

The

April-May 1999

No. 7

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Internationalist



U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

**Defend Yugoslavia—
Defeat the Imperialist Attack!**



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Subscription blank graphic based on a poster by V.A. Rodchenko, <i>Books</i> (1925).	

To Defeat NATO War on Yugoslavia and Free Mumia Mobilize Working-Class Power!



Vanguardia Operaria

Demonstrators in Rome, Italy during first week of the war.

Articles in this issue analyze class battles under way around the globe. The NATO imperialist war on Yugoslavia has begun to produce working-class resistance, as Greek railway workers refuse to move war matériel. In the fight to save class-war death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, teachers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and West Coast longshoremen in the U.S. have called work stoppages demanding "Free Mumia!" This must be the beginning of a mobilization of the power of labor against the attacks of the racist capitalist rulers. The League for the Fourth International fights to forge the Trotskyist parties needed to lead this *international* fight for socialist revolution.

Visit the Internationalist Group on the Internet

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Now available on our site are:

- Founding Statement of the Internationalist Group
- Declaration of the League for the Fourth International
- Articles from *The Internationalist*
- Articles from *Vanguardia Operaria*
- Articles from *El Internacionalista*
- Marxist readings

The Internationalist

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for the Reforging of the Fourth International

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April-May 1999



Mobilize Working-Class Power to Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Brazil Teachers to Stop Work for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Around the world, hundreds of thousands have demonstrated to demand *freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal*, the former Black Panther and renowned radical journalist sitting on Pennsylvania's death row for the past 17 years. The threatened execution of Jamal has become the focus of the struggle against the racist death penalty in the U.S. and internationally. The urgency of this struggle has increased sharply since Mumia's appeal for a new trial was turned down by the state supreme court last October.

In the fight to stop the forces of capitalist state repression determined to silence forever the *voice of the voiceless*, it is necessary to mobilize the tremendous power of the international working class. Over the years, unions representing millions of workers have called for Jamal's freedom. But this must

be translated into action. *Now the union representing 150,000 teachers in the Brazilian state of Rio de Janeiro has called on its members to stop work and hold protest meetings in schools throughout the state on April 23 to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.*

Following upon a resolution passed in January by the congress of Brazil's National Confederation of Educational Workers (CNTE) demanding Jamal's immediate freedom, the Rio state teachers union (SEPE) has sought to implement this by calling a *political work stoppage* to free this courageous and eloquent fighter for the oppressed. We share with our Brazilian brothers and sisters the hope that news of this stoppage will help spark labor strike action for Jamal's freedom in the U.S. and around the world.



Letter from Mumia to Rio Teachers

4/1/99

To: Rio State Teachers Union (SEPE)
National Confederation of Educational
Workers (CNTE)
From: Mumia Abu-Jamal
c/o Dr. L. I. Weinglass, Esq.

Dear Friends, Comrades, Brother and Sisters:
Teachers! Ona Move!

When I heard of the powerful day of demonstrations to be held in Rio on 23rd April, a day of absence of sorts, I can not tell you how moved the news made me.

I thought of the proud and shimmering example of Zumbi, of islands of liberty in quilombos; and of Palmares – the huge, free city in the age of bondage. I also thought of one of your countrymen,

Paolo Freire, whose Pedagogy of the Oppressed opened up eyes and minds the world over, and re-defined the very way education was contemplated and conducted.

Freire (and one of his slain students, Rev. Ignacio Martín-Báro) teaches us that real education takes place when *conscientização*, or critical consciousness, occurs. When the poor challenge, or question, their relationships to the power structure; when the oppressed challenge their oppressors' right to rule; and when students deeply question the status quo, then it can be said that real learning has taken place.

It is in this remarkable radical tradition that your powerful humanitarian gesture takes place; as a symbolic escape of sorts from socially constructed "plantations" of canned knowledge (schools); and an act that teaches students by example, about labor solidarity, and about how people who are separated by thousands of miles can unite!

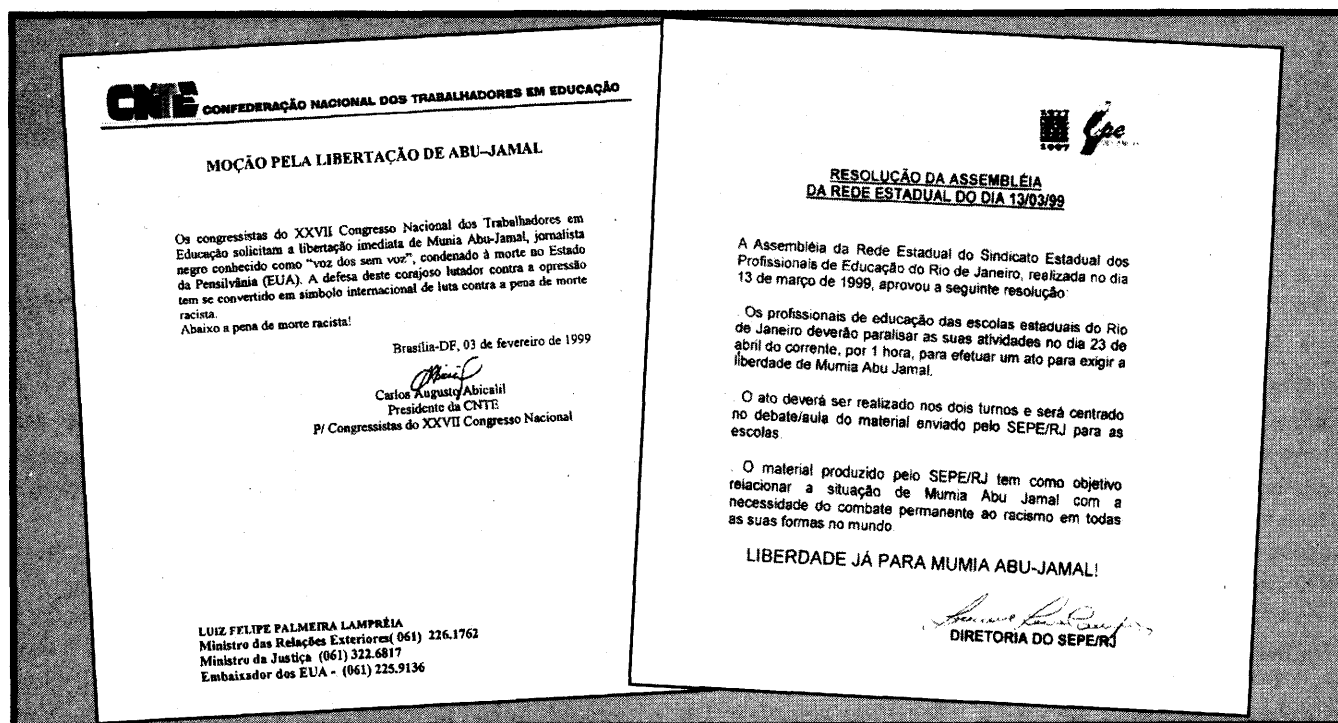
I thank you all, as we work to make freedom from American death row dungeons, a reality!

The People United...

Ona Move!

Long Live John Africa!

– Mumia



[Translation]

CNTE (National Confederation of Education Workers), Brazil

MOTION FOR THE FREEDOM OF ABU-JAMAL

The delegates to the XXVII National Education Workers Congress call for the immediate freeing of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the black journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and condemned to death in the state of Pennsylvania (USA). The defense of this courageous fighter against oppression has become the international symbol of the struggle against the racist death penalty.

Down with the racist death penalty!

Brasília, 3 February 1999

[signed] Carlos Augusto Abicalil

President of the CNTE

on behalf of the Delegates to the XVII National Congress
copies sent to:

Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia

Minister of Foreign Relations, (061) 226-1762

Minister of Justice, (061) 322-6817

Ambassador of the USA, (061) 225-9136

[Translation]

SEPE/RJ (Union of Education Workers of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

RESOLUTION OF THE STATE-WIDE ASSEMBLY OF 13 MARCH 1999

The State-Wide Assembly of the Union of Education Workers of the State of Rio de Janeiro, held on 13 March 1999, approved the following resolution:

- The education workers of Rio de Janeiro state schools shall stop work on April 23 for one hour to carry out a meeting to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.
- The meeting shall be held on each of the two shifts and will center on discussing and teaching about the material sent by the SEPE/RJ to the schools.
- The material produced by the SEPE/RJ seeks to relate Mumia Abu-Jamal's situation with the need for an ongoing struggle against racism in all its forms around the world.

FREEDOM NOW FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!
EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE SEPE/RJ

The motions in the national and state teachers unions were introduced by Marcello Carega of the Class Struggle Caucus, affiliated with the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil. The LQB and the Internationalist Group are sections of the League for the Fourth International. At the CNTE congress, a banner with a photo of Mumia was prominently displayed, and an event was held during the sessions to explain the importance of the fight for his freedom. The CLC spokesman emphasized that this goes hand in hand with the fight for removal of the

police, "the armed fist of capitalism," from the unions.

The SEPE's statewide assembly of teachers, held on March 13, overwhelmingly approved a resolution stating that on each of the two shifts (day and evening), "the education workers of Rio de Janeiro state schools shall stop work on April 23 for one hour to carry out a meeting to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal," using materials distributed by the union that relate Jamal's situation with "the need for an ongoing struggle against racism in all its forms around the world."

Indeed, the struggle to free Jamal is intimately related to the fight against all forms of capitalist and imperialist oppression. Drenched in the blood of countless thousands of Iraqis, victims of the wanton Desert Slaughter unleashed by U.S. imperialism in 1990-91, the NATO imperialists are now threatening to launch terror bombing on Serbia. The systematic racist cop terror against blacks, Latinos other minorities in the U.S. is symbolized by the recent murder of African immigrant Amadou Diallo by a police death squad in New York City. While squabbling over the impeachment of Bill Clinton, the capitalist rulers, Democrat and Republican alike, have joined with the imperialist commander in chief in axing millions of women and children from the welfare rolls.

Proletarian revolutionaries stand on the side of all these victims of capitalist-imperialist attack. We seek to bring into action the power of the international working class--which makes the wheels of industry, commerce and government turn and which can bring them to a screeching halt. To lead the fight for world socialist revolution, which alone can put an end to racist cop brutality and smash the barbaric death penalty forever, we fight to build revolutionary workers parties and a reformed Fourth International.

We look to the heritage of international labor defense embodying the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all." In the 1920s hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated from New York to Buenos Aires, Berlin and Paris to save the anarchist workers Sacco and Vanzetti. In the early '30s, worldwide protests by labor, leftist and black activists saved nine black youth in Scottsboro, Alabama from legal lynching.

Mumia's case has deep resonance in Brazil, which has the second largest black population in the world (after Nigeria). In a nation which like the U.S. was founded on slavery, capitalism is intertwined with brutal racist oppression, from widespread discrimination in jobs and housing to murderous police terror, killings of street children and forced sterilization of black and Indian women. Since first raising the fight for Mumia's freedom in Brazil in 1994 and demonstrating in the steel city of Volta Redonda in 1995, the comrades of the LQB (formerly Luta Metalúrgica) have brought his case to the CUT union federation and other labor and anti-racist groups.

Over the years, unions representing millions of workers have come out for Jamal's freedom. Around the world he has won support from powerful labor federations including the French CGT, the Italian CGIL, COSATU in South Africa and the CUT in Brazil. He was made an honorary member of the media workers union in Germany. In the United States longshoremen, postal workers, hospital workers, teachers and oth-



Vanguarda Operária photo

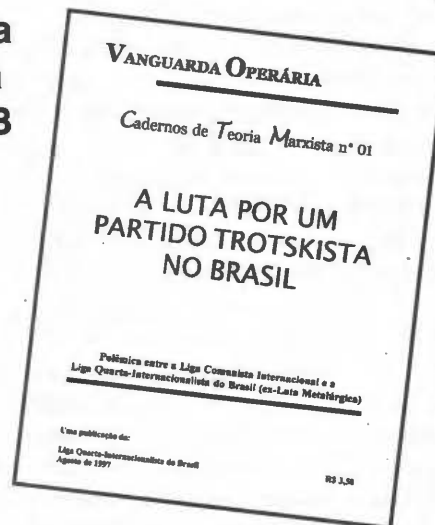
Youth in Brazil's steel city of Volta Redonda participating in August 1994 rally demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

ers have joined the fight to save Mumia from execution.

It is high time to translate declarations of solidarity into class-struggle action. To our knowledge, the action decided upon by the Rio de Janeiro teachers union represents the first labor action of its kind in the fight to free Jamal. The League for the Fourth International calls for *labor strikes and work stoppages* in the struggle to save Mumia's life and win his freedom. We struggle for labor and all opponents of racist repression to mobilize by the thousands in the streets and workplaces to demand: *Freedom now for Mumia Abu-Jamal! Down with the racist death penalty!*

Revista teórica da LQB

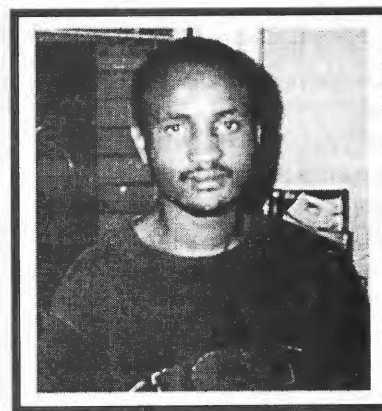
R\$4
US\$4



Endereço: Caixa Postal 084027, CEP 27251-970,
Volta Redonda, R.J., Brasil

**Democrats, Republicans—Twin Parties
of Racist Capitalism**

Amadou Diallo Murdered by NYPD Death Squad



Amadou Diallo

**Mobilize the Power of Labor and
Minorities—Build a Revolutionary
Workers Party!**

The young black man came home about midnight on February 4 to his apartment in the Soundview section of the Bronx. As he was going into his doorway, a Ford Taurus pulled up with four burly white men, who turned out to be plainclothes police. Suddenly they began pumping lead into him. The victim, claimed the cops, was fumbling for something in his pocket that they thought might be a gun. There was no gun, only his keys and his beeper. In the fusillade, they shot at Amadou Diallo 41 times, hitting him with 19 bullets.

"41 bullets." "41 bullets." This was heard over and over again last week as New York City reeled under the impact of yet another brutal police murder of a black man. This time it was a 22-year old African immigrant from Guinea gunned down in the entrance to his home. In August 1997 it was the sadistic near murder of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima, viciously tortured with a toilet plunger in the 70th precinct in Brooklyn.

Once again, the streets overflowed with outrage. On Sunday, a thousand people crowded into the block in front of Amadou's home in the Bronx, and again at Foley Square in downtown Manhattan two days later. Anger boiled over at Mayor Giuliani, who hideously praised the "restraint" of the New York Police Department that guns down racial minorities and immigrants with abandon. But responsibility for unleashing the killer cops goes far beyond the racist Republican in City Hall.

These licensed killers are the enforcers of "law and order" for the capitalist ruling class, from the Democratic president and the Republican Congress on down. Clinton orders millions of poor people thrown off welfare and attends every cop convention he can find, while raining death and destruction on the people of Iraq. The twin parties of capital defend the interests of the bankers and stock market speculators against the working people who make this city run, while riding roughshod over the oppressed minorities who are a majority of the NYC population.

The NYPD cannot be "reformed," any more than the paramilitary LAPD whose videotaped beating of Los Angeles black motorist Rodney King has come to symbolize the racist police brutality of capitalist America, whose roots go back to slavery.

Calls by black Democrat Al Sharpton for a federal investigation are a diversion to build illusions in the ruling class. The feds are *enemies* of black people, working people and immigrants. Giuliani is himself a former U.S. attorney, and Sharpton was a police informant who wore a wire for the feds and the NYPD "black desk," taping black radicals and mainstream Democrats alike.

It will take nothing less than *socialist revolution* to sweep out the racist cops and their masters on Wall Street, as integrated workers militias and a workers state enforce the interests of the exploited and oppressed.

Amadou Diallo was executed in cold blood by a NYPD *death squad*, the notorious Street Crimes Unit. This sinister outfit cruises the streets looking for "potential crimes," looking to provoke trouble. Their slogan is "the night belongs to us," as they fan out through the city's ghettos, barrios and immigrant communities, harassing and terrorizing residents. A Mexican garment worker who lives a couple of blocks from the shooting site and knew Amadou Diallo from the neighborhood told *The Internationalist* that people in her building are "afraid to go out after the sun goes down, even to get bread or milk" because they fear being attacked or harassed by the police.

Police death squads are a notorious feature of capitalist rule in U.S. neo-colonies in Latin America, from El Salvador to Brazil. In fact, many of the most brutal murderers were trained in the international police academy outside Washington, D.C., where they were taught torture techniques by American cop instructors. In the U.S. itself, there have been particularly murderous squads, such as the New Orleans police unit that as recently as the early '90s murdered people who complained of police brutality.

But the NYPD Street Crimes Unit is not a bunch of "rogue cops." It is part of a mounting use of police-state methods. Look at City Hall, a bunker surrounded by storm fences, police barricades, concrete barriers, heavy construction equipment and cop vehicles. Demonstrations in front of the seat of local government are banned, while anyone trying to attend city council hearings is given the third degree at cop checkpoints. It's not just that Giuliani is a paranoiac. As income disparities between rich and poor dramatically increase, as social conditions in the U.S. become more like Latin America, so too do the "techniques" of the police who defend the interests of the capitalist ruling class.

continued on page 15

Students: Ally with the Working Class

Smash Racist Purge of CUNY— Fight for Open Admissions, Free Tuition!

In his annual “state of the city” speech last year, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani launched a campaign to exclude *more than half* of all incoming students from the City University of New York (CUNY). This year in his report the mayor ranted against CUNY, saying “that’s a system we would blow up.” A blatantly *racist purge* is being carried out in the name of “standards.” The door is to be slammed in the face of all those who fail even one of three entrance exams. Remedial courses for incoming students are to be eliminated, first from the four-year colleges and then from the two-year community colleges. Particularly targeted for exclusion are racial minorities, immigrants and women. As one student protester’s sign proclaimed at a January 4 hearing on CUNY, the aim of this purge is to introduce “educational apartheid.”

Last May the CUNY Board of Trustees rammed through the new policy in a closed-door meeting after police cleared out the public, arresting more than two dozen. When that was challenged under a state “open meetings” law, this past January 25 the Board voted the exclusion resolution again, this time with several hundred protesting students and faculty shouting their opposition after navigating through a maze of police barricades, metal detectors, bag searches and pat-downs. With a majority of the trustees appointed by Giuliani and Governor George Pataki, the result was foreordained. But that does not end the struggle. It means that defenders of open admissions must escalate the fight and wage it not in bogus “hearings” but on the terrain of mass working-class action.



Lynn Mayekawa/The Envoy

Students protesting motion to eliminate open admissions at CUNY Board of Trustees meeting, La Guardia College, January 25.

The government of the city and state of New York have declared war on CUNY. This not a local issue but part of the broader attack on the minority and working people of NYC and around the country and the world. Schools fall into disrepair while billions go into new prisons. Meanwhile, the strongarm tactics of CUNY’s campus cops reflect the methods of the New York Police, who work hand in hand with CUNY’s gun-toting “SAFE” cops. The Board of Trustees meeting at LaGuardia College on January 25 was barricaded in the same way the NYPD locked down central Harlem last September when a court ordered the city to permit the Million Youth March. And barely a week after the NYPD Street Crimes Unit gunned down black African immigrant Amadou Diallo in the doorway to his Bronx home (see page 10), four people were arrested at City College in Washington Heights at a conference demanding freedom for black radical death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The aim of the war on CUNY is to *eliminate what remains*

Break with the Democrats and Republicans— Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!

of "open admissions" in this huge institution of 200,000 students on 20 campuses. Open admissions was a gain of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In 1969 the student population of CUNY's senior colleges was 96 percent white. The next year, after an explosive student strike that demanded the right to a university education for every high school graduate, under the new guidelines the number of black, Latino and Asian freshmen increased seven times. It is no accident that the drive to purge this public university began just as the CUNY student body became majority non-white. Particularly targetted are those whose native language is not English. In May 1997, the regents denied degrees to over 500 prospective CUNY graduates, including more than 100 at the bilingual (Spanish-English) Hostos campus, by springing a punitive exam on them at the last minute. At Hunter College, for 55 percent of the students English is a second language.

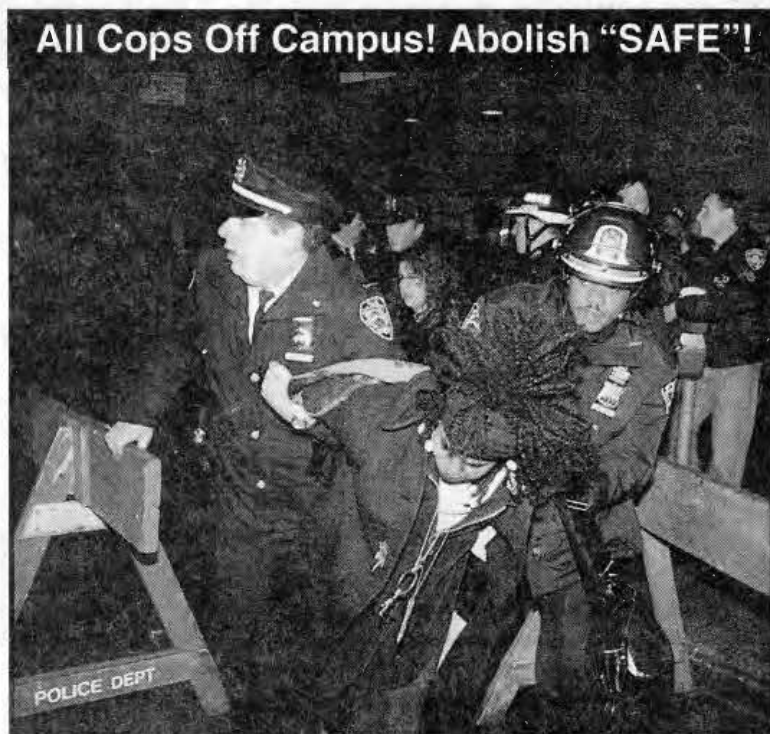
The assault on open admissions at CUNY has national implications. Since 1970 close to half a million students have earned degrees from the City University, and over this period the CUNY system has graduated more black and Latino students than any other university in the history of the United States. It's not surprising, therefore, that open admissions at CUNY has been the target of racist attacks from the outset. Today Giuliani sneers, "By eliminating any meaningful standards of admission and continually defining down standards for continuation, the entire meaning and value of a college education has been put in jeopardy." In 1971, Nixon's Vice President Spiro Agnew said the same, denouncing the CUNY plan as a giveaway of "100,000 devalued diplomas." A study by CUNY professors David E. Lavin and David Hyllegard, *Changing the Odds: Open Admissions and the Life Chances of the Disadvantaged* (Yale University Press, 1996) notes that open admissions more than tripled the number of bachelor's degrees for blacks and doubled the number for Hispanics. It is this that has the racists incensed.

In fact, the purge at CUNY is an attack on the entire working class, aiming to exclude working people from the student body. Open admissions at CUNY opened the door for working-class white students as well: the number of white freshmen went from 16,000 in 1969 to an average of 26,000 over the next three

years. Now, in his 1999 state budget, Governor Pataki has announced plans to eliminate TAP (Tuition Assistance Program) grants for all students who take less than 15 credits (five courses) per semester. Tuition for the four-year colleges is already over \$3,600 a year, and \$3,200 for the two-year colleges—making them about the most expensive community colleges in the country. Already in the last three years more than 18,000 CUNY students receiving welfare have been driven out as the city implements the slave labor "workfare" program. Now anyone who isn't a full-time student is to be denied state tuition aid. And since a huge percentage of CUNY students are working people who

scrimp together enough to take a couple of courses a semester—almost 150,000 out of 350,000 CUNY students are part time—this new regulation will eliminate thousands more.

Giuliani makes no secret of his aim. "Open enrollment is a mistake," he declared last year. "Its consequences have been cruel." And what is "cruel" about allowing hundreds of thousands of poor, minority and working-class students to gain a university education? According to the mayor, "It has created in CUNY students false expectations which the realities of life inevitably leave unfulfilled." The mayor echoes those who declared that it was cruel to teach slaves to read and write. A news-



Bill Moore photo

Student protester being arrested outside CUNY Board of Trustees meeting, January 25.

letter of the United Literacy Workers at CUNY (*In From the Margins*, April 1998) quoted Frederick Douglass' description of the outburst of the slavemaster who caught his wife teaching a young slave to write: not only would this "spoil" the slaves and make them "unmanageable," but "it could do him no good...it would make him discontented and unhappy." These are exactly the sentiments of the modern slavedriver Giuliani as he forces unpaid labor on welfare recipients and bars tens of thousands of wage slaves (as Karl Marx described "free" workers) from CUNY. Enforced ignorance is always the gospel of the oppressor.

A revolutionary civil war was fought to abolish chattel slavery, yet a century later the descendants of the slavemasters were still vowing massive resistance to school integration. Today Republican NYC mayor Rudolph Giuliani imitates Dixiecrat Alabama governor George Wallace, standing in the doorway of CUNY vowing to kick out minorities, immigrants, women in rolling back the minimal gains of the civil rights movement. It took a stormy struggle to win open admissions at CUNY as a

partial corrective to the segregated and grossly unequal high schools and the virtual exclusion of minorities from the colleges. It will take no less today to stop the resegregation of higher education everywhere from UC Berkeley (where eliminating "affirmative action" has decimated minority enrollment) to CUNY (where the last vestiges of open admissions are being scrapped).

Across the U.S. there is an onslaught against enrollment of minorities in universities, particularly of blacks, and more particularly of black men. Over the last two and a half decades, the proportion of expenditure on public education at all levels has sharply dropped. Internationally, as well, there are mounting attacks on public higher education as the capitalists seek to slash "unproductive" (not profitable) government expenditure on welfare, pensions health care and schools. This all-out capitalist attack has escalated in the wake of the counterrevolution that destroyed the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and toppled the deformed workers states of East Europe.

The privatizers feel they have the wind in their sails and are laying waste to one social program after another. Certainly this drive is spearheaded by a hard right wing, but it is the program of the entire bourgeoisie. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives have all supported the cutbacks, only "differing" on how much to slice off. They all join hands in voting to deny food stamps to immigrants, to throw moms and kids off welfare, to replace schools with prisons, to extend the barbaric, racist death penalty and speed up the machinery of state murder. And while feuding over the impeachment spectacle in Washington, they unanimously support war criminal Clinton in raining bombs on Iraq. This is, after all, the era of imperialist decay, in which the bogus "American dream" (which was always a nightmare for black people) is seen as an anachronism, "unrealistic expectations" that must be done away with.

In New York state, according to a December 1998 study by the Justice Policy Institute, annual spending on prisons has gone up by \$761 million over the last decade (to \$1.6 billion), while funding of the State University of New York (SUNY) and CUNY is down \$615 million (to \$1.3 billion)—an almost perfect dollar-for-dollar match. Liberals and reformist pseudo socialists often argue for "butter vs. guns" (although in this case the biggest increases in prison funding came under liberal Democrat Cuomo). But this is not about a

Abolish the Board of Trustees and CUNY Administration! For Student/Teacher/Worker Control of the Universities!



Lynn Mayekawa/The Envy

Board of Trustees votes under massive police protection to eliminate open admissions.

trade-off, it's about the capitalist state. For the capitalist ruling class, its military hardware is for use against its perceived enemies, including the "enemy within." And the prisons are an essential part of the increasingly paramilitary policing of America's inner cities, particularly as part of the racist "war on drugs" which is really a war on the ghettos and barrios.

Today the capitalists and their politicians are slashing away at public education at every level. Tens and hundreds of thousands of young people who want to study are being told, "Forget it, you're not wanted." That alone is a stark indictment of this society and the entire capitalist system, where the drive for profits is *counterposed* to the most basic human needs. The fight to make decent education available to all can only go forward as part of the struggle against the irrational and decaying profit system of racism and class oppression. It is necessary to build a workers party to lead the fight for *socialist revolution*, which is what it will take to secure genuine access to free, quality public education from preschool to university.

The Battle for Open Admissions at CUNY

Open admissions at CUNY was legislated in 1969 in response to a strike and building takeover at City College, initially by a couple of hundred black and Puerto Rican students. The student strikers' demands were focused on raising black and Puerto Rican enrollment and instituting black and Puerto Rican studies. But the powerful city unions pushed for opening admissions to all high school graduates, and this was eventually adopted. The next freshman class grew by 75 percent, with significantly more white students as well as dramatically increased numbers of minorities. It was still not full open admissions, for the university was stratified into community colleges (today enrolling 160,000 students) and "senior" colleges (currently 40,000 students), with "placement" decided by rather arbitrary tests. Ex-

tensive "remediation" was introduced with non-credit courses preparing students to pass the exams.

Already a century and a half ago, the 1848 *Communist Manifesto* called for "free education for all children in public schools." Communists fight for freely available public education at all levels as a gain for the working class, even as the content of that education under capitalism inevitably reflects the dominant bourgeois ideology. Marxism is based on the highest scientific achievements of capitalist society, and we demand that the exploited and oppressed have access to those achievements as necessary tools in their fight for emancipation. Open admissions in higher education is a basic democratic right. By itself, it is hardly incompatible with capitalism, any more than public primary and secondary schools are. (Some U.S. states had opened universities to all high school graduates in the 1930s, then with minimal or no tuition.) Even that is not enough to overcome poverty and the effects of entrenched educational segregation, which is as bad (or even worse) today in much of the North as it was before school integration was ordered by the Supreme Court in 1954.

In the struggle against the war on CUNY, the Internationalist Group calls for *open admissions and no tuition*, as well as for a *state-paid living stipend for all students* and *special programs* to overcome the effects of years of educational dep-

rivation suffered by students in run-down, understaffed, underfunded inner-city schools. The whole history of the fight to win and defend even an approximation of open admissions demonstrates that it is crucial that *students must ally with the working class* in struggle against the cutbacks and takebacks that affect all poor, minority and working people. A student strike can be a spark of militancy; a *citywide strike by New York workers* can stop Giuliani cold.

We fight for full and free access to public education at all levels, against tracking and elite secondary schools, and against stratified (two- or three-tier) college systems which are inherently discriminatory. As for "remediation," the very term reflects an ideology that puts the blame on the student, as if they are the problem. Yet students from Bushwick, East New York, Harlem and the South Bronx are taught in schools where classes are held on gym floors, in bathrooms and often in "temporary" trailers which occupy playgrounds for years. Forget about computers in the classroom, there is often no chalk for the blackboard and no books for students to take home. This state of affairs is a result of systematic discrimination against city schools. According to statistics presented by a member of the NY Board of Regents at a recent weekend meeting sponsored by the Black and Puerto Rican/Hispanic Caucus of the state legislature, New York City spends an annual average of \$8,213

War on CUNY an Attack on the Working Class

What the cancellation of "remediation" will mean can be predicted with considerable precision, since all entering students already take the admissions exams. (Previously these tests were to determine whether students went to community colleges or to the four-year "senior" colleges, and to determine the need for remedial classes; now these already skewed and discriminatory *placement* exams will be used to keep students out.) A flyer distributed by students at the January Board of Trustees meeting listed figures drawn from a study by David Lavin and Elliot Weininger ("Proposed New Admissions Criteria at the City University of New York: Ethnic and Enrollment Consequences," March 1998). Under the new standard (failure to pass any of the three tests is a bar to admission) those excluded from the senior colleges will include:

- 60% of all incoming freshmen
- 65% of Black freshman
- 66% of Asian freshmen
- 68% of Latino freshmen
- 56% of women
- 75% of welfare (AFDC) recipients
- 81% of low-income women
- 82% of single mothers.

The City University of New York will be a very different place with these entrance criteria. The working class, poor and minorities educated in the city's public schools will be overwhelmingly excluded and CUNY will become a somewhat cheaper "public" university for part of the white

middle class. This is not the unintended consequence of enforcing "standards" but the intended purpose of the cuts. In line with this, in Giuliani's 1999 "state of the city" speech he called for the creation of elite "flagship" colleges, singling out Queens College as a prime candidate. And he proposed giving "vouchers" for remediation—a back-door way of *privatizing* post-secondary school education, placing in the hands of profit-minded companies the task of "weeding out" those with "unrealistic expectations." Simultaneously, the state Board of Regents is now requiring that all high school students take stiffened Regents exams in English, math, American history, global studies and science in order to get a diploma. Since only 18 percent of NYC students passed the Regents exam in biology in 1997, thousands more won't have to be stopped at the CUNY door *because they won't even graduate from secondary school*.

Behind the war on CUNY there is an unmistakable racist electoral calculation. As he has done in two successful mayoral campaigns, "crime-buster" Giuliani is now trying to build support for a bid for state or national office by whipping up a white backlash against gains for minorities and immigrants. A line-up of sinister right-wing forces wants to use the fight against open admissions at CUNY to launch an attack on public higher education throughout the U.S. But the offensive against public education and social services for the working people has received *bipartisan* support from the twin parties of American capital, Democrats and Republicans.

per pupil in public schools, compared to \$12,052 per pupil in affluent districts—that is, one-third less. Not only does the funding of education by local property taxes mean that poor districts have less money, New York state contributes \$2,000 less per pupil to NYC schools than to other districts.

In order to ram through the attack on the remnants of open admissions, Giuliani and his flunkies on the Board of Trustees (first and foremost Herman Badillo, who like his boss seems to derive sadistic pleasure out of keeping Latinos, blacks and Asians out of the City University) spread a lot of lies. The first concerns graduation rates, with the claim that only 1 percent of community college students graduate “on time” in two years. Yet almost no community college students attend school full time (only 47 students out of 16,000 new admissions in 1995)! And the average age of CUNY students is 25, far older than the average nationally. The fact is that CUNY is a university for working people, in which the vast majority go to school while also holding down a job, struggling to make ends meet. Some 72 percent of community college students at CUNY are from households earning less than \$25,000 a year, compared to 29 percent of community college students nationally.

Giuliani’s smears are particularly cynical as the city is legally required to pay one-third of the community college

budget, but instead it is only paying 23 percent, putting it tens of millions of dollars in arrears. Concerning remediation, a fact sheet put together by Professor Bill Crain noted that “nearly two thirds of associate degree [community college] students and three quarters of bachelor’s degree students complete remediation in one year, and most of the rest do in three terms.” As for graduation rates, “after 5 years, the graduation rates at our community colleges exceed the national average for public institutions (28 percent vs. 24 percent). After 8 years, CUNY bachelor’s degree students graduate at a higher rate than the national average for public institutions (45 percent to about 40 percent).”

Moreover, some 78 percent of all colleges in the United States (and 81 percent of all public colleges) offer remedial courses. But no longer at CUNY, decrees the Board of Trustees. At the January 25 Board meeting, one trustee (George Rios) argued that by eliminating remediation CUNY would be setting the trend for the rest of U.S. higher education. The ruling class enemies of CUNY students, teachers and workers are conscious of their aim of sharply “downsizing” (gutting) public higher education, particularly for minorities, immigrants and working people. To defeat them, it is necessary for their intended victims to be fully conscious of the nature of the threat they face, and the revolutionary program needed to combat it.

