatar minority, who are plenty oppressed under Ukrainian rule. That Crimea was ever transferred to Ukraine was a stupid administrative error of the Khrushchev regime, contrary to the history as well as the national and linguistic make-up of Crimea. Although it remains to be seen, the new authorities have at least verbally stated that they want to redress Tatar concerns. Crimea’s deputy prime minister, Rustam Temirgaliev, has declared that the local government will offer the Crimean Tatars a place on Crimea’s Supreme Council and that funding for programs of resettlement and reintegration of those deported during the Stalin era will be plentiful (Russia Today, 2 March).

For the Right of All Nations to Self-Determination!

The right of self-determination and other national rights apply to the peoples of all nations, including those of great powers like Russia. As Marxists, we have always rejected the methodology that democratic rights apply only to certain “progressive” peoples, as opposed to those designated “reactionary.” For example, the Zionist state viciously oppresses the Palestinians, but we recognize the national rights of Israeli Jews as well as the Palestinians and oppose the view that the Jews should be driven into the sea. In Northern Ireland, the Catholic minority is oppressed by the (slim) Protestant majority and the British state. But we recognize that the Protestants are a distinct community and oppose their forcible reunifica-

tion into an Irish Catholic state. We stand for an Irish workers republic as part of a voluntary federation of workers republics in the British Isles.

Self-determination is a democratic right and not an absolute one. Its application is subject to the demands of the class struggle. For example, if Russian forces use the takeover of the Crimea to deepen the oppression of the Tatars, it would then be unprincipled to support the Russian intervention.

As Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin underlined, the recognition of the right of self-determination is a way to get the national question off the agenda and to foster the fighting unity of the proletariat, thereby enabling the working people of different nations to see who their real enemies are—namely, their respective capitalist classes. We are implacable



March 1: Pro-Russian troops on outskirts of Sevastopol in Crimea, where Russia's Black Sea Fleet is based.

opponents of Russian nationalism, just as we oppose all forms of nationalism. Thus we supported the Chechen people in their military struggles for independence against their brutal Russian bourgeois oppressors, under both Boris Yeltsin and Vladimir Putin.

In intervening into Crimea, Putin is seeking to defend the interests of capitalist Russia against the Western imperialists, who are aiming to establish a client state on his border. At the same time, in the context of increasing hostilities against ethnic Russians in Ukraine, Russia’s realpolitik military maneuvers intersect the very real national fears faced by Russians in Crimea.

Workers Must Sweep the Fascists Off the Streets!

Just as our attitude toward Russian intervention into Crimea does not entail the slightest political support to Putin’s capitalist regime, our opposition to the Ukraine coup does not entail any political support to Yanukovich and his cronies. What was necessary in the lead-up to the coup was for proletarian class unity to be asserted above the national and ethnic divisions that plague that country. It would have been in the interest of the international proletariat for the working class in Ukraine to mobilize to sweep the

fascists off the streets of Kiev. Today, it would certainly be in the interest of the proletariat for multiethnic, non-sectarian workers militias to be formed to crush the fascists and repel any and all expressions of communal violence.

In our article “Ukraine Turmoil: Capitalist Powers in Tug of War” (WV No. 1038, 24 January), we pointed out the major role played by fascists in the anti-government demonstrations in Ukraine. But despite ample evidence that neo-Nazis have a strong hold on the opposition now in power, the New York Times and other mouthpieces of the American ruling class still will not call them by their right name. The Western media continues to sell the lie that this coup is the result of a “peaceful revolution” for democracy and against corruption.

Svoboda is a fascist anti-Jewish party

whose leader Oleg Tyagnibok claims that a “Moscow-Jewish mafia” controls Ukraine. This party derives from the Ukrainian nationalists led by Stepan Bandera, who militarily collaborated with the Nazis during World War II and carried out mass murders of Jews, Communists, Soviet soldiers and Poles. The party was initially named Social-National Party of Ukraine, an intentional reference to the German Nazi (National Socialist) party. In January, Svoboda led a 15,000-strong torch-lit march in Kiev and another in its stronghold of Lviv, in western Ukraine, in memory of their hero Bandera.

Even more extreme groups such as the Right Sector, which considers Svoboda too “liberal” and “conformist,” went on to outflank Svoboda in the protests. Introducing paramilitary gangs, they turned the tide of the protests in Kiev to attacks on police, with the aim of overthrowing the government. Following the coup, Right Sector supporters in Stryi, in the Lviv region, destroyed a national monument to the Red Army soldiers who died liberating Ukraine from Nazi Germany. (Dozens of statues of Lenin have also been dismantled in the past couple of months.) Aleksandr Muzychko, leader of the West Ukrainian section of the group, has pledged to fight against “Jews, communists and Russian scum until I die.” Asserting the Right Sector’s authority over the situation, Muzychko declared that now that the government has been overthrown, “there will be order and discipline” or “Right Sector squads will shoot the bastards on the spot.”