It was Democrat Bill Clinton who legislated and signed the “welfare” reform which has thrown *five million women and children* off public assistance in the last half decade. Now the same operation is being performed on higher education. Today it is the Republicans Giuliani and Pataki who are leading the charge. Yet the slash-and-burn offensive against CUNY has been going on for more than two decades. The first attack on open admissions was the introduction of tuition in 1976 during the “fiscal crisis” provoked by Wall Street bankers with Democratic mayor Abe Beame acting as hatchet man: as many as 50,000 CUNY students were forced out then. Over the last decade, the number of full-time faculty has fallen from 10,000 to 5,200! Today some 60 percent of CUNY classes are taught by part-time, low-paid adjuncts. In 1990/91 tens of thousands of CUNY students took to the streets against cutbacks ordered by liberal Democratic governor Mario Cuomo and black Democratic mayor David Dinkins. Today Dinkins testifies against the elimination of remediation, but his administration slashed the CUNY budget while hiring thousands more cops.

The elimination of open admissions at CUNY is a part of a war against working people and minorities. It should be no surprise, then, that the capitalist rulers mobilize their state apparatus to ruthlessly squelch opposition or render it harmless through cop repression. Giuliani, Pataki & Co. may think they have already won the war, but that is only because their opponents have been playing by the rules of the ruling class.

There has been a lot of hand-wringing among liberal academics about how the students haven’t mobilized. There have been sporadic demonstrations of several hundred, but

these have indeed been smaller than in past years. Why? For one thing, in the past CUNY student protests have been largely organized through student governments, often in conjunction with faculty and even administration discontent over budget cuts. Whether sitting down in the streets or lobbying in Albany, this amounted to bourgeois pressure politics. Today in the face of a concerted offensive by the bourgeois rulers, liberal bleatings about “priorities” go nowhere. This assault can only be defeated by mobilizing the power of the working class, and what is centrally lacking is a leadership with a program to mobilize that power in revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system itself.

Purging tens of thousands of CUNY students will inevitably mean layoffs of campus workers and eliminating more full-time faculty, possibly shutting down whole campuses. Meanwhile, more than 30,000 welfare recipients have been turned into slave laborers, toiling without wages in what the city cynically calls a “Work Experience Program.” And several thousand city hospital workers’ jobs have been slashed in the last year, with hundreds of layoffs planned for 1999. The battle to save CUNY can be a focal point for a common struggle uniting students, professors, campus workers and city workers against a common enemy.

The battle over CUNY is not just a “student issue,” it is an assault on all working people, minorities and particularly immigrants. What’s needed to defeat this attack is to bring out the power of the working class, the black ghettos, the Latino barrios and the Asian communities in a united struggle *against City Hall and Wall Street, against the State House in Albany and the White House in Washington.*

A Communist Program for Free, Quality Public Higher Education for All

How can the onslaught against open admissions and the racist purge of CUNY be defeated? Various lame proposals have been floated ranging from setting up a counter-commission to the Schmidt/Giuliani operation, appealing to alumni, going on talk shows, appealing to Democrats in Albany like Attorney General Spitzer (who first made a name for himself as a supporter of the death penalty). The "Friends of CUNY" and "CUNY Is Our Future" coalitions call for writing letters to the state Board of Regents will step in to block the end of remediation. Yet this is the same Board that is proposing to cancel diplomas for 80 percent of NYC high school students!

All these schemes are based on the illusion that there is some kind of "dialogue" about educational policy going on, when the reality is an unadorned class war. The New Caucus of the Professional Staff Congress (the AFT-affiliated teachers union at CUNY) has collected testimony given before the Schmidt Commission. Yet it's worse than useless to try to "reason" with this wrecking crew. Giuliani's "task force," is on a search and destroy mission to drive minority and immigrant students out of CUNY! We say the Schmidt Commission

should be driven off campus through protest and exposure of their reactionary program!

A leaflet put out by SLAM includes the program of the CUNY Coalition for Open Admissions calling for "democratic election of CUNY trustees." But the Board of Trustees and CUNY administration are the representatives of the ruling class whose task is to keep students, teachers and campus workers in check. Communists call for *abolishing the Board of Trustees and CUNY administration. We fight for student/teacher/worker control of the universities.* Against those who would further privatize higher education, we call for *expropriation of private colleges, universities and technological institutes.*

Meanwhile, CUNY's highly paid (more than professors) campus police go about arresting faculty members, strip-searching student protesters and turning campus facilities into police pens. Last June, students were tipped off to a surveillance camera disguised as a smoke detector outside the main office for political activists at City College. In response to their exposure of this atrocity, the Graduate Student Council and its newspaper, the *Messenger*, were suspended. The "SAFE" unit was formed as a little red squad, compiling lists of campus activists, videotaping student activities. When students protested

Right Wing Yale Cabal Targets CUNY

The current attack on the City University did not originate with Giuliani. It is the brainchild of a clot of ultra-rightists centered around the Manhattan Institute, usually described as a conservative "think tank." Many of Giuliani's policies were first put forward in the Institute's *City Journal*. The Winter 1998 issue of the *City Journal* was dedicated to "An Agenda for Giuliani II." Among the articles is a foam-flecked diatribe by Heather McDonald ("CUNY Could Be Great Again") that makes explicit the racist aims of the battle plan against CUNY.

A blurb gives the message: "The sixties turned the once-proud city University into a backwater of remediation and race politics." Actually, prior to 1969 CUNY was a rigidly segregated enclave awash in anticommunist witchhunting, loyalty oaths and the like. McDonald ascribes its fall from grace to "educated adults cowering before know-nothing adolescents and outside agitators." She accuses liberal Republican mayor John Lindsay of "racial pacification" for undertaking a "college construction campaign in minority neighborhoods," as if there were "a huge pool of college-prepared students in those or other neighborhoods," she sneers. Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn and Hostos Community College in the Bronx should be shut down, she writes, accusing them of "ethnic separatism." The CUNY law school should also be closed because of its "1960s-style curriculum in political organizing and consciousness-raising."

The heart of McDonald's agenda is the total elimination of remedial programs, allegedly run by "theory-besotted post-Marxists." As for the half of all CUNY students for whom

English is a second language, she declares: "students who need an interpreter to register for classes should not be registering in the first place." The University should "mow down the costly multicultural institutes... and declare that the classic texts of Western culture are the basis of a CUNY education." Summing up, she writes, "CUNY can cut its size by half."

The verbal violence of McDonald's American nativist, immigrant-bashing, racist diatribe is almost fascistic in content, sounding like the ravings of a member of the John Birch Society. But rather than some Bircher yahoo, this is an elitist yearning for the "good old days" when the undeserving poor "knew their place" at the bottom of the heap. It draws its inspiration from William F. Buckley, Jr., the CIA spy who looked to Franco's Spain as his model.

Leading the charge in the Board of Trustees for the assault on CUNY has been its chairman, Ann Paolucci. Her late husband was once the candidate for New York governor of the Conservative Party, which acts as a rightist pressure group on the Republicans, pushing anti-abortion and virulent "English-only" chauvinism. Paolucci's equivalent on the Board of Trustees of the State University is Candace de Russy, described by the *Village Voice* (21 April 1998) education supplement on "Enemies of Public Education" as an "antitax, antisex, pro-God pundit." De Russy, a member of the arch-conservative National Association of Scholars (NAS), has called for eliminating English as a Second Language courses at SUNY, slashing state funding, closing down the schools of law and medicine, and imposing a "core curriculum" of Western civilization studies.

tuition increases in 1995, scores were arrested and brutalized by these grotesquely named "peace officers." The biggest threat to "peace" at CUNY are these provocative thugs. Students, faculty and campus workers should demand *all cops off campus—abolish "SAFE"!*

The CUNY trustees, administration and cops are stand-ins for the bourgeoisie, and any serious struggle against the racist purge plans will quickly face the concentrated power of the capitalist state. To fight this battle, it is necessary to mobilize a greater force, namely the power of the working class. There are hundreds of thousands of organized union members in New York City, who make the city run and who can also make it stop. There is an awareness among those fighting the attack on CUNY of the need for broader "labor and community support." But this usually amounts to appeals for empty declarations by union bureaucrats. Some hailed the recent formation of a "New Century Movement" by the SEIU, Local 1199 and the United Federation of Teachers. Yet the present misleaders of labor supplied phone banks for the Democrats to elect welfare-slasher Clinton and rammed through wage freezes for Giuliani, rigging membership votes to squelch opposition, while the "dissidents" bring in the feds and courts who subject union after union to capitalist government control in the bogus claim of "fighting corruption."

Opponents of the racist purge at CUNY are not powerless. There are millions of poor, minority, immigrant and working people who will find their educational opportunities or those of their children canceled by the drive to slam the door on public higher education. They can be mobilized in struggle when they see that their interests are at stake, but that will take a leadership with a program to fight and win this class struggle. That poses above all a political task, to oust the present pro-capitalist misleaders of labor and break the ties with the Democrats and Republicans, to undertake the *forging of a revolutionary workers party*. "Education is a right—fight, fight, fight!" goes one of the student chants. Yes, free public higher education is a democratic right, but this fight must be part of the struggle to sweep away the capitalist system that in its epoch of decline is waging relentless war on the rights and gains of working people. The marauding cops who murdered Amadou Diallo, tortured Abner Louima and patrol CUNY are the symbol of a system that is flailing about in its death agony.

Above all, it is necessary also to understand that the battle at CUNY is not just against Giuliani and his cohorts. Democratic state assemblyman Ed Sullivan speaks today against the elimination of remediation at CUNY, but the fact remains

When the Board of Trustees initial vote last May to eliminate remediation set off an uproar, Giuliani formed a Mayor's Advisory Task Force to study the City University. The commission is headed by Benno Schmidt, who was president of Yale University from 1986 until 1992, when he left it to head up the Edison Project whose aim is to set up a national network of hundreds of private secondary schools. While at Yale, Schmidt broke a walkout by graduate student teaching assistants and clerical workers unions, and slashed departmental budgets with abandon. Schmidt's Edison Project has hardly been a stunning success, so far totalling 95 schools. The Hartford School Board protested its decision to lay off 300 teachers and sharply increase class sizes to pay for computers. Baltimore schools canceled its contract due to Edison's failure to deliver on its promise of higher student test scores.

It is striking how many in this coterie of purgers and privatizers have common ties to Yale University, where William F. Buckley, Jr. wrote his McCarthyite diatribe against liberalism, *God and Man at Yale*. Before becoming university president, Schmidt headed the Yale Law School, alma mater of rightist Supreme Court justice Clarence Thomas (a beneficiary of affirmative action who denounced his sister as a welfare queen), as well as of "centrist" Democrats Bill and Hillary Clinton who have taken over most of the right-wing Republicans' programs. The Manhattan Institute was set up in 1978 by President Bush's CIA director William Casey, like Buckley another Yale man out of the Skull and Bones Society that produced the leadership core of the U.S. spy agency. A Manhattan Institute trustee, Thomas Rhodes, is the president of Buckley's far-right *National Review*.

These are some of the ideologists of the war on CUNY. They take their ammunition from a 1997 study by the RAND Corporation on "Breaking the Social Contract: The Fiscal Crisis in Higher Education." In the Schmidt Commission hearings in early January, a CUNY professor who worked for RAND during the Vietnam War related how this premier think tank for the "military-industrial complex" systematically cooked the data, upping the body count of Viet Cong casualties in order to please the Air Force, just as the mayor's stacked task force would be cooking the data to please the mayor. The RAND study emphasizes "greater mission differentiation" for institutions of higher education in the U.S. It wants to "lower costs" by "the kind of restructuring and streamlining that successful businesses have implemented."

In particular, the RAND study denounces the "mission creep" of community colleges becoming full colleges. Instead, according to RAND, community colleges should become glorified vocational schools, focusing on "workforce preparation" and closely linked to employers. State colleges should concentrate on teacher training, while graduate education and research should be restricted to a few elite universities. This is precisely the program put forward by McDonald of the Manhattan Institute in advocating that CUNY's community colleges should closed down remedial education and redirect resources to technical programs. (McDonald is a member of the Schmidt Commission.) In the 1960s and '70s, RAND's "whiz kid" technocrats advocated bombing Vietnamese villages to "save" them from Communism. Today Giuliani and his Manhattan Institute advisers, following RAND's recommendations, want to "blow up" CUNY in order to "return it to greatness"!



Welfare "reform" pushed by Democrat Clinton, implemented by Republican Giuliani condemns millions to slave labor "workfare."

(as cynically pointed out by Schmidt commission member and former Republican state senator Manfred Ohrenstein at the January hearing) that Sullivan has long headed the assembly committee on higher education and thus he—along with his fellow Democratic assemblymen and women—is co-responsible for approving the cutback budgets which have steadily slashed CUNY budgets and raised CUNY tuition for years. In fact, according to statistics of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), public expenditure on education in the United States has dropped from 5.7 percent of the gross domestic product in 1975 to 4.9 percent 20 years later. As capitalists push to drive up profit rates and slash spending on social programs, this trend is accelerating.

In recent years there have been sharp struggles waged in a number of countries against attacks on public education, and not just from governments of the right. In semi-colonial countries, the International Monetary Fund and local bourgeois rulers have sought to implement sharp increases on student fees and tuition while imposing restrictions to admissions. A battle is looming over this in Mexico. Currently, Greek university students are fighting pitched battles with the police, protesting against government plans to restrict access to higher education by imposing exclusionary exams. In Europe as well as the U.S., influential capitalist circles see education (on which OECD governments spend a trillion dollars a year) as a profitable new "market" to be milked. Social-democratic education minister Claude Allègre in France declared last year that it was necessary to "instill a spirit of enterprise" and that educational services constitute "the great market of the 21st century" (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 1998). In response,

French secondary school teachers and students mobilized in more than a dozen marches against Allègre's educational counter-reform, demanding increased resources for poor regions. But their struggles were hamstrung by the fact that teachers union leaders are tied to the same popular-front government that is carrying out this "reform."

In the rising period of capitalism, the U.S. was a pioneer in mass public education, with free public libraries, land-grant colleges and other innovations unknown in Europe. The name of Horace Mann is famous worldwide as an architect of progressive education (and opponent of slavery) along with that of the liberal educator John Dewey. The Russian Bolsheviks paid great attention to public education in the U.S. Lenin wrote articles on U.S. schools and in praise of the New York Public Library, pointing out that ordinary workers could go there after work to gain knowledge, and vowing to introduce such institutions in a workers Russia. Today, in the era of capitalist decline, many European countries still do not have public libraries, the NYPL is closed most evenings, and now the New York city government is planning to "blow up" the City University by cutting its size in half.

The bourgeoisie and pro-capitalist reformists seek to adjust the educational system to the needs of capital. This produces the spectacle of cutbacks in enrollment in higher education, particularly of black and Latino youth, at a time when technological developments require *more* skills not less. A chauvinist drive is underway against bilingual education and English as a Second Language instruction just as the immigrant population is exploding. In opposing the butchering of CUNY, liberals argue for a more "rational" educational policy. Yet the offensive against mass public higher education is an expression of the fundamental irrationality of the capitalist system, which destroys millions of jobs in the name of profitability and educates youth only to use them as cannon fodder in its wars.

Today, as 150 years ago with the dawn of scientific socialism, it is the communists who are the only consistent defenders of free public education for all. ■

Uma obra imprescindível

**James P. Cannon,
A Revolução Russa
e o movimento
negro norte-americano**

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Amadou Diallo...

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The echo of police bullets punctuates the daily life of this city, as scores of young black and Latino men are shot down by the cops. Kenneth Banks, who was riding his bicycle in Harlem when police threw a walkie-talkie at his head to stop him from "fleeing." Michael Jones, 16, was riding a bike in Brooklyn with a water pistol when cops shot him six times. Russell Jones, a rapper, shot and arrested for "attempted murder" of a cop: the Street Crimes Unit said his cell phone looked like a gun. Anthony Báez, choked to death by killer cop Livoti, because his football accidentally hit a police cruiser.

Rudolph Giuliani is a particularly blatant racist. The mayor put all of central Harlem under lockdown with thousands of cops last summer when he couldn't outright ban the "Million Youth March." Giuliani is carrying out a racist purge of minority students and particularly immigrants at the City University. Students and working people in NYC must fight for open admissions at CUNY. But it's not just Giuliani and not just the Republicans. Black Democratic former mayor David Dinkins hired 6,000 new cops, the same cops who are shooting down black youth today! It was Democratic mayor Ed Koch who presided over the shootings of black grandmother Eleanor Bumpers in the Bronx, and black artist Michael Stewart in Manhattan.

Leading the demonstrations against Giuliani is the Rev. Al Sharpton, who calls for a federal investigation of the cop shooting of Amadou Diallo. But 15 months after the federal government began "investigating" the NYPD torture of Abner Louima, no action has been taken against the racist torture cops. Meanwhile, Muhammad Khalid spews out vicious anti-Semitism, doing his best to set one minority against another.

Various supposedly socialist groups tail after Sharpton & Co., putting a slightly more "militant" gloss on his slogans of "no justice, no peace." The fact is that there can be no justice for oppressed minorities under this racist capitalist system. The capitalist misleaders and the reformist left feed the illusion that the oppressed are powerless. But the working class makes this system run, and the power of labor can bring it to a grinding halt.

Workers in key unions such as TWU Local 100 (subways and buses), AFSCME Local 420 and Local 1199 (hospital workers), DC 37 city workers, the heavily immigrant garment and restaurant workers, the powerful Teamsters and others should *fight for their unions to mobilize massively in the streets and through strike action against this racist cop terror.*

The police are the armed fist of capital. Class-conscious workers must demand: *Cops out of the unions!*

Amadou Diallo was an example of the international and multiethnic character of the working people of New York City. The workers movement must demand: *Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!*

The whole system of capitalist injustice must be taken on. It is urgent to bring out the workers movement internationally to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, demanding immediate



freedom for this former Black Panther facing execution on Pennsylvania's death row.

The key is to forge a revolutionary workers party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky who led the Russian Revolution. That is the program of the Internationalist Group, section of the League for the Fourth International. As we wrote two years ago when thousands of demonstrators were marching along the Grand Concourse in the Bronx protesting the acquittal of the racist cops who strangled Anthony Báez:

"Removing Giuliani and putting in a Democrat would solve nothing. When black Democratic mayor David Dinkins came into office, the cops went on a killing spree (mostly in Hispanic neighborhoods).... Moreover, Bronx district attorney Johnson and borough president Ferrer are both liberal Democrats, but they didn't try killer cop Livoti for murder any more than Democratic Brooklyn D.A. Hynes brought charges against the cop murderers of Anibal Carrasquillo and Yong Xin Huang.... Democratic mayors across the country enforced the cutbacks ordered by Republican Reagan. Now a Republican NYC mayor will enforce the vicious welfare 'reform' passed by the Republican Congress and signed by Democrat Clinton. Together Democrats and Republicans are the partner parties of capital—they constitute the property party against the propertyless.

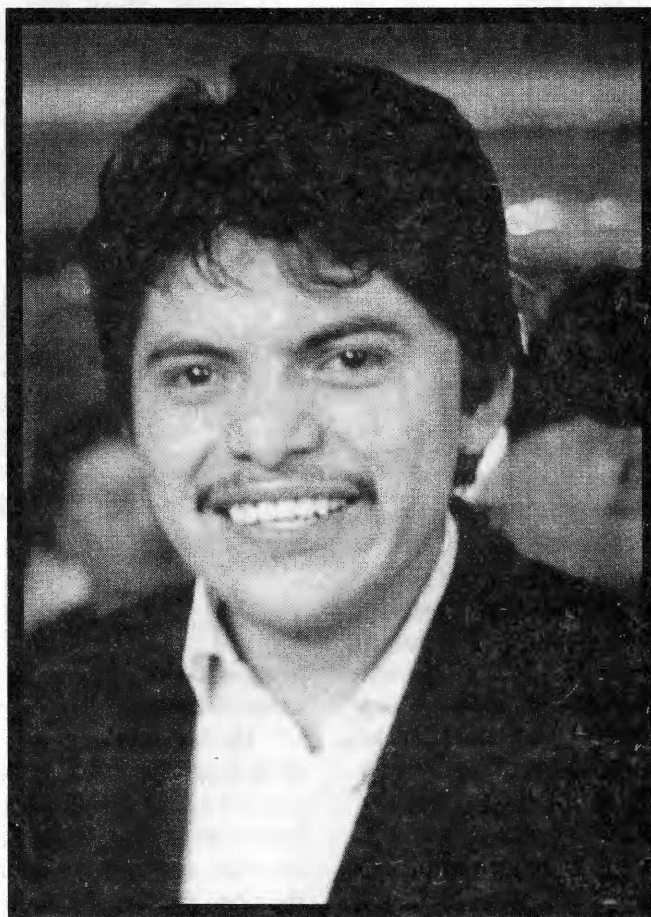
"To get rid of racist cop terror, you have to sweep away the system that spawns it. That system is capitalism, and what's needed is a socialist revolution to make the working class and its allies the rulers of society." ■

Our comrade Fernando López died in a tragic subway accident in New York City on 4 April 1999. Fernando was 25 years old; he was a garment worker, a union organizer, an activist in the cause of the oppressed, and a communist. He was a worker intellectual, a talented organizer and recruiter of remarkable energy and enthusiasm. As a close friend wrote in his memory: "In your short life you left your mark profoundly on all of us who had the pleasure of knowing you." A memorial meeting was held for Fernando in Manhattan on April 13, attended by 100 people, with more than a dozen speakers.

Fernando López Inzunza was born on 15 July 1973 in Huajápan, in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca. As a child he moved to a small town in the state of Tlaxcala, and as a teenager went to Mexico City, where as a high-school student he developed a deep interest in mathematics and helped organize a number of cultural and political youth groups, making plans to study drama on a scholarship he had won from the Instituto de Bellas Artes (Fine Arts Institute). However, in 1994 he followed relatives who, like thousands of others from the Tlaxcala-Puebla region of Mexico, went to New York in search of work. Fernando's uncle had gotten work in a Brooklyn sweatshop (where he met and married a Ukrainian woman of Jewish origin); and soon Fernando was making his living as a sewing-machine operator in the garment trade.

The conditions of merciless exploitation of the thousands of "undocumented" immigrants who, like Fernando, worked for miserable wages in dark, poorly ventilated and often unheated sweatshops aroused his indignation and spurred his developing social consciousness. He soon joined efforts to bring his fellow workers into the garment workers union (first the ILGWU and then its successor union UNITE), which had begun a number of organizing drives among immigrant workers. In June 1995 he

Fernando López 1973-1999



Victor Cira

Comrade, Internationalist, Revolutionary

was chosen to represent the garment workers of Manhattan at a demonstration of hundreds of workers in support of Chinese sweatshop workers in Brooklyn. In his speech, "in the name of the workers of all nationalities," he denounced the way "the bosses and contractors exploit us mercilessly and trample our dignity and respect."

As part of a group of union activists he was later sent on a months-long organizing drive in California, and was also assigned to assist Teamster organizing efforts at a large rental-car agency. With a strong sense of irony he would later display the diploma he received when the union tops sent him to a formal training course for organizers, relating how they sought to tempt him with the bureaucrats' "good life" by putting him up in a fancy hotel before sending him back to the sweatshop. At the same time, he stressed the impact made on him by a Korean American organizer he worked with, who put his knowledge of the Korean, Spanish and English languages to work to bring workers into the union movement.

When UNITE carried out a lightning purge of the group of activists and organizers Fernando was working with in New York City, he helped them found the Garment Workers Solidarity Center. In a statement to the memorial meeting held on April 13, the GWSC noted:

"From the beginning he was an active member, assisting the Press and Propaganda Committee.

Later, due to his knowledge of logistics and computers, he was elected to head the Organization Committee....

"Fernando is an example of how a garment worker...can develop his potential as a leader. And this is how our *compañero* Fernando came to show his many facets in the workers movement."

When filmmaker David Riker, who became Fernando's friend, made a movie entitled *La Ciudad* (The City), Fernando played a role as a sewing-machine operator who joins others

in a work stoppage to defend a woman worker, a vivid depiction of the power of workers solidarity. In the real life sweatshops his fierce persistence and passion in his organizing work won him the nickname *El Tigre*.

Fernando's development into a Marxist revolutionary was thus rooted in his previous experiences and development. As a comrade from the Internationalist Group noted at the memorial:

"Fernando López decided to fight to understand the world and change it. Fernando went through the world *questioning*, always questioning. He never accepted anything simply because somebody said it was so, or because that's just the way things are. He always wanted to know why. He always wanted to know, what is it that we should do? And he never resigned himself in the face of injustice."

This sense comes through in a piece Fernando wrote in 1994, which was read at his memorial:

"I would like to live a thousand years/in order to understand this world.
In this game of life/there are only two paths:
That of an easy life/and that of great sacrifices.
I hope to have the happiness/of walking along the second path, so that at the end of my existence/I will be filled with satisfaction."

Poems about Fernando were also read by a writer of popular Mexican poetry who is a member of Unimexny, and by comrade Socorro of the Internationalist Group.

A speaker from the New York Zapatistas, to which Fernando had belonged as he politically developed toward Bolshevism, stressed his insistence on orderly and productive meetings and the enormous care and attention to organizational detail he put into every aspect of his work. Understanding the importance of organization and consciousness, and of those who march in the vanguard of their class, Fernando came to a decision rooted in his previous experiences and evolution: to become a professional revolutionary, a Leninist.

At the time of his death he had formally requested to join the Internationalist Group, section of the League for the Fourth

International, and was attending meetings and carrying out party assignments. This step came after working and studying with us intensively over the past period. He participated with the IG at marches and protests, and rallies for Mumia Abu-Jamal; intervened at a range of leftist events, chastising reformists who push petitions for "reforming" the police and centrists who cite opinion polls to justify their abandonment of the struggle for Puerto Rican independence; and began to participate in work

Internationalist photo



Fernando at July 1998 protest against immigration raids. Sign reads: "For Workers Mobilization to Stop the Migra Raids."

among students facing the racist purge of minorities at the City University of New York.

An IG speaker noted Fernando's "enormous passion for ideas": "In classes over the course of 26 years, I have never seen a more enthusiastic and sincere participant or a quicker learner; and in a short time he began to give classes on various Marxist themes." In the months before his death he helped give classes on topics ranging from Lenin's polemic against nationalism in *Critical Remarks on the National Question* to Engels' essay *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* and (using examples from his extensive knowledge of mathematics), the chapters on dialectics in Engels' *Anti-Dühring*. At the same time he continued to teach GED (high-school equivalent)

classes for his fellow workers. One of his students recalled how he would come straight from his back-breaking job to give these classes, insisting on students applying themselves and completing their assignments.

At the memorial, another IG comrade noted that this reminded her of Trotsky's description of his son Leon Sedov:

"Leon had exceptional mathematical ability. He never tired of assisting many worker-students who had not gone through grammar school. He engaged in this work with all his energy; encouraging, leading, chiding the lazy ones—the youthful teacher saw in this work a service to his class.... Most of his time, strength and spirit were devoted to the cause of the revolution."

Fernando's tireless work to bring new people around our organization made a big impression on friends and coworkers,



one of whom wrote: "You have changed a lot since you began to be part of the group of the Trotskyists. Your ideas have become clearer and better-founded. The truth is I admire you." In Fernando, the Trotskyist movement has lost a powerful comrade just as a long period of preparatory work was bearing fruit.

A Revolutionary Internationalist

For Fernando solidarity was not just a word; he lived it and in reality embodied it; in his death he received it from many, as shown by the more than one hundred people, most of them immigrant garment workers, who came to pay their respects at the funeral home shortly after his death and again at the memorial meeting. Having seen the employers seek to fan

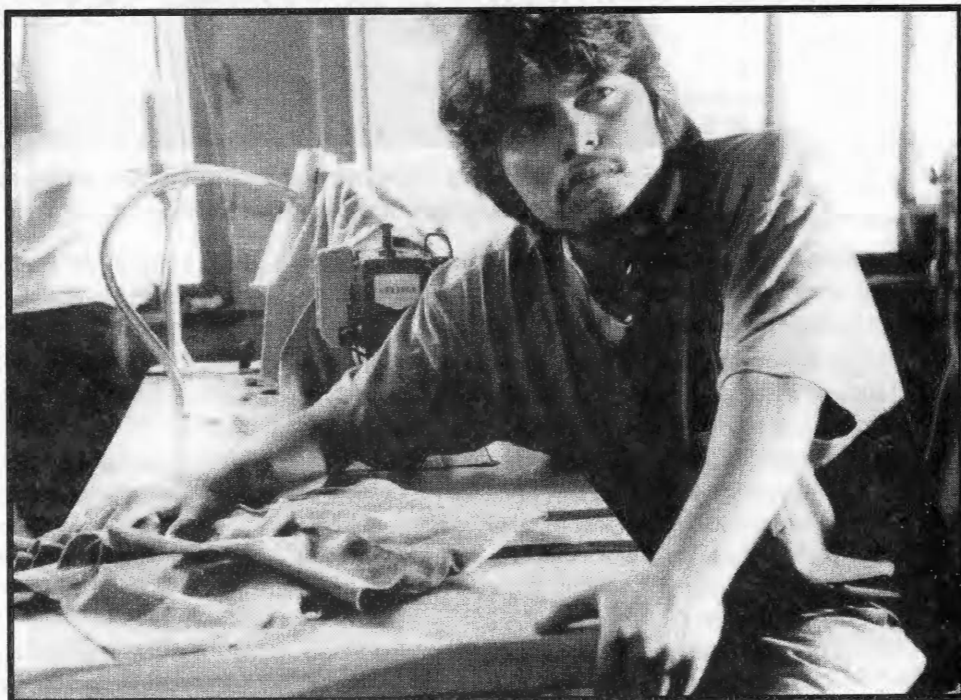
antagonisms between Asian and Hispanic workers in the garment industry, Fernando was deeply committed to the struggle to overcome racial, ethnic and national divisions among all the working people. One of his assignments for our organization at the time of his death was extensive research on the Asian immigrant worker population in the New York area.

When we met and began discussions with him in a period of demonstrations against massacres in Chiapas and immigration raids in New York, he showed a great interest in the struggle against black oppression and an understanding of its central role in virtually all social and political questions in the United States, including struggles against the oppression of women and anti-immigrant racism. Several speakers noted at the memorial that Fernando was active in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. In a

poem read to the memorial, comrade Socorro recalled Fernando, "the hole in your leather jacket/covered with a button of Frederick Douglass," as a "revolutionary with no *patria*" (fatherland), and quoted the Mexican revolutionary Ricardo Flores Magón. "The *patria*, proletarians, is something which is not ours.... The *patria* belongs to the bourgeoisie, and thus it is they alone who benefit from it." Long before meeting the Internationalist Group Fernando was already calling himself "a citizen of the world."

One of the most remarkable examples of his spirit, determination and organizing talents occurred when, together with many coworkers, he was arrested in one of a wave of Immigration and Naturalization Service raids in the New York area last year. An

Fernando portraying a participant in a work stoppage to defend a seamstress abused by sweatshop bosses in "Costurera," a segment of the 1998 film *La Ciudad*. Director David Riker chose garment workers for roles in his award-winning portrayal of New York immigrant life.



article on *migra* raids and deportations in *El Internacionalista* (No. 1, May 1998), the Spanish-language publication of the League for the Fourth International, begins with a description of this March 1998 raid, based on a letter Fernando wrote from jail. Twenty plainclothes INS agents blocked the doors of two sweatshops, seizing "undocumented" immigrants who worked there for minimum wage. Handcuffed and chained, the men were taken to a prison run for the INS in Elizabeth, New Jersey by the Corrections Corporation of America, the women to a *migra* prison in Pennsylvania. Because he refused to cooperate with the INS agents by giving his nationality and other information, or signing papers or stating his country of origin (which facilitates the deportation process), and because he sought to organize others to do the same, Fernando was singled out and threatened with exorbitant bail.

In the prison for 22 days, Fernando kept a daily record of events while he kept working to organize and cheer up the others, finding ways to bridge language barriers to communicate with Chinese workers and help them with their phone calls, and intervening to assist an African prisoner driven to desperation by incarceration. After his release, on each of the occasions we accompanied him to hearings at immigration court, he ran into people he had met in the *migra* jail, all of whom greeted him effusively. When the judge finally sentenced him to what is hypocritically called "voluntary departure" (in which the deportee pays his own air fare), Fernando answered that he still had much to do here. Immediately afterwards, on the steps of the courthouse, he sold an Internationalist Group pamphlet



Internationalist photo

Garment workers and activists gathered in memory of Fernando López, April 13.

to another defendant he had met in jail. He took particular pride in his success at distributing our publications.

As a comrade noted at the memorial meeting for Fernando: "The government said he was 'illegal' because he lacked some little papers called immigration documents. The bourgeoisie thinks it is all-powerful. But it is nothing when faced with the power of the proletariat, and its tribunals and jails will fall to pieces when the workers decide it shall be so and, having acquired consciousness of themselves as a class, take the power in a socialist revolution."

In systematically investigating the origins of the League for the Fourth International (LFI) in the expulsion of a number of leading cadres from the International Communist League (ICL), he closely studied polemics between the two organizations. As a worker communist and internationalist he expressed bitter revulsion at the ICL's betrayal of a hard-fought struggle to remove police from the municipal workers union in Brazil, and their degeneration into what he characterized as *revolucionarios de escritorio* (office-bound revolutionaries). At the same time he was full of optimism for the prospects of genuine Marxism; he

was reading avidly about Leon Trotsky's life and planning to visit and help work at the Trotsky museum in Coyoacán, Mexico, established at the house where the co-leader of the October Revolution—who found himself on the "planet without a visa"—was killed during his final exile.

As the Liga Cuarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, section of the LFI, wrote in a "posthumous tribute to a young revolutionary": "Fernando was dynamic and full of life. His struggles and his communist ideals made a profound impression on us, and we believe they are cause for pride for those, such as we of the League for the Fourth International, who knew him and felt the sincere way in which he spoke, lived, and fought to put an end to discrimina-

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Internationalist photo

Internationalist Group speaker at memorial for comrade Fernando.



Oakland Tribune/Laura A. Oda

ILWU longshoremen march in Oakland to protest union-busting witchhunt, 26 February 1998.

Liverpool Dockers: "Never Cross a Picket Line!"

ILWU: Defense Victory in *Neptune Jade* Picket Case

Defenders of labor rights won a victory late last year when the West Coast longshore bosses of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) abandoned their vindictive prosecution of Bay Area labor activists and members of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) for picketing the scab *Neptune Jade* in the fall of 1997. The picket was part of international protests in solidarity with the embattled dockers in Liverpool, England.

The shipping magnates had demanded that unionists "name names" of fellow picketers and asked for huge fines in their effort to intimidate and bankrupt anyone who dared to fight for international labor solidarity (see "McCarthyite Witchhunt Against Bay Area Labor Activists," *The Internationalist* No. 4, January-February 1998). Faced with ongoing protests—including an ILWU shutdown of the port of Oakland last July during a court hearing on the case—the PMA and its co-conspirators of Yusen Terminals and Centennial Stevedoring finally dropped their suits and charges against all the defendants.

This important labor defense case grew out of the wave of union-busting on the docks which has spread around the world, from Australia to Mexico and Brazil, finding a focus in the battle of Merseyside dock workers in Liverpool (England's last unionized port), all 500 of whom were sacked

in the fall of 1995 for respecting a picket line. The Liverpool dockers fought hard to defend their jobs and the principle that picket lines mean don't cross, while being stabbed in the back by the leaders of their own union, the Transport and General Workers Union, and the International Transport Workers Federation. For its part, Tony Blair's "New Labour" Party—which owns 14 percent of the company that fired them—did its best to see them defeated.

The *Neptune Jade* sailed into Oakland harbor on 28 September 1997 with cargo loaded in a port controlled by the union-busting Mersey Dock and Harbour Company. It was met with a picket line set up by members of the ILWU as well as other unionists and local activists. Members of ILWU Local 10 refused to cross the line, and the *Jade* sat idle for three days.

The ship set sail from Oakland with its cargo still aboard, but met with the same reception in Vancouver, Canada, where ILWU members refused to cross a picket line of 30 activists; and again in Yokohama, Japan, where longshoremen considered its scab cargo too hot to handle. The ship was later sold (and renamed) in Taiwan with the cargo still on board.

The employers screamed over the hundreds of thousands of dollars they lost. As a subsequent PMA press release (10 July 1998) put it: "With 'just-in-time' manufacturing and distribution controlling retailers' inventories, any interruption—even a few

hours—in the flow of merchandise drastically affects sales revenue and forecasting.” Thus even this limited and largely symbolic protest was viewed by the bosses as a threat to “labor peace” that had to be put down, and hard—continuing their vendetta even after the Liverpool dockers, stabbed in the back by traitorous labor “leaders” who let them twist in the wind, ended their 28-month fight in defeat in January 1998. Non-union “replacements” now do the work for half the pay and no benefits.

The PMA targeted ILWU Locals 10 and 34, as well as ILWU member and picket captain Robert Irminger of the Inlandboatmen’s Union, ILWU Local 10 executive board member Jack Heyman, along with the Laney College Labor Studies Club, the Golden Gate chapter of the Labor Party, the Peace and Freedom Party and others for the “crime” of picketing. Blatantly taking a page from the witchhunt manual of the infamous Senator Joseph McCarthy, they demanded that defendants turn over the names of everyone even remotely involved in planning and carrying out the picket, as well as their own past and present organizational and political affiliations and to turn over their correspondence, e-mail, faxes, etc. When witnesses testified on Irminger’s behalf, the PMA added their names to the list of defendants.

Nevertheless, continuing protests, as well as the ILWU’s shutdown of the Oakland port on the morning of 22 July 1998 in support of the *Neptune Jade* defendants, proved an expensive thorn in the companies’ side. ILWU international president Brian McWilliams called the dropping of charges “a gesture of conciliation that will go a long way towards making the upcoming [contract] negotiations fruitful.” On the contrary, the longshore and shipping bosses are still out for blood. They are going after the hiring hall, product of the 1934 SF dock strike, and the union had better be prepared to fight them tooth and nail.

The entire course of events underscores the need to oust the labor bureaucracy, whose entire policy is that of *class collaboration*, and to forge in its stead a revolutionary-internationalist leadership of the working class to bring all of labor’s muscle to bear in *class struggle* to bust the union-busters and defeat the capitalist class once and for all.

“Never Cross a Picket Line”

One of the key lessons highlighted by the *Neptune Jade* case and the Liverpool dockers’ struggle is the need to defend, reaffirm and enforce the fundamental labor principle expressed in the Liverpool dockers’ central slogan: “Never Cross a Picket Line!” This principle is a living expression that the workers are a single *class* with common interests, across lines of different crafts and trades, and across national boundaries. Generations of unionists were raised to view the very idea of crossing a picket line—the battle line in the class war—as abhorrent and unthinkable.

This tradition is echoed even in an editorial on the Liverpool struggle in the ILWU’s official paper *The Dispatcher* (January 1998), which stressed that what was at stake was “the international workers’ right to withhold their labor, to picket and to express solidarity by honoring a picket line.” The editorial continued:

“The ILWU officially recognized and codified that right when the union’s 1953 Convention adopted ‘The Ten Guiding Principles of the ILWU.’ Among them was this admonition: ‘Every picket line must be respected as though it were our own.’ ‘The kind of solidarity the picket line represents, the flexing of collective muscle it demonstrates and the profound recognition and understanding of our power...it can bring, makes it a potent weapon.’”

Yet while tipping their hat to *honoring* picket lines, the ILWU tops have repeatedly refused to *call official pickets* for fear of an all-out battle with the maritime bosses.

In fact, the elementary principle of the picket line has been watered down, trampled on and betrayed by the labor bureaucracy. Nor is the West Coast dock union with its “progressive” reputation an exception—don’t forget how ILWU founder Harry Bridges cheerily crossed the union’s own employees’ picket lines in the early ‘70s and gave away vital union gains in the infamous M&M (modernization and mechanization) contracts. In 1981 the AFL-CIO tops let the PATCO air traffic controllers be fired en masse by Reagan without lifting a finger to shut down the airports.

Over the years, the labor misleaders have sacrificed one hard-fought strike after another while allowing the racist rulers to throw a generation of black youth on the scrap heap and carry out a vicious offensive against all the oppressed. They undermine the principle that *picket lines mean don’t cross* by setting up “infor-

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**Democrats, Republicans Murder Iraqis,
Starve Welfare Moms and Kids
To Hell with Monicagate and Impeachment—
Clinton Is a War Criminal**

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

JANUARY 1—After twice going to the brink earlier in 1998, Washington launched its long-threatened bombing attack on Iraq in mid-December. For 70 hours, the U.S. and British imperialists rained death and destruction on the Iraqi people, following eight years of a vicious economic blockade that has killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqis, particularly young children. The attack by waves of B-1, B-



Reuters

Iraqi women in Qorna survey a house destroyed by U.S. missile.

2, B-52, F-117 and Tornado bombers and hundreds of cruise missiles was an attempt to bring a semi-colonial country to its knees and assert the U.S. role as global gendarme. Dubbed "Desert Fox," the nickname of Hitler's general Rommel, Clinton's raids, like the Persian Gulf War of 1990-91, were intended to enforce a New World Order under U.S. hegemony, including bringing Washington's sometimes reluctant imperialist allies to heel. And Washington continues to bomb anti-aircraft installations defending Iraq's air space, vowing to stage a replay of its murderous operation early in 1999.

The Internationalist Group calls for *defense of Iraq against U.S. imperialist attack*. While giving no political support to Saddam Hussein, the working class must stand resolutely on the side of the Iraqi victims of this aggression by the imperialists, who

are a far greater danger to humanity than the bloody Iraqi dictator could ever be. We demand: *U.S. out of the Persian Gulf!* Just as in the case of the "Desert Slaughter" launched by Republican Bush eight years earlier, it is necessary to *mobilize the class power of the proletariat* internationally and within the United States to defend the Iraqi people against Democrat Clinton's cold-blooded mass murder. Workers'

protests, strikes and labor boycotts of war materiel are called for, demanding an end to the bombing, the starvation embargo, the "no fly" zones and the provocative "UN inspections" which serve as a pretext for imperialist aggression. The sections of the League for the Fourth International, in different national terrains, fight for such urgently needed actions, propagandizing among class-conscious workers for proletarian-internationalist struggle against imperialism in the fight to build a world party of socialist revolution.

The U.S. and its imperialist allies and flunkies in the UN keep denouncing Iraqi "weapons of mass destruction." What cynical hypocrisy! The U.S. is the only power that has ever used nuclear weapons, atomic bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki while firebombing Tokyo, Osaka and numerous German cities, caus-

**Mobilize Workers Power Against the Imperialist Terror Bombers!
Break the Starvation Embargo! Down with UN Sanctions and "Inspections"!**

ing hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths. While the imperialist press piously denounces Iraq for possibly developing chemical weapons, the U.S. slaughtered some 2 million Vietnamese, including using chemical weapons such as napalm and Agent Orange. In the Gulf War, the U.S. used depleted uranium shells which continue to poison Iraqi civilians. Britain—which under Tony Blair’s “New Labour” government joined in Clinton’s murderous rampage—conquered Iraq as a colonial prize in the imperialist First World War and used chemical weapons there in 1920 to put down a burgeoning popular revolt (see “Defend Iraq Against U.S. Imperialist Attack!” in *The Internationalist* No. 5, April-May 1998).

The White House and Pentagon pretend this is all about weapons of mass destruction in the hands of a crazed and lawless Near East regime. How about Israel, which locked up nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu for disclosing its arsenal of at least 200 nuclear bombs developed at its atomic weapons center at Dimona? Israel also has stockpiled chemical weapons, as came to light following a series of accidents at the laboratory in the town of Nes Ziona in which several people died; in one case the entire population of the town had to be evacuated. But Israel is an ally of the U.S., which is pushing the vaunted “peace process” that would permanently confine the Palestinian Arab population in a giant West Bank/Gaza concentration camp, criss-crossed by Israeli highways, militarily subjugated by the Israeli army and heavily armed ultra-rightist settlers, and administered for Israel by Yasir Arafat’s PLO. We call on Hebrew-speaking and Palestinian Arab working people to join hands in overthrowing their Zionist and Arab nationalist bourgeois rulers and leading the way to a socialist federation of the Near East.

The U.S. and UK imperialists claim to be defending “international law” even as they launch terror bombing without the slightest “legal” pretext. While denouncing Iraqi terrorism, the Pentagon brazenly tries to assassinate Saddam Hussein and foment a military coup. The U.S. now admits that at least a quarter of the bombing missions in the Gulf war were aimed at “decapitating” the Iraqi leadership. In one such operation, they murdered hundreds of women and children in an air raid shelter. The UN “inspectors” are nothing but imperialist spies who are fed information by and follow the orders of the U.S. and Israel. Chief “inspector” Richard Butler produced his latest report, which served as the pretext for Clinton’s attack, on direct request from the White House, and it was turned over to Washington two days before being submitted to the UN. While some UN Security Council members like France, Russia and China demur at the bombing, they have all enforced the UN sanctions and inspection regime against the Iraqi people.

Today in most of West Europe, social democrats and reformist “Communist” parties are in office in the form of popular front governments. While “Tory” Blair in Britain openly joins in the U.S.-orchestrated terror bombing of Iraq, the rest of NATO participates surreptitiously. Thus despite the pro forma dissent from the bombing by the French government of “Socialist” Jospin, French planes involved in enforcing the imperialist-decreed “no fly” zones provided the air reconnaissance for U.S. bomb strikes in southern Iraq. In Germany the government of Social Demo-

cratic chancellor Gerhard Schröder and Green foreign minister Joseph Fischer, both former “’68ers” who once protested the war on Vietnam, gave a green light for the use of American bases in Germany in providing logistical support to “*Operation Wüstenfuchs*.” With all its peace rhetoric, the UN is nothing but a fig leaf for warmongering U.S. imperialism.

Ever since the late 1970s, the U.S. has used the rhetoric of “human rights” to mask its war drive, first against the Soviet Union and then, following the counterrevolutionary destruction of that bureaucratically degenerated workers state, against any other regime that fails to unconditionally accept Washington’s *diktat*. The fury unleashed against Saddam Hussein, a run-of-the-mill nationalist despot (and former U.S. ally), is intended as a deadly warning to anyone who would cross the would-be sheriffs of the New World Order. Saddam is a vicious butcher, who first launched his reign of terror against the Iraqi Communist Party (among whose founders were numerous Jewish and Kurdish communists). But lest anyone think that the imperialists are allies of Saddam’s victims, look at the sorry fate of the Kurds who rose up at U.S. instigation at the end of the Gulf War. It was the imperialists’ “peace” following World War I which dismembered the Kurdish people. A united Kurdistan can only be achieved through socialist revolution against imperialism, joining hands with the Iraqi, Iranian and Turkish proletariat to bring down all the capitalist powers of the region.

Meanwhile, as Washington prates about “human rights” as a pretext for mass murder, U.S. prisons are filled with hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth and executions are speeded up in its racist dungeons. Now the drive has been stepped up to silence forever radical black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, the “voice of the voiceless” on Pennsylvania’s death row. We call on militant workers and defenders of democratic rights internationally to mobilize to demand freedom for Mumia. The enemy of workers and the oppressed in the United States is *here at home*: the American capitalist ruling class and its government are the biggest terrorists in the world.

It was certainly no coincidence that bombs began falling on Baghdad and Basra scant hours before the U.S. House of Representatives was to begin voting on the Republican motion to impeach Bill Clinton over a sex scandal. Likewise, last August the U.S. bombed a pharmaceutical factory in Sudan and some “terrorist training camps” in Afghanistan (which had been constructed by the CIA when it was financing an Islamic fundamentalist *jihād* against the Soviet Union in the 1980s) just as Monica Lewinsky was testifying before the special prosecutor in Washington. Overseas military adventures are standard diversionary tactics for imperialist war criminals. Much of the U.S. population immediately compared Clinton’s attack to the satirical movie *Wag the Dog*, in which a U.S. president stages a phony war to extricate himself from a similar sex scandal. But even as Republicans “rallied ’round the flag,” this did not stave off impeachment.

While the Republican right pursues a reactionary anti-sex witchhunt, the Democrats respond by bombing Iraq. Cartoonists showed the White House launching missiles against Congress. In fact, the impeachment fight in Washington is not separate from

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For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

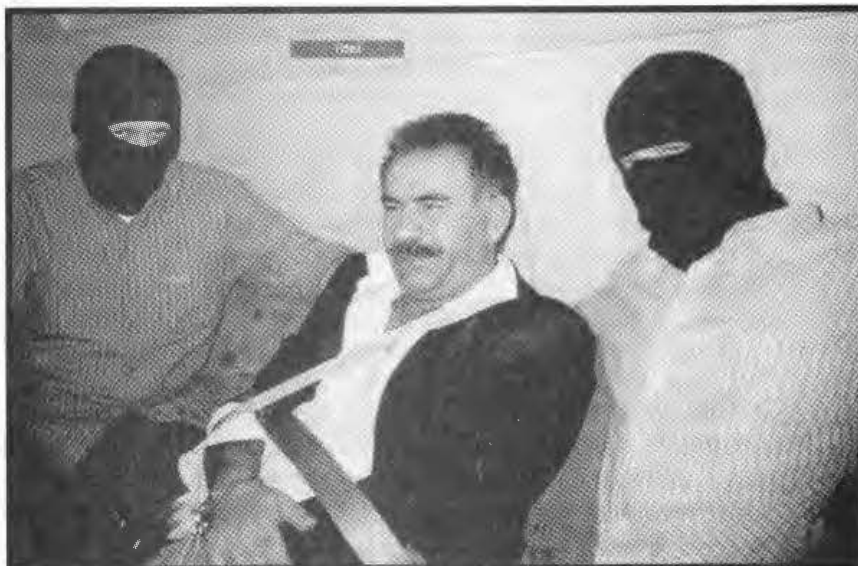
Free Abdullah Öcalan Now!

Down with the Ban on the PKK!

**Release Kurdish Demonstrators –
Stop the Deportations!**

FEBRUARY 19—The imperialist-organized kidnapping of Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdish nationalist PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), has now claimed new victims. While Öcalan is held on a prison island, facing the death penalty at the hands of the Turkish military butchers who have slaughtered tens of thousands of Kurds and laid waste to their land, in Germany Kurdish demonstrators are shot down in cold blood and arrested by the hundreds.

On February 17, guards at the Israeli consulate in Berlin opened fire on Kurdish protesters, killing three and wounding dozens of others. There was a ten-meter-long puddle of blood in front of the building. The Zionist state terrorists fired indiscriminately on the demonstrators as if they were dealing with Palestinian protesters in the Occupied Territories. German Interior Minister Otto Schily, the Social-Democratic



Sygnia

Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) held by Turkish kidnappers who seized him with aid of CIA.

(SPD)/Green government's Noske* declared that the dead Kurds essentially brought it on themselves. Federal chancellor Gerhard Schröder declared the Kurdish demonstrators to be "opponents."

Kurdish protesters are now threatened with deportation to the torture chambers in Turkey. **Down with the racist deportations!** The workers movement must fight for **full citizenship rights for immigrant workers and their families.** The urgency of this demand is underlined by the looming possibility of a strike in the metal industry, with its key component of immigrant workers.

At the same time the SPD/Green government of German imperialism is gearing up to join in a NATO military occupation of Kosovo. Already there are several thousand Bundeswehr soldiers in Bosnia. The peoples of Yugoslavia still recall vividly the devastation wrought by the occupation by the German Wehrmacht in World War II. Every class-conscious worker must demand: **Germany/U.S./UN/NATO out of the Balkans!**

After Öcalan was abducted from the Greek embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, Kurdish rage has been directed mainly against Greek and Kenyan consulates and embassies in Europe. We do not know and can-

* "Defense" (war) minister of the SPD government that crushed the German Revolution 1918-19. Known for his statement that "someone has got to be the bloodhound," Gustav Noske instigated the murder of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.



AP

Kurdish demonstrators in Berlin with the coffins of their comrades murdered by Israeli embassy guards in February 17 protest over seizure of PKK leader Öcalan.

not yet know what exactly happened, but this despicable act has all the signs of a CIA/Mossad operation. U.S. imperialism declared Öcalan international "public enemy number one," and the collaboration between the Israeli and Turkish military is well known. Well-connected U.S. columnist William Safire reported two weeks ago that Israel had persuaded Washington to supply Turkey with Apache helicopters to be used against the PKK, and that "meanwhile, American and Israeli intelligence and diplomats helped track down the Turks' most wanted Kurd, Abdullah Öcalan."

While decreeing that Kurdish protests have no place on "German soil," the SPD/Green government has underlined its continuity with the Kohl regime by maintaining the ban on the PKK and various Kurdish cultural associations, as well as Turkish leftist organizations like Devrimci Sol. As cops in a dozen German cities moved against PKK supporters with clubs and water-cannon, the Turkish military continues the genocidal slaughter in Kurdistan with helicopters and tanks provided courtesy of German imperialism.

The Turkish refusal to let international observers and Öcalan's lawyers into the country makes a mockery of the prating by Schröder, Schily and Green Foreign Minister Fischer about a "fair trial" for Öcalan. Despite its hypocritical airs of noninvolvement the Schröder government is complicit in the international manhunt against Öcalan. **Down with the ban on the PKK and all other Kurdish nationalist organizations! Down with the ban on Devrimci Sol!**

The Kurdish protests come at a time when the racist hysteria over "dual citizenship" for immigrants in Germany has called into question the cynical sop of the SPD/Green bill. This offered only crumbs for a tiny minority of long-time residents on the condition of continued racist terror on the borders. Now, in the wake of its defeat in the Hesse state elections, the Schröder government – supported by the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) – is back-pedaling. Simultaneously there has been a new outbreak of murderous fascist violence in the town Guben on the Polish border, as an Algerian immigrant was chased to his death.

The bourgeois media vituperates against Kurdish "terrorists" in German streets. The [right-wing] Springer press (*Die*



German interior minister Otto Schily and border police. "Socialist" top cop bans PKK, deports Kurds to Turkish jails.

Welt) laments that it was Israelis who pulled the trigger – they wanted German police to stage the bloodbath on German soil. Yet the Kurdish protesters were unarmed and included children. The occupations of embassies (and several cases of self-immolation) were acts of desperation of a brutally oppressed people. They were answered by murderous state repression.

Meanwhile, the reformist left falls over itself to support Schröder and Fischer. Seeking to demonstrate its reliability as "partners" in administering the capitalist state, the head of the PDS parliamentary fraction in the state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern declared that these ministerial social democrats have "no sympathy" for Kurdish protests she described as violent. [The PDS, social-democratic heirs of the Stalinist rulers of the East German deformed workers state, entered a state government following elections last fall for the first time since capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990.]

While revolutionary Marxists call for the liberation of Abdullah Öcalan and stand on the side of the PKK in its military confrontation with the Turkish state, we are irreconcilably politically opposed to the bourgeois nationalism of the PKK. It is urgently necessary to fight for the unity of Kurdish, Turkish and German workers in common *class* struggle. The rash of attacks on Turkish snack bars, restaurants and cultural groups is indefensible and undercuts this perspective by indiscriminately targeting all Turks rather than the blood-drenched Turkish capitalist state.

As the imperialist bourgeoisies push the lie of the "death of communism," Öcalan liquidated the PKK's leftist verbiage and desperately sought an imperialist patron as guarantor of a bogus "autonomy" for the Kurds in Turkey. In Germany this even took the form of an approach to the sinister reactionary Christian Democratic politician Lummer [former state interior minister, notorious for brutal attacks on leftists and immi-

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U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

Defend Yugoslavia—

Defeat the Imperialist Attack!

APRIL 2—Once again there is war in Europe. On March 24, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization launched massive air attacks against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In one week of bombing, some 430 NATO warplanes launched more than 400 missiles and dropped 1,900 tons of bombs on the Balkan republic. Now, under prodding from Washington, the 19-member imperialist alliance has decided to start bombing downtown Belgrade. This will be wanton slaughter. And it is not just the U.S.: once again the Luftwaffe is raining death from the skies over southeast Europe.

The last time around, in 1941, the German air force killed 17,000 inhabitants of the Yugoslav capital. Then their warplanes bore the swastika of Hitler's Third Reich, today they bear the Iron Cross of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. It is no wonder that, as they huddle in shelters, the Serbian population compares today's NATO assault with Nazi terror bombing.

In the second imperialist world war, Hitler's legions marched across the continent seeking to establish a German-dominated fascist New Order in Europe. Today, with Social Democrats in office in five of the seven leading European powers, the "democratic" imperialists drop their bombs in the name of "human rights." This is a mere pretext. For Washington, the war against the Serbs—coming on top of its December bombing and continuing missile attacks on Iraq, as well as the strike against Sudan and Afghanistan last August—is all about imposing a U.S.-dominated New World Order. The purpose is to establish NATO's "credibility," to show that it



Reuters

French expeditionary force in Macedonia prepares to strike, March 1999.

"means business" when it issues its ultimatums. This is "human rights imperialism." The attack on Yugoslavia is clearly intended as a warning to Russia, laying the basis for Western imperialist intervention in the oil-rich Caucasus, for example. And it is aimed at keeping the U.S.' imperialist allies in check, forestalling a European military action outside the framework of NATO. Amid escalating interimperialist rivalries, this marks a step toward a *new imperialist world war*.

The victims of NATO's bombs already number in the hundreds, and soon there will be many more. But the imperialists are far from invulnerable. Already one of the U.S.' high-tech F117 "stealth" bombers has been brought down by Yugoslav anti-aircraft fire. Meanwhile, Yugoslav working people vow to resist: workers at an auto plant occupied the factory, saying to NATO that if it is bombed it will be deliberate murder of more than 1,000 people. The Internationalist Group and the League for the Fourth International call on the workers move-

**Against All the Murderous Bourgeois Nationalists—
For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!**



Flames from bombing in Pristina, capital of Kosovo, 25 March 1999.

AP

ment and all defenders of the oppressed to mobilize against the murderous imperialist aggression and to defend its intended victims. We demand: ***U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans! Defend Yugoslavia—Defeat the Imperialist Attack!*** The IG and LFI also raise the following slogans: ***“For Workers Action Against Imperialist Aggression, Build a Revolutionary Workers Party!” “UCK/KLA Are Imperialist Puppets—No NATO Colonial Protectorate in Kosovo!” “Against All the Murderous Bourgeois Nationalists, For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!”*** and ***“Smash Imperialism through International Socialist Revolution!”***

Imperialist Bombs and Lies

While the Pentagon and NATO HQ in Brussels talk of “surgical strikes” and “pinpoint bombing” as they rain death on the Serb population, the imperialist governments and media march in lock-step, carpet-bombing the rest of the world with war propaganda. The war was launched, they say, because Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic refused to accept a “peace settlement” for the region of Kosovo supposedly negotiated at the French castle of Rambouillet. These “negotiations” consisted of an imperialist *diktat* which would have set up a colonial protectorate in Kosovo, under the boot of 28,000 NATO troops (now called “peacekeepers”). As he announced the attack, U.S. president Bill Clinton claimed that this barbaric onslaught was a “moral imperative” in order to “save” the Albanian population of the Yugoslav region of Kosovo from “ethnic cleansing.” In fact, the NATO attack has produced a mass exodus of Kosovar Albanians as the Yugoslav army moves to secure the borders and attack the imperialist puppets of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK).

Proletarian internationalists denounce the vicious nationalist policies of the murderous bourgeois nationalist Milosevic, but NATO’s war to impose an imperialist colonial protectorate is an incomparably greater danger to mankind—and to the

Kosovars in particular. They are being sacrificed just as the Iraqi Kurds were in the aftermath of the U.S.-led Desert Slaughter against Iraq.

As NATO commanders bomb Belgrade, their political leaders claim they are averting “genocide.” Such talk is *grotesque* coming from German politicians who administer the affairs of the capitalist ruling class that financed and armed Hitler and built the death camps for the Holocaust that killed six million Jews—as well as millions of Slavs, Communists,

Roma (gypsies), homosexuals and anyone else the Nazis considered *Untermenschen* (subhuman). Within the last month it was officially revealed that the Deutsche Bank supplied credits to finance the construction of Auschwitz and the production of the Zyklon-B gas used there. And now the *bourgeoisie* of Auschwitz accuses the Serbs of genocide!

American imperialism, in turn, slaughtered tens of thousands of Japanese in the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, over one million Koreans in the Korean War, over two million Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples in the Vietnam War. Documentary evidence has recently been released showing that the genocidal Guatemalan regime sponsored by Washington in the course of three decades wiped out well over 100,000 of that Central American country’s Mayan Indians. Washington’s starvation blockade has killed hundreds of thousands of Iraqi children over the last eight years. And the United States itself was built on genocide. Its bourgeois rulers “ethnically cleansed” the vast majority of the indigenous Indian population from their ancestral lands, slaughtering tens of thousands and herding the survivors



NATO plans for occupation zones in a colonial protectorate of Kosovo.



AP



Reuters

Left: U.S. F-117 stealth fighter takes off on bombing run from NATO's Aviano, Italy airbase. But U.S. technology is not invulnerable. Right: Serbian villagers turn over piece of F-117 brought down by anti-aircraft fire.

into "reservations" (the word concentration camp hadn't yet been invented by the Nazis).

The idea of the White House claiming a moral imperative for anything is ludicrous. Today Clinton cites the "massacre of Racak," where 43 Albanians were killed, to justify the bombing of Yugoslavia. He conveniently left out that there had been an all-day military battle between the Yugoslav army and the UCK at that site, as well as a number of aspects that have been questioned even by pro-NATO French reporters who were on the scene. Yet Clinton is the capitalist politician who in 1993 cynically ordered the FBI/ATF/National Guard assault that massacred 86 men, women and more than two dozen children at a compound of an inoffensive religious group in Waco, Texas. His excuse then was to "save the children" from alleged child abuse. At the same time he was threatening to bomb Bosnian Serbs (as he did two years later), and to deprive millions of mothers and children of food and shelter in order to "end welfare as we know it" (which Democrat Clinton and the Republican Congress did three years later). We say: **Democrats, Republicans Murder Iraqis, Serbs, Starve Welfare Moms, Kids.**

In order to justify the NATO bombing, the imperialist governments and media now portray Yugoslav president Milosevic as combination of Hitler, Stalin and Pol Pot. In fact, he is a fairly standard murderous bourgeois nationalist strongman. Far from being a "holdover from communism," already in the mid-1980s this Stalinist hack was hobnobbing with the imperialist financiers as a high-level official of the World Bank in Washington. As the Stalinist-ruled bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe were tottering in the late-'80s, Milosevic took up the banner of counterrevolutionary Serb nationalism. He came to political prominence by staging a giant Serb nationalist rally bashing Kosovar Albanians in 1989, blatantly appealing to Chetnik and Orthodox religious symbolism. The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, founded by Josip Broz Tito, grew out of the partisan (guerrilla) struggle against the German and Italian fascist occupiers and their puppets during World War II and against Serb royalist Chetniks.

While calling his bourgeois political vehicle the Serbian Socialist Party, Milosevic has been aligned for years with fascistic Serbian nationalist elements such as Zeljko Raznjatovic, known as Arkan, and his "Tiger" death squads. But this hardly makes the Serb strongman unique among the feuding bourgeois nationalists. Croatia is ruled by a fascistic regime headed by Franjo Tudjman, an anti-Semite who declared the Holocaust was a hoax and who praises the Ustashe government of Ante Pavelic, a Nazi puppet who slaughtered tens of thousands of Jews, Serbs and Communists in his concentration camps. Nor do Milosevic & Co. have a monopoly on fostering murderous nationalist pogroms: the largest single example of "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia was the expulsion of 250,000 Serbs from Croatia in 1995, in an operation planned with the aid of former U.S. generals advising Tudjman's army. Meanwhile, Bosnian Islamic president Izetbegovic, who systematically drove the Serbs out of Sarajevo, was an official in a corps of Bosnian mercenary troops who served the Nazis in World War II.

All-sided nationalist bloodletting was the instrument for tearing apart Yugoslavia, as part of the wave of counterrevolutions sponsored by the imperialist powers throughout East Europe and the former USSR. Capitalism, after all, is based on the nation-state. And among the bitter fruits of capitalist restoration are the escalating interethnic conflicts stoked by bourgeois politicians seeking to carve out their field for exploitation in the imperialist New World Disorder ushered in by the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Milosevic's Serbian nationalist crusade certainly helped set the stage for the counterrevolution in Yugoslavia, pushing other nationalities into the arms of the Tudjmans and Izetbegovics. But the final push for the destruction of the multinational deformed workers state was given by the German Fourth Reich under Helmut Kohl, which together with Austria lined up European Union support for the declarations of independence by Slovenia and Croatia in mid-1991 (and secretly shipped them Soviet arms from the stocks it had acquired in

annexing East Germany the year before). From the early years of the 20th century, Germany's imperialist rulers have sought to extend their sway to the Balkans, annexing (politically and/or economically) the areas that were formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and gaining access to the mineral-rich areas in the south. In World Wars I and II, the Second and Third Reichs of German imperialism declared that "Serbia must die." Today the Fourth Reich follows suit.

UCK: Not Freedom Fighters But Imperialist Puppets

In Tito's Yugoslavia, Kosovo had the status of an autonomous province of Serbia. In 1980-81, following Tito's death, there was a student-led revolt in Kosovo, and in 1989 Milosevic canceled the province's autonomous status. Marxists recognize the right of self-determination of the Kosovar Albanian population, including the right to separation from a Yugoslavia dominated by Serb chauvinism. However, those such as the Kosovo Liberation Army who are today ostensibly fighting for independence are in fact inviting the imperialists to establish a colonial protectorate. And in the face of the NATO assault this question is superseded by the need to defend Yugoslavia and all the Balkan peoples against imperialist attack.

Moreover, the exercise of this democratic right must not be at the expense of the rights of other peoples. In areas of interpenetrated populations, the conflicting rights of different nations and nationalities occupying the same territory make it impossible to equitably realize these democratic rights under capitalism, where one national group is inevitably set against another in competition for scarce resources. Such regions characterized by a patchwork of nations, nationalities and pre-national peoples are generally located in the historical crossroads between different empires, such as the Near East. The Balkans, where the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires abutted each other for centuries, is another such region.

In Kosovo the large majority of the population has long been Albanian, a non-Slavic people whose language is not related to the dominant Yugoslav language of Serbo-Croatian. Nevertheless, Albanian and Serb communities were interspersed and the population was intermingled in the towns. If today Albanians constitute over 80 percent of the Kosovo population, it is in good part the result of a drive by Albanian nationalists over the last two decades to push

Serbs out of the region, with considerable success. And as nationalist tensions were exploited in the service of capitalist counterrevolution and continued to escalate amid the ethnic civil wars, the Kosovo "liberation" movement has been entirely subordinate to imperialism. Those ostensible socialists who today raise the call for Kosovar independence are in fact acting as henchmen of imperialism.

The Kosovo Democratic League of Ibrahim Rugova has long been a creature of the Western imperialists, particularly the United States, which has funneled large sums in "humanitarian" funds to support its educational and quasi-governmental institutions. By the late 1990s, however, Rugova's brand of passive resistance had become discredited and a younger generation of Kosovar dissidents began to coalesce around the UCK (Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves—Kosovo Liberation Army). Western governments and the "free but responsible" bourgeois press portray the UCK as "freedom fighters." They are nothing of the sort. The UCK is a mercenary army, bought and paid for, trained, supplied and outfitted by the NATO powers. Today it acts as a cover for the imposition of NATO rule—the real content of the Rambouillet "accords"—as the imperialists continue to dismember what remains of Yugoslavia. Revolutionary Marxists can give no support to these imperialist puppets.

While its founders include former supporters of Enver Hoxha's Albania, the UCK has received economic support from exiles in Germany who fled after the collapse of the Third Reich and the defeat of the postwar Kosovo uprising led by Albanians who had been part of a Nazi-organized militia. More importantly, this misnamed "liberation army" is actually a creation of the German Fourth Reich. Last fall, the "Monitor" program (24 September 1998) of the ARD German television network aired a special report revealing that as early as 1990-91, German military intelligence (Militärische Abschirmdienst—MAD) supplied "electronic and optical surveillance equipment along with other intelligence material to the Albanian secret service," and that "via the Albanian secret service the military supplies from Germany ultimately reached the UCK Albanian separatist army in Kosovo."

Even the most cursory reader of the imperialist press must wonder where this "liberation army" came from. Until early 1998, almost no one had heard of it, and then suddenly last spring it launched a widescale military operation. How did this come about? The Albanian

AFP



No Freedom Fighters: UCK soldiers, long armed and equipped by German spy agencies, now replaced by U.S., are a puppet army for NATO intervention.

uprising last year, in which thousands of Kalashnikovs were looted from government arsenals, certainly plays a role. Some of those arms ended up in the hands of the UCK. Yet the soldiers of this Kosovo Liberation Army are outfitted in German uniforms, and carry high-power German arms. Its leaders travel around rural Kosovo in expensive brand-new 4x4 all-terrain vehicles. Pictures are published of "training schools" for UCK officers. All this cannot be financed through the donations of Kosovo exiles—it requires direct state support, which the UCK received from Bonn and Berlin just as the Croats and Slovenians had before.

But as also occurred in Croatia and Bosnia, the U.S. has now decisively moved in. While the German imperialists' main aim has been to attack Serbia, which they see as an obstacle to their expansionist plans, the American imperialists want to enforce their "New World Order." While taking over the financing and training of the UCK, supplying it with CIA minders, offering trips to the Pentagon, etc., the U.S. has sought to subordinate these "independence fighters" to its own interests. Washington wants to establish a new role for NATO as a U.S.-dominated military alliance that will continue to "keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Americans in" Europe, even after the destruction of the Soviet bloc. The Pentagon currently commands 25,000-plus NATO troops in Bosnia and a 12,000-strong NATO "rapid reaction force" in Macedonia (where several hundred U.S. troops have been stationed for a number of years), while the U.S. has quietly maintained a satellite-tracking station in northern Albania.

In fact, the UCK is closely tied to the right-wing Mafia-connected former Albanian president Berisha, who was overthrown in a chaotic upheaval in 1997. While a host of pseudo-leftists eagerly hailed a mythical "Albanian Revolution," the Albanian state simply fell apart and gangster elements established their local bailiwicks. The current "Socialist" government is largely powerless, particularly in the northern part of the country still controlled by Berisha's supporters and where the UCK's rear bases are located. There are also numerous reports tracing part of the UCK's considerable financial resources to drug trafficking.