To the extent that a government exists now in post-coup Ukraine, its laws are largely dictated by these neo-Nazi, Russophobic, anti-Jewish, ultra-nationalist outfits. In addition to stripping the official status of minority languages, the new regime also banned in the western regions of Ukraine the “Communist” Party of Ukraine (CP), which openly collaborated with the bourgeois Yanukovich regime, as well as Yanukovich’s Party of Regions. The CP, which claims 115,000 members and more than two million voters, reports that its supporters have been harassed and beaten and that the CP leader’s house was burned down. Meanwhile, citing “constant warnings concerning intentions to

attack Jewish institutions,” a Kiev rabbi called on the Jewish population to leave the city and even the country if possible. Indeed, on February 24 a Jewish synagogue was firebombed in Zaporozhye in southeastern Ukraine. A March 3 statement by the Russian Foreign Ministry noted, “The West’s allies now are outright neo-Nazis who wreck Orthodox churches and synagogues.”

The present crisis in Ukraine was precipitated by Yanukovich’s decision to reject a “partnership” with the EU. That deal was tied to an IMF loan that would have put the Ukrainian working class on starvation rations, as happened to the Greeks and others. U.S. assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs Victoria Nuland, EU representative for foreign affairs Catherine Ashton, U.S. Senator John McCain and numerous other American and European politicians rushed to Maidan square in Kiev to encourage the protesters and show their support. On December 17, Russian president Putin offered the cash-strapped Yanukovich a \$15 billion loan and a reduction in gas prices. While far from enough to lift the country out of poverty, this would have been a temporary reprieve for Ukraine, which is about to default. Putin’s loan was immediately denounced by the U.S. Senate as “Russian economic coercion.”

At every level, what is going on in Ukraine is the product of the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and ravaged the economies and peoples of the former Soviet republics. The Ukrainian economy, which had been integrated into an all-Union economic division of labor, was dealt a severe blow. Living standards plummeted throughout the former USSR. In Ukraine, real wages in 2000 were at best only one-third of 1991 levels, while industrial employment fell 50 percent between 1991 and 2001.

As a former Soviet Republic, Ukraine is still economically very dependent on Russia. The bulk of industry—the production of steel, metals, railway cars and nuclear equipment—is located in the heavily Russified and Orthodox eastern Ukraine, not in the more rural and Uniate Catholic west. These industries, crucial for Russia, are of no use to the Western imperialists, who are intent on liquidating them.

Ukraine’s population of 46 million is deeply divided, with much of western Ukraine advocating closer ties with the EU while eastern and southern regions look to Russia for support. The country was also polarized between corrupt gangs of capitalist tycoons who were earlier scratching each other’s backs while gorging themselves on the theft of the industrial wealth built up over decades by the multinational Soviet working class. Some of these oligarchs, with an appetite for more European investment, orient to the West. Meanwhile, Yanukovich’s support derived from eastern Ukraine and Crimea, which trade with Russia.

The Ukrainian working class, which had shown militancy in the early 1990s in the eastern industrial Donetsk region, has so far remained silent as a class. No doubt the workers feel little sympathy for mafia chief Yanukovich. But the pro-imperialist coup in Ukraine, ushered in by fascists, offers up the working class for even more savage exploitation by the imperialists.

Great-Power Rivalries

Siding with ultra-reactionaries and fascists has never bothered the “democratic” U.S. imperialists. In fact, the Banderaites are old friends of Washington. After World War II, Western intelligence protected Bandera’s units and turned them into a guerrilla force against the Soviets, also making them a mainstay of Radio Free Europe. Today, in need of even harsher austerity to keep profits flowing, the Ukrainian ruling class and its imperialist godfathers may find the fascists handy to divert the focus of social discontent from the oligarchs and foreign capitalists to minorities like Jews and immigrants, or to crush militant workers and leftists.

When Barack Obama first came to power, he talked of attempting a “reset” of

Advertisement for Spartacist magazine. It includes the title 'Spartacist', the subtitle 'Буллетень Спартакковцев', and the main headline 'Почему мы боролись В защиту Советского Союза'. It also features a small image of a flag and text about the magazine's content and availability in Russian.

relations with Russia. However, the U.S. attitude toward Russia today resembles something from the days of the Dulles brothers during the 1950s Cold War era, with the vilification of Russia a theme constantly reiterated by both U.S. media and politicians. But the U.S. imperialists' hostility to Russia is no longer about overthrowing the collectivized property relations that were established by the 1917 October Revolution. Rather, it is an expression of "great power" politics.

Seven decades of a planned economy transformed Soviet Russia from a largely peasant country to a mainly urbanized one, with rough military parity with the U.S., a skilled workforce and a very substantial number of highly trained scientific and technical personnel. Thanks in great part to the high price of oil and gas in recent years, the Russian economy has recovered from the catastrophe of "shock therapy" that came with capitalist counterrevolution. Russia is the world's biggest producer of oil and gas, and it still has a sizable nuclear weapons arsenal. It also has a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and the power to at times be a thorn in the side of the U.S., as when Obama threatened to attack Syria last year.

In its constant drive for world hegemony, the U.S. has been trying to curtail Russia's strength as a regional power, continuously expanding NATO into East Europe and attempting to install pliant regimes through a series of color "revolutions" in former Soviet republics. The U.S. has also established bases across Central Asia and elsewhere on Russia's periphery. This military extension is aimed at the encirclement not only of capitalist Russia but also of China, the largest and most powerful of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states. For its part, Russia has numerous times gone along with American imperialism. For example, since 2009 Russia has allowed the U.S. to transport troops and weapons to Afghanistan through its airspace, having previously limited transport through its territory to "nonlethal" supplies.