For Proletarian Internationalism, Not Murderous Bourgeois Nationalism!

It is striking that the NATO war on Yugoslavia has been launched not by Reagan/Thatcher rightists but by governments led by social democrats in Europe and the Democratic Party in



the United States. Clinton's "New Democrats" in Washington, Blair's "New Labour" in London, Jospin's Socialists in Paris, Schröder's Social Democrats in Berlin, D'Alema's Democratic Left in Rome—these are the warmongers of today. Even NATO general secretary Solana is a member of the Spanish Socialists. This is no accident. Following counterrevolution in the Soviet degenerated workers state and throughout East Europe, imperialist rivalries (once held in check by anti-Communist common interests) have been heating up. Following the introduction of the euro on January 1, whose purpose is to compete with the U.S. dollar, European and American imperialists have been at each other's throats in a bizarre "banana war" over exports from their respective neocolonies. History shows that trade wars lead to shooting wars, and as the bourgeoisies gird for war, preparing to send their young men (and some young women) off to die for Kosovo, they seek to overcome pacifist sentiment among the masses by looking to the "people's parties" of capitalist rule. Where these take the form of reformist (bourgeois) workers parties, their allegiance to capitalism is often guaranteed through "popular fronts" with bourgeois parties such as the Greens, Radi-



Yugoslav tanks on patrol near Pristina, March 1999.

Reuters

cal and offshoots of Christian Democracy.

From Hamburg to Vienna, the German-language bourgeois press hails the fact that Germany has become a "self-conscious, normal" country—meaning, "no more apologies" for Nazism. Today Tornado jets of the Luftwaffe attack Yugoslavia while Leopard tanks of the Bundeswehr rev up their engines in Macedonia. German troops land in Thessalonika, site of a mass deportation of 50,000 Sephardic Jews to Nazi death camps in World War II (in which former Austrian president and UN general secretary Kurt Waldheim took part). And this is carried out by a government of Social Democrats (SPD) and ex-New Left environmentalists. SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder was a youthful leftist in the 1960s, a leader of Jusos (Young Socialists) when they denounced West German "Stamokap" (state monopoly capitalism); now he is the Stamokap chief. Green foreign minister Josef Fischer was a street fighter in the Revolutionary Struggle group in Frankfurt. SPD war minister Rudolf Scharping was active in the "peace" movement of the '80s. But they all were and are German nationalists.

If this war had been unleashed by parties of the right, there would likely be hundreds of thousands in the streets today. The fact that there are only some tens of thousands protesting, and many of them Serb nationalists, is due to the reformists' role in defending the interests of their respective bourgeoisies. In France and Italy, the long-since social-democratized "Communist" parties issue pro forma "protests" while dutifully respecting cabinet discipline, if in office, or confining themselves to maneuvering in parliament, if in "opposition." If ground troops are sent in, shiploads of war materiel will have to be sent by sea from the French port of Toulon, where determined strike action by dock workers could block their movement. NATO bombers regularly take off from air bases in Italy, where a class-conscious workers movement could mobilize masses to surround them, hindering ground delivery of supplies. Any serious attempt to mobilize mass working-class opposition to the war would likely already have brought down the shaky government in Rome. None of that has happened.

In Germany, the ex-Stalinist social democrats of the PDS

(Party of Democratic Socialism) dutifully fulfill their tasks as the loyal opposition. While the PDS voted in the Bundestag against sending German troops to Yugoslavia, PDS leader Gregor Gysi coyly hinted that UN troops would be another matter. A PDS leaflet for a March 25 demonstration in Hamburg criticized the NATO bombing for "negating the monopoly on violence of the UN Security Council," that instrument of imperialist policy that paved the

way to the 1990-91 attack on Iraq. Meanwhile, the doddering Stalinists of the DKP (German Communist Party) declare in a March 25 leaflet that SPD leaders "Gerhard Schröder and Rudolf Scharping do not stand in the line of tradition of the Constitution [Grundgesetz] or of Nobel peace prize winner Willy Brandt...." What a travesty! Brandt was the social-democratic point man for the Cold War crusade against the DDR, the East German deformed workers state, and the West German constitution was the basis on which hundreds of ostensible Communists, including many DKP supporters, were thrown out of their jobs through blacklisting (*Berufsverbot*)!!

As the social-patriotic reformists sit comfortably in their ministerial chairs and parliamentary seats, the ostensible "far leftists" give them extra-parliamentary support. To be sure, a panoply of social-democratic fake-Trotskyists call for an end to the bombing (as do Labourite Tony Benn and Hamburg's Social-Democratic mayor Harald Voscherau). But they assiduously avoid calling for defense of Yugoslavia. In Britain, Peter Taaffe's Socialist Party calls for "no trust in the capitalist powers" and "self-determination for Kosova." The equally reformist Communist Party of Great Britain attacks Benn from the right for his statement that the UCK was "armed and funded by Germany," saying that whether or not this is true, the UCK is fighting a "just war." Criticizing the NATO attack "does not mean support for Serbia," says the CPGB, making crystal clear that it doesn't support "the enemy." Her Majesty's pseudo-socialist "opposition" just want to respectfully suggest an alternative policy for imperialism.

As the Soviet Union was unravelling in 1990, the Workers Power group and its League for a Revolutionary Communist International (WP/LRCI) drew out this counterrevolutionary logic by calling on Thatcher's Tory government to arm the fascistic Sajudis nationalists in Lithuania. Following this same line, a leaflet by the LRCI group in Germany, Arbeitermacht, distributed at a March 27 "antiwar" rally in Berlin's Alexanderplatz, after some ritual "peace" rhetoric (an end to the Bundeswehr deployment, stop the NATO attack, no NATO troops in Kosovo, etc.) and even a nod toward defense of Serbia and Yugoslavia, ends up calling for "Serb troops out of Kosovo"—the very same demand

Paul J. Richards/AFP



Drasko Gagovic/Beograd.com

“Human rights” imperialism at work. U.S. imperialist chief and war criminal Clinton claims “moral imperative” while U.S. warplanes destroy homes in Serbian mining town of Aleksinac, April 5.

as NATO’s justification for the bombing—and for “Arms for the freedom movement in Kosovo!” which is the same line as many right-wing bourgeois forces. A March 26 leaflet by the LRCI’s Austrian outfit, ArbeiterInnenstandpunkt, goes even further, saying that “in Kosovo we cannot therefore presently support either the Serbian repressive forces or NATO,” and calling for “critical support of the UCK.” Yet NATO is using the UCK to spearhead its attack on Yugoslavia in Kosovo, with the “critical support” of the WP/LRCI opportunists!

The German affiliate of the fast-disappearing United Secretariat of the late Ernest Mandel, the RSB (Revolutionary Socialist League), argues that instead of NATO troops there should be “a significant number of [UN] blue helmets escorting [Albanian] refugees back to their homes” (*Avanti*, November 1998). The German Mandelites and the rest of this crowd look to the example of the “Workers Aid to Bosnia,” in which assorted pseudo-Trotskyists raised money and supplies for “multi-ethnic” (in reality Islamic-dominated) Bosnia which were then delivered with the aid of U.S. troops and tanks. They end by calling to take up the policy of the American SWP during the Vietnam War, encapsulated in the slogan “Bring the Boys Home.” Unlike these social patriots, Leninists take a side against the bourgeoisie in imperialist war. Our “boys” in the Vietnam War were the Viet Cong!

Greek Railway Workers Refuse to Transport War Materiel

In Greece since the beginning of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia there have been large protests almost daily. In addition, the railway workers of the northern Greek port of Thessalonika struck for two days and refused to move stocks of war matériel to Macedonia, including German Leopard tanks. This is an important indication of the power of labor to mobilize against imperialist war. Yet the Greek Communist Party subordinates such actions to its program of popular fronts with sections of the bourgeoisie. What is key is a revolutionary-internationalist, Trotskyist leadership.

In the case of Vietnam, there was a social revolution under way. Today in the rump Yugoslavia there is a murderous bourgeois nationalist regime facing the onslaught of imperialism. While the Milosevic regime is not carrying out the “genocide” the imperialists accuse it of, the Serbian nationalists have plenty of ultra-rightist killers who are more than willing to supply the dead Albanian bodies that NATO wants in order to justify its own mass murder. Rather than trying to push the entire Albanian population out of Kosovo, the Yugoslav regime seems to be preparing to partition the region—which will necessarily involve brutal forced population transfers, such as the Israeli Zionists carried out in 1948, clearing most Palestinians out of their homes and off their lands. Communists, who stand for proletarian internationalism uniting the working people of all nations, must combat the deadly nationalist attacks of Milosevic & Co. on the Kosovar Albanians and fight Serb chauvinism in anti-NATO protests while opposing the UCK’s drive to get the Serbs out of Kosovo.

At the same time, we recognize that the vastly greater menace to the working people and oppressed comes from the NATO imperialists, who behind their current “human rights” mask are carrying out mass murder. If the imperialist “democracies” triumph against Yugoslavia, they will simply install another “ethnic cleanser” as they have done in Croatia or Bosnia. Just as Hitler used the Sudeten Germans to dismember Czechoslovakia in 1938, today NATO is using the Kosovo Albanians to dismember what remains of Yugoslavia. The phony “autonomy” or even “independence” for Kosovo would be nothing but a cover for colonial rule, in which any opposition would be crushed by the thousands of “peacekeeping” imperialist troops. On the other hand, a debacle for NATO in Yugoslavia could have repercussions around the world, including in the class struggle in Europe, as the myth of the invincibility of the imperialist order would be shattered. It is in the interests of the workers and oppressed throughout the world to *defeat* the U.S./NATO juggernaut. Today the imperialists are testing out all their high-tech weaponry in the war on Yugoslavia, just like Hitler used the Condor Legion in Spain to test his Henkel and Junkers bombers and

Messerschmidt fighters. Thus the downing of the "invincible" F-117A Stealth bomber is an encouraging sight for victims of imperialism everywhere.

The only just, equitable and democratic solution to the national question in this turbulent region is through a voluntary **socialist federation of the Balkans**. This demand was raised by the early Communist International, which incorporated the call for a Balkan federation that was raised by the revolutionary socialists of Bulgaria and Serbia at the time of the First World War. However, it was abandoned due to Stalinist nationalism. When Tito's Yugoslav CP and the Bulgarian CP under Dimitrov briefly raised the call for a Balkan-Danube federation in the wake of World War II, this was quickly squelched by the Kremlin. And when the Greek CP faced the might of British and U.S. imperialism in a bloody civil war, Tito did nothing to aid it. The outcome was a defeat that was decisive for the whole region. After breaking with Stalin in 1948, Yugoslavia was only able to exist between the lines of the Cold War with the tolerance of imperialism. When the imperialists no longer saw their interests served by this arrangement, they set about destroying and dismembering the Yugoslav deformed workers state.

It is not to Tito's nationalist Stalinist legacy that communists must look in the face of the Yugoslav catastrophe, but to the heritage of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky and of proletarian internationalists in the Balkans. In 1912-1913, two Balkan Wars were fought that set the stage for World War I. In his war correspondence, Leon Trotsky wrote in March 1913: "On the eve of the Balkan War, when all the bourgeois parties in the Balkans were seized with a fit of warlike excitement, the young Social Democratic movement courageously lifted its voice in warning and protest" (Leon Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913*). He noted that the Serbian socialist Lapcevic and the Bulgarian socialist Sakazov boldly voted against war credits and denounced the policy of blood and iron.

Continuing this internationalist tradition, in 1924, the Balkan Communist Federation, bringing together the Communist parties of the region, passed a series of resolutions, including on the

national question in Yugoslavia. The resolution noted that "the imperialist treaties have delivered compact groups of Hungarians, Germans and Romanians in northern Voivodina and of Turks, Albanians, Bulgarians and Romanians in Macedonia to the oppression of the Serb bourgeoisie." The Comintern stressed:

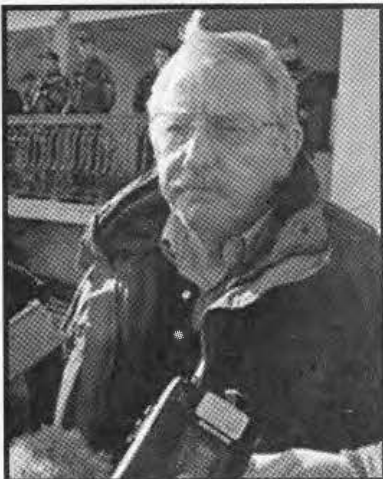
"The national, political and economic enfranchisement of the Balkan peoples can only be obtained through the common action of the workers and peasants of each Balkan people for the establishment of a government of workers and peasants, and by means of a Confederation of all the working masses of all the Balkan countries, the creation of a federative Balkan Republic."

—"Documents sur la question balkanique," *Cahiers du CERMTRI* No. 78, September 1995

National wars in the Balkans touched off the first imperialist world war, and they could be the precursor to a third. The counterrevolutionary break-up of Yugoslavia was the result of the collapse of Stalinist rule throughout East Europe. While Tito's Yugoslavia was multinational, it was still nationalist in character, based on the myth of building "socialism in one country," the watchword of Stalinism. Socialism, a classless society, can only be built internationally, at the highest level of development of the productive forces. Otherwise, as Marx already predicted a century and a half ago, "all the old crap will return"—as demonstrated by the resurgence of reactionary nationalism. The only way out of this steaming cauldron of national hatreds is international socialist revolution. And what is needed above all is the revolutionary leadership to lead that struggle.

The League for the Fourth International states that it is necessary to build the nuclei of Trotskyist parties throughout the lands of the former Yugoslavia, forged in the struggle to defeat the imperialist butchers and all the murderous bourgeois nationalists. Today, in the fight for a Balkan socialist federation it is crucial to defeat NATO imperialism in the war it has unleashed against the peoples of the region and the working people of the world. Only international proletarian revolution can defeat the growing danger of imperialist world war. ■

CNN



Der Spiegel

Look who's talking about human rights. Left: William Walker, head of OSCE "verification" team in Kosovo, was American ambassador to El Salvador during the 1980s when U.S.-backed death squad regime murdered tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants. Right: victims of Salvadoran death squads.

From NATO Chief Javier Solana to "Bombs Away" Denitch Down with NATO Social Democrats!

A key aspect of the bloody imperialist onslaught against Yugoslavia is that it is being carried out by supposedly "left-wing" capitalist governments. This time the warmongers are not arch-conservatives like Ronald Reagan, Maggie Thatcher and Helmut Kohl. Instead, they're European social democrats and American Democrats. Britain, France, Germany and Italy all have governments of or led by parties belonging to the "socialist" Second International, in several cases in popular-front alliances with ex-pacifist environmentalist Greens, rump Communist parties and token bourgeois liberals, who are dropping the bombs on Belgrade. Indeed, the titular head of the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) military alliance, Javier Solana, is a member of the Spanish Socialist Party.

The role of the reformist pseudo-socialists and liberals is in fact indispensable in the imperialists' attempt to head off popular protest against the first European inter-state war since the end of World War II. Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl would have had a far more difficult time of it than "New Democrat" Clinton, "New Labour" Blair in Britain and "New Middle" Schröder in Germany. This is no novelty: the 1914 betrayal of the social democrats in supporting their respective capitalist ruling classes was decisive in World War I. These same forces also played a leading part in the destruction of the Stalinist-ruled bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe and the USSR in 1989-92. The social democrats are always to be found spearheading imperialist war and capitalist counterrevolution.

In the United States, the treacherous tradition of social democracy is represented in the first instance by the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Compared to its West European counterparts, the DSA has always been a marginal phenomenon, entirely submerged in the capitalist Democratic Party (its members include such black Democrats as former NYC mayor David Dinkins and former California Congressman Ron Dellums). In the last couple of decades it has picked up some support in the union bureaucracy, and in academia. The latter was on display at the annual Socialist Scholars Conference hosted by the DSA in New York this past April 9-11. Leading off the event was a panel including Bogdan Denitch and Barbara Ehrenreich, honorary co-chairmen of the DSA, and Noam Chomsky, also a DSA member. Coming as NATO bombs were raining down on Serbia, Denitch laid down the law: no discussion of Kosovo that night.

Denitch, meanwhile, had just written a rabidly pro-war article (in the *Nation*, 26 April) calling for bombing, more bombing and sending NATO imperialist ground troops to attack Yugoslavia. "The bombing should stop only when Belgrade agrees to pull out or is pushed out of Kosovo, if necessary by ground troops." "There will be casualties," he avers in a dismissive wave of the rhetorical hand. To justify this bloody-minded appeal for imperialist invasion and slaughter, Denitch prates that opposition to U.S. military intervention "shouldn't become an obsessive dogma. After all, most Europeans were happy with US in-

tervention in World War II. The British court decisions on Gen. Augusto Pinochet show that, at last, politicians who murder cannot expect amnesty afterwards."

The U.S. only launched military operations in the European theater during the second imperialist world war after letting the Soviet Union take the brunt of Hitler's attack. American intervention, designed purely to defend the imperial interests of the U.S. ruling class, was aimed at heading off revolution at the end of the war, and almost immediately afterwards Washington launched the Cold War against the USSR. Revolutionary Marxists stood for revolutionary defeatism against all the imperialist powers in WWII, while unconditionally defending the Soviet Union against the imperialists. As for Pinochet, the British Law Lords granted him impunity for assassinating thousands of leftists during and after the 1973 Santiago coup that overthrew the popular-front government of Salvador Allende. Communists fight for *workers revolution* to settle accounts with the Chilean butcher and his cohorts. Pseudo-leftists who appeal to the imperialists (who financed, advised and instigated the Chilean coup plotters) for "justice" over Pinochet only helped prepare the way for NATO's assault on Yugoslavia in the name of "human rights."

But opposition to U.S. intervention is not an "obsession" that Denitch and his DSA are prey to. How could they be? They are tools of the U.S. government. Denitch was a longtime member of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party dating from the 1950s, when it actively enrolled in the Korean War, euphe-



Internationalist photo

IG protests at Socialist Scholars Conference.

mistically described as a "UN police action." In the mid-1960s, the SP (then under Michael Harrington) opposed demonstrations against the U.S. war on Vietnam in the name of "stopping Communism." For many years, Denitch was a mainstay of Irving Howe's *Dissent*, about which Woody Allen once quipped that he had heard that it had merged with *Commentary* (later the mouthpiece of Reaganite neo-conservatism) and the result was going to be called *Dysentery*. The social democrats were the Cold Warriors *par excellence* and were directly on the payroll of the CIA. Today, they are in the pay of the likes of George Soros, and the various "institutes for democracy" that are conduits for the U.S. government.

In recent years, Bogdan Denitch has struck a pose of Yugo-nostalgia, yearning for the "much lesser evil" of "market socialism" under the Yugoslav Stalinist leader Tito. Market socialism is a contradiction in terms, for the institution of market mechanisms relentlessly undermines a socialized planned economy and prepares the way for the restoration of capitalism. This was dramatically shown by the Yugoslav experience, where market forces sharpened tensions between the poorer and richer republics, ultimately leading to the disintegration of the country. But Denitch is by no means the Tito nostalgist he makes himself



AP

Tito and Partisan leaders during World War II struggle against German and Italian armies, as well as Croatian Ustasha and Serb Chetniks.

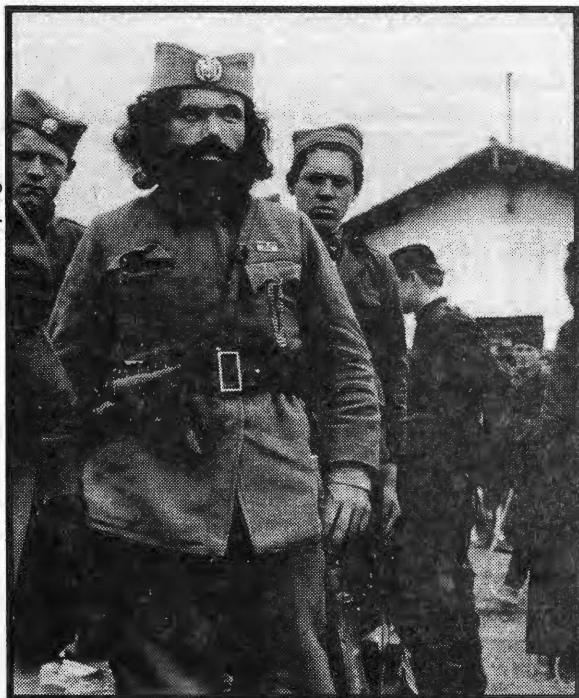
out to be. He began his career as a social democrat as a blatant *apologist for Draza Mihailovic*, the head of the Chetniks, the virulently Serbian nationalist anti-Communist armed bands during World War II made up of former army officers and supporters of the Yugoslav monarchy!

In 1952, Denitch wrote a two-part article on "Titoism and Socialism" which appeared in the *Young Socialist Review*, described as the official discussion organ of the Socialist Party youth group. (The SP youth were soon to fuse with the youth group of Max Shachtman's Workers Party, the Socialist Youth League, as Shachtman & Co. headed into mainstream social democracy.) In that article, Denitch accused the Communist Party-led Partisans of "expos[ing] the local population to continual punitive expeditions of the Axis troops." He noted the Yugoslav social-democratic leader Topalovic was the secretary of the Chetniks' "liberation committee." And he rejected "charges of collaboration" between Mihailovic and the Nazis, summing up: "there is no evidence to suppose that the Mihailovich movement was anything but a mass-based, anti-stalinist resistance movement which included the bulk of the peasantry."

This is nothing but Cold War anti-Communist support for fascist collaborators. There is abundant proof that the Chetniks cooperated with the Axis armies against the CP-led Partisans. John R. Lampe, author of *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), reports that by 11 November 1941, Mihailovic "initiated talks with German representatives to negotiate a *modus vivendi*," at the same time as Chetniks were attacking the leftist Partisans. Later, by the end of 1943, Mihailovic retreated to Serbia, where his forces "had to strike a variety of arrangements with the Ger-

continued on page 60

Spiegel/J. Piekalkiewicz



Serb nationalist Chetniks fought against CP-led Partisans, had modus vivendi with Nazis.

NATO/U.S. Out of Yugoslavia!

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

As a deadly rain of high-tech bombs falls on Yugoslavia, a deadening rain of propaganda falls on Americans, media-manipulated lies designed to prime the populace into supporting harsher military measures against a sovereign nation, in the name of protecting human rights.

NATO is but a fig leaf for American "interests," and the bombing of Yugoslavia is but a global demonstration of the ruthlessness of the American empire. A demonstration? The monstrous atomic bombing of Japan, after it was virtually beaten in World War II, was not a military necessity, but a political one, designed to demonstrate to the Russians that the U.S. was, and would ever be, boss. It was a massive, deadly demonstration.

So too, the Yugoslavia bombing treats Serbs as the U.S. treated Japanese during the war—as props to demonstrate the power of the empire.

Let us consider the claims that the U.S. is concerned about "human rights" or about the "rights of ethnic minorities," as the corporate press projects hourly. What of America's largest national minority—African Americans? The world-respected Amnesty International group, speaking through its secretary general, Pierre Sane, announced just days before the bombing, "Human-rights violations in the United States of America are persistent, widespread and appear to disproportionately affect people of racial or ethnic minority backgrounds."

Sane was critical of police violence and executions in the U.S. Further, internationally, let's see how the U.S. responds to "liberation movements" of the oppressed. When fighters for Puerto Rican independence began to raise their voices, the U.S. didn't support this "ethnic minority," they sought (and continue) to crush, incarcerate, and silence them.

Consider the case of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the East

Timorese, the Colombian rebels—who has the U.S. consistently supported, the oppressed or the U.S.-armed governments?

This isn't about "human rights." It isn't about "ethnic minorities." And it also isn't about "genocide." It's about establishing who's "boss" in the next century. It's about keeping Russia in its place. It's about keeping the European Union under the thumb of Wall Street.

The bombing of Serbia is an echo of the bombing of three other countries in the past six months—of Iraq, Sudan, and Afghanistan. And for precisely the same reason—to show that it can be done, no matter what so-called "international law" states. It is to instill terror throughout the world, in order for U.S. capital to institute what former president George Bush tried to do, but failed: to establish a New World Order.

Days before the bombing, NATO signed up Poland, Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic) as its newest members, thereby virtually isolating Russia. Only Serbia and the Yugoslav states have refused to join NATO—their bombing is their punishment.

Our brilliant, revered nationalist leader, Malcolm X, taught us to examine history. If we look at history, the bombing of Yugoslavia becomes clear.

Empires are maintained, not by reason, but by ruthless terror. It was so in Rome. It is so in the U.S. The brilliant revolutionary, Dr. Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, explained, "The United States was no longer a nation. We called it an empire. An empire is a nation-state that has transformed itself into a power controlling all the world's lands and people." (1973)

Huey was right then, and our response then was to oppose the empire. We must do that now.

Down with imperialism! Stop the bombing! NATO/U.S. out of Yugoslavia! ■

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Luftwaffe Targets Belgrade Again



German Fourth Reich: Back in the Balkans

Last October, the German Bundestag (parliament) held a historic session in Berlin, the new capital of Greater Germany. As its final act, the outgoing conservative government of Christian Democratic (CDU) chancellor Helmut Kohl voted together with the incoming Social Democratic/Green coalition headed by Gerhard Schröder to deploy the Bundeswehr (German army) in Yugoslavia. Symbolizing the continuity of German imperialism, this event took place in the old Reichstag (imperial council) building where on 4 August 1914 the Social Democrats joined with the bourgeois parties in voting war credits as the slaughter of World War I began. Eight and a half decades later, the "Berlin Republic" was inaugurated by voting for imperialist war.

Six months later, the Luftwaffe is once again targeting Belgrade as NATO planes rain death on the Yugoslav capital and seek to destroy its economy by blowing up factories, bridges and railroads throughout the country. Now the imperialists bomb columns of refugees in Kosovo, dismissing this as "collateral damage" in their "humanitarian" war. In recent months the Clinton administration has demanded war in the Balkans, flexing its military muscles after a year of scandal in Washington and playing global policeman in a U.S.-dominated New World Order. But for the past decade, German imperialism has been on a relentless drive to dismember Yugoslavia.

Indeed, this has been a constant since Germany was united in the late 19th century. From the monarchical Second Reich (empire) to the fascist Third Reich to the "democratic" Fourth Reich, German imperialism has sought to impose its sway over

Deutsche Heereskarte

Nicht für die Öffentlichkeit



WW II German Army map of Belgrade

Southeast Europe and keep the local bourgeois states weak and divided. To this end, Kaiser Wilhelm's Reichswehr (imperial army), Hitler's Wehrmacht and the Bundeswehr have all attacked Serbia. If Latin America is Yankee imperialism's "back yard," the Balkans are German imperialism's *Hinterland*, a source of markets, foodstuffs and raw materials vital in wartime. While today the U.S. and Germany join in the NATO attack, the seeds are being sown in the Balkans for new inter-imperialist war.

Following the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, a West German imperialist state was reconstituted whose seat of government was in Bonn, a small town on the Rhine. For several decades, the Bonn Republic was widely described as an "economic giant and political dwarf." Intent on living down

the horrendous legacy of the Nazi Holocaust, Germany's "democratic" capitalist rulers kept a low profile politically and concentrated on building up the most powerful economy in Europe. Today, Germany is the axis of capitalist European Union, whose new currency, the Euro, is simply the Deutschmark in drag. And now a "self-confident" Germany, in Chancellor Schröder's terms, is throwing its weight around politically and militarily as well.

For four and a half decades, the front line of the Cold War ran right through Germany, with the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc to the east and NATO imperialism to the West. For many years West Germany's imperialist ambitions were constrained by the existence of the German Democratic Republic (DDR) and behind it



German soldiers landing in Thessalonika, 11 March 1999. German Wehrmacht deported 50,000 Jews to death camps from this Greek port. Former Austrian president and UN secretary general Kurt Waldheim was one of the perpetrators of this war crime.

the military power of the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Stalinist regime of the DDR in late 1989 was followed in 1990 by the incorporation (annexation) of the East German deformed workers state into the capitalist German Federal Republic (BRD) at a Blitzkrieg pace. Since then, a newly assertive Greater Germany has sought to nail down its domination of Europe.

"Germany has come to terms with its history," wrote Christian Democrat Kohl in 1991. "It can henceforth openly declare its role as a world power and should expand it." But it took until 1999 and the installation of a coalition government of the Social Democrats (SPD) and environmentalist, ex-pacifist Greens to fully realize this program. This capitalist government of the "left" is doing what Kohl hesitated to attempt in two decades of right-wing cabinets. SPD chancellor Gerhard Schröder, war minister Rudolf Scharping and interior minister Otto Schily along with Green foreign minister Joseph Fischer were all active in the 1980s "peace" movement. Today they are spearheading German imperialism's military aggression, while damping mass protests with a class-collaborationist popular front.

Speaking for the bourgeoisie, *Die Presse* (27 March) in Vienna declared that "Gerhard Schröder and at least as much his Green foreign minister have become transformed this week into statesmen" ... by covering their hands with the blood of Yugoslav working people. In the left-wing press much has been written about a "betrayal" of their youthful ideals by the former "red"

(or at least pink) 68ers. But here, too, there is a continuity: in demonstrating against the stationing of U.S. Pershing missiles a decade and a half ago, they opposed NATO militarism on the basis of pacifist/environmentalist-tinged German nationalism; today they are NATO warmongers, sending German Tornado fighters and Leopard tanks against Yugoslavia, once again in the national interests of German imperialism.

To oppose the "red-green" militarists what is required is not a new edition of the black-red-gold German nationalist "peace" movement but an internationalist mobilization of the working class throughout Europe and in the U.S. While assorted reformists and pseudo-revolutionaries raise a social-pacifist chorus to stop the bombing and bring home the troops before they get hurt, genuine communists take a side in this battle. It is the urgent duty of the workers movement to undertake sharp class struggle to *defend Yugoslavia and to defeat the imperialist assault*. As Lenin's Bolsheviks did in World War I, it is necessary to fight the imperialist war with class war. Against *Burgfrieden* (civil peace at home) what is ultimately posed is civil war at home to smash the capitalist-imperialist system that breeds such wars.

Behind the present war on Yugoslavia there is a tug of war going on between the leading imperialist powers, who are both allies (for now) and increasingly contentious rivals. While Washington wants NATO to serve as a cover for its role as global sheriff, Berlin along with Paris and London want to develop a "European defense identity" to get out from under the U.S.' thumb. Behind seemingly arcane trade disputes over bananas and luxury goods lurks a contest over who will control the tremendous oil reserves of the Caucasus and ex-Soviet Central Asia. The war in Yugoslavia is setting the stage for coming showdown between the imperialist powers. Though the sequel may not be as immediate as in the 1912-13 Balkan wars that triggered the First World War a year later, the contours of a future confrontation between the U.S. superpower and a German-dominated Europe are already taking shape.

The duty of revolutionaries in all the imperialist countries is to stand on the side of victims of the U.S./NATO assault and to resolutely fight "their own" bourgeoisies. In the first weeks protest demonstrations in many countries have been far smaller than even during the 1991 Gulf War. But in such periods of sharp international conflicts, consciousness among the proletarians, the youth and the oppressed can develop rapidly. All historical experience teaches that *war is the mother of revolution*, and the spectre of a looming inter-imperialist World War III can only be banished through international proletarian revolution. This is the program that League for the Fourth International fights for in seeking to forge a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution.

DPA



Above: Green foreign minister Fischer visits German expeditionary corps in Macedonia. Below: Bundeswehr Leopard tank on maneuvers.

Spiegel/W. Schuerling



"Germans to the Front"?

In the mid-1980s, the West German Social Democrats signed a joint communiqué with the East German Stalinist SED declaring in high-flown rhetoric that "never again must war issue from German soil." This was during time when the SPD was trying to undermine East Germany through its *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy) of "change through coming together." Decades of treacherous Stalinist policy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism prepared the way for counterrevolution as the social democracy spearheaded the capitalist reunification that wiped out the DDR and its (bureaucratically distorted) social gains. Almost immediately, the German capitalists began chopping away at the unions and welfare measures of the "social state" that had been touted as the "German model" but were deemed unprofitable since the "red threat" had supposedly been banished. And now, a decade later, an imperialist war of aggression has been launched from German soil.

When the SPD sealed its evolution into reformist support for German capitalism by voting war credits in 1914, Kaiser Wilhelm proclaimed that looking over the Reichstag he "no longer recognized parties, only Germans." In the Bundestag today, 96 percent of the deputies are part of the war party. The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), the reborn social democrats who came out of the East German Stalinist SED, voted against the Bundeswehr deployment. But they only want to have a UN mask on imperialist intervention, as in the 1950-53 Korean War. As PDS parliamentary leader Gregor

Gysi declared in an interview after a trip to Belgrade: "The answer is the UN. The responsibility must be handed over from NATO to the UN, in order to correspond to the previous world order" (*Neues Deutschland*, 15 April).

Despite Gysi's unambiguous declaration of loyalty to the existing (capitalist) world order, the SPD spit nails over his visit with Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic. Schröder declared that the PDS had better watch out that it doesn't go "from being Moscow's fifth column to being a fifth column for Belgrade." But the PDS is loyally serving the German bourgeoisie. While holding an "antiwar" demonstration of up to 20,000 in Berlin's Alexanderplatz the weekend after the bombing began, PDS leader stated that the party would not leave the coalition state government in Mecklenburg or drop its "toleration" of the SPD government of Anhalt-Sachsen. Certainly these died-in-the-wool reformists will do nothing to mobilize the working class against the war. The PDS are just junior partners of the war coalition who haven't yet been offered the chance to auction off their "antiwar" credentials in the big time like the Greens.

In particular, the PDS and those "leftists" who cling to its coattails appeal to the interests of *German* imperialism, trying to pin the Yugoslav war exclusively on the Americans. In his *Neues Deutschland* interview, Gysi declared that "the process of European integration" had been "thrown back years. Only one power can have an interest in that—the U.S.A." Even more open appeals to German imperialism were made by *Junge Welt*, which serves as a mouthpiece for various leftovers from the Stalinist SED, from the Kommunistische Plattform of the PDS to the West German-based DKP (German Communist Party). After the bombing started, the paper ran interviews with former German fleet admiral and head of military counterintelligence (MAD—Militärische Abschirmdienst) Elmar Schmähling and with CDU Bundestag deputy Willy Wimmer criticizing the bombing as a "big mistake."

Particularly blatant was a piece by *Junge Welt's* lead commentator, Werner Pirker, under the headline "A German Word": "There is no European and also no German great power interest to push Serbia into a historical no man's land... Nevertheless, the overseas superpower has succeeded, by and large without problems, in pushing through its destabilization concept for Southeast Europe against the original position of the contact group by declaring Yugoslavia's territorial integrity no longer valid and using hallucinations about a greater Albania in their own interest. Because with the subjugation of Yugoslavia, the boxing in of Russia would be complete.... "Since Bismarck, Germans have afforded great interest to the relationship to Russia. Their attempt to end the Russian national existence almost ended their own. The blockade now



Rivalries between imperialist powers are growing over trade disputes, NATO doctrine. Class-conscious workers must fight against "their own" bourgeoisies, for international socialist revolution.

imposed on Russia by the IMF pursues the same goal of annihilation. And the goal of the neo-liberal superpower for sole world domination."

--*Junge Welt*, 22 March

So according to these supposed leftists, the problem with Hitler was that he was a threat "German great power interests"! What a travesty! Pirker's "German Word" is a particularly grotesque example of what is, however, a widespread theme in the antiwar protests, which are far smaller than marches during the 1991 Persian Gulf War or the mid-'80s. "Amis Go Home!" is almost a reflex action in the *German nationalist* pacifist milieu.

To pretend that German imperialism doesn't have its own interests in pressing for military attack and the dismemberment of Yugoslavia is to whitewash their own bourgeoisie . . . and to deny more than a century of Germany's history as a continental power, in which it has repeatedly sought to establish its own domination of "the Southeast" by blocking or destroying any state encompassing the south Slavs. Through economic imperialism in times of peace and military invasion in times of war, Germany's capitalist rulers have always pursued a *Drang nach Südosten* (drive to the southeast). And by looking to *bourgeois* antiwar sentiment and appealing to imperialist "national interests," German leftists are declaring their allegiance to their bourgeois masters in coming imperialist conflicts, just as Schröder, Fischer and Scharping did in the German nationalist "peace" movement of the 1980s.

The social-patriotism of many of the "antiwar" spokesmen reaches ludicrous proportions. Thus PDS Bundestag deputy Winfried Wolf has raised the spectre of "the Allies possibly saying to each other, as during the Boxer Rebellion [in China] at the end of the last century, 'The Germans to the Front?'" (*Junge Welt*, 10 April). Wolf was long associated with Ernest Mandel's brand of fake Trotskyism. So here we have the spectacle of this

ex-pseudo-Trotskyist so concerned about the poor German army being pushed to the front by its allies that he wants to ask war minister Scharping (a fellow bicycle enthusiast) "how do things stand with the protection of the German troops in Tetovo, Macedonia"! He worries that the Bundeswehr camp there could subject to an attack by Serb artillery, paramilitaries or Soviet "Frog" ground-to-ground missiles!! Yet the Bundeswehr's Macedonian expeditionary corps poised to invade Yugoslavia are front-line fighters for the Fourth Reich.

But the fact is that it is *the German bourgeoisie* that has pushed "the Germans to the front." The parlor pink and olive green cabinet has eagerly seized upon the opportunity to deploy German military might abroad. "Humanitarian" war propaganda is used to overcome historical aversions, both at home and in the rest of the continent, to seeing German troops marching through Europe again. If American generals and White House strategic planners worry about a "Vietnam syndrome" hindering military adventures abroad, their German counterparts face a many times greater "Third Reich syndrome" about war at home. And this is a continent whose soil has been drenched with soldiers' blood almost every generation.

The longest period of peace in German history, as one letter to the editor noted, was 63 years, between the 1555 Augsburg religious peace and the beginning of the Thirty Years War in 1618. The post-WWII period fell ten years short of this record. The writer pointed out as well, that with the exception of a dubious "victory" in the 1904-5 colonial war against the Herero population of Southwest Africa (now Namibia), Germany has lost every war for the last 128 years. Another writer emphasized that since 1900 Germany has not been attacked by a foreign state, but "now for the sixth time in this century...a capitalist German army in the form of the Bundeswehr has assaulted foreign peoples and is murdering civilians" (*Junge Welt*, 3 April).

Tug of War in NATO

It is true that ever since the alleged Raçak massacre in January, Washington has been pushing for war on Yugoslavia. This was the opportune excuse for sending in the bombers. In a single missile attack on a refugee column, twice as many Albanians were killed by the U.S. Air Force as died in the murky incident in an area controlled by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). As a former top official of "Doctors without Borders," Jean-Christophe Rubin, noted in *Le Monde*:

"NATO defines an enemy, threatens him and ultimately strikes out and destroys him.... In order to set such a machinery in motion, a trigger mechanism is necessary.... The lever in NATO today is...humanitarian. It needs blood, a massacre, something that will so enrage public opinion that it will welcome a violent reaction.... To put it plainly: the West needs corpses.... In Kosovo we are waiting for them, and we will get them."

Ruffin pointed out that in this operation, so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and "human rights" agencies play a key role in preparing the terrain. And then there is the role of the war-mongering media. In Germany, the Green daily *taz* (*Tageszeitung*) has tried for months to whip up war sentiment by distributing reports of Kosovo massacres that were later denied.

But if U.S. rulers have pushed hardest for a military attack on the Serbs, it was partly in order to get ahead of the pack and make sure that it stayed under American command. Already a year ago, Bonn refused to agree to stop weapons shipments from Albania to the UCK, saying that this amounted to "supporting the Serbian oppressor system against the Kosovo Albanians" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28 May 1998). The German leftist weekly *Jungle World* (14 April) reported that in NATO planning, the head of the alliance's military committee, German General Klaus Naumann "openly came out for a ground war," while most of the imperialist allies rejected this as too risky. Referring to the 1940s slogan that the purpose of NATO was to keep the Americans in NATO, the Russians out and the Germans down—a shorthand description that under vastly different circumstances remains true—the writer asks: "In taking over the command of the Kosovo war and control of the dynamic unleashed by Germany, did the U.S. want to 'keep down' the European Union or its German leading power?"

Simultaneously with the war against Yugoslavia, NATO is celebrating its 50th anniversary with a summit gala. As bombs fall on Kosovo, champagne will flow in Washington. But the festivities only mask growing differences. The war planners in the Pentagon and National Security Council want a "new strategic concept" to replace the Cold War anti-Soviet strategy which allowed the U.S. to keep hegemony among the imperialists. Now that the common enemy is gone, the U.S. wants NATO to serve as a self-mandated international police force in "out-of-area" deployments. Liberals complain that Washington didn't even bother to ask for a UN resolution. But that was not an oversight or highhanded arrogance—it was in order to set a precedent.

German chancellor Schröder told a high-level strategic conference in Munich, "That there is a danger of unilateralism, not by just anybody but by the United States, is undeniable." The real immediate factor leading Washington to take the lead



Harald Schmitt

NATO military committee chief General Klaus Naumann calls for German army intervention to protect markets, access to raw materials.

for pushing for war on Yugoslavia was not a convenient (if not manufactured) village massacre but a meeting last December between Britain and France, with German agreement, which issued a call for the European Union to develop "the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces." If Washington didn't grab the lead it was facing the prospect of that autonomous action being carried out in Kosovo.

The chief architect of such an "autonomous" European military force would be the same General Naumann who today heads NATO's military committee. While reformist critics of the Yugoslav war complain of Washington trampling on the right of national sovereignty, Naumann declared in a recent interview with *Stern* (31 March) that "all attempts after the end of the Cold War to create a new world order have so far failed, but national borders are increasingly losing importance." Asked if European NATO countries weren't acting as auxiliaries to the self-proclaimed U.S. world policeman, he replied that "without the Americans nothing happens today.... We just can't complain about the U.S. being too powerful. The Europeans lack the concentrated political will."

When a German imperialist general declares that borders are losing importance and demands "concentrated political will," one should take notice. In 1992, Naumann, then General Inspector of the Bundeswehr, published a document titled "Defense Policy Guidelines," in which he defined the goal of Bundeswehr deployments as defending Germany against external danger and "political blackmail," as well as "maintaining free world trade and unhindered access to markets and raw materials throughout the world in the framework of a just world order." On the battlefield of Yugoslavia today, both Washington and Berlin's strategic concepts are being carried out, while Serbs and Albanians pay the price in casualties and economic devastation.

How Bonn Engineered the Break-Up of Yugoslavia

In our April 2 statement, we pointed to the evidence that from the beginning, the UCK was armed by German Military

Intelligence (MAD), particularly using equipment taken over from the East German NVA (National People's Army). In addition, there are numerous indications of ties between the Kosovo Liberation Army and the BND, Germany's equivalent of the CIA. And even the *New York Times* now quotes U.S. officials saying they take it as an established fact that their Kosovo Albanian puppet army is heavily involved in drug trafficking. In fact, the whole operation looks strikingly like the Nicaraguan *contra* army put together by Washington's intelligence operatives, only in this case the puppeteers are German rather than American. The UCK make no bones that they are simply instruments of NATO, calling for the imperialist alliance to occupy Kosovo. Failing that, a recent demonstration of Kosovo Albanians in Germany sported American flags and signs proclaiming: "NATO, We Are Your Ground Troops!" (*Spiegel*, 5 April).

This is part of a broader German policy that has aggressively sought for more than a decade to dismember Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav federation was already falling apart due to the centrifugal forces of the market, as the more prosperous republics (Slovenia and Croatia) sought to free themselves from paying development funds for the poorer southern regions, particularly Kosovo, and to gain entry into the capitalist European Common Market. Although Yugoslavia under Tito and his successors proclaimed itself socialist, the average income in Kosovo was barely *one-sixth* that of Slovenia. Serb leader Milosevic did plenty to exacerbate national tensions with his nationalist diatribes, particularly directed against the Kosovars. This played into the hands of pro-capitalist Croatian and Slovene nationalists. The Stalinist bureaucracy under Tito and his successors undermined the foundations of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, preparing the way for counterrevolution and destruction of the country. But the death blow came from Bonn.

As the Croatians unilaterally declared independence and launched military actions against the Yugoslav national army (JNA) in mid-1991, German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the Zagreb regime, "Every shot fired brings independence closer." And it was not just the ruling Christian Democrat/Free Democrat coalition that pushed this line. In the summer and fall of 1991, the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* campaigned incessantly for recognition



DHM

Execution of Serb hostages in Pancevo, 1941. A million Yugoslavs were killed in World War II by Germans, close to 100,000 by execution squads of Wehrmacht and Waffen SS.

of Slovenia and Croatia as independent states. The Greens under Fischer had been demanding since August 1991 recognition of the secessionist northern Yugoslav republics. And a circle of SPD politicians around Karstein Voigt and Norbert Gansel gave the decisive push for unilateral German recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. Then United Nations secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar warned in a letter to Genscher that this would only lead to "an extension of the present conflict" and create an "explosive situation, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina and also in Macedonia.

Washington at first tried to resist the break up of Yugoslavia, placing their bets on the former banker now in control of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic. Germany's European allies Britain and France, traditionally aligned with Serbia, were also reluctant. The UN had insisted on certain "human rights" conditions, including guaranteeing minority nationalities' rights. But an all-party vote

in the Bundestag in October 1991 committed the Bonn government to recognizing the secessionist republics on its own, whether or not they guaranteed minority rights, if it couldn't get support from the European Union. As a measure of the importance Bonn gave to this question, at the EU meeting in Maastricht that December Germany made acceptance of independence for Slovenia and Croatia a condition for agreeing to a common European currency, the key to the Maastricht Treaty. The rest of the countries went along. Kohl declared that this represented "a great foreign policy success for the German government, which has long pushed hard for the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia." And then Bonn went ahead and unilaterally recognized them anyway. A week later, the Vatican followed suit.

The new states were practically neo-colonies of Germany. The German role in their creation is spelled out in the 1994 book by Tobias Pflüger and Martin Jung, *Krieg in Jugoslawien* (War in Yugoslavia). Croatia's fascist strongman Tudjman declared: "We Croats have no fear of a reunified Germany. On the contrary, the stronger a united Germany, the better it is for Croatia." It was not lost on others that the two governments that had recognized Croatia were the same ones who had supported the Croatian fascist Ustasha state in World War II. Germany not only gave diplomatic support, it also armed its neo-colony. A UN report complained that Germany had broken the arms embargo and

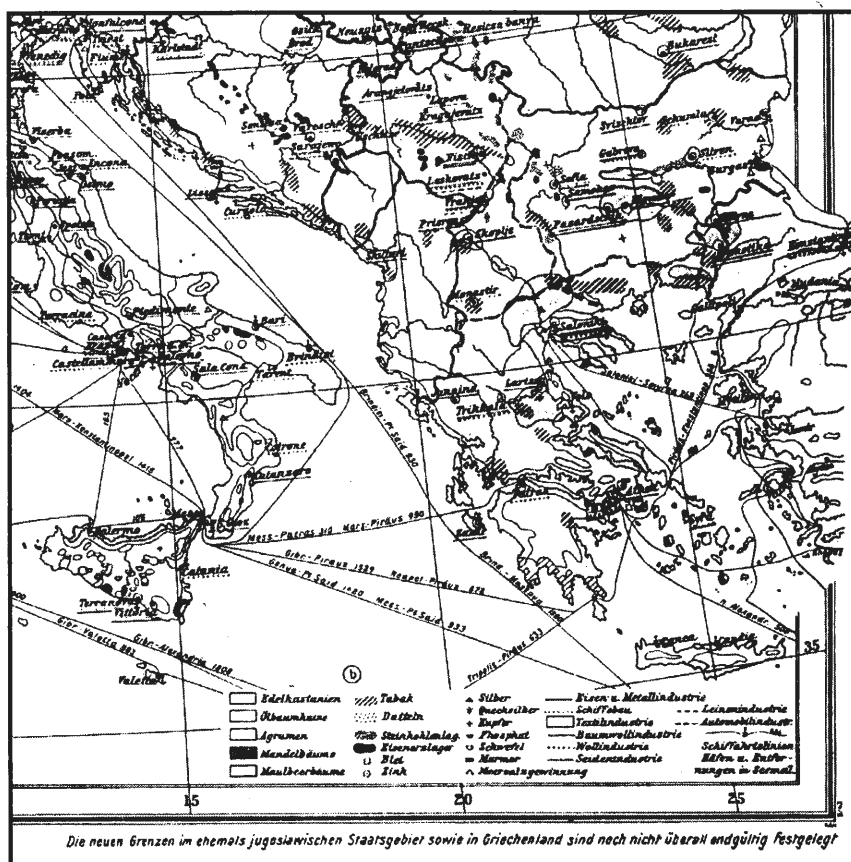
delivered 60 tanks to Croatia. And meanwhile scores of German mercenaries joined the Croatian army and the HOS militia, many of them Nazis. The HOS' infamous "Black Legion" was led by a German. British fascists, American Ku Klux Klansmen and assorted right-wing soldiers of fortune flooded in.

The Western media has been flooded for years with sensational reports on "ethnic cleansing" by Serb forces in Bosnia and Kosovo, the horror stories are selectively chosen and manipulated to build up support for "humanitarian intervention" (i.e., war against the Serbs). Stories about Serbian concentration camps such as Omarska were given great publicity, while Croatian camps like Capljina were not mentioned. A 1993 document of the International Committee of the Red Cross reported that there were 46 detention camps in Bosnia, the largest number (and largest number of prisoners) controlled by the Bosnian government. Meanwhile, as the UN general secretary had predicted, independence for the two northern republics quickly lead to the break-up of Bosnia Herzegovina and to the war there that lasted for half a decade at a cost of thousands of lives.

All sides in the fighting sought to clear out minority nationalities in the process of consolidating ethnically homogenous nation-states. In this fighting by far the largest number of "ethnically cleansed" refugees were Serbs: including 250,000 expelled by the Tudjman regime out of the Military Frontier region (Krajina) of Croatia where they had been settled for centuries, and some 70,000 driven from Sarajevo by the Islamic fundamentalist Izetbegovic Bosnian regime. The Serb nationalist forces in Bosnia were guilty of hideous atrocities, as were the Bosnian Muslim and Croat forces. But while the West proclaims its attachment to "multiethnic democracy" in Yugoslavia, the fact is that by far the most ethnically mixed component of the former Yugoslavia is Serbia—with a population of 63 percent Serbs, 14 percent Albanians and 23 percent other minorities—whereas Slovenia, Croatia and the Croat and Bosnian Muslim areas of Bosnia are all more than 90 percent ethnically homogenous.

From the Second Reich to the Fourth: Red Thread of German Anti-Serbian Policies

Germany's anti-Serb policies go back to the mid-19th century. Friedrich List, the "father of German national economics," declared that "all of Southeast Europe" was Germany's *Hinterland*. Later, Kaiser Wilhelm saw it as a bridge to the Near East with his ambitions for a zone of German influence stretching from Berlin to Baghdad. As a result, German governments consistently opposed a strong power of the southern Slavs arising in the region, preferring to keep the Balkans



WWII German map of resources of Southeast Europe. Today once again German imperialism is seeking to regain control over region. Legend at bottom says "The new borders in the former Yugoslavia...are not yet everywhere definitively established." And today?

"balkanized" into easily dominated statelets. Following the unification of Germany under Bismarck in 1870, Berlin increased its efforts to keep Russian influence out of the region. When a revolt broke out against the dying Ottoman Empire in 1875-76, in which the Serb rebels received Russian backing, a military document described what would henceforth be the constant German policy in the Balkans: "to make use of the Greek, Albanian and Muslim elements to our advantage and to play these tribes off against the south Slavs" (quoted in Klaus Thörner, "Divide et impera!" *Jungle World*, 14 April). The 1878 Berlin conference held under Bismarck's leadership established Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania and Bulgaria as small states economically dependant upon Germany.

Similarly in the 1912 Balkan War, the Balkan League states were backed by Russia against the Ottoman Empire, but in the subsequent peace conference, a Germany and Austria sought to prevent an expansion of Serbia and set up Albania as a buffer state, complete with a German prince to rule it. When the First World War broke out following the assassination of the Austrian archduke Ferdinand by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo, the German Kaiser declared, "With the Slavs one must always proceed according to *divide et impera*," the Roman imperial policy of divide and rule. The "Slavs are not born to rule but to serve,"



Kurt Waldheim (left), then Wehrmacht intelligence officer, at airfield in Podgorica, Montenegro. Future Austrian president and UN chief oversaw recruitment of Albanians for Waffen-SS battalion.

he added. If Serbia would not capitulate, "Belgrade will be bombed and occupied." As in 1991 and again today, the Social Democrats played a particularly treacherous role. "The slogan 'Serbien muß sterben' [Serbia must die], first raised by the *Arbeiterzeitung*, the central organ of German social democracy in Austria, was massively popular in Germany" (Ralph Hartmann, "Die ehrlichen Makler" *Die deutsche Außenpolitik und der Bürgerkrieg in Jugoslawien. Eine Bilanz* [1998]).

Following Germany's defeat in the imperialist world war and the subsequent crushing of attempted workers revolutions in 1918 and 1923, the Weimar Republic was too weak to achieve much in the Balkans. But with the onset of world economic depression, and trade war symbolized by the passage of the protectionist Smoot-Hawley tariff law in the U.S., the German government and capitalists turned toward Southeast Europe to secure vital resources even before Hitler came to power. Under the Nazi regime, a "clearing" system of trade quotas and guaranteed prices led to an increase of Germany's percentage of Yugoslavia's imports from 18 percent in 1934 to 55 percent six years later, following the annexation of Austria (Johann Wuescht, *Jugoslawien und das Dritte Reich* [1956]). The situation was similar in Bulgaria and Romania.

By early 1941, Hitler thought he could force Yugoslavia's accession to the Tripartite Pact. When this led to a popular uprising in April 1941, Nazi Germany launched a Blitzkrieg against Yugoslavia, beginning with the Easter bombing of Belgrade. Hitler gave the order, "Yugoslavia...as a state formation is to be smashed." In his diary entry for 7 April 1941, Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels gave out the guidelines for the media: "Stroke the Croats! Autonomy...spearhead against the Serbs.... Above all with the Croats, stoke up hate against the Serbs." Setting up the pro-Austrian Croatian fascist "free state," Hitler counseled Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic to pursue for 50 years a "nationally

intolerant policy of reducing the relatively strong Serbian minority in Croatia." This is precisely what the Croatian regime of Pavelic admiral Tudjman has done, with German arms and American advisers.

During the war, much of Kosovo was split off from German occupied Serbia and attached to Albania, which in turn was an Italian protectorate. When Italy surrendered in 1943, the German Wehrmacht occupied Albania. In order to fight the Yugoslav Partisans, Himmler recruited an Albanian Waffen-SS Mountain Division Skander Beg, headquartered in the Prizren in Kosovo. Interestingly, one of those in charge of keeping track of these Albanian *Einsatzgruppen* for Hitler's Wehrmacht was one Kurt Waldheim, the future president of Austria and secretary general of the United Nations. At the time he was intelligence officer of Army Group E based in Thessalonika, Greece covering the whole of the southern Balkan region. His commander issued an order: "Not to liquidate the Albanians in German concentration camps considering the excellent attitude of Albanian units on the eastern front." (International Commission of Historians, *The Waldheim Report* [1993]).

Smash Imperialism through International Socialist Revolution!

Thus it is clear that the policy of dismembering Yugoslavia has been a constant of German imperialist policy throughout this century. And while German and American capitalist rulers are united in waging war against Yugoslavia today, their purposes differ. The U.S. wants to reinforce its role as the imperialist hegemon, in particular seeking to keep the German and other European imperialist allies/rivals in check. Germany is more interested in regional domination, including raw materials, agricultural products and markets, as indicated in General Naumann's defense policy guidelines. Those who appeal to Germany's great power interests in opposing the war on Yugoslavia are simply proposing a more effective means for imperialist domination of the region. This is quite explicit among some in the PDS milieu, who want to shift German policy toward long-term alliance with capitalist Russia (in which their ex-Soviet ties would be lucrative).

Appealing to an Admiral Schmähling, ex-German military intelligence chief, to lead opposition to the war is on a part with appealing to Nazi intelligence boss Admiral Canaris to oppose Hitler. Calling for a "peace" within the capitalist framework is just calling to delay military conflict, as imperialist "peace policy" becomes war policy at a later date. To combat the imperialist-capitalist system that has led to two world conflagrations in this century and countless local and regional wars it is necessary to mobilize the power of the working class. Even after large layoffs, from Ruhr steel plants to south German auto plants and north German seaports, Germany has one of the strongest industrial proletariats on the face of the planet. But its potential strength must be mobilized

continued on page 68

Workers World: Reformist "Socialists" Who Cover for Serb Chauvinism

In the United States, the main organization sponsoring protests against the U.S./NATO attack on Yugoslavia is the Workers World Party (WWP). Far from presenting any kind of socialist opposition to the imperialist attack, in recent demonstrations in New York and Boston, the WWP, through its creation the International Action Center (IAC), has provided a leftist front for reactionary Serbian nationalist politics.

A demo called by the IAC that gathered outside NYC's Grand Central Terminal on March 27 was blanketed with signs proclaiming "Kosovo Is Serbia and Always Will Be," "Albanians Go to Albania" and "We Love Pat Buchanan" (the ultra-rightist Republican America Firster who has opposed Clinton's bombing). The crowd chanted repeatedly, "We will never give up Kosovo."

At another protest on March 31, which marched to the *New York Times* building to protest that imperialist mouthpiece's distorted warmongering coverage, signs included "Kosovo Albanians: Seek Independence in Albania!" "Kosovo: Serbia's Jerusalem" and the ubiquitous "Kosovo Is Serbia." There were numerous appeals to Orthodox Christianity against the predominantly Muslim Albanians.

While the WWP/IAC handed out their usual signs for "Stop the Bombing" and "Money for Jobs, Not War," the overwhelming tenor of these demonstrations was Serbian chauvinism against Kosovo Albanians.

Workers World has made its trademark the organizing of demos to showcase dissident bourgeois politicians such as black Democrat Jesse Jackson and LBJ's former top cop Ramsey Clark, who busted Vietnam antiwar demonstrators in Chicago in 1968 and sent the FBI after the Black Panthers. Now Clinton's man Jackson turns around and supports the U.S. bombing of Iraq. But what do the WWP opportunists care? Such is the logic of the popular front, which ties the workers movement and leftists to sections of the bourgeoisie.

In contrast, the Internationalist Group and League for the Fourth International call for revolutionary defense of Yugoslavia and for the defeat of the U.S./NATO/UN imperialist attack. We fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans—forged in combat against all the bourgeois nationalist forces, from Milosevic to imperialism's Albanian puppet army of the UCK—and to smash imperialism through international socialist revolution.

The WWP's inveterate tailism is combined with an idiosyncratic brand of Stalinoid politics: Workers World's founder, the late Sam Marcy, split from the Trotskyist movement after supporting the Stalinist crushing of the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising. In the 1980s Marcy traveled to Pyongyang with other WWPers to embrace North Korean leader Kim Il Sung and his son Kim Jong Il.

The Marcyites pretend that even after the dismembering of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia,

the rump Yugoslavia is still a "socialist state." An article on "Kosovo: Imperialist Powers & Self-Determination" in *Workers World* (25 February) claims: "Today, what is left of the Yugoslav socialist state is resisting a complete counter-revolutionary takeover by the big capitalist powers of Europe and the United States."

In a similar vein, the American cheerleaders for Castro Stalinism, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) of Jack Barnes, refer to Washington's "military assault on the workers state in Yugoslavia" (*Militant*, 19 October 1998). The U.S. rulers' ultimate goal, says the SWP, is "to overthrow the workers state and restore capitalist social relations throughout Yugoslavia." Yet the bureaucratically deformed workers state has long since been overthrown throughout the former Yugoslavia, all of whose components are now ruled by bourgeois nationalist regimes.

At the same time as it declares Yugoslavia still a workers state, the Barnesite SWP proclaims its support for the "fight for independence in Kosovo"—the same cause championed by bourgeois right-wingers. Opportunists often have trouble keeping straight whom they are chasing after at the moment.

The WWP and SWP spin out their delusionary fantasies about rump Yugoslavia in order to put a socialist veneer on their utterly reformist politics. In fact, the Milosevic regime itself dropped the word "socialist" from the country's name back in 1991, and now calls it simply the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Today, the Belgrade government includes the likes of Vojislav Seselj, whose fascistic militias were notorious for their murderous atrocities against Muslims in Bosnia. And it is hailed by the likes of Russian fascistic anti-Semite Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Those who turn a blind eye to the undeniable reality that there has been a counterrevolution in Yugoslavia and throughout East Europe inevitably embrace bourgeois political forces, including some of the most reactionary. In the case of Workers World, these opportunist "socialists" end up in a "red-brown" coalition with Serbian Chetnik counterrevolutionaries. ■



Serbian chauvinist demonstrators in New York.

Internationalist photo

Open Letter from a Former Member to the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the International Communist League (ICL)

Dear comrades,

As a former member for many years of several sections of the Spartacist tendency/ICL and a longtime sympathizer of the ICL, it is with great bitterness that I must inform you that I can no longer support your organization. Any remaining doubts I might have had about the political bankruptcy of the ICL have been definitively resolved by *Workers Vanguard's* (No. 704, 8 January 1999) latest smears against the Internationalist Group and the League for the Fourth International. This five-page compendium of ad hominem attacks, lies and distortions is not simply revolting, it also makes a mockery of the ICL's philistine talk about the LFI's "marginal existence." The founding declaration of the LFI not only punctured the balloon of your silly prophecies about a rift between the American and the Brazilian components of the LFI; it should—for anyone that can read and think—discredit the ICL's slanders about a rapprochement between the LFI and the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency."

The occasion for *WV's* latest blast is the simple truth that the LFI has effectively exposed the ICL's anti-Leninist position on Puerto Rican independence. It is really very simple: the LFI is not in favor of forcing independence on the Puerto Ricans, but it advocates this independence. In the topsy-turvy world of *WV*, "advocate" is now deemed to be synonymous with forcing a position on an unwilling population. So much for the LFI's alleged "doublespeak." The degeneration of the ICL, on the other hand, is best expressed in your "correction" (actually the definitive burial of the SL's former position, since the 1993 *WV* article opposed statehood and advocated independence), which states "we are not in favor of forcing annexation, federation or independence on anyone..." Annexation is force, comrades. It cannot be anything else. But the ICL puts all three on the same plane. How does the ICL reconcile its alleged "support [to] struggles for independence" with its refusal to advocate independence? What a mockery of Bolshevism, which does indeed consider the oppressed nations as the subject and not the object of politics. The hapless scribes of *WV* should have refrained from quoting Trotsky's *What Next?* on this question, since it is the ICL which confines itself to passively recognizing the "right" of self-determination.

While you now equate colonies with nations in multinational states, Lenin quite clearly distinguished "three types of countries with respect to the self-determination of nations" (*The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, 1916). The third category is that of the colonies, for which Lenin demanded "unconditional and immediate liberation." Please note: **unconditional and immediate**. In this respect the introduction of Quebec into the debate is simply a red herring, and doubly so, since despite *WV's* coy subhead "Independence for Quebec? IG Says 'Maybe'": **there is no "maybe."** The *Internationalist* No. 6 said unambiguously that the call for independence for Quebec is correct. Would the

ICL care to explain why it advocates independence for Quebec, although there is not currently a decisive majority there in favor of it, while refusing to do so in the case of Puerto Rico? And before presuming to lecture the IG/LFI about Irish history, the ICL might ponder the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Irish population was against independence before the Easter uprising of 1916.

So what about the IG/LFI's supposed capitulation to nationalism around the Puerto Rican general strike? *WV* No. 694, 31 July 1998 pretends "The IG describes the strike in Puerto Rico as being organized by student, leftist, women's and community groups, leaving out the influence of the very visible bourgeois and religious organizations, which must be combatted." This is a lie. The IG leaflet says for example, "Anti-statehood bourgeois parties, such as the small Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP) and sections of the Popular Democrats ... have engaged in electoral grandstanding by pretending to be friends of the phone workers." Furthermore, a whole page is devoted to a polemic against "national populist frontism" and this specifically included denouncing "independentista unity," noting that "The political consequences of this nationalist program and rhetoric are extremely harmful for the workers struggle."

But what exactly was the ICL's position on the general strike? Certainly not for its victory. The article in *WV* 694 says **absolutely nothing** in this sense. Indeed, *WV's* latest polemic strongly hints that it was a right-wing/clericalist political mobilization. *WV* 704 says that "the strike had the character of a political protest" in which "the political independence of the proletariat was subordinated to the program of the bourgeois nationalists...." That amounts to a statement of non-support for this strike against privatization of the phone company. Are we to believe that CAOS was really something like Solidarność, a nationalist counter-revolutionary tendency masquerading as a union? Fact is, CAOS is not run by the Catholic church, and the PIP was not part of the CAOS, nor were PPD politicians, although they supported the strike for their own bourgeois electoralist reasons.

What you offered the strikers was not a concrete revolutionary perspective for proletarian class independence, but a stale history lesson about US colonialism. One thing is sure: it takes colossal chutzpah to dismiss the IG's propaganda as "peppered with out-of-context quotes from Trotsky's writings on France" (some comrades may recall that this sort of philistinism used to be the reformist American SWP's standard response to revolutionary criticism) and then turn around and attack the IG/LFI for allegedly glorifying spontaneous working-class militancy!

To further pretend, as does *WV* No. 704, that "During the strike itself, the **maximum** criticism the IG made of the leadership was at the level of how many hours to strike!" is simply grotesque. In reality, the IG leaflet says "If the general strike called for July 7 and 8 is to be anything more than a two-day work stoppage and parade, it must be animated by a program of

revolutionary class struggle." The leaflet not only denounces the fact that the bureaucrats' "common program, in different variations, is that of reformism," but linked this to illusions in bourgeois parties and calling for elected strike committees "to provide a means to block a bureaucratic sellout." It was not just abstract criticism but linked to a program of struggle. The IG therefore raised transitional demands (now relegated by the ICL to the attic), and repeatedly underlines the necessity for a Leninist vanguard party that would act as a tribune of the people. *WV*'s shoddy polemics are predicated on the rather desperate gamble that the bulk of its readers haven't had the occasion to read the IG's material.

So too with the endless series of "exposés" about Brazil and the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, which seek to convince through sheer weight of repetition. I once thought that after all, where there's smoke, there's fire.... Alas, sometimes it's just a cloud of dust produced by vigorously thrashing a straw man. For those who couldn't quite grasp the wisdom of abruptly calling off the fight to drive the cops out of the Volta Redonda municipal workers union (SFPMMVR) after urging Luta Metalúrgica (predecessor of the LQB) to pursue this struggle, it is telling that the latest *WV* polemics don't even mention this original pretext for the break in fraternal relations.

The LFI has produced more than enough material demonstrating that the LQB is against the intervention of the bourgeois state in the trade unions, that comrade Ribeiro, the president of the SFPMMVR, repudiated his lawyers when they sought to make the bourgeois courts the arbitrator in the struggle against the pro-cop Fernandes faction in the union. Precisely because of the success of LQB supporters in mobilizing the ranks of the SFPMMVR against the police (which the ICL pretends never happened), the Fernandes faction split the union. This is not the first time revolutionary work in the unions has led to a split, and it won't be the last. So now the ICL asks if the SFPMMVR even exists. What touching concern for the fate of a union which the ICL routinely describes as "cop-infested"! More to the point, does the ICL think that the SFPMMVR was ever a trade union? Is the ICL prepared these days to do work in unions which, unfortunately, have cops as members? How about the "cop-infested" AFSCME, which organizes prison guards? (The SL/US once had supporters in this union, who fought against this.) The SEIU? The NY Transit Workers Union, where *WV* (No. 703, 25 December 1998) calls, and rightly so, for security guards out of the TWU? (How come *WV* never mentioned this before? Did they all join the union in the seven months since the last article about the TWU?)

It seems that you have forgotten that you issued an international appeal for solidarity with the embattled Trotskyist workers in Volta Redonda—not a whisper about that in *WV* 704—and even after the break with LM you promised to continue the defense of the SFPMMVR. Not only was this promise hollow, since then the ICL has repeatedly sought to sabotage the defense of the LQB militants in the face of bourgeois repression. The state orders search and seizure of their leaflets, orders the elected Trotskyist leadership of the union removed because it was campaigning for ousting the cops, sends the military police to dissolve union meetings—and *WV* calls this

all "a squalid battle for control of the union."

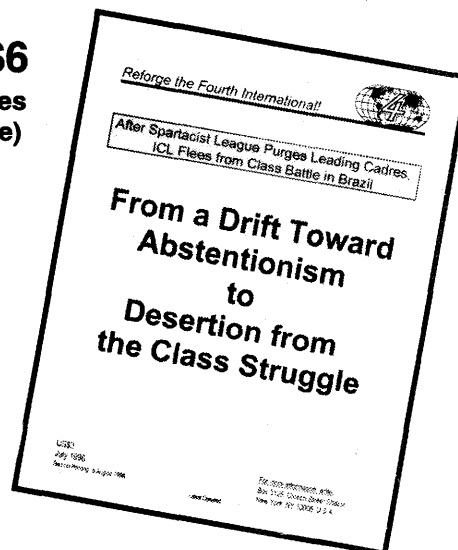
To describe the LQB as "trade union hustlers" is laughable. First of all, according to the ICL, the LM was supposed to disappear into the union. Instead it transformed itself into the LQB, produced a press, expanded from Volta Redonda. In contrast to the disgusting "color-blindness" of Brazil's fake Trotskyists it engages in exemplary work against black oppression, including the continuing defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Strange behavior for "trade union hustlers." And how many Latin American fake leftists defend homosexuals, as the LQB did with a 17 June 1997 campus demonstration against a fascist who called for extermination of blacks and homosexuals (see *Internationalist* No. 3, September/October 1997)?