With breattaking hypocrisy, the U.S. and EU—with their media mouthpieces in tow—condemn Russia for "interference" into Ukraine's affairs. It is, in fact, the imperialists who have their dirty hands all over Ukraine. When a telephone conversation was leaked last month between Victoria Nuland and Geoffrey Pyatt, the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, all the focus in the media revolved around her statement, "Fuck the EU." Disappeared was the fact that this was a dispute over who should take power after Yanukovich, with Nuland outright rejecting the prospect of former boxer Vitali Klitschko, who was being promoted by German imperialism (Klitschko actually pays taxes in Germany). As professor Stephen Cohen aptly described the phone call in a February 20 *Democracy Now!* interview, "The highest-ranking State Department official, who presumably represents the Obama administration, and the American ambassador in Kiev are, to put it in blunt terms, plotting a coup d'état against the elected president of Ukraine."

In the recent coup, the EU—with Germany, France and Poland taking the lead—has played a prominent role as a battering ram for IMF austerity. The EU is an imperialist trade bloc dominated by Germany, and its "offer" of partnership would spell even deeper poverty for the Ukrainian working class. The IMF loan tied to the EU agreement stipulates that Ukraine cannot accept any financial support from Russia. It requires the slashing of gas and oil subsidies for Ukrainians, making it impossible for many to heat their homes in the frigid winter, and demands further and far more drastic privatizations of public services and industries. In short, it would ensure massive economic privation for Ukraine's working people, east and west.

Ironically, Yanukovich, who had been more than willing to work with the EU, probably turned down the loan agreement because he feared he would not politically survive the social consequences of the austerity package accompanying it.

Fascist Scourge in Ukraine, Then and Now



Süddeutscher Verlag

Top left: Ukrainian villagers welcome Nazi troops during World War II. Top right: Massacre of Jews by Nazi SS at Babi Yar near Kiev, 1941. Bottom left: Ukrainian fascist Stepan Bandera's forces, shown in 1946, fought against Soviet Army that liberated East Europe from Nazis. Bottom right: October 2009 Kiev rally honors Bandera, executed by Soviet KGB in 1959.



ITAR-TASS



Hulton



Kyiv Post

Ukraine needs some \$35 billion just to meet its debt obligations over the next two years. But not much is actually on offer from the EU and U.S. imperialists.

State Department Socialists

While the Western bourgeois media is working overtime to pass off the reactionary demonstrations in Kiev as a "fight for democracy," the International Socialist Organization (ISO) chimes in with its own version of this tune. A February 24 socialistworker.org article acknowledges that fascists like Right Sector were "increasingly at the forefront of the clashes with government forces" and notes, "The menace of the far right in Ukraine cannot be understated." Nonetheless, the article continues, "it would be wrong to dismiss the protest movement wholesale because [of] its presence," describing the protests in Kiev as an "action from below." So were the rampages of Nazi stormtroopers!

The ISO goes further and calls for "a grassroots effort involving independent workers' organizations, trade unions and a strengthened left establishing an atmosphere of solidarity *within* the Maidan, in which the toxic message of hate will wither and die" [our emphasis]. To be clear, here the ISO is calling on workers to join and help a movement that is controlled by fascists and far-right forces. Any worker militant unfortunate enough to be influenced by the ISO would have found himself participating in a fascist-led coup.

Naïve left-wing groups, trade unionists and gay activists who tried to join the protests were expelled from the square by force of arms and beaten. The ISO is used to the company of arch-reactionaries. From its inception in the 1950s, the ISO's international tendency—including its erstwhile partners in the British Socialist Workers Party—has always sided with "democratic" imperialism. At the outbreak of the Korean War, it abandoned Trotskyism by refusing to defend the Soviet Union, China and North Korea, going on to support any and all forces arrayed against the Soviet work-

ers state in the name of "anti-Stalinism." This included prettifying General Andrey Vlasov, the leader of the Russian fascists who fought on the side of Hitler's Nazis during the Second World War.

The Russian Revolution and the National Question

The Bolshevik Party that led the October Revolution of 1917 steadfastly stood for the equality of all nations, peoples and languages. The Bolsheviks opposed any form of national inequality or privilege. This enabled them to rally the working people—Russians, Jews, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, etc.—to overthrow the rule of the capitalists and landlords.

For the first several years after the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks assiduously defended the rights of the various peoples and nationalities in the country. For example, the Crimean Autonomous Republic was established in 1921 within the Russian Federation; about a fifth of its population were Crimean Tatars. In the first years of Soviet power there was a marked development of Crimean Tatar national culture: the Tatars founded national research centers, museums, libraries and theaters. However, with the triumph and consolidation of a Stalinist bureaucracy beginning in 1923-24, Great Russian chauvinism began to flourish. Within years, teaching of the Crimean Tatar language and literature was ended, and all publications in the language were banned.

When the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, a section of the Tatars welcomed them as liberators. But many other Tatars fought in the Soviet Army against Germany. Stalin then vindictively visited collective punishment on the Crimean Tatar population. In 1944, some 180,000 Tatars were deported to Central Asia and other parts of the USSR. The Chechens and Volga Germans received similar treatment. Almost one-half of the Tatars died on the way to exile. It was not until 1967 that Soviet authorities began the "rehabilitation" of the Tatars. Only

two decades later were they allowed to begin returning to Crimea, creating great bitterness among the Tatars.

However, it would be a mistake to view national relations in the Soviet degenerated workers state as a simple continuation of the tsarist prison house of peoples. The policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy had a *contradictory* impact. The existence of a socialized economy with central planning provided the material basis for developing more backward areas of the USSR, such as Soviet Central Asia. Ukraine underwent substantial industrialization and development. The achievement of full employment, medical care for all and other gains undercut the most virulent forms of bourgeois nationalism and anti-Semitism that are fueled by the discontents of capitalist society. The Red Army smashed the Nazi invaders during World War II, liberating Ukraine from the fascist scum.

With the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union, all the "old crap" returned, leading to a sharp intensification of communalism and a proliferation of national hatreds pitting working people against each other in a dog-eat-dog struggle for survival. As we have noted in the past, the breakup of the Soviet Union revealed a situation of considerable interpenetration of peoples and of economic production units that were inherited from and geared to a bureaucratically centralized planned economy. That is the situation with Ukraine, particularly in the eastern regions.

The future under capitalism is bleak. Further economic immiseration could well lead to increased bitterness and strife among differing ethnic groups, with a bloody "resolution" of the national question. As we noted in concluding our article on Ukraine three issues ago: "The crucial task is to forge Leninist-Trotskyist parties that will wage a thoroughgoing struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and great-power chauvinism as part of patient but persistent propaganda aimed at winning the proletariat to the program of international socialist revolution."■

Paris Commune...

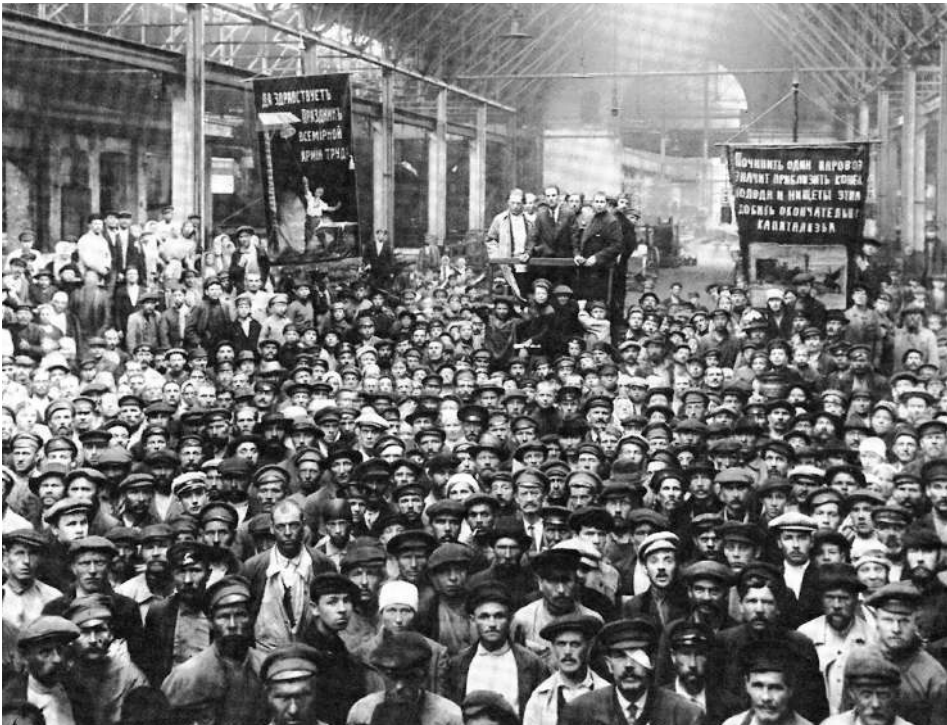
(continued from page 2)

fault. This point was only a sharp indication of the failure of the Communards to take even a thousandth part of the advantages of power to suppress with an iron hand the enemy, that the Versaillaise took.

The history of Bloody Week is a bitter lesson learned by the proletariat, a lesson which means unrelenting struggle against an unscrupulous enemy, the utilization of all the instruments and means of proletarian power for the extermination of the brutal vampire of the ruling class.

The difficulty of an insufficiently developed working class, the lack of a political party of clear principles, tactics and experience, and the absence of highly developed industry, might have been overcome by the Commune had it not been forced to assume the defensive on the military field from the beginning. Its natural anxiety for defense from extermination by the Versaillaise made it, to put it mildly, difficult to begin very much economic work. The steps it took despite these difficulties already gave an indication as to the real socialist nature of its economic measures and quite safe predictions can be made as to the development towards a socialist economy that might have resulted thru the military victory of the Communards over Thiers.