In short, the ICL's version of events in Brazil bears about as much relation to reality as the fantasy film of the same name. Any doubts on this score may be settled by an extremely simple test. You rather recklessly asserted that the 1994 Declaration of Fraternal Relations between the ICL and LM did not even once mention permanent revolution. False! Anyone can verify the truth of this for themselves.

If the LFI was what you say it is ("dementia," "ravings," "opportunist hustlers" etc., etc.—by contrast Logan and the BT get pretty polite treatment these days) this would hardly justify

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Workers Vanguard's ever-expanding coverage. The question is rather: since the purge in 1996, who is it that has changed one long-standing position after another? To ask the question is to answer it. Behind this is your many-sided revision of Marxism (on permanent revolution, the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Transitional Program, the popular front, the colonial question, etc.) which mark the ICL's rightward course. For the effect of your abstentionist policies of passive propagandism is to abandon the struggle against the agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers movement—that was what the ICL did in Brazil, and that's what your line amounted to in the Puerto Rico general strike.

The ideological sauce for all of this is provided by your "retrogression" theory. More than a half century of reformist betrayal, popular frontism and defeats have certainly taken their toll on the class consciousness of the world proletariat. And the collapse of the DDR, the USSR etc. were historic defeats. The ICL however decrees that "the historical retrogression of proletarian consciousness" is a "direct consequence of the terrible defeat represented by the final undoing of the Russian Revolution." Slyly, the ICL has never really spelled out what this theory concretely implies. This notion did *not* appear in the 1994 SL conference document, which stressed the precarity of the new bourgeois world order, nor in the debate with Mandel. It was first invented in early 1996 and took its final form to justify the expulsion of what was to become the IG and the break with LM—the triumph of the "new IS" and passive propagandism. Its purpose is to deny the validity of the Transitional Program and Trotsky's conception of the crisis of leadership. For despite *WV's* feigned indignation, that it is exactly what its "International Declaration of Principles" says. In "principle"—like so many fake Trotskyists before it—the ICL stands on the Transitional Program.

But (alas!) this program "predates" the "New World Reality"... Remember, this program is based on objective necessity and not on the given consciousness of the proletariat. The ICL's "new dimension" pays only lip-service to resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership.

Your abandonment of the Transitional Program is concretely demonstrated by the faction fight in France, where the proposal to produce a leaflet for the truckers' strike which would have raised not only the extension of the strike involving the immigrant workers in private industry, but also the shorter work-week at no loss in pay to combat unemployment, the defense of refugees, the necessity for workers militias to defend the strike and combat the fascists (Djura's letter of 5 November 1997) was immediately declared by the international leadership to be centrism, mere trade union tactics, economism etc., etc., etc. As in *Alice in Wonderland* these terms no longer have any real meaning but are rather whatever the 'new IS' decides they mean. Increasingly the ICL's propaganda, whatever the occasion—including major class battles—is reduced to turgid academic lectures about the bourgeois state, imperialism, racism. But as comrade Seymour once observed, "Preachments of moral uplift in the labor movement are not a serious fight against economism" ("The Faces of Economism," *Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972).

Not enough that the ICL has redefined the general strike (with the assistance of a strong dose of antidiialectical logic-chopping) as more or less a direct call for armed insurrection. I defy you to print the non-public "theoretical" basis for this position—the 1948 document of Ernst Erber, member of Shachtman's "third-campist" Workers Party. (And this while you sneer at the IG's references to Trotsky in their Puerto Rico leaflet.) You thereby trample on everything we had previously written on the subject,

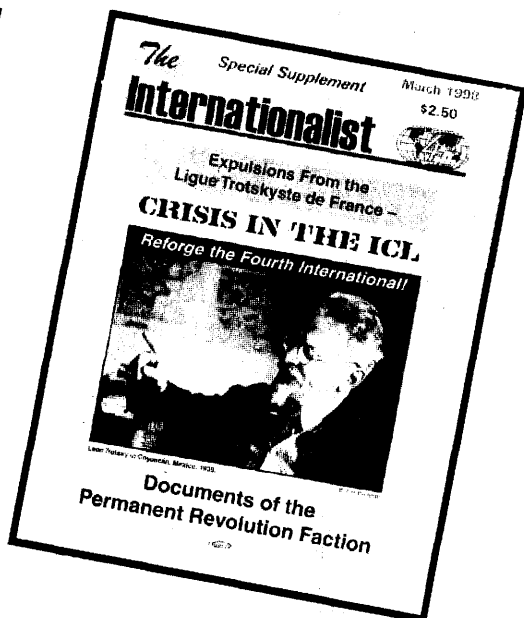
from Britain in 1974 (see "Why We Call for a General Strike in Britain Now," *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974) to the British miners' strike of 1984 and the experience of class struggle in Mitterrand's France and in Italy as well as Trotsky's writings on Britain in 1926 and France in the 1930's. You are now opposed to even propagandistically raising the necessity for the extension of such major strikes as the UPS strike in the USA or the second French truckers' strike (as late as 1996 it was still in favor of spreading the first French truckers' strike nationally and internationally). Faithful to this "self-denying ordinance" the ICL mouths empty phrases about "communism" and concretely proposes nothing more than more militant picket-lines to the Australian dockers and the UPS strikers (while it rejects labor strikes against impe-

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rialist war moves as lacking "resonance" among the workers). Just who is capitulating to a "new *lower* level of consciousness," to trade union consciousness here? How familiar all this is to me, when I think back to years of political combat against Lutte Ouvrière, which bemoans the "backwardness" of the workers as a cover for their refusal to fight to extend struggles like the French rail strike of 1986 and in general to intervene with a Trotskyist program.

The more you bluster about the permanent revolution, the more it demonstrates your revisionism on the subject. With popular frontism being dogmatically—and in direct counterposition to Trotsky, not to mention the historical experience of Bolivia, Chile, Lanka etc., etc.—declared out of bounds for the colonial and semicolonial countries, the enemy there is proclaimed (in pure idealist fashion) to be not the actual existing bourgeois nationalist, populist or reformist parties but simply the *ideology* of nationalism. (As if the workers movement in the imperialist countries was not rotten with nationalism and social patriotism!) Thus the articles in *WV* No. 702 on Brazil and the Philippines are masterpieces of evasion, since these countries actually possess popular fronts which they are not supposed to have. In fact this line, like your line on the colonies, can only help the nationalist demagogues.

And what did Trotsky say? "The Fourth International does not draw watertight distinctions between the backward and advanced countries, the democratic and socialist revolutions. It combines them and subordinates them to the world struggle of the oppressed against the oppressors." Further: "But in the colonial and semicolonial countries—not only in China and India, but also in Latin America—the fraud of the 'People's Fronts' still continues to paralyze the working masses..." (*Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution*, 1940)

Since those incapable of defending past gains will be incapable of conquering new ones, it is time to turn to the question of Stalinism. Here, under the pretext of examining various isolated formulations of comrade Norden under the microscope, the ICL leadership has rammed through a complete revision of its historic position.

Let us first put aside the current mythology about the absence or presence of "revolutionary leadership" in the DDR in 1989–1990. When it was still capable of soberly assessing its intervention in the DDR, the ICL wrote in the document for the Second International Conference, "But we were not able to become and be seen as an effective, widely based organizing nucleus for an immediate struggle against counterrevolution" (*Spartacist* No. 47/48, Winter 1992–93, p. 20). If the ICL was not even a "nucleus," in what sense then was it the "revolutionary leadership," if we understand this in the sense of an actual Leninist vanguard party and not the ICL's current metaphysics? The Conference document also says "Although shaped by the disproportion of forces, there was in fact a contest between the ICL program of political revolution and the Stalinist program of capitulation and counterrevolution." This remains the position of comrade Norden, the IG and the LFI.

Secondly, and with breathtaking cynicism, you have reabaptized the SED/PDS as the leading force for counterrevolution. We never said anything like this at the time. This formulation is

borrowed rather from the greasy notebook of the BT, who, from the SPD side of the barricades announced that the Modrow regime was the "Main Danger for the DDR." What we did say was that the counterrevolution was being led by the German bourgeoisie and its handmaidens in the social democracy, and that the Stalinists were capitulating to and even participating in capitalist reunification, selling out the DDR. So the SED-PDS was on the steps at Treptow and the SPD was not. Since the ICL is not inclined to consign its united front with the SED/PDS at Treptow in January 1990 to the rubbish bin of history, you must redefine this as more or less a "united front from below." A further problem for you is that while the SpAD and Spartakist-Gruppen spokesmen at Treptow polemicized against the SED, they didn't say the Stalinists were the vanguard of the counterrevolution, rightly assigning this role to Kohl and the SPD Trojan Horse. The whole surrealist quality of the ICL's current "history"—writing may best be envisaged by trying to envisage a united front rally between La Pasionaria and the Spanish Bolshevik-Leninists at a time when the Stalinists really were the armed fist of counterrevolution in the Spanish Civil War.

Truth is, the ICL has now latched on to the formulation of all the fake Trotskyist groups: Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through and to the core." The ICL's latest polemics against Workers Power are revealing. The quasi-state capitalist Workers Power is easy meat, with its call for imperialist sanctions against and support for counterrevolutionary bourgeois nationalist forces in the deformed and degenerated workers states. But the ICL no longer dares open up a serious polemic with these right centrists over the double nature of Stalinism! Look at the "China on the Brink" article in *WV* in October 1997, which polemicized against Workers Power on everything but WP's line that the Stalinists were leading the counterrevolution in China. How could it? The ICL's new line is now, word for word, identical to Workers Power's.

The IG has already exposed the practical consequences of the ICL's new line for China. While enthusing over the combativity of the Chinese workers, the ICL does not place the defense of collectivized property forms at the center of its propaganda and was blind to the dangers of imperialist-backed counterrevolution in Tibet. You slipped out of your Tibetan fiasco by the extremely dishonest subterfuge of suddenly noticing the utter backwardness of social relations there. *You did not and cannot address the real question: the call for an "independent Soviet Tibet" was in direct contradiction to its previous opposition to the centrist call for "soviet republics" in the Baltic and Ukraine, which it correctly characterized as a capitulation to imperialism.*

And so the ICL's sectarian passivity conceals a deeply rotten rightist core. The question its members ought to ask themselves is not only "Where is the IG going?" but first and foremost "Where is the ICL going?" For anyone committed to Trotskyist program and theory the answer can only lie in piercing the smokescreens of the ICL school of falsification and joining the LFI in its fight to reforge the Fourth International. Mark Richard

former member SL/RCY and SYL, LTF, TLD and SpAD
31 January 1999

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WV's New Crop of Fabrications

The following article was posted on the Internationalist Group site on the Internet last December together with a second article on "Class Struggle Against Police 'Unionism' in Brazil," reprinted on page 53 of this issue of The Internationalist.

Trotsky once wrote that reading Bukharin was like eating chopped bristles. Today, readers of the "new *Workers Vanguard*" are expected not only to take it with a grain of salt but to swallow whole bucketsful of mud. Once the voice of authentic Trotskyism, *WV* is now the mouthpiece of the centrist degeneration of the International Communist League (ICL). As such, its falsifications keep getting cruder, since justifying duplicitous politics requires treating the truth as a matter of convenience.

Over the past year, publications of the Internationalist Group/League for the Fourth International (IG/LFI) have posed fundamental political issues regarding the ICL's revision of the central thesis of the Transitional Program, the founding document of Trotsky's Fourth International; its abandonment of the Leninist demand for independence for all colonies and of the call for workers action against imperialist war mobilization; its "discovery" that the Mexican state's corporatist labor front is supposedly a "legitimate" union—to name a few. Yet *WV* follows its script to the letter: ignore the real political arguments at all costs,

and every time the IG provides detailed, documented refutations of the last pack of smears, launch new ones. So now we find *WV* hip-deep in muck raising a new crop of fabrications against the LFI, this time on...our line on the agrarian question in Brazil. And once again, it has provided readers with an opportunity to see for themselves how the falsifiers operate.

In an accompanying article on the struggle against "Zubatovism" (police "unionism") in Brazil, we unmask the ICL's latest variations on its old smears seeking to disappear the tenacious struggle waged by our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB) for "cops and courts out of the unions." Meanwhile, in its recent article on Brazil, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 702, 4 December 1998) adds a new ingredient, feigning a polemic on "Agrarian Revolution and Permanent Revolution" as a pretext for new slanders. This foray into the countryside is more than a little foolhardy coming from the folks who barely a year ago made a laughing stock of themselves with one "polemic" after another furiously insisting that the permanent revolution was inconceivable without a struggle against supposed "feudal peonage in the countryside" which according to their fantasy "continue[d] to plague the countries of Latin America." Then suddenly they dropped this claim like a hot potato when the Permanent Revolution Faction in the ICL's French section unmasked this anti-Marxist thesis borrowed from the Stalinists.

As a preface to its latest pseudo-polemic, *WV* 702 notes the class-collaborationist reformism of the Workers Party (PT) of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and that the Brazilian Landless Peasants Movement (MST) is "a petty-bourgeois formation fully in the grip of Lula's program." It goes on to claim: "The posture of the IG towards the MST peasant movement has been a textbook case of centrist amorphousness and tailism." Pumping itself up with ersatz indignation, *WV* accuses:

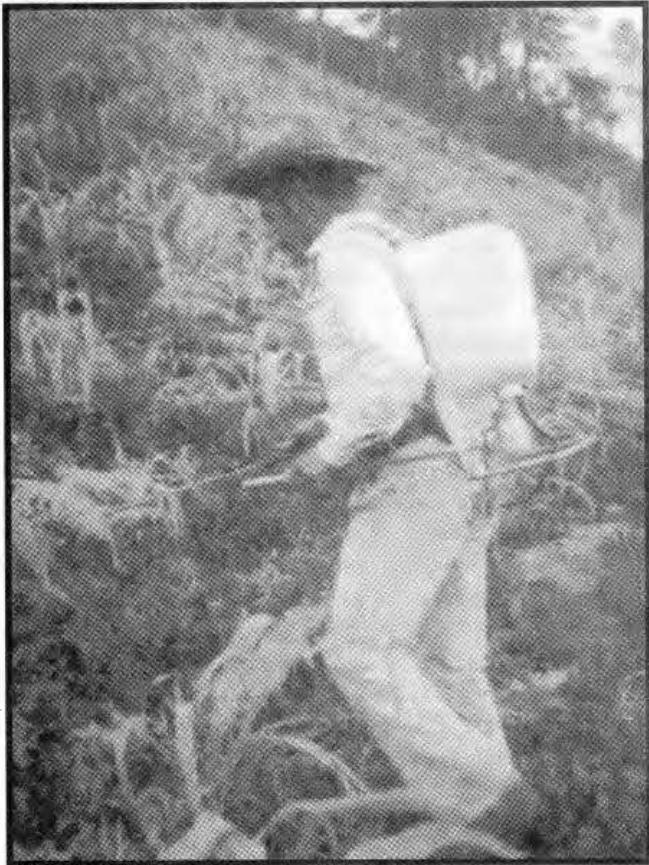
"So it seems that the Pabloite IG has found in this volatile petty-bourgeois sector a potential 'new mass vanguard'—a substitute for the conscious proletariat. Through such centrist ploys big and little, the IG/LQB takes its place in the 'syphilitic chain' of opportunists who tail the popular front."

Just one problem with this whole construct: it is literally the opposite of the truth, and demonstrably so.

To back up its claim, *WV* writes that "the left portrays the MST as some sort of revolutionary leadership, and the LQB/IG in turn refuses to criticize it when it is so popular. The latest issue of the LQB's *Vanguarda Operária* (April 1998) is silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants." Oh really? Anyone who opens that issue of *Vanguarda Operária* will see the following in the lead article that begins on the front page:

"In reality, all these groups [Stalinists, Morenoites, LBI, etc.] are mere appendices of the PT and as such, their activities in this electoral period will be fundamentally electoralist, even when they claim to be anti-electoralist.

"The case is similar with the Landless Peasants Movement



George A. Collier

Peasant fumigating new growth of weeds in Chiapas. Feudalism anyone?

The Lie

WORKERS VANGUARD

No. 702, 4 December 1998

Agrarian Revolution and Permanent Revolution

The posture of the IG toward the MST peasant movement has been a textbook case of centrist amorphousness and tailism. The landless peasants' courage notwithstanding, the MST is a petty-

very popular among youth. Accordingly, the left portrays the MST as some sort of revolutionary leadership, and the LQB/IG in turn refuses to criticize it when it is so popular. The latest issue of the LQB's *Vanguarda Operária* (April 1998) is silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants. An article in the previous *Vanguarda Operária* (August 1997), while correctly defending two arrested leaders of the MST, had no criticism of this petty-bourgeois movement and instead implicitly associated the leaders of the landless peasants with the Bolsheviks. In the best centrist style, the LQB

(MST), which supports the PT's Lula for president and, at the same time as it backs occupations of landed estates in a dozen states, is turning increasingly to the electoral terrain. While it is hunted at gunpoint by the landlords' goons and the Military Police, the MST has gone hunting for votes.... Despite their sometimes combative tactics, in reality they are a transmission belt for the bourgeoisie through the PT, a bourgeois workers party."

So from the very outset, any reader can see that *WV*'s indictment is a crude and shameless fabrication.

WV's next "proof" is that in an article defending arrested MST leaders, the previous issue of *Vanguarda Operária* (August-October 1997) quoted a speech by MST spokesman João Pedro Stédile referring to the need to "mobilize the people in rebellion against the government, as the Bolsheviks did with their slogans of 'peace, land and bread' which thus implanted communism in Russia." *WV* foams: "Thus the LQB introduces the MST to its readers as Bolsheviks!" What the authors grotesquely leave out is that Stédile's statement was quoted not because the LQB considers him a "Bolshevik" (in fact the article opposes the MST leaders' reliance on "the bourgeoisie and its agents the capitalist politicians")—but because the speech was the basis for the government's "case" against Stédile, accusing him of "inciting to violence." The *VO* article's first paragraph states this in citing Stédile's reported statement, but a reader of *WV*'s account would have no inkling of this basic

See for Yourself

WV claims we tail after Brazilian landless peasant movement (MST), that the LQB paper *Vanguarda Operária* was "silent" on MST, that "the LQB/IG refuses to criticize it when it is so popular," that our calls for agrarian revolution "could mean the program of the MST!"

At right: *VO* No. 3 calls to "place the proletariat at the head of the peasants and all the exploited and oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution accompanied by a genuine agrarian revolution." In contrast, it states, "the political response of the MST is to participate in this rotten broad front with the large landowner Brizola, representative of the latifundistas of Rio Grande do Sul, and Arraes, chief of the landowners of Pernambuco."

The Truth

VANGUARDA OPERÁRIA

No. 3, April-July 1998

esmagou a guerrilha do Araguaia nos anos 70. É necessário a organização de auto-defesa operária e camponesa, e a mobilização urgente do poder do movimento operário sob a liderança revolucionária, capaz de colocar o proletariado à cabeça dos camponeses e de todos os explorados e oprimidos numa luta pela revolução socialista acompanhada por uma verdadeira revolução agrária.

terra estão enfrentando a polícia e os jagunços que trata de expulsá-los dos terrenos ocupados a tiros, e a resposta política do MST é a de participar nesta apodrecida Frente Ampla com o fazendeiro Brizola, representante dos grandes latifundiários do Rio Grande do Sul, e Arraes chefe dos latifundiários pernambucanos.

A resposta dos trotskistas deve

fact. What does *WV* care that this was the pretext for a McCarthyite witch hunt? After all, the ICL refused to defend the LQB and the CLC (Class Struggle Caucus) when a Brazilian court ordered their leaflets seized and their office searched!

So what *WV* says about *Vanguarda Operária* No. 3 is a lie and what it says about issue No. 2 is a truly vile distortion. What about *Vanguarda Operária* No. 1? Perhaps it "refuses to criticize" the MST? In a back-page article denouncing the massacre of landless peasants at Eldorado de Carajás, *VO*'s premier issue stated:

"The MST's pro-capitalist structure and its deep-going adaptation to the bourgeois state have generated large contradictions; it is not uncommon for the leadership to turn over 'radicals' for repression. While we call on the proletariat to mobilize in defense of the struggle for the land, we Marxists warn that the petty-bourgeois conception of self-enrichment through 'small property-holding' is reactionary....

"The lands which under a workers and peasants government could produce food for the workers of the entire world are held by the avid hands of the bourgeoisie which cares only for profit. In this poor and semi-colonial country, only agrarian revolution, as part of the permanent revolution led by the proletariat and following the path shown by the October Revolu-



Die Welt

MST landless peasants movement protests in Brasilia, April 1997.

tion, can liberate the land from this criminal hand. This is the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil's slogan, against the conception of a supposed 'agrarian reform' put forward by reformists and Mensheviks, from the social-democrats and Stalinists to fake-Trotskyists like the [Morenoite] PSTU, Causa Operária and the Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista."

Now *WV* No. 702 claims that the "unexplained reference to 'agrarian revolution'" in the LQB's October 1998 statement on the Brazilian elections "could mean the program of the MST!" *WV*'s editors must hope its erstwhile readers will be stricken blind. Headlined "You Can't Combat Capital with the Popular Front—Against the Cardoso/IMF Onslaught: Fight for Workers Revolution!", the LQB statement (distributed as a leaflet in Brazil, posted on the Internet in Portuguese and English translation, and published in the current issue of *The Internationalist*) raises the call for agrarian revolution in counterposition to "agrarian reforms [which] are decreed in laws by bourgeois governments," which is the program of the MST and virtually the entire Brazilian left (PT, PC do B, PSTU, CO). The article also stresses "our program is for revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie" and calls for a "revolutionary workers party which can lead the masses of landless peasants in a fight for a workers and peasants government and the extension of revolution to the imperialist centers." What *WV* dishes out as "facts" would be declared unfit even for hogwash on any self-respecting collective farm.

WV then goes on to froth: "And in place of the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution...the LQB calls vaguely for a 'worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat.' This differs little if at all from the Maoist-Stalinist formula of 'proletarian hegemony' in the 'bloc of four classes'!" As a rule of thumb, the more exclamation points *WV* uses, the less relation it has with the truth. The "bloc of four classes" (i.e., the "national" bourgeoisie, the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie) was the Stalinists' formula for subordinating the workers and peasants to bourgeois politicians, from Chiang Kai-shek in China to the Maoists'

popular front with nationalist strongman Sukarno in Indonesia. The phrase *WV* quotes (which occurs not in the LQB's October statement, as implied, but in the front-page article of *Vanguarda Operária* No. 3) is directed against the popular front. The very next sentence reads: "What the PT does is exactly the opposite: it subordinates the workers and peasants to bourgeois politicians."

In the previous paragraph, the same *Vanguarda Operária* article stresses:

"It is necessary to bring the working class the consciousness of the role it must play as leader of the peasantry's struggles. In practice the MST is following the reformist CUT

[labor federation] leadership, which leads it to join in the internal struggles of politicians of the bourgeois class. Thus while in hundreds of places around the country landless peasants confront the police and landlord goons who try to expel them at gunpoint from the occupied lands, the political response of the MST is to participate in this rotten broad front [Lula's "Union of the People"] with the landlord Brizola, representative of the large landowners of Rio Grande do Sul, and Arraes, chief of the landowners of Pernambuco."

The article raises the slogans "For a socialist revolution; proletarian opposition to the popular front! Not one vote to any candidate of the popular front!" while denouncing every species of class collaboration (specifically including the so-called "anti-imperialist united front") and calling for a revolutionary workers party to "fight for a workers and peasants government as part of the Socialist United States of Latin America and the extension of revolution to our class brothers in the 'belly of the beast' in North America, Europe, Japan and the entire world."

In a report on "Blood on the Second Anniversary of Eldorado de Carajás," another article in *Vanguarda Operária* No. 3 denounces the assassination of two MST activists who led landless peasants in occupying a large estate in the south of Pará, a state whose the governor "is supported by the PT in a popular front of class collaboration," *VO* notes. The article states:

"It is necessary to organize workers and peasants self-defense and the urgent mobilization of the power of the workers movement under revolutionary leadership, which can place the proletariat at the head of the peasants and all the exploited and oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution accompanied by a genuine agrarian revolution."

It ends: "True solidarity is shown in acts, in the struggle for class independence and to reforge a revolutionary workers party."

"Silent about recent struggles of the landless peasants"? Tailing the MST? "Unexplained reference to 'agrarian revolution'"? A "bloc of four classes"? In each case, what the LQB says and does is the *opposite* of what *WV* claims. This is so

continued on page 60

More Gangsterism Against Trotskyists in Volta Redonda, More Lies from WV

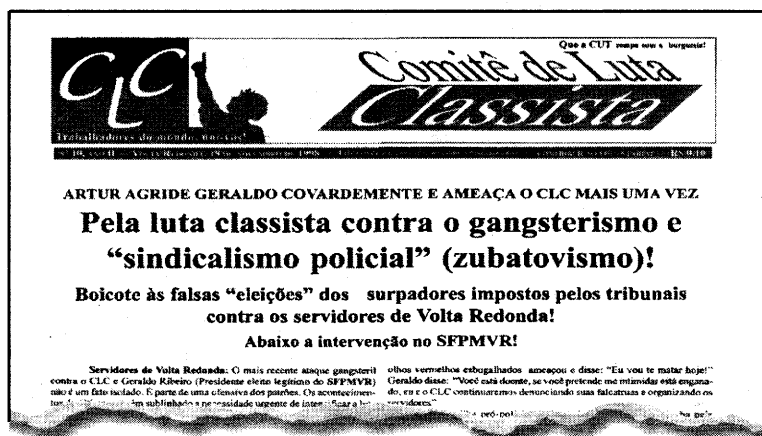
Class Struggle Against "Police Unionism" in Brazil

Readers of *The Internationalist* are well aware of the battle over the last three years in the Brazilian industrial center of Volta Redonda for cops and courts out of the unions. Our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB—Fourth Internationalist League of Brazil) have tenaciously fought for the ouster of *guardas* (local police) from the Municipal Workers Union (SFPMVR) and for removing all cops from all

unions, as the police are "the armed fist of the bourgeoisie." The expulsion of the police from the SFPMVR was voted by an assembly of the union ranks on 25 July 1996, in the face of heavy police presence. In response to its courageous struggle, the LQB and in particular Geraldo Ribeiro, an LQB supporter who was elected president of the SFPMVR in late 1995, have been the object of unrelenting repression by the capitalist courts, as well as of gangster attacks by pro-cop elements installed by the bourgeois state to police the combative municipal workers.

In late October, the pro-police provocateur Artur Fernandes and one of his thugs assaulted Ribeiro as he was walking down the street, threatening to kill him and invade the offices of the Class Struggle Caucus (CLC) and the LQB. The provocation was part of the run-up to a pseudo-"election" staged by Fernandes attempting to give a veneer of legitimacy to his brazen usurpation, which was carried out through court orders and with the armed force of police sent by the Popular Front city government. This latest cowardly attack took place in broad daylight in front of witnesses. Fernandes and his goon were repulsed and the CLC issued a four-page bulletin in newspaper format (18 November) denouncing the aggression and calling for class struggle against "police unionism," for a boycott of Fernandes' phony plebiscite and for opposition to intervention in the SFPMVR by the bourgeois state.

Now, in what has become a well-worn pattern, after the gangster attack by Fernandes & Co. comes another barrage of lies about the LQB in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League. For more than two years, the International Communist League, of which the SL/U.S. is the leading section,



Bulletin of Class Struggle Caucus denounces Zubatovism. Struggle against police-controlled "unionism" has long history.

has regularly trumpeted the smears and fabrications against the LQB spewed out by the pro-police elements in Volta Redonda—and their advisors in the Brazilian LBI (Liga Bolchevique Internacionalista)—who seek to excuse their thug violence, the police repression and endless court actions (nine so far) against LQB supporters. While adopting "a plague on both your houses" stance, cynically

equating the victim and the perpetrator, the ICL actively seeks to *sabotage* campaigns for international labor defense of the Brazilian Trotskyist workers.

What's striking about *WV*'s steady diet of mud is how brazenly it serves up claims which are easily shown to be false, while recycling old concoctions that have already been disproved. Thus *WV* No. 702 (4 December), in an article ostensibly on the Brazilian elections which took place two months earlier, repeats its constant refrain that the Trotskyist LQB and the LBI advisors to pro-cop provocateur Fernandes are just "competing bands of trade-union opportunists," and that "the LQB and its LBI rivals invited the bourgeois courts... to 'settle' the union's affairs." Yet Geraldo Ribeiro was elected union president in 1995 with 62 percent of the vote over bitter opposition from city hall, while Artur Fernandes was the instrument of a *judicial coup* which installed him in the union hall against the wishes of the membership, in an attempt to block Ribeiro's campaign to remove cops from the union. And the LQB has regularly been the *target* of cop and court repression which the LBI's ally Fernandes has *initiated*.

The ICL shamelessly makes up charges out of the whole cloth, claiming for example—as an alibi for breaking relations with the LQB in June 1996—that the LQB had "refused" to put out a party press, even though the ICL's own internal reports show this is false. When the first issue of *Vanguarda Operária* appeared less than a month later, the ICL claimed that would be the last issue. As succeeding issues of the LQB paper are published, the ICL now claims that "the LQB and its 'party press' are simple window-dressing for an operation which is



Ronaldo Bernardes/Zero Hora

Military police in Porto Alegre, Brazil come off strike in order to attack students protesting privatization and attacks on peasants, July 1997.

really about doing anything to capture positions of influence in the unions behind the backs of the members" (*WV* No. 702). This smear, using language reminiscent of J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit*, is not only demonstrably false but downright grotesque, since the LQB has been the object of a vicious red purge, in which pro-police forces have used every slimy anti-communist device in the book to remove Ribeiro and suppress LQB/CLC propaganda, by legal action and/or thug violence. But they have not been able to silence the Trotskyists.

The LQB has consistently opposed all state intervention in the union, while it was police supporter Fernandes & Co. who brought the bosses' courts into the SFPMPV. But you would never know this from reading *WV*. In one smear job after another, the ICL simply "disappears" the police invasions, the multiple court orders to remove the elected leadership of the union, the court order to seize LQB/CLC leaflets, the threat to seize militants' belongings and demand a list of CLC members, the gangster attacks on Ribeiro—while obscenely pretending that key union meetings and votes in the campaign to expel the cops "never happened." Yet in the court suit which "suspended" LQB supporter Ribeiro from the SFPMPV presidency, one of the key charges against him was that the union general assembly of 19 June 1996 began with the proposal "to disaffiliate the municipal *guarda*" (see "ICL Takes Slander Campaign to Brazilian Labor Congress," *The Internationalist* No. 4, January-February 1998).

These facts are not unknown to the ICL. In early 1996, Fernandes issued a provocative leaflet calling to "defend the *guarda*"; his faction then called the Military Police to get shotgun-wielding MPs to shut down the meeting, and on a radio program Fernandes openly bragged that he was "oriented by the police." *WV* desperately seeks to *hide* the fact that the LQB and CLC are waging an on-going campaign for cops out of all the unions, not just in Volta Redonda but nationally. Most recently, CLC delegates to the Rio de Janeiro state teachers con-

gress presented and fought for a motion stating: "We demand the expulsion of every kind of police from the CUT and all unions, and the end of unions' support to 'strikes' by the police, the armed fist of racist capitalism against the workers and oppressed." At the same congress the CLC put forward a motion calling for freeing Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther sitting on Pennsylvania's death row, which was unanimously supported by the assembly.

Now *WV* 702 escalates its slanders to the grotesque claim that the LQB is "delivering the unions into the hands of the capitalist state"! While the ICL keeps repeating the slander that Ribeiro supposedly sued the union, readers of one *WV* article after another would have no idea that comrade Ribeiro has consistently opposed all court intervention into the SFPMPV; that he in fact *refused* the court's offer to rule in his favor; that when he learned that his former

lawyers had filed requests for injunctions to block summary court action in the suits against him, and that they had erroneously and without his knowledge listed the union as defendant, he ordered the lawyers to immediately *withdraw* those requests; and that this was carried out *months before* the ICL mounted a phony exposé based on the lies of Fernandes (spread by his LBI advisors) who actually has done and continues to do what the ICL falsely accuses Ribeiro and the LQB of doing. (See *The Internationalist* No. 3, September-October 1997 for the statement of the LQB, "Once Again on the ICL's Campaign of Defamation Against the LQB and the Anti-Racist Unionists of Volta Redonda," 24 June 1997; the Internationalist Group statement "ICL Leaders Escalate Smear Campaign Against Brazilian Militants," 29 June 1997; and letters to the ICL from members of the LQB.)

WV keeps repeating these shopworn lies, despite our detailed refutations, because they can't answer our political attacks on their shameful desertion from a key class battle and their escalating revisions of fundamental Trotskyist positions on everything from permanent revolution to the popular front and the nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

***WV* Caught Red-Handed**

To these old lies, the latest *WV* article adds some new ones (see also our accompanying article, "*WV*'s New Crop of Fabrications"). In particular, it claims that supporters of the Internationalist Group, whom it sneeringly refers to as "IGlets," now "call the SFPMPV a court-rigged formation" and say that it "is no longer a trade union—because they no longer control it." No, as any reader of our press can ascertain for themselves, we have repeatedly insisted that Artur Fernandes' gang is *not* the SFPMPV but an apparatus imposed by the capitalist state to police the workers. *The ICL accepts the claim by the bourgeoisie and its agent Fernandes that his court-rigged outfit is the union.* Then, after this cynical distortion, *WV* asks with

mock indignation: "Don't the Volta Redonda municipal workers have a right to know that their union is no longer a union? We challenge the IG/LQB: bring your self-serving new line out into the open—put it in writing for the Brazilian proletariat!"

The reader is supposed to think that the IG and LQB have been hiding our position from the workers in Volta Redonda. Yet the LQB has repeatedly emphasized that Fernandes represents the cops, courts and capitalist politicians who installed his gangster operation against the militant workers. For example, *The Internationalist* No. 5 (April-May 1998) reprinted in full the January 1998 Class Struggle Caucus bulletin which states: "Artur Fernandes is the pro-police stooge imposed by the bourgeois courts against the will of the SFPMMVR ranks with the objective of ousting the elected president, Geraldo Ribeiro, and subjugating the union." The bulletin was reporting on international solidarity with the CLC in the face of a court order for the "search and seizure" of its leaflets in yet another suit brought by Fernandes' lawyer. The CLC explained that Fernandes' brand of "police unionism" is not peculiar to Brazil but has a long history:

"The LBI as 'theoretician and advisor' and Artur [Fernandes] as the 'practitioner' not only 'defend' the *guardas*, but revive 'Zubatovism' in the labor movement. (At the beginning of this century, Zubatov was the inspirer and organizer of Zubatovism or 'police socialism' in Russia. He founded phony workers organizations under the tutelage of the police, with the aim of keeping the workers away from revolutionary activity. Zubatov acted directly inside the unions, scheming against the Bolsheviks and the lives of all those who had revolutionary political objectives in organizing the workers.) During the recent 'strikes' of the cops (the armed fist of the bourgeoisie against the exploited and oppressed), the LBI wanted the 'lower echelons' of the Military Police to 'accept the discipline of an anti-capitalist orientation'."

Two thousand copies of the CLC bulletin were distributed in Volta Redonda, and it was subsequently reprinted in *Vanguarda Operária* No. 3 (April-July 1998).