The Commune, slandered and calumniated by the bourgeoisie for decades, is the property of the revolutionary working



1920: Workers hold mass meeting at Putilov steel factory for re-election of Petrograd Soviet.

class today, in the Communist movement where its spirit is embodied. The Commune lives in even more heroic form, in broader lines, with more power and greater clarity of purpose in the revolution of the Russian workers and peasants. The existence of the revolutionary movement of the working class today, honoring the great Paris Commune and carefully learning from its experience, the existence of the first working class republic in Russia is the vindication

which history and the working class have rendered the heroic efforts of the Parisian working men.

The working class of Russia has long ago learned the lesson of the Paris Commune. Painstakingly they built up their iron regiments into a mighty Bolshevik party, armed with the sharp weapons of Marxism, and dominated by the irresistible will to power which led the first successful proletarian revolution in the world. The revolutionaries of Russia

knew that the chief source of success in the uprising for liberty was a conscious group, a party of the vanguard of the working class which would be able to give leadership and direction to the struggle, the lack of which was the evil genius of the Commune.

And the Communist movement of the world today, learning equally the lessons of the Commune and of the three revolutions in Russia; of the revolutions and uprisings in Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Italy and Finland, is preparing for the revolution by building up more strongly every day the fighting parties of Communism, steeled in every struggle.

“Workingmen’s Paris,” wrote Marx in his brilliant *Civil War in France*, “with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”

It is the admirable and fitting eulogy to the immemorable action of the Paris workers. The celebration of the Commune is the celebration of the approaching victory of the most oppressed class in history. The lessons of the Commune are being slowly learned by the workers. In its lofty spirit of heroism the revolution of today finds new inspiration and courage and determination.

“The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution,” said the greatest Communard of all times, Lenin, “of the complete political and economic liberation of the working class, the cause of the proletariat of the entire world. And in this sense it is immortal.”■

Dieudonné...

(continued from page 3)

Africans to white slave-traders. But truth might stand in the way of Dieudonné’s agenda, so scratch that. He peddles time-worn lies to pit one sector of the oppressed against another and in so doing he lets the racist white ruling class off the hook.

Zionism and Anti-Semitism Go Hand in Hand

It is truly obscene to witness the French ruling class now wielding the charge of anti-Semitism as a club against blacks and North Africans in France after committing atrocities such as the 1890s frame-up of Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus for treason, which set off an explosion of anti-Jewish hatred, and the deportation of nearly 76,000 Jews to Nazi death camps with the direct collaboration of the World War II Vichy regime. The French capitalist rulers and the Zionist Israeli state both push the false equation that anti-Zionism equals anti-Semitism. In fact, the Zionists have themselves been in league with anti-Semitic forces to encourage Jewish emigration to Israel. Attacks on Jews provide a pretext for Israel’s rulers to clobber Arab people. And in 2002, when Jean-Marie Le Pen advanced to the second round in the presidential elections, the leader of the CRIF (Conseil Représentatif des Institutions Juives de France, affiliate of the World Jewish Congress) rejoiced that this should “provoke the Muslims to keep quiet.”

The French ruling class plays Jew against Arab for diplomatic advantage in the Near East, a historic region of its colonial rule, and to obstruct Arab-French unity within the working class inside France. After helping arm Israel to the teeth, including assisting its development of a nuclear arsenal, the French government under Charles de Gaulle switched sides and backed the Arab regimes in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. This was a calculated move to shore up France’s standing in the Arab world after the Algerians defeated French imperialism and won independence in 1962. Events in the Near East reverberate loudly within France, which has a large population of both Jews and Arabs.

In France, the bourgeoisie has deliberately fostered Islam as a means to regiment

French cop under World War II Vichy regime guards transit camp where Jews were held before being sent to concentration camps.



immigrant workers and sow divisions in the proletariat, even building prayer rooms inside factories. Yet when North African workers took the lead in militant strikes throughout the auto industry in the 1980s, the French government denounced them as “ayatollahs in the factories.” Since 11 September 2001, the French bourgeoisie has fanned the flames of hysteria about Islamic “terror networks” in France in order to justify brutal police-state crack-downs, especially against the swelling ranks of unemployed youth in the *banlieues*. Meanwhile, attacks against Jews are on the rise as the timeworn “socialism of fools” is pushed by scum like Dieudonné. Attacks on Arabs, which are routine and delivered with the full force and legitimacy of bourgeois state repression, grab fewer headlines.

In 2008, President Nicolas Sarkozy devised a novel way to whitewash the French bourgeoisie’s crimes against Jews by demanding that every school-child “adopt” one of the more than 11,000 French Jewish children killed in the Holocaust. This agenda of collective guilt pushed on children of North African descent, whose families keenly identify with the just cause of the Palestinian people, adds grist to Dieudonné’s anti-Jewish rants that the Holocaust is “memorial pornography.” Dieudonné gave Holocaust denialist Robert Faurisson an award presented by an actor dressed as a concentration camp detainee with a yellow Star of David pinned on his chest. Anti-Jewish bigotry and Holocaust denialism already saturate the Arab world, pushed by despotic Arab rulers seeking legitimacy among the people they oppress.

The abandonment of the immigrant population by key sections of the labor movement and the left, which stems directly from their program of class collaboration, leaves the field wide open for a malignant provocateur like Dieudonné. Over the past four decades, the trade-union tops and the reformist working-class parties have been ensconced in a series of popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties. These popular fronts have pushed anti-working-class austerity and racist state repression against immigrants and their French-born children, undercutting class struggle and poisoning class consciousness. The French Communist Party offered credentials for its 1981 entry into Socialist president François Mitterrand’s Union of the Left government by bulldozing a hostel for immigrant workers in Vitry-sur-Seine, a working-class and immigrant municipality outside Paris it controlled.

Popular-front governments have rivaled the right-wing parties in sowing police terror against *banlieue* youth and carrying out mass deportations of undocumented immigrants. With the exception of our comrades of the LTF, the rest of the left has supported these popular fronts, calling on workers to vote them into office systematically (in the case of the former Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire) or with less regularity (Lutte Ouvrière). Lutte Ouvrière refuses to oppose the Vigipirate campaign of racist cop terror and supports the expulsion from school of young women wearing the Islamic headscarf.

Dieudonné is the fulcrum of a shady, dangerous milieu where “anti-establishment” demagogues crawl into

bed with fascists and reactionaries of all stripes. On January 26, Dieudonné helped mobilize blacks and North Africans to join their most mortal enemies in the “Day of Rage” demonstration led by the far right. Under the French tricolor, slogans included, “Jew: France does not belong to you” and “Faurisson is right; gas chambers are a sham.” Anti-Semitism and homophobia (whipped to a fever pitch in opposition to gay marriage) are the threads that stitch together the reactionary populism expressed in that demonstration.

Dieudonné is both a symptom and a product of French capitalism in decay. Subject to systematic segregation and relentless police terror, blacks and youth of North African descent face massive unemployment, a condition that defines life for growing numbers of white working-class youth as well. This is the background of despair and social disorganization that has led to an embrace of Dieudonné’s poison. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the fragmentation and rightward lunge of the reformist left have created a vacuum filled by religious fundamentalism—Catholic, Jewish and Islamic—and other forms of social reaction.

As Marxists, our starting point has to be to tell the truth, no matter how bitter. We want a common front of all working people and the oppressed *against* their class enemies—not a deadly lash-up of the oppressed with their would-be executioners. This has to be forged behind the social weight of the integrated labor movement through the intervention of a revolutionary party that fights against all manifestations of oppression as a Leninist tribune of the people.■

Boeing...

(continued from page 12)

to an unending string of defeats for the unions.

Imperialism’s Labor Lieutenants

The IAM tops’ emphasis on cutting a deal with the company to “save Washington jobs” is a reflection at the local level of their flag-waving “America First” protectionism. In 2012, the IAM denounced the prospective sale of the bankrupt Hawker Beechcraft company to Superior Aviation of China on the grounds that the sale would threaten “national security.” Last year, Buffenbarger condemned the Department of Defense for granting Embraer the contract to build the Light Air Support aircraft, putting “a Brazilian manufacturer directly in control of weapons systems that is [sic] central to U.S. national polices.” Such protectionism, which is pushed by IAM officials at all levels, helps bind workers to their “own” national exploiters and undermines vitally necessary international labor solidarity.

During the 1995 IAM strike against Boeing, we printed an exchange with a Portland IAM official who wrongly painted our opposition to protectionism as an apologia for capitalist “free trade.” Pointing out that protectionists and “free traders” often turn out to be the same corporations, we noted that “the labor bureaucrats demand that the U.S. government carry out the very same trade practices for which they condemn other governments.” We went on to explain about protectionism: “It is not a big step from complaining that ‘they’ are stealing ‘our’ jobs to the demonization of ‘them’ as the enemy. In the end, trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. That, writ large, is the essence of imperialist capitalism in the 20th century. Its price is millions of corpses.”

—“Exchange on Boeing Strike,” WV No. 634, 1 December 1995

Boeing’s entire global supply chain encompasses 28,000 firms and more than 1.2 million employees. While Boeing uses outsourcing to drive down the costs of production and increase profits, a class-struggle labor leadership would see these workers as a vast body of prospective allies in struggle, following the clarion call in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ *Communist Manifesto*: “Working men of all countries, unite!”

The IAM bureaucracy’s protectionism is doubly treacherous when aimed at China, a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Ever since capitalist rule was overthrown in the 1949 Chinese Revolution, the imperialists have aimed at a counterrevolutionary overturn that would reopen that vast country for untrammled exploitation. In pursuit of their aims, the imperialists are ratcheting up military pressure and provocations against China while seeking further economic penetration (see “U.S., Japanese Provocations in East China Sea,” page 4). Boeing is a key player in these combined strategies: it produces military hardware aimed directly at countries like China, which is at the same time Boeing’s second-biggest market in the world (and



January 2: IAM members at local union hall in Seattle with sign pushing chauvinist protectionism.

projected to be its largest market by 2020). Boeing also happens to be the largest buyer of aircraft components made in China.