The LQB and CLC have emphasized that the fight against such "police unionism" can only be waged by revolutionary class struggle against the capitalists' anti-working-class offensive and in particular against the *popular front* of class collaboration. In Volta Redonda, this is no abstract matter, for the city government, formally called the Popular Front, links the reformist PT (Workers Party) of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and the ex-Maoist, ultra-reformist PCdoB (Communist Party of Brazil) to the bourgeois Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB) of *fazendeiro* (large landowner) Miguel Arraes, the equally bourgeois Democratic Labor Party (PDT) of long-time populist *caudilho* (political boss) Lionel Brizola, the eco-bourgeois PV (Green Party) and the PFL (Party of the Liberal Front), the voice of the large landowners locally led by Lima Neto, former boss of the CSN steel plant. As is always the case in such popular-front coalitions, going back to Spain and France in the 1930s, while launching attacks on the workers the class-collaborators concentrate their fire against the Trotskyist opposition.

This point is made in the recent (18 November 1998) CLC bulletin titled, "For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Gangsterism

and 'Police Unionism' (Zubatovism)!" The bulletin begins:

"The most recent gangster attack against the CLC and Geraldo Ribeiro (legitimate elected president of the SFPMMVR) is not an isolated fact. It is part of an offensive by the bosses. The events of the last month have underlined the urgent need to intensify the struggle against the pro-police clique imposed by the bourgeois 'justice' system against the municipal workers. Now the bosses' puppets Artur Fernandes & Co. want to provide themselves with phony legitimacy in the form of a plebiscite to straitjacket municipal workers. His occasional performer's postures cannot hide the fact that he has always prepared the way for attacks by the Popular Front administration of [Mayor Antônio] Neto. Now public employees throughout the country are threatened by the frontal attack decreed by the IMF and Cardoso, with their lackeys in Congress, while the 'Union of the People' popular front sabotages the necessary workers mobilization through an alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie. To crush all opposition to this, puppets and police accomplices like Artur use the worst gangsterism against revolutionaries. The 'elections' called by this clique are a farce which must be rejected through a workers boycott."

Pointing to crucial lessons from the history of the international workers movement, the CLC bulletin notes that what the pro-cop faction "seeks to introduce into the SFPMMVR is police unionism, called Zubatovism in tsarist Russia at the beginning of the century, which engaged in traps, informing, assassinations and betrayals against the Bolsheviks who fought it vigorously and made the victorious October Revolution in 1917." Quoting Lenin's insistence on the need to "unmask Zubatovism," the bulletin calls for a revolutionary workers party and a reformed Fourth International, ending with the appeal: "Down with Zubatovism! Expel all kinds of police from the unions and the CUT! Out with the intervention in the SFPMMVR! Boycott the election farce called by the Artur pro-police clique!"

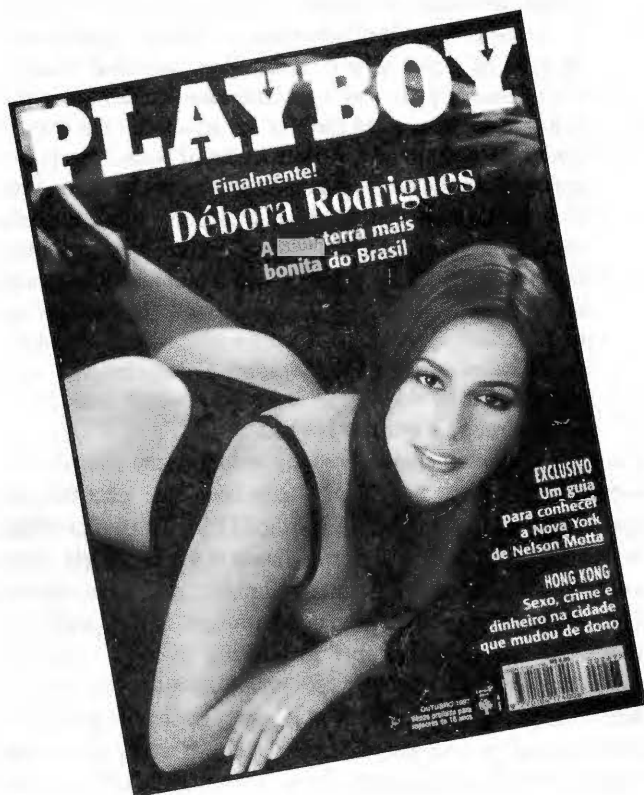
Stung by this denunciation, Fernandes and his LBI advisors have now responded in a frenzied leaflet claiming the CLC bulletin was "Made for Outside Consumption"—the same theme sounded by the ICL. Yet this is belied in the very first paragraph of this leaflet which says that the LQB "distributed a bulletin of the CLC among the ranks" of public employees. As for the sham "election" staged by Fernandes, his slate ran unopposed and the commandant of the Municipal Guard granted Fernandes' request to have the ballot boxes guarded by municipal police! So once again with *WV*'s insinuation that the LQB said nothing to the Volta Redonda workers about the fact that Fernandes' outfit is not a union, the ICL has been caught red-handed in an outright fabrication.

Crisis of World Capitalism, Crisis of the Brazilian State

The fight over ousting cops from the unions is not some isolated local issue peculiar to Volta Redonda. Over the last two years, the role of the police in the unions has been a key issue nationally as the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso seeks to impose draconian cutback plans ordered by international finance capital. This fall, as financial panic seized

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"Left" Puritans Brand Former Landless Peasant with Scarlet Letter In Defense of Débora



Translated from Vanguarda Operária No. 4 (January-April 1999), newspaper of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil.

After the capitalist counterrevolution in the former USSR and the countries of East Europe, religious fundamentalism has been on the rise internationally. Women have been the primary victims of a veritable religious crusade in pursuit of reactionary material objectives. In Brazil, the Catholic "Charismatic Renovation" movement, founded in 1967 in the United States, seeks to be the mouthpiece for pope John Paul Wojtyla while supplanting "Liberation Theology." It fills radio and television with "Aerobics of the Lord" programs preaching homophobia and opposition to abortion, together with the cult of the Virgin Mary, virginity and female submission as the highest values for women.

At the same time, the Universal Church of the Reign of God, created in the '70s in Brazil, has spread faster than other traditional evangelical churches. Its rapid growth, also reflected on the radio and TV, has entailed innumerable scandals and a real religious war in the hunt for believers, promising them relief from earthly sufferings in the "kingdom of heaven," while church leaders grow increasingly wealthy here on this earth. It is in this con-

text that we criticize and denounce the capitulation of the left in general, and in particular the Partido da Causa Operária [PCO—Workers Cause Party, aligned with Jorge Altamira's Argentine Partido Obrero], to bourgeois and religious morality.

The first issue of *Juventude Revolucionária* (January 1998), publication of the PCO's youth group, ran an article attacking Débora Rodrigues, a former *sem terra* (member of the landless peasants movement), for going against puritan prejudices. The article was written by Anaí Caproni, one of the PCO's central leaders. We defend Débora Rodrigues against religious attacks and bigotry, whether they come from the priests and *jagunços* (landlord gun thugs) or from J.P. Stédile [a top leader of the MST landless peasants movement, who also criticized Rodrigues] and Anaí Caproni!

Caproni's article attacks Débora Rodrigues for posing nude in *Playboy* (Brazilian edition, October 1997). Asking how an unknown ex-*sem terra* got so much press coverage, Caproni sketches a theory that it's all a conspiracy against the MST. But this pretext is revealed as a tiny fig leaf (like those that artists used to paint in to maintain the "decency" of nude figures) in the attempt to cover PCO's naked capitulation to the religious and reactionary criticisms against Rodrigues for "daring" to pose in the nude. The PCO is appealing to the backward religious prejudices of various leaders and members of the MST. Caproni even tries to blame Débora for attacks against women linked to the MST by landowners and their *jagunços*, who ask "who will be the next to take off her clothes and have her picture taken?"

Denouncing what she calls "this 'modern' form of prostitution," Caproni writes: "For any woman it is obviously an enormous humiliation to expose her intimacy to the public at large for money...." Moralizing against the "decadent social milieu of the bourgeoisie," she preaches against female nudity: "among the practitioners of this, the 'world's oldest profession,' it is well known that various clients pay simply to watch them strip so as to 'stimulate' their own erotic 'fantasies'." Erotic fantasies, stimulation, nude women...the soul of every priest must be throbbing with horror! What would pope Wojtyla say?

A number of questions present themselves. Why is it "obviously" an "enormous humiliation" for any woman to "expose her intimacy" (in other words her body) in this way? The very expression "expose her intimacy" speaks volumes about Caproni's conceptions.

All religions say women should be ashamed of their bodies. The Bible and bourgeois morality preach fear and prejudice against women's bodies, women's "sin" (which supposedly caused expulsion from the Garden of Eden) and their sexuality. The church rejects any sexual pleasure for women, saying that sex must only be for purposes of procreation.

In Afghanistan, with the victory of the fundamentalist re-

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La Jornada/Carlos Ramos Mamahua

Student protesters, March 4, at UNAM (Mexico's National University) call for unity with electrical workers (SME).

Privatization of Electrical Industry, Tuition at UNAM

Workers, Students: For a Class-Struggle Mobilization Against the Bourgeois Attack

Break with the Cardenista Popular Front! Forge a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The following is a translation of the El Internacionalista supplement of March 1998 distributed by our comrades of the Grupo Internacionalista/México.

Over the past weeks, the government has launched a series of lightning attacks against workers, students and the poor. On New Year's Day it decreed a dizzying increase in the price of tortillas and the arrest of five leaders of the CNTE (National Coordinating Committee of Education Workers) in Mexico City. After numerous mass marches and growing expressions of international solidarity, the jailed teachers' leaders were freed.

Immediately thereafter, the government announced the "opening" of the electrical industry to private capital, which means mass layoffs of thousands of electrical workers. Almost simultaneously the National University (UNAM) announced

sky-high tuition hikes through the "Barnés Plan" [named after the UNAM rector], which means the exclusion of tens of thousands of poor students. Aware that far from being isolated events, these attacks are closely related, electrical workers from the SME (Mexican Electrical Workers Union) have made appeals for solidarity at UNAM.

What is going on now is a powerful attack by the bourgeoisie, ordered directly from the Los Pinos presidential palace in line with the directives from Wall Street and Washington. In order to defeat this, it is necessary to mobilize an even more powerful proletarian offensive, uniting students with workers from the electrical and other industries in all-out class struggle. Concretizing this perspective, the Grupo Internacionalista has put forward the following resolution:

"In light of the attempt to raise tuition at UNAM and to privatize the electrical sector, we must carry out joint action against both parts of this bourgeois offensive against workers and youth. There must be a strike by UNAM workers and students

UNAM, SME: Strike Together, Now!

now, fighting for a joint strike with the SME. *UNAM, SME, strike together now!* We would fight to extend this strike to the UAM (Autonomous Metropolitan University) and other schools, as well as to the CNTE teachers, oil workers and federal and city workers threatened by firings and cut-backs."

At every school and faculty, in all the affected unions, those who are seeking a class-struggle perspective must fight for this proposal. The urgency of bringing workers and students together in one single fist of class struggle is also highlighted by the recent struggles of the teachers as well as the Ibero-American University workers, and the possible work stoppage by 12,000 non-academic workers at the Polytechnic Institute who are members of Section XI of the teachers union.

But this class-struggle perspective is counterposed to that of the leaders who have run the student assemblies at UNAM up to now. Many of them, such as the Network of University Students, are followers of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his bourgeois nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution). Like the university administration itself and the heads of the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), PAN (the rightist National Action Party) and PRD, they view this conflict as a prelude to next year's elections, and they want to avoid any problems for Cárdenas' presidential campaign. With their verbiage about "civil society" and a "civilized movement," they seek at all costs to avoid a mobilization going beyond the framework of bourgeois pressure politics. For its part, the Left Student Bloc talks about forming a "front of struggle" with the SME and an alliance of "democratic forces." In reality what they propose is to join the class-collaborationist alliance which the SME bureaucracy has formed with the PRD and other bourgeois forces, an alliance which is *counterposed* to a class-struggle mobilization.

Up to now, opposition to the measures of president Ernest Zedillo's regime has been dominated by a policy not of class struggle, but of class *collaboration*. This policy is embodied in the popular front around the PRD, which offers itself as a replacement mechanism for the bourgeoisie in the face of the disintegration of the hated PRI-government. The Grupo Internacionalista has repeatedly warned against the *Cardenista popular front* which seeks to derail the struggle of the oppressed. Today it is clearer than ever how the Cardenista popular front operates.

On Friday, February 26, amidst torrents of nationalist verbiage, the SME union bureaucrats and various reformist leftists joined PRD leaders (with party chief Manuel López Obrador in the front row) to form a front against privatization. Waving the flag of "national sovereignty," the same slogan occasionally used by Ernesto Zedillo himself, its main purpose is to *prevent* a class-struggle, internationalist mobilization of the power of the working class.

The situation in Mexico today cries out for a strike by all 45,000 electrical workers in the central region around Mexico City, together with the more than 200,000 UNAM students, thousands of university workers and other sectors. But the leadership of the SME and a whole range of other unions—from the *neocharros* of the UNT [National Workers Union, the latest reincarnation of "charro" or corporatist "unionism"] to the "independents" of the National Labor Association and the May First Inter-Union Coordinating Committee—are *blocking* a

class-struggle fight through their front with the bourgeois politicians of the PRD, which extends as well to the PRI's "Critical Tendency" and the rightist Mexico City PAN.

The Trotskyists of the Grupo Internacionalista demand: *Break with the Cardenista popular front!* To unchain the power of the proletariat, the key is forging a revolutionary leadership, a *revolutionary workers party*.

Eliminate Tuition, Smash Privatization— For a Class-Struggle Fight

Against the Mexican bourgeoisie and its imperialist godfathers, the struggle against tuition must be a struggle for free, secular public education, for free access to higher education, with all the assistance required for this to be accessible to the children of poor and working-class families. We must not only *smash the tuition hike*, but tuition itself must be *abolished*. Students should receive a *living stipend* so they can devote themselves to their studies. The administration must be abolished and the university must be run under *student-teacher-worker control*. A single union of all university workers must be forged (expelling the professionals of bourgeois repression such as the campus cops who are members of the UNAM workers union) and linked to the struggle of the primary and secondary school teachers.

A joint strike by UNAM students and workers, electricians and other workers, must be led by an *elected strike committee*. It is more than likely that the bourgeoisie and the university administration are already preparing attacks by their *porros* (thugs) against activists; this danger poses the need to form *defense groups* of students and workers (including SME members and with the active support of other sectors of the workers movement). At the same time, a class-struggle mobilization of this scope would mean a struggle against growing government repression, highlighting the demand for *immediate withdrawal of the Mexican army from Chiapas and Guerrero*.

Needless to say, the CTM [Mexican Workers Confederation, the government's "labor front" and one of the three "sectors" of the ruling PRI] and the corporatist SUTERM "union" in the electrical industry back the Zedillo government's privatization scheme to the hilt. Today a strike with class-struggle leadership would provide backing for a fight for *workers committees* genuinely independent of the bourgeois parties, to *destroy the charros' corporatist straitjacket*, a crucial part of the PRI's semibonapartist regime. It would pose social questions, from the oppression of women and Indian peasants to the repudiation of the imperialist debt, which can be resolved only through a socialist revolution and its international extension to the imperialist centers. This is the Trotskyist perspective of the permanent revolution.

Support to Cardenistas = Defeat For Workers and Students

To the cry of "Unity, unity!" on February 26 the "National Front of Resistance to Privatization of the Electrical Industry" was formed, seeking a "citizens' mobilization" instead of a workers strike. But "unity" with the bourgeoisie means *defeat* for the workers and peasants, and for students seeking to resist the attack on education. "The people united will never be de-

feated" was the lying slogan of Allende's popular front in Chile, which bound the workers hand and foot in the face of the coup by the butcher Pinochet, the former "constitutionalist" officer they had called a friend of the "people."

In Mexico, popular frontism has meant the isolation and defeat of workers struggles from the Ford-Cuautitlán auto strike to the Sicartsa steel workers strike and the SUTAU Mexico City bus drivers struggle, together with subordination to the party of Cárdenas, stalwart defender of the military "institution," and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, who as president of the PRI wrote paeans of praise to president Díaz Ordaz, the butcher of Tlatelolco [the plaza in Mexico City where hundreds of student protestors were massacred in 1968].

Those who present Cárdenas as a genuine enemy of privatizations and the imperialist pillage of Mexico are lying shamelessly. Before the 1997 elections [in which he was elected mayor of Mexico City], Cárdenas went to New York to assure Wall Street financiers that he was a trustworthy partner. In a speech to the Americas Society, he said: "We all agree that in Mexico foreign investment is necessary" and asked that such investment be promoted in order to "develop a new stability" (see "Mexico Elections: Cárdenas Popular Front Chains Workers to Capitalism," *The Internationalist* No. 3, September-October 1997). Today, Cardenas calls for a single candidate of the PRD, the clericalist PAN and the rest of the bourgeois "opposition" for next year's presidential elections.

One of the components of the popular-frontist "Left Student Bloc," together with the Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista and others, is the En Lucha tendency. While arguing with the Cardenistas over "tactical" nuances, as part of the leadership of student assemblies En Lucha has sought to avoid any *political* discussion, above all concerning the need for a class-struggle, internationalist fight against the bourgeoisie. While talking about "gathering forces," instead of putting forward a *class* line En Lucha calls for "people's power" and "people's democracy," going so far as to claim these slogans were put into practice in the municipality of Tepoztlán [a small vacation and peasant town near Mexico City where local residents fought against a new golf course] (*En Lucha*, July 1997). True to its Maoist roots, En Lucha joins the populist chorus of calls for "people's unity" coming from the groups which are nothing but a caboose on the train of bourgeois nationalism.

For its part, the Militante tendency (a "Marxist" group [followers of British fake-Trotskyist Ted Grant] inside the PRD which asks that this capitalist party "transform" itself into a socialist party) demands: "The bourgeoisie should pay for the crisis" (*Militante*, December 1998-January 1999). A similar outlook is expressed by the slogan chanted at many protests: "Education for the workers' children before education for the bourgeoisie's children." Even UNAM rector Barnés "justifies" the fee hike with the cynical argument that it would make it possible to charge the wealthy higher tuition. What these slogans express are variations on the reformist illusion of a just capitalism, precisely at a time when capitalism is taking the tortillas out of the mouths of the oppressed. To fight against the inequality of this class society, what is necessary is a revolutionary struggle *against capitalism* itself, not a perspective of reforming it.

Another component of the Left Student Bloc is the pseudo-Trotskyist Partido Obrero Socialista (Morenoites), which has made a bloc with Liga de Unidad Socialista (Mandelites). Complaining that instead of "guaranteeing the stability of our economy, much less a more just distribution of wealth," treasury resources are being used to pay bankers and businessmen, the POS asks that these funds be "reallocated to education and other social services." They write: "We must struggle now for a new budget allocation for the universities" (*Juventud Socialista*, first two weeks of February). This means presenting the reformist and nationalist perspective that the capitalist economy is "ours," when in reality it belongs to the ruling class and will continue to do so until a proletarian revolution *expropriates* the bourgeoisie.

The Grupo Espartaquista de México (section of the International Communist League) criticizes the PRD but now goes so far as to deny the existence of a class-collaborationist popular front around the PRD. Today they present no road of *struggle* to break the control which the PRD exercises over a large section of the working class and youth. This policy covers a process of social-democratization of the ICL expressed, for example, in its betrayal of an important class battle in Brazil (to throw the police out a union), its shameful abandonment of the call for the independence of Puerto Rico, and its new position that the corporatist CTM is a "legitimate union."

Fight for Class-Struggle Mobilization, For a Revolutionary Workers Party

The current assault on education is part of the ruling-class war against workers on an international scale, as seen in the repression against striking teachers in Ecuador, the recent struggles of university students in Greece and high-school students and teachers in France, as well as the attempt to carry out a massive racist purge against black, Hispanic, and working-class students in New York. In the face of these attacks, what is required is an internationalist leadership.

We urge conscious workers and youth who want to defeat the capitalist attack to fight actively with us for a joint strike of the SME and UNAM, for a class-struggle mobilization. We seek to build a revolutionary leadership as part of reforging the Fourth International (world party of socialist revolution): a revolutionary workers party based on the genuine communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Grupo Internacionalista
section of the League for the Fourth International
28 February 1999

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NATO Social Democrats...

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man occupiers to remain in place." After the Partisan victory over the Axis occupiers, Mihailovic was put on trial and justly executed for his collaboration with the fascists.

But Denitch's 1952 whitewashing of Mihailovic was not just due to the Yugoslav social democrats' participation in the Chetniks' regime. His anti-Communism has a family pedigree. Denitch's father was a cabinet minister in the royalist Yugoslav exile government in London, who as a "bitter opponent of Tito's Communists" refused to return to Yugoslavia after the war and finally settled in the U.S. According to Denitch, his maternal relatives "included a number of cabinet ministers, ambassadors, and politicians in Serbia and prewar Yugoslavia," including the vice president of the non-Communist cabinet ousted by the Titoists in 1946.

To return to the Socialist Scholars Conference, not only did this self-proclaimed "democratic socialist" cut off discussion of the NATO attack on Yugoslavia on the first night, later, when asked about news reports that the U.S. had just blasted Yugoslav television transmitting towers because it didn't like what Serbian TV was broadcasting, Denitch said he supported this censorship by bombing. But it's not just Denitch. Interestingly, DSAer Noam Chomsky, who has long postured as a ferocious critic of U.S. intervention, has pointedly refused to come out against the NATO imperialist attack. In a statement distributed on the Internet by *Z Magazine*, Chomsky went on at length about international law (a fiction), mused about "the right of 'humanitarian intervention'," and concluded: "Where does that leave the question of what to do in Kosovo? It leaves it unanswered." That is Chomsky's answer.

And while the (relatively) big-time social democrats support the bombing or retreat into deafening silence, small fry social dems such as the International Socialist Organization try to organize a liberal antiwar movement around the slogan "Stop the Bombing!" A supplement on Kosovo in the 9 April *Socialist Worker* has a big headline "NATO Bombs Will Not Bring Peace." What a revelation. The ISO are liberals pretending to be socialists pretending to be liberals. At the Socialist Scholars Conference they sought to act as the left wing of this DSA-orchestrated event, calling for an "antiwar caucus" rather than outright opposition to the NATO social democrats. In contrast, the Internationalist Group carried signs at the conference entrance and outside Denitch's workshop, calling to "Defend Yugoslavia, Defeat the Imperialist Attack!" and protesting: "Down with NATO Social Democrats!"

At a forum for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Boston earlier this month, an ISO supporter said that "It isn't only the problems of the tyranny of the leaders of this country. It's also the tyrannies of other countries. For instance, the dictatorships of Saddam Hussein and Castro and Milosevic also have to go." When a supporter of the Internationalist Group objected to this social-democratic amalgam and called out from the audience for opposition to the U.S. attack on Yugoslavia, the meeting erupted in controversy, as this lash-up between the social democratic ISO and

Stalinoid Workers World Party fell apart in squabbling. But ultimately, the different brands of reformism merely argue about a "better policy" for imperialism. Trotskyists fight for international workers revolution to smash the imperialist system.

The older and newer generation of social democrats are cut from the same cloth. "Bombs Away" Denitch and "Stop the Bombing" ISO both have roots in Shachtmanism. In war and counterrevolution, the social dems are always at the head of the pack. The Cold War may be over, but they're still at their posts doing the donkey work for the Democrats, agitating for liberal imperialism and attacking communist revolutionaries.

WV's New Crop...

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utterly clear that it lays bare the cynical method behind *WV's* mad fabrications. The ICL is banking on its readers never seeing our answers to its smears or the LQB articles it lies about.

To leave no stone unturned, let us suppose that some ill-informed reader deduces from *WV's* article that the call for a worker-peasant alliance under revolutionary proletarian leadership is somehow alien to the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. The best answer is to go to the source, a text which states:

"Not only the agrarian, but also the national question assigns to the peasantry—the overwhelming majority of the population in backward countries—an exceptional place in the democratic revolution. Without an alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie."

The author goes on to state that "the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard, organized in the Communist Party." He insists that "the victory of the democratic revolution is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat which bases itself upon the alliance with the peasantry" and solves the bourgeois-democratic tasks while carrying out the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie and extending revolution to the imperialist centers.

The author is Leon Trotsky; the source, his theses "What Is the Permanent Revolution?" (in *The Permanent Revolution* [1930]). It is the program of Lenin and Trotsky that the Internationalist Group and the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil defend, as sections of the League for the Fourth International, against the epigones whose unending fabrications are the symptom of profound political degeneration. ■

Since this was issued, Workers Vanguard has heaped on a new set of lies, in an article in WV No. 704 (2 January). And in response to our exposé, it grudgingly published a piece "Correcting a Misstatement on IG Opportunism" (WV No. 708, 5 March), blaming their wholesale inventions on a "failure to verify our translation." Even their "corrections" are lies. A dissection of the ICL's latest fabrications will be posted on our Internet site. For comments on WV No. 704, see "Open Letter by a Former Member to the SpAD and ICL" on page 47 of this issue.

POR UM PARTIDO OPERÁRIO REVOLUCIONÁRIO

Portanto não pode haver cédula eleitoral que dê igualdade entre um operário ou operária com testas-de-ferro do grande capital e do imperialismo com os Ermitio de Moraes da vida, como propõe a frente popular de Lula, que acredita na "democracia" burguesa e na colaboração de classes. Desde 1994 temos chamado o voto nulo e para a construção de um partido operário revolucionário. Mas no Brasil, país semicolonial caracterizado pelo desenvolvimento desigual e combinado, e com um proletariado grande e combativo, as teses da revolução permanente de Trotsky mostram o caminho para o proletariado e todos os oprimidos. A tarefa urgente é romper com a Frente Popular e a política do nacionalismo pequeno-burguês em todas as suas variantes para forjar um grupo trotskista de propaganda lutador, núcleo do partido operário revolucionário e internacionalista.

RESOLUÇÃO: EXPULSÃO DE POLICIAIS DOS SINDICATOS

Exigimos a expulsão de todo tipo de policiais da CUT e de todos os sindicatos e o fim do apoio dos mesmos às "greves" de policiais, braço armado do capitalismo racista contra os trabalhadores e oprimidos.

RESOLUÇÃO: LUTAR PELOS DIREITOS DA MULHER

A defesa dos direitos da mulher é crucial para o movimento operário em geral e os professores em particular. A situação da mulher mostra o grau de progresso ou reação na sociedade. Um caso horrível é o que está ocorrendo no Afeganistão onde o triunfo dos reacionários anti-soviéticos financiados pela CIA entre outras coisas trouxe a ilegalização da educação para meninas, a demissão de todas as mulheres professoras e a escravidão forçada do uso do véu. No mundo inteiro em geral a mulher sofre discriminações. No Brasil a falta de direitos elementares e a esterilização forçada de mulheres negras e pobres é símbolo da opressão. Lutamos por creches gratuitas e disponíveis 24 horas por dia; o fim de toda discriminação contra a mulher e os homossexuais; salário igual por trabalho igual; direito ao aborto livre e gratuito; assistência médica de alta qualidade e gratuita para todos; emprego e formação técnica sob controle dos sindicatos com atenção especial aos setores tradicionalmente excluídos (mulheres, negros e jovens). A luta contra a opressão pode vencer só como luta contra o capitalismo. Libertação da mulher mediante a revolução socialista!

Texts presented by the Class-Struggle Caucus (CLC) at January congress of the National Confederation of Educational Workers (CNTE) in Goiânia, Brazil. Resolution titled "Expulsion of Police from the Unions" says: "We demand the expulsion of all types of police from the CUT (labor federation) and all unions, and the end of union support to 'strikes' by the police—the armed fist of racist capitalism against the workers and oppressed."

Resolution at right on "The Fight for Women's Rights" stresses that this fight is crucial for the workers movement, noting terror against women and

teachers in Afghanistan today, denouncing forced sterilization of black women, demanding free 24-hour child care and abortion rights, and ending with the call for "Women's liberation through socialist revolution."

Excerpt from CLC platform (top left) notes that in Brazil "Trotsky's theses of permanent revolution show the path for the proletariat and all the oppressed. The urgent task is to break with the popular front and the politics of petty-bourgeois nationalism in all its variants, to forge a Trotskyist fighting propaganda group, nucleus of the revolutionary internationalist party."

"Police Unionism" . . .

continued from page 55

stock markets around the globe following the Russian default, bankers worried that Brazil—the world's ninth largest economy—would be next to go. "The Rubicon now is basically Brazil," declared Citicorp executive William Rhodes (*Wall Street Journal*, 18 September 1998). "Brazil is the linchpin of the world financial system right now, and the effort to put together credibility for the Brazilian bailout is central to the world financial system now," said a Latin American investment strategist (*New York Times*, 7 October 1998).

A lead article in the *Wall Street Journal* (16 October 1998) began: "The world is watching. Brazil is seen as a firebreak in the financial conflagration that has swept through Asia and Russia. If Brazil gets it right, the worst of the crisis may be past. If it

gets it wrong, the odds of world-wide financial calamity increase." Rubicon, linchpin, firebreak—the imperialist bankers declared that everything hinged on Brazil holding. And the bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund, decreed that the price for its \$41.5 billion "bailout" (in the name of "defending" the *real*, Brazil's currency, and U.S. speculators' profits) must be paid by "sacrifices" by Brazilian workers. Avoiding a global stock market crash supposedly depended on laying off tens of thousands of Brazilian government workers, while slashing the wages and gutting the benefits of those who remained.

Meanwhile, as the LQB stressed in a leaflet on the recent U.S. attack on Iraq, Brazilian president Cardoso is using the blood of the Iraqi people to "toast his class alliance with the U.S. bourgeoisie," backing the imperialist aggression.

Cardoso, the bourgeois "social-democratic" lapdog of Washington and Wall Street, declared in his reelection cam-

paign that civil service retirees were “lazy bums.” Bills were drawn up to increase pension deductions from the paychecks of federal government employees—except for the president, cabinet members and judges, as well as the 81 senators, 513 deputies and 277,129 members of the armed forces. (In early December, plans were announced for a 60 percent *increase* in the Congressmen’s salaries!) While the pension “reform” was defeated in Congress, plans are afoot for firing up to 30,000 federal civil servants and tens of thousands more at the state and municipal levels. And the Brazilian bourgeoisie is well aware that in the face of growing unemployment and poverty, outbreaks of workers’ resistance and a wave of peasant land seizures may lead to a social explosion. To head this off, they have moved to beef up the capitalist state apparatus, in particular the bloody Military Police.

Well aware of the capitalist rulers’ desperate need for their services, in July-August 1997 the cops staged a nationwide armed mutiny, disguised as a “strike,” demanding higher pay. In a display of suicidal reformist illusions in the bourgeois state, the PT-aligned CUT labor federation and virtually the entire Brazilian left grotesquely *supported* the cops’ bonapartist action. The Morenoite PSTU (United Socialist Workers Party) bragged of their support to the murderous Military Police, and the Lambertist O Trabalho group counted among its members the leader of a cop “union.” The LBI, mentors of pro-cop provocateur Artur Fernandes, pretended to oppose the police “strike” while ostentatiously defending arrested military police and calling for “red unions” of the MPs! Our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil were unique in opposing any support to the cop “strike.” The LQB warned:

“The military police’s armed action is not a workers strike but a military revolt which, if successful, will increase the power of the police. The guardians of capital demand more money from the bosses to carry out their dirty work and carry out even bigger attacks on the workers and the poor of the

countryside and *favelas* (ghettos). Today they talk deceitfully about ‘unity’ between the police and the people: tomorrow once again they will pull the trigger of capitalist repression.”

—“Popular Front Ties the Workers to the Murderous Armed Fist of the Bourgeoisie—Brazil: Crisis of the Capitalist State” (translated from *Vanguarda Operária*) in *The Internationalist* No. 3, September-October 1997

Bonapartism and Corporatist “Unions”

The support of the Brazilian left and labor leadership to the police “strikes” was a betrayal of the working class. It was all the more dangerous because the military and cops have long played a key role in strangling Brazilian unions. Both under the *Estado Novo* (“new state”) of bourgeois “populist” strong man Getúlio Vargas during 1937 to 1945 and under the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil for two decades, from 1964 to 1985, unions were regularly “intervened.” An academic analyst noted that Brazil’s “bureaucratic authoritarian” regime of state control of labor became a model for dictatorships in Chile, Argentina and Uruguay. “Operating within the corporatist legal system,” codified in the Consolidated Labor Laws (CLT) of 1943:

“The president, the Ministry of Labor, the labor courts, the social security system, and the unions themselves policed the workers. The government collected union dues, oversaw elections, approved or removed all union officials, forbade most collective bargaining and strikes, and set minimum wages.”

During the 1970s and early ’80s, the author noted, “The armed forces intervened in most of the major unions and placed them under the command of government loyalists, the so-called *pelegos*” (Paul W. Drake, *Labor Movements and Dictatorships: The Southern Cone in Comparative Perspective* [Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996]). He added, “The government mainly aimed to drive out the Communists.”

This system of corporatist control of labor is not limited



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to the Southern Cone of South America but is common to bonapartist and semi-bonapartist regimes, whether open military-police dictatorships of the right or those in some semicolonial countries which occasionally strike "leftist" postures as they try to balance between imperialism and a combative working class and the poor peasants. Thus Mussolini's fascist Italy, Hitler's Nazi Germany, Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal as well as the Mexican PRI regime that has ruled continuously since 1929, Perón's Argentina, Vargas' Brazil and other bourgeois "populist" regimes have all had state labor fronts masquerading as unions. This in turn reflects a broader trend in the 20th century, as Leon Trotsky noted in his essay "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (1940):

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power. This process is equally characteristic of the neutral, the social-democratic, the Communist, and 'anarchist' trade unions. . . . By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."

Trotsky noted that this trend was pronounced in countries under the sway of imperialism:

"Inasmuch as imperialist capitalism creates both a labor aristocracy and bureaucracy, the latter requires the support of colonial and semicolonial governments as protectors, patrons and sometimes as arbitrators. This constitutes the most important social basis for the Bonapartist and semi-Bonapartist character of governments in the colonies and in backward countries generally. This likewise constitutes the basis for the dependence of reformist unions upon the state.

"In Mexico the trade unions have been transformed by law into semistate institutions and have, in the nature of things, assumed a semitotalitarian character."

This heightened state control of labor in countries of belated capitalist development is closely related to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. Because of the uneven and combined character of these countries' development, a tiny domestic bourgeoisie often faces a huge mass of proletarians and impoverished peasants and rural semi-proletarians. In such conditions even limited bourgeois democracy is a mirage, as foreign and domestic capitalists (whether open "comprador" agents of the imperialists or the "national" bourgeoisie mythologized by the Stalinists) require a bonapartist or semi-bonapartist "strong state" to keep the exploited and oppressed in thrall. Corporatist control of labor is part and parcel of such a "muscular" regime, and often persists in diluted form during the occasional pseudo-"democratic" interludes as in Brazil today. This is another reason why, as Trotsky insisted, genuine trade-union democracy and independence from the capitalist state are impossible under a reformist program, but can only be achieved under the revolutionary leadership of the Fourth International.