Around the Chinese city of Xian, more than 250,000 workers are involved in the aerospace industry, more than the global workforce of Boeing and Airbus combined. The state-owned Commercial Aircraft Corporation of China (Comac) is developing its own airliner to compete with the likes of the Boeing 737 and Airbus A320. The rapid development of China’s aerospace industry exemplifies the tremendous gains made possible by an economy based on the overthrow of capitalism and the collectivization of productive property. However, with its opposition to the perspective of world proletarian revolution and its conciliation of imperialism, the Stalinist bureaucracy endangers the workers state and blocks further development toward socialism. In recent decades, the regime has acted as labor brokers for capitalists around the world, offering up Chinese workers for exploitation in designated sectors of the economy.

Just as class-conscious workers defend the IAM and other unions despite their pro-capitalist misleaders, so too must the world proletariat defend the Chinese workers state against its class enemies, despite the misrule of Xi Jinping and the rest of the Stalinist bureaucrats. Capitalist restoration in China would compound the world-historic defeat brought about by the counterrevolutions that destroyed the bureaucratically ruled workers states of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, further emboldening the imperialists in their depredations around the world. Based on our unconditional defense of China against imperialist and domestic counter-revolution, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of workers and peasants councils committed to the struggle for world socialism.

Organizing the South: Crucial Task for Labor

While the U.S. labor tops scream about low-wage workers overseas “stealing”

American jobs, much of the U.S. has become a low-wage outsourcing destination for both American and foreign companies, especially in the “right to work” South. In large part, this is the product of the labor bureaucracy’s refusal to wage the hard class battles necessary to organize unions in the South (and most everywhere else). Today, Boeing has a final assembly line for the 787 in North Charleston, South Carolina, and Airbus is building a factory for the A320 in Mobile, Alabama. Meanwhile, virtually every major auto manufacturer has a factory in the South while the workers of Detroit, formerly a union stronghold, have been thrown onto the scrap heap.

Boeing’s non-union plants were used by the company as a cudgel against the IAM to force acceptance of the recent contract. In November 2007, workers at Vought Aircraft Industries in North Charleston, which produced major portions of the 787 fuselage for Boeing, voted for IAM representation. But after Boeing purchased the factory in 2009, an anti-union worker filed a decertification petition and the union was voted out. Having gotten what it wanted, a non-union operation, Boeing established a final assembly line of the 787 at North Charleston. Workers there earn significantly less than their counterparts in Washington State and are subject to grinding speedup as the company rushes to meet its orders.

The IAM leadership has made only desultory attempts to re-organize the plant, placing most of its hopes on the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Contrary to the illusions pushed by the union tops, the NLRB is not a neutral arbiter but is an organ of the capitalist government. Its main role is to head off strikes and to drag unionization efforts into a legal and regulatory quagmire.

As part of the class-struggle fight needed to organize the South, labor must tackle head-on the racist legacy of slavery and Jim Crow segregation, which has long served to divide workers and keep unions

out. Wherever powerful industrial unions have been built in this country, it has only been possible through workers uniting in conscious struggle against racist and ethnic discrimination and bigotry. In recent years, with large numbers of immigrants mainly from Latin America moving to the South, deportations have been used by the capitalists to block unionization efforts. The situation in the South underscores that the labor movement can go forward only through championing the fight for black rights and for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

For decades, the U.S. capitalist class has enormously increased profits by waging a mostly one-sided war against the working people, with real wages falling, health care costs soaring and decent pensions disappearing. The remaining union strongholds, like the IAM at Boeing and the ILWU and ILA longshoremen, will continue to be threatened by the anti-labor tide unless there is a sharp break from the class collaborationism of the current labor leadership. In this sense, their situation resembles that of the craft unions of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in the 1920s. Representing the top layers of the proletariat, the AFL sought to maintain its relatively privileged position while leaving the mass of unskilled workers undefended. This conservative, job-trusting outlook provided no defense during the Great Depression of the 1930s, which ground down *all* sections of the working class. Only through massive and combative struggles—many of which were led by reds—against the capitalists and their police and private strikebreakers did the labor movement revive, leading to the founding of the CIO industrial unions.

In the aftermath of the recent contract sellout, many IAM members want a new leadership. District 751 president Wroblewski has retired, and there will be a rare union-wide general election for the International leadership in April. Many look to the opposition “IAM Reform” slate headed by Jay Cronk as a vehicle to oust Buffenbarger & Co. These elections are being run under the supervision of the Department of Labor after IAM Reform filed a complaint over last year’s uncontested elections. Bringing the Department of Labor into the union’s internal affairs means subordinating the union to the class enemy. In this way, Cronk shows that he shares the existing leadership’s politics of reliance on the capitalist state.

What is needed is an altogether different kind of leadership, one that proceeds from the viewpoint of class against class, not acceptance of capitalist exploitation. The struggle to forge a class-struggle labor leadership—independent of and opposed to all capitalist political parties and state agencies—is part of the fight to build a revolutionary internationalist workers party. This is the necessary instrument to lead the working class and the oppressed in sweeping away the decrepit capitalist system and establishing a workers government as part of international socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Massive Givebacks, No-Strike Pledge, China Bashing

IAM Tops Surrender to Boeing Bosses

In early January, Boeing management, with the assistance of the top leadership of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), forced through a rotten new contract that marks a major defeat for the more than 30,000 Boeing Machinists in the Puget Sound area of Washington State and elsewhere. Accepted by a razor-thin 51 percent of the IAM members who voted, the contract undermines the union's pension plan—something the workers waged hard-fought strikes in 2005 and 2008 to defend—by freezing the defined-benefit program for current members and eliminating it for new hires. Workers will also have to pay more for health benefits, with sharp limits on future wage raises. Raking in massive profits (\$4.6 billion last year alone) and with a record number of back orders, Boeing sought and got a no-strike clause in the contract that runs until 2024, aiming to secure labor peace for the next decade.

Furious at what they were being asked to give up, IAM members had decisively rejected virtually the same contract in November by a two-to-one margin. Tom Wroblewski, then-president of District 751, which represents workers in the Puget Sound region, was booed by the members for even bringing the proposal to a vote. The workers were clearly willing to fight, but the company and its allies put a blitz on them to knuckle under. Boeing threatened to move production of the next-generation 777X airliner out of Washington State, claiming that over 20 other states bidding to produce the 777X had offered huge tax breaks. Washington State politicians (always in Boeing's hip pocket), led by Democratic governor Jay Inslee, granted the manufacturer \$8.7 billion in tax breaks, reportedly the largest

Right: IAM president Buffenbarger, who forced through sellout contract at Boeing, speaking at Democratic Party rally in Ohio, 2012. Below: IAM members rally in Seattle against rotten contract, January 2.



Reuters

tax subsidy in U.S. history. Meanwhile, “friend of labor” Democrats and the bourgeois media turned up the heat on the workforce to accept the company's ultimatum and sacrifice their pay and condi-

tions to save the “state's future.”

It was precisely on the grounds of “saving” the state economy—and Boeing's profitability—that the IAM leadership betrayed the membership, displaying

its role as labor lieutenants of capital. The IAM International bureaucrats, headed by President Tom Buffenbarger, pushed through the January vote and hewed to the company line, telling the membership: take a cut in benefits or lose jobs. Under pressure from the ranks, Wroblewski and the local leadership resisted holding another vote. But despite opposing the contract, Wroblewski made his loyalty to the bosses clear, bragging that “our members have helped Boeing achieve record production levels, record profit margins and record stock prices.” And once the rotten contract was accepted, he intoned that it was “in Boeing's best interest” for IAM members to build the 777X.

The IAM leadership's concern about “Boeing's best interest” is part and parcel of its support for the “national interest” of the U.S. imperialist ruling class as a whole. Boeing is one of a handful of American manufacturing giants. Along with its European competitor Airbus, it has a virtual monopoly on production of large commercial aircraft. Moreover, Boeing is crucial to the U.S. imperialist military, producing bombers, fighter aircraft, transports, missiles, drones, etc.

The tens of thousands of Boeing workers have a tremendous amount of social power—the ability to shut down a firm that is vital to the interests of the U.S. capitalist rulers. However, this power is shackled by the pro-capitalist IAM misleaders, part of the labor bureaucracy that long ago separated itself from its working-class base and sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. Politically expressed through support to the Democratic Party, their class-collaborationist program has led

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Urgent Medical Appeal for Lynne Stewart

Seventy-four years old and suffering from Stage IV breast cancer, radical lawyer Lynne Stewart may have only months to live. The government is dedicated to making that time as painful as possible. After being denied compassionate medical release for nearly a year, Stewart was finally let out of prison on December 31 by a U.S. district judge who cited her “terminal medical condition and very limited life expectancy.” Stewart, whose cancer has metastasized to her back, lung, bones and lymph nodes, discovered after her release that she had been stripped of Medicare coverage while in prison. She will not be enrolled again until July. Medicaid will not cover her because Stewart and her husband's combined

Social Security benefits exceed the monthly income limit. She must now pay the sky-high costs of treatment and medication herself—or go without!

Stewart should never have spent a day in prison. In 2005, she was convicted of giving material support to terrorism for her vigorous defense of an Egyptian Islamic fundamentalist cleric who had been imprisoned for an alleged plot to blow up New York City landmarks in the early 1990s. Stewart's purported “material support” was to communicate her client's views to Reuters news service. Her Arabic translator Mohamed Yousry and paralegal Ahmed Abdel Sattar were also convicted. These watershed convictions gave the capitalist government a green light to

prosecute lawyers as co-conspirators of their clients—a frontal attack on the Sixth Amendment right to counsel. In 2010, at the instigation of the Obama administration, a federal appeals court instructed the judge who had originally sentenced Stewart to reexamine her sentence. Appeasing his superiors, the judge jacked up the original 28-month sentence to ten years.

Lynne Stewart dedicated her adult life to keeping Black Panthers, radical leftists and others who are reviled by the capitalist state out of the clutches of its prison system. Tens of thousands worldwide supported Stewart's fight for a medical release. She must not face this new attack alone. *The Lynne Stewart Defense Committee has issued an*



Brenda Sandburg

Lynne Stewart

appeal for funds for Stewart's medical needs. The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has contributed funds. We urge our readers to contribute now! Make checks payable to “Lynne Stewart Organization” and mail to: Lynne Stewart Organization, 1070 Dean Street, Brooklyn, NY 11216. ■