Smears to Cover ICL's Betrayal

This underscores that the fight by our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil against "police union-

ism," demanding courts and cops out of the unions in Volta Redonda and throughout Brazil, is a key battle for Trotskyists worldwide. For the ICL, it was an excellent opportunity to fight for a longstanding programmatic position, not just in words but in deeds. This would have been the first time the ICL had engaged in an all-out fight to actually *implement* this position. (While *Workers Vanguard* calls for removing police from the unions, SL supporters in public employees unions where the bureaucracy "organizes" cops and prison guards have not undertaken a major struggle to throw them out.) But the experience in Brazil shows definitively that the ICL's claim to stand for the independence of the working class from the capitalist state has become a mere factional posture, gutted of its revolutionary content.

The fight to oust the police from the SFPMVR was at first encouraged by the ICL, but it then precipitously abandoned the field of battle at the height of the conflict. Fleeing the country on the eve of a 19 June 1996 union assembly scheduled to vote on the expulsion of police from the SFPMVR—a meeting that was shut down by armed police sent by the city government to enforce a court order—the ICL alleged "unacceptable risks to the vanguard" and said it was necessary to "pull our hands out of the boiling water," calling on the LQB to "publically disassociate themselves from the municipal workers union leadership" and advocating "getting out of town now before someone is framed up on charges, jailed or killed" (from International Secretariat letter to the LQB, 5 June 1996; presentation by ICL spokesman in meeting with the LQB, 16 June 1996; and report by ICL international secretary Parks, 15 June 1996). When the LQB refused to go along with this ignominious desertion under fire, the ICL abruptly broke fraternal relations with it.

Ever since, the ICL press has heaped slanders on the LQB and the Internationalist Group in order to *alibi its own betrayal*. Not only that, the ICL has refused to defend the Brazilian Trotskyists, even as a Volta Redonda court ordered the "search and seizure" of CLC leaflets in September 1997, and has vilely sought to *sabotage* their defense, calling it a "sham" and describing this group of largely black workers who have engaged in years of struggle against the military dictatorship and the popular front as "dangerous hustlers."

Workers Vanguard disgustingly equates the LQB targets of police and court repression with the pro-police thugs of Artur Fernandes & Co. who have repeatedly spearheaded the state attacks against them. It repeatedly ignores or denies the concerted state action against the Brazilian Trotskyists, or if it mentions any aspect of this, it vilely blames the victims. Now, in falsifying our denunciation of Fernandes' cop-"oriented" outfit and equating *his court-rigged apparatus* with the union it was installed to police, the ICL endorses this apparatus as a legitimate union. In its factional frenzy, the ICL *accepts the line of the pro-police provocateur and his bourgeois masters*. What's more, this line is now part of a pattern, since the ICL has recently decided that in Mexico, the government party's corporatist "labor" front, the CTM—used by the state and employers as labor police and labor contractors to repress any independent workers' struggle—is a "legitimate" union.



Father Gapon with Moscow police chief in 1905.

The Bolsheviks' Struggle Against Zubatovism

This raises interesting questions. What would the ICL have said of the corporatist "unions" established in Brazil by the military dictatorship, which mass workers' struggles pulverized in the early 1980s? The SPPMVR was in fact the product of such a struggle, in which Geraldo Ribeiro played a key role, leading combative strikes in the face of heavy police repression. Moreover, by legitimating Fernandes' operation as a bona fide union, the ICL takes a treacherous position *directly counterposed* to that of Lenin's Bolsheviks as they fought tooth and nail in the period leading up to the 1905 Russian Revolution against the "police unionism" that became known as the *zubatovshchina* (Zubatovism). It is worth going into this history in order to understand the broader implications of the ICL's new position, and the revolutionary fight it is now renouncing.

Alarmed at the rapid growth of revolutionary ideas among industrial workers at the end of the 19th century, the tsarist interior minister V.K. Plehve, Moscow police chief general F.F. Trepov and gendarme colonel N.V. Vasilyev adopted a plan proposed by one Sergei Zubatov, a former radical turned police spy who gained notoriety in the nationwide police raids of 1897 against the Marxist movement grouped in the nascent Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDRP). Having risen to chief of the Moscow Okhrana (secret security police), Zubatov was acutely aware of the autocracy's need to divert Russia's workers from the path

of revolution. To this end he established police-controlled "unions," beginning with the foundation of the Moscow Society for Mutual Aid for Workingmen in the Mechanical Industries in May 1901.

In a 1931 study on "The Police Labor Movement in Tsarist Russia," published as an introduction to the Spanish edition of the memoirs of Father Gapon, Andrés Nin—a former member of the bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions and future leader of the centrist POUM, who at the time was a supporter of Trotsky's International Left Opposition—noted:

"The increase in strikes in the '80s and '90s of the last century induced the tsarist government to pay more intense attention to the workers movement than it had heretofore done. The government understood perfectly that if the mass of the workers joined the fight against the autocracy being waged by isolated revolutionary groups, principally made up of intellectuals, this would represent an enormous danger. How to contain the advance of the movement which was daily

becoming stronger and more aggressive? Combatting it with repressive measures proved insufficient. It was better to undertake an effort to divert it from its natural revolutionary aims to put it in the hands of the police."
—*Las memorias del cura Gapón* (1931)

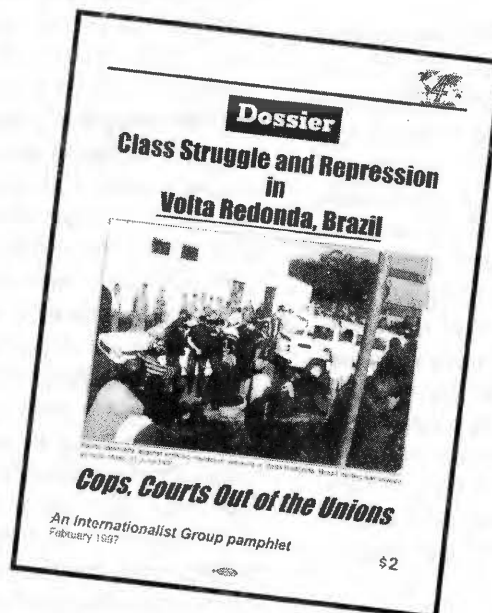
Nin cited General Trepov's explanation that for the tsarist authorities, it was necessary to "regulate the workers movement, differentiating between its various manifestations and determining what we need to fight and what we need to orient." In Brazil today, the police seek to differentiate what they "need to fight" (that is, the Trotskyists of the LQB) and what they seek to "orient," namely the modern Zubatov, Artur Fernandes.

While preaching the need for workers to concern themselves only with small economic gains, the Zubatov "unions" helped turn

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Odessa workers striking in 1905 in support of sailors who mutinied on Battleship Potemkin. Revolutionary leadership and sharp class struggle broke hold of "police unionists."

revolutionaries over to the secret police. During 1901-03 Zubatovism experienced rapid growth in Moscow, Minsk and Odessa, even carrying out a number of strikes. While revolutionary Marxists (who still used the name Social Democrats) adopted a range of tactics towards the Zubatov "unions," depending on concrete circumstances, they constantly fought to unmask and defeat these "police unionists." In his seminal work *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), Lenin wrote of the tendency demanding the legalization of labor organizations (prohibited until then by the autocracy), in which the Zubatovists were active:

"Henceforth, we cannot but reckon with this tendency. How we are to reckon with it, on this there can be no two opinions among Social-Democrats. We must steadfastly expose any part played in this movement by the Zubatovs and the Vasilyevs, the gendarmes and the priests, and explain their real intentions to the workers."

Lenin also attacked the "economist" current among social democrats who by praising spontaneity and simple trade unionism were in fact *renouncing socialism* and surrendering the field of action to those who would drag the workers along the path of bourgeois trade-unionism, "or to the Zubatovs, who are dragging it along the line of clerical and gendarme 'ideology'."

In July-August of the following year (1903), the RSDRP held its second congress, which witnessed the historic split between Lenin's Bolsheviks (the majority faction at the con-

gress) and the Menshevik minority led by Y. Martov and F. Dan—a split which proved crucial for forging the vanguard party of the proletariat which would lead the first successful socialist revolution 14 years later. The congress adopted a resolution "On the Trade Union Struggle" declaring in part:

"In view of the increasingly obvious endeavours of the Tsarist government to get control of the economic struggles of the proletariat, under the guise of 'legalising the labour movement', and by corrupting it politically to turn this movement into a pawn in its own political game; in view of the fact that this so-called 'Zubatov policy' not only has a reactionary political inspiration and is implemented by police-provocateur methods, but is a policy of systematic betrayal of the interests of the working class for the benefit of the capitalists, the Congress recommends that all comrades continue the unremitting struggle against Zubatovism in all its forms, that they lay bare before the workers the self-seeking and treacherous character of the tactics of the Zubatovist demagogues, and that they call on the workers to unite in a single class movement of struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the proletariat."

—1903: *Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party* (New Park Publications, 1978)

At the same time the RSDRP congress was being held in exile, the tsarist government decided to put an end to the Zubatovist experiment when the "police unionists" lost control of a spreading strike movement in Odessa. After a general strike broke out, spreading throughout southern Russia and into the Caucasus, the interior ministry police sacked Zubatov and dissolved his "unions." But Interior Minister Plehve continued to subsidize Zubatov's disciple Father Gapon, who was to become famous as a result of the Bloody Sunday Massacre of 9 January 1905 that ushered in the 1905 Revolution. As for Zubatov, he wound up committing suicide immediately after the overthrow of tsarism in February 1917.

From Russia at the beginning of the century to Mexico and Brazil today, the struggle for the revolutionary independence of the proletariat requires a merciless fight against every form of corporatist "unions" and Zubatovist "police unionism." The League for the Fourth International and its Brazilian section, the LQB, carry forward Trotsky's insistence that "the independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International." Supposed socialists and even "Trotskyists" who claim that modern-day Zubatovism is a legitimate part of the labor movement can only be an obstacle on the path of forging the Leninist vanguard party that is key to victorious socialist revolution. ■

actionaries, many women teachers have been murdered, and girls are barred from the schools. In Iran, the Muslim clergy organized militias and police terror against women to suffocate them beneath the *chador*, a veil that covers their entire body, which is considered a source of sin and temptation. It should not be forgotten, however, that the PCO hailed the "Islamic Revolution" of the medievalist ayatollahs, and opposed the Soviet intervention against the CIA-financed *mujahedeen* (holy warriors) in Afghanistan. We recall as well that for many years the PCO, like virtually the entire Brazilian left, avoided (or spoke as little as possible about) the question of the struggle against the oppression of women and blacks. These two issues, together with the question of the popular front, were the main original reasons why Luta Metalúrgica (forerunner of the LQB) broke from Causa Operária in 1994.

What is this business about how it is necessarily a "humiliation" for "any woman" to show her "intimacy"? Not only is this false in this society, but there are other societies and cultures where women (and/or men) frequently do not wear clothes, or wear very little clothing. This is the case not only with various Indian and African peoples but also in the history of Europe, Asia and elsewhere. We should ask the moralists: is it humiliation and "prostitution" to pose *with* clothes? Partially nude? Or only completely nude? Is it humiliating and an example of prostitution for *men* to pose in the nude?

Doesn't it occur to Caproni that there are also women who like to look at pictures of women and/or men in the nude? Perhaps the PCO would like us to return to the era before the Renaissance—a period when advances in human culture included the systematic study and graphic representation of the human body—as well as to condemn the models who worked with artists like Leonardo da Vinci or Goya and earned money by posing nude. Or is this permissible for historic art but not for an "ex-sem terra" like Débora Rodrigues? Seeking perhaps to display a high cultural level and pump up her credentials, Caproni signs her article as a "student at the University of São Paulo."

In the United States, the first black Miss America was Vanessa Williams. Many racists were infuriated that, in that commercialized beauty contest, a black woman was chosen to represent American women. When an erotic photo magazine published pictures of Vanessa posing in the nude, her title was taken away and she was replaced by a blonde white woman who, for the racists, was a better representative of the American "ideal." Against this bigotry, we say "Viva Vanessa!"

It is simply incredible that the PCO claims posing nude is the same as prostitution! This is a crystal-clear example of bourgeois and religious moralism. The bodies of actors, soccer players, and so on, are all "commercialized"—does the PCO call them prostitutes as well? But let us deal briefly with the question of prostitution as such. We fight against all laws and all forms of repression and violence aimed against prostitutes. At the same time, we explain that the exploitation of prostitutes can disappear only in a socialist society, in which scarcity, poverty and women's oppression (based on the bourgeois nuclear family and reinforced by the bourgeois morality

the PCO echoes) will have been uprooted.

In May 1998 in the city of Volta Redonda, a municipal ordinance was enacted to prohibit the public exhibition of "erotic photos" (*Diário do Vale*, 25 May 1998). This censorship reveals the existence, within the popular front that rules City Hall, of a veritable clerical-Stalinist front between the priests, Protestant ("evangelical") preachers and the vice-mayor, a Stalinist affiliated to the PT [the reformist Workers Party of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva]. We strongly protest this and all other forms of censorship. The gospel according to the PCO is nothing new: the Stalinists also talked about the "decadent social milieu of the bourgeoisie" in order to launch puritanical and bigoted campaigns echoing the most reactionary bourgeois morality. The PCO has demonstrated once again that its "anti-Stalinism" has been nothing more than anti-Sovietism, as it continues to capitulate to the bourgeoisie: it supported all the counterrevolutionary anti-Soviet forces like Solidarnosc, that creature of Walesa, Wojtyla and Reagan, while upholding the same puritanical line as the Stalinists and systematically capitulating to the popular fronts pushed by social democrats and Stalinists in alliance with the "progressive" or "national" bourgeoisie. It's no accident that Caproni's article came three months after the pope's visit to Brazil (the world's largest Catholic country) in the course of his crusade against abortion and other rights and gains for women.

We Trotskyists stand opposed to all forms of censorship. We fight against the bourgeoisie's putrid moralism and bigotry. We also fight laws and prohibitions against "crimes without victims" such as "pornography," gambling and drugs. The supposed "war on drugs" is a pretext for racist repression from the *favelas* (slums) of Brazil to the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios of the U.S., as well the intervention of imperialist troops in Bolivia, Colombia and other countries, the kidnapping of Mexican citizens by the U.S. government, etc. There should be no form of repression against any consensual sexual activity: government and church out of the bedroom and hands off people's private lives!

We fight against laws, discrimination and bigotry aimed against homosexuals, which is a very important issue in Brazil, the country with the second largest number of murders of gays in the world (after Mexico). We demand free 24-hour daycare; free abortion on demand; free high-quality health care for all. And we defend Débora Rodrigues against religious and bigoted attacks, whether they come from landlord goon squads, priests and John Paul Wojtyla—or from Pedro Stédile and Anai Caproni! **Women's liberation through socialist revolution!**

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Fernando López. . .

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tion against immigrants, racism, machismo, homophobia and all forms of bigotry, pointing out that only international proletarian revolution will emancipate humanity from these and all other evils afflicting the exploited and oppressed. Courageously, Fernando raised his fists and gave voice to this call in the very entrails of today's most powerful capitalist country, the United States of America."

In remarks in Spanish to the April 13 memorial meeting, composed primarily of immigrant workers, an Internationalist Group spokesman noted:

"For the bosses, as you *compañeros* are very much aware, the worker is worth less—much less—than a machine. For them, the workers are nothing more than raw material for exploitation. They view the working man and woman, the black person and Latino, the Indian, the white worker or the worker from China, Korea or India, as nothing more than a source of profit.

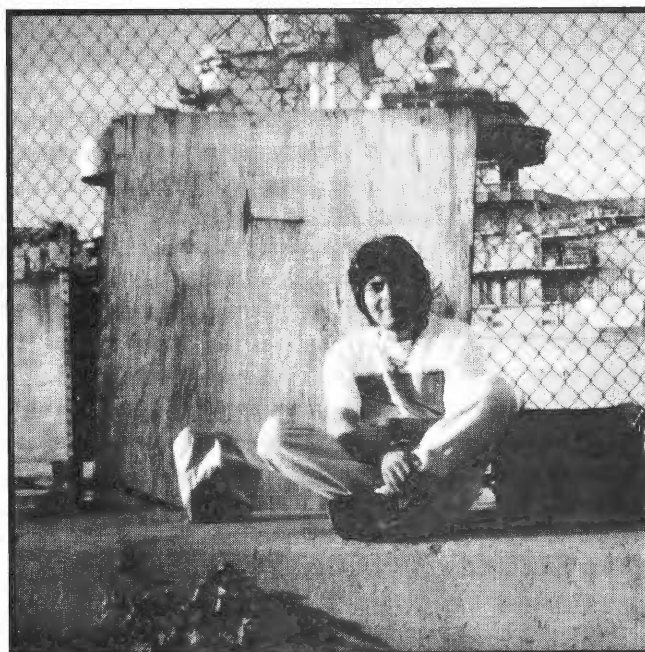
"For this reason, the bourgeoisie would like the workers to remain obedient, silent, with their backs bent, bodies tired and spirits fatalistic, heads bowed and empty or filled with prejudices, superstitions and dark hatreds against those of other races or nations. For the capitalists, when the workers are not slaving at their machines they should be on their knees before the masters of this world: divided, atomized, deceived and believing themselves to be worthless.

"But Fernando, who questioned everything, did not agree. In you, comrades, in the workers of the garment industry, in the immigrant workers from Latin America, from China, from Africa—like Amadou Diallo—and so many other places; in all the workers and oppressed of this planet, Fernando saw something different, something special.

"Fernando saw in every working man and woman the ability to think with his or her own head, to understand their own situation, that of their class and that of society as a whole; to enter into history, geography and politics—in other words, a limitless potential. He wanted the workers to question, debate and understand, to appropriate for themselves and their children the fruits of civilization and of their own labor. It was thus that through many experiences and battles he reached the conclusion that together the workers can *transform* this world by taking it into their own hands....

"He had come to the understanding that the international working class has a mission, which is not simply to win a piece of bread which is a little bit bigger, but to emancipate all humanity, all those who labor, all the exploited and oppressed. Fernando was definitely a radical: he wanted to find the root of problems; he wanted to uproot exploitation and create a classless society. Because the proletariat is the class with radical chains, and by breaking them it breaks the chains of all the oppressed of the entire earth. Because of this Fernando was an internationalist; he was a revolutionary, and he became a Marxist, a communist....

"We will always remember him with love, with grief and with joy. It was an honor to have known him, to have fought at his side and to have become his friend and comrade. His ideas and example will always live with us all." ■



GWSC

A revolutionary without "papers" and without *patria*, Fernando López called himself a "citizen of the world."



GWSC

Fourth Reich. . .

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on a revolutionary class basis. Even those "antiwar" groups and individuals who do not directly appeal to German national interests base their opposition on enforcing the supposed rules of the present capitalist system.

Many of the antiwar appeals base themselves on the provision in the *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law) declaring it illegal to launch a war of aggression. This is the sort of empty principle that adorns many bourgeois constitutions and mean absolutely nothing. The same constitution guarantees full employment, but Germany now has millions of unemployed, as many as in the early 1930s on the eve of the Nazi takeover of power. The American Declaration of Independence even talks of a right to revolution. While such appeals may seem a way to gain broader support by standing on a supposed legal prohibition, it would be hoodwinking the masses to tell them that they can oppose the war by such means.

Appeals to the fiction of "international law" and to the United Nations, such as contained in a April 3 call by Berlin unionists, are just as dangerous. The UN served as a cover for imperialist intervention from Korea to the Congo; this den of imperialist robbers prepared the way for the Persian Gulf war with its sanctions and today continues to subjugate Iraq, leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. Others emphasize that NATO has just attacked a "sovereign nation." General Naumann, Chancellor Schröder and President Clinton make it clear that they are quite prepared, even eager, to trample on the sovereignty of small nations. But what is sovereignty—it is the right to exclusive control by the national rulers over "their" territory. Marxists defend the right to self-determination of nations and nationalities, while fighting for the unrestricted domination of the *working class* through a proletarian state.

The Berlin unionists' appeal calls for "a return to bargaining." But the "bargaining" at Rambouillet was nothing but an imperialist *Diktat*, which would not only establish a colonial protectorate in Kosovo but throughout the country. Revolutionary Marxists demand U.S./UN/NATO/Germany get out of the Balkans, and stay out! The key issue in the war on Yugoslavia is that of imperialism and the fight to smash it. In a discussion about Latin America in the 1930s, the Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky posed the question of where revolutionaries should stand in a military conflict between England and Brazil. He replied:

"I ask you on whose side of the conflict will the working class be? I will answer for myself personally—in this case I will be on the side of 'fascist' Brazil against 'democratic' Great Britain. Why? Because in the conflict between them it will not be a question of democracy or fascism. If England should be victorious she will put another fascist in Rio de Janeiro and will place double chains on Brazil."

--"Anti-Imperialist Struggle is Key to Liberation" (1938)

It's not hard to figure out what would happen in Kosovo today should the NATO imperialists succeed in defeating the Yugoslav army and subjugating the Serbs. There would certainly be immediate "ethnic cleansing" of Serbs from Kosovo, and some other nationalist butcher would be installed in the

Protest Gangster Attack on SL/B Leader

10 February 1999

In response to the report in *Workers Vanguard* No. 706 (5 February 1999) of a violent assault on Spartacist League/Britain comrade Eibhlin McDonald at a January 30 demonstration in London—in which in front of many other demonstrators Ian Donovan of *Revolution & Truth* struck McDonald in the face, causing a gash over her eye which required medical attention—the League for the Fourth International denounces this vile assault and all such use of violence against political opponents in the workers movement. Thuggery within the labor movement can only obscure and poison the debate of political differences on the left, which is essential for clarifying the program for emancipation of the proletariat and all the oppressed.

We condemn Ian Donovan's gangsterist attack on Eibhlin McDonald at the march commemorating the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre; and we uphold the need for vigorous defense of workers democracy.

League for the Fourth International

place of the present rulers.

Today, the decisive question is to take a clear stand not just against the bombing but in *defense* of Yugoslavia, for the *defeat* of the NATO attack led by German and U.S. imperialism, and for mobilizing the working class on a revolutionary program. As a first step, we call for workers action to block the transport of war matériel on trains, trucks, by air or in the harbors. The action of Greek railroad unions in refusing to move NATO's war goods should spark other actions.

But above all what is urgently required is the building a revolutionary party such as the Bolsheviks forged in the struggle against the first imperialist world war. Such a party would base its fight against the war not on popular-front appeals to bourgeois politicians but on international calls for struggle by the working class. There will be no such thing as "multiethnic democracy" in Yugoslavia where the new capitalist states, lacking capital and any possibility of providing adequate living conditions to its population, are being built on the basis of whipping virulent national hatreds. What has happened in the former Yugoslavia over the last decade is not the result of "age-old national hatreds" but of a chauvinist frenzy deliberately whipped up by the counterrevolutionary forces. The *only* way they can be defeated is by fighting for workers revolution which would lay the basis for genuine equality and brotherhood in the framework of a socialized, planned economy in a state based on workers councils. To lead that state, and to lead the struggle to achieve it, Leninist-Trotskyist parties must be built that base themselves on the program of world socialist revolution unfurled by the Communist (Third) International in its early years and continued by Trotsky's Fourth International. The League for the Fourth International and its sections seek to build such a party by bringing the revolutionary program and consciousness into every major struggle of the workers and oppressed, from the fight against police brutality and in defense of immigrants to the fight against the imperialist war. ■



"Warning strike" by German metal workers, February 1999. Mobilize the working class, including immigrants, to defend the Kurds!

Free Öcalan. . .

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grants by fascist-infested Berlin cops and auxiliary police]. But Öcalan was not to be rewarded with the status of an Arafat or a Mandela for all this. Instead he was delivered into the hands of his pursuers.

The bourgeois media in Germany worries that the "Kurdish problem" remains unresolved, despite (they hope) the decapitation of the PKK. It is true that there will be no peace in Kurdistan. The de facto U.S. protectorate in north Iraq is a dead-end for the Kurdish masses, as the nationalists of the PUK and PKI squabble over the meager spoils of their precarious control over this zone.

Defend Iraq. . .

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the war drive against Iraq. The twin parties of American capital are competing on the terrain of imperialist warmongering. Ever since the U.S. defeat at the hands of the heroic Vietnamese peasants and workers in the mid-1970s, the ruling class politicians have sought to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" of reluctance to engage in another losing military adventure. Behind the divisions in the U.S. ruling class is the fact that the war party in Washington includes *both* capitalist parties. As an Internationalist Group sign in recent protests put it: "Democrats and Republicans Murder Iraqis, Starve Welfare Moms and Kids!" Another IG placard proclaimed: "To Hell with Monicagate and Impeachment—Clinton Is a War Criminal!"

We fight to mobilize the working class for socialist revolution to defeat U.S. imperialism. After years of declining numbers of strikes, the U.S. working class has recently showed its strength in strike battles at UPS and General Motors, while Puerto Rican workers staged a two-day general strike in the midst of a bitter telephone workers' strike against privatization. The working class must enter the political arena in its own name, at the head of all the oppressed, linking the factory to the black ghettos and Latino barrios in revolutionary class struggle. This means explicitly fighting for *workers action against imperialist war* as

For its part, U.S. imperialism wants the Turkish regime at its side against Saddam Hussein, as it steps up its bombing raids in a drive to install a more pliant neo-colonialist regime in Iraq. **US/UN/NATO hands off Iraq! Break the starvation embargo!**

For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan!

This is the only answer to the dismemberment of the Kurdish nation by the bourgeois regimes of the Near East, and it collides head-on with the interests of all the imperialist powers in "stabilizing" the region. Yet from Istanbul to Tel Aviv to Teheran these regimes show increasing signs of crisis. The Trotskyist program of revolutionary internationalist class struggle can unite Turkish and Kurdish toilers, Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers, the multinational proletariat of Iran, for socialist revolution against imperialism. ***For a socialist federation of the Near East!***

The capitalist "New World Order" means massive attacks on the working class, racist terror and deepening imperialist rivalries as the oppression of working people in the semicolonial countries is intensified. It is necessary to fight for socialist revolution internationally, from the Near East to the imperialist citadels of Europe. The League for the Fourth International is dedicated to forging the revolutionary party of the international proletariat to carry out this task.

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part of the fight to build a *revolutionary workers party*. Various reformists who tail after the Democrats, such as the Workers World Party and Communist Party, have had their game exposed as one of their favorite liberals, Jesse Jackson, vociferously supported bombing Iraq.

As stressed in a December 17 statement of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil, section of the League for the Fourth International: "Only socialist revolution can put an end to this system of oppression and terror, destroying imperialism through the overthrow of world capitalism; proletarian mobilization against the current imperialist aggression is part of this struggle." Now is the time to mobilize class struggle against the racist rulers of the American empire. In defending the semicolonial peoples targeted by U.S. imperialism, the working class will advance the cause of its own liberation and that of the exploited and oppressed throughout the world!

Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!

Break the UN starvation embargo! Oppose the imperialist military sanctions!

Build a revolutionary workers party in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International!

Internationalist Group

section of the League for the Fourth International

1 January 1999

ILWU Defense Victory. . .

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mational picket lines" and substituting consumer boycotts, "corporate campaigns" and other losing strategies. Union tops connive with management to divide the workers by such schemes as "two-gate entrances," to herd one category of workers into buildings being picketed by other trade or union.

Tailing the labor bureaucrats and reflecting their outlook, a broad range of left organizations—from the Socialist Workers Party (which in the late '70s ran a presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley, who waltzed across rail strikers' picket lines at a Midwest U.S. Steel plant) to the now-invisible Revolutionary Workers League and the misnamed Bolshevik Tendency—scoff at the principle that picket lines mean don't cross. They work behind picket lines in struck buildings (even organizing others to do so), and in the case of the RWL and BT, print many-paged documents "justifying" this despicable *scabbing*. Similarly, a host of opportunists such as the social-democratic International Socialist Organization run to the capitalist government to "reform" the unions (like the Teamsters), haul the unions into the bosses' courts and support cops and prison guards—the armed fist of the class enemy—in the unions! We say: *Cops, feds, courts, out of the unions—and build militant mass picket lines that no one dares cross!*

A sharp contrast to the picket-line crossers is provided by

the courageous stand by Mumia Abu-Jamal, the radical black journalist on Pennsylvania's death row. During the recent lock-out of workers by ABC-TV, Jamal refused to be interviewed by scabs for the "20/20" news program on his case. In an interview with the ILWU's newspaper, Jamal said: "Would I cross a picket line if I were living in quasi-freedom, and walking to the studio? The answer was an irrevocable 'no.' How could I do less, even under these circumstances?" This should shame the "left" picket-line crossers who, while claiming to stand in the vanguard of the working class, complain they could "lose their jobs" if they respected the principle of the picket line. But these outfits are far beyond shame.

The bureaucrats and their "left" tails trample on the most basic principles of union solidarity while chaining the workers politically to capitalism through the bosses' Democratic Party. The present labor bureaucracy goes back to the post-WWII anti-Communist purge in the unions, in which the labor fakers enlisted in the Cold War to "get the reds" (and feather their own nests). To defeat the attacks of the shipping magnates around the world, and the rapacious capitalist ruling class as a whole, we must build a revolutionary workers party that fights for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, bringing the Leninist program of international socialist revolution into the class struggle. For such a party, deeds must accord with words; it will put into victorious practice the slogan: Workers of the world, unite!

WV Blames Victims, Distorts April 24 Shutdown for Mumia

As we noted in our previous article on the *Neptune Jade* case (*Internationalist* No. 4, January-February 1998): "In the Oakland picket [of the ship], ILWU officers refused to set up an official picket line, instead putting the onus on Local 10 members to honor the picket line if one was set up by others, citing a danger to their 'health and safety.' This cop-out was an abdication of the elementary responsibility to mobilize solidarity with the Liverpool dockers by using the union's muscle to enforce a ban."

Yet, as we also noted, the ILWU members did honor the picket line, even after an arbitrator and a judge ordered them to cross. The fact that union activists refused to collapse in the face of the bureaucrats' capitulation was a valiant act; and the fact that the scab ship was unable to unload its cargo struck a blow for the Liverpool dockers, even if it was not sufficient to beat back the Liverpool bosses. In the aftermath, it was crucial to defend the ILWU and the union activists and labor supporters under attack.

While purporting to do this, an article in the Spartacist League's *Workers Vanguard* (No. 681, 2 January 1998) contained a vile attack on the picketers:

"Covering for the bureaucracy's capitulation to the bosses' rules, the protest organizers substituted a demonstration organized by leftists for a real picket line. Sensing weakness, the PMA then launched a truly sinister witchhunt aimed at the union and its officers. So who is fooling whom?"

The union bureaucrats, labor lieutenants of capital who sabo-

tage workers' struggles, deserve to be pilloried. They must be recognized as the foremost obstacle to victorious workers' struggle. But here we have the spectacle of self-proclaimed Trotskyists denouncing those who dared to put up pickets after the officials backed down, and blaming them for the repression the bosses unleashed against them and the union.

WV says a "demonstration organized by leftists" was "substituted" for a "real picket line." Yet its account does not mention that the picket was thrown up by, among others, activists from ILWU Locals 6 and 10, the Inlandboatmen's Union, Sailors Union of the Pacific, Operating Engineers Local 3, the IBEW, Berkeley and San Francisco IWW, in response to a request from the Liverpool dockers themselves.

It wasn't an officially sanctioned picket line (nor were the Liverpool dockers' own pickets!), but it was a *legitimate action of labor solidarity*. No self-respecting longshoreman would cross it, and in fact none did. In the past, not only did the SL itself organize "non-sanctioned" picket lines against Chilean ships in solidarity with the victims of the Pinochet dictatorship, it pointed to the example of Appalachian coal miners where a single "wildcat" picket would shut down an entire mine.

If such pickets were sparked by "leftists" (as in fact many were during the wave of wildcats in the 1970s), did that make them not a "real picket line"? And since picket lines mean don't cross, as the SL rightly upheld for years, if the *Neptune Jade* picket wasn't a "real picket line," then what does one say of someone who crossed it? We say any-

one who did not respect the picket of the *Neptune Jade* was scabbing. *WV*'s line is in fact deeply *rightist*, and in a whole range of situations could only mean *opposing* sharp but "unauthorized" class struggle. The SL's whole argument is shot through with the mentality of the bureaucracy, for whom if it's not officially approved it's not legitimate.

The SL is in fact pursuing a completely unprincipled vendetta. This is underscored by its response to the ILWU's decision to shut down all West Coast ports on April 24 to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal—the first such *political work stoppage* in the U.S. in defense of Jamal (see article in this issue). In a long back-page article titled "Mobilize the Power of Labor! Free Mumia Now!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 711 (16 April 1999) makes a passing reference to the work stoppage, grudgingly admitting that "to pull the thousands of longshoremen coastwide off the job, even if only for a few hours, would be a powerful statement of the social power that can and must be mobilized in broader actions—from mass labor-centered protests to political strikes—for Jamal's freedom." We would be pleased to learn of SL supporters fighting in their unions to *organize* such work stoppages and strikes for this crucial cause, as well as for the expulsion of police from the unions. But *WV* has not reported any such concrete efforts in the past period.

Meanwhile, the *WV* article willfully misrepresents the ILWU action. It focuses on denouncing calls by Workers World, Socialist Action and others for a "new trial." There can be no "fair trial" for Mumia in the racist capitalist courts that have relentlessly hounded black radicals and him in particular. We demand that Mumia be freed, now! In the middle of its article, *WV* charges the initiators of the ILWU work stoppage with "concealing the true nature of the capitalist state." An unaware reader would deduce that the action or its initiators are calling for a new trial. Not so. *WV* deliberately omits the fact that the motion voted by the delegates to the union's Longshore Caucus on March 26 does *not* call for a new trial—in fact it states that "the organized labor movement has the power through action to ensure justice for this principled and courageous freedom fighter, which he can't get in the courts." And the ILWU work stoppage is explicitly to demand "*Stop the Execution! Free Mumia!*"

The *WV* article never cites that motion and never explains how the ILWU work stoppage came about. Moreover, it misinforms its readers that the action consists of "two-hour stop work meetings," when the union has officially called for shutting down work on all ships "from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. from Bellingham, Wash. to San Diego, Calif." as spelled out in the ILWU newspaper (*The Dispatcher*, March 1999). So *WV* cynically misrepresents both the *demands* and the *nature* of the union action for Mumia, and it uses the classic technique of the *amalgam* to carry out this lying sleight-of-hand. The SL has repeatedly resorted to such smears against the Internationalist Group and League for the Fourth International (IG/LFI), trumpeting the lies of pro-police elements who have unleashed endless repression against our Brazilian comrades. But now they are using the same slimy methods to undercut this groundbreaking labor action.

The *WV* article goes so far as to charge ILWU Local 10

executive board member Jack Heyman, who presented the motion for the stoppage which was approved by the local and the Coast Caucus, with seeking to "go after the reds"! What is the evidence for this outrageous charge of witchhunting? That Heyman asked the Partisan Defense Committee (the defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, which has played a very important role in Mumia's defense for over 12 years) for help in putting together a list of unions and labor officials who have publicly come out in Mumia's defense. This is supposed to be "going after the reds"?!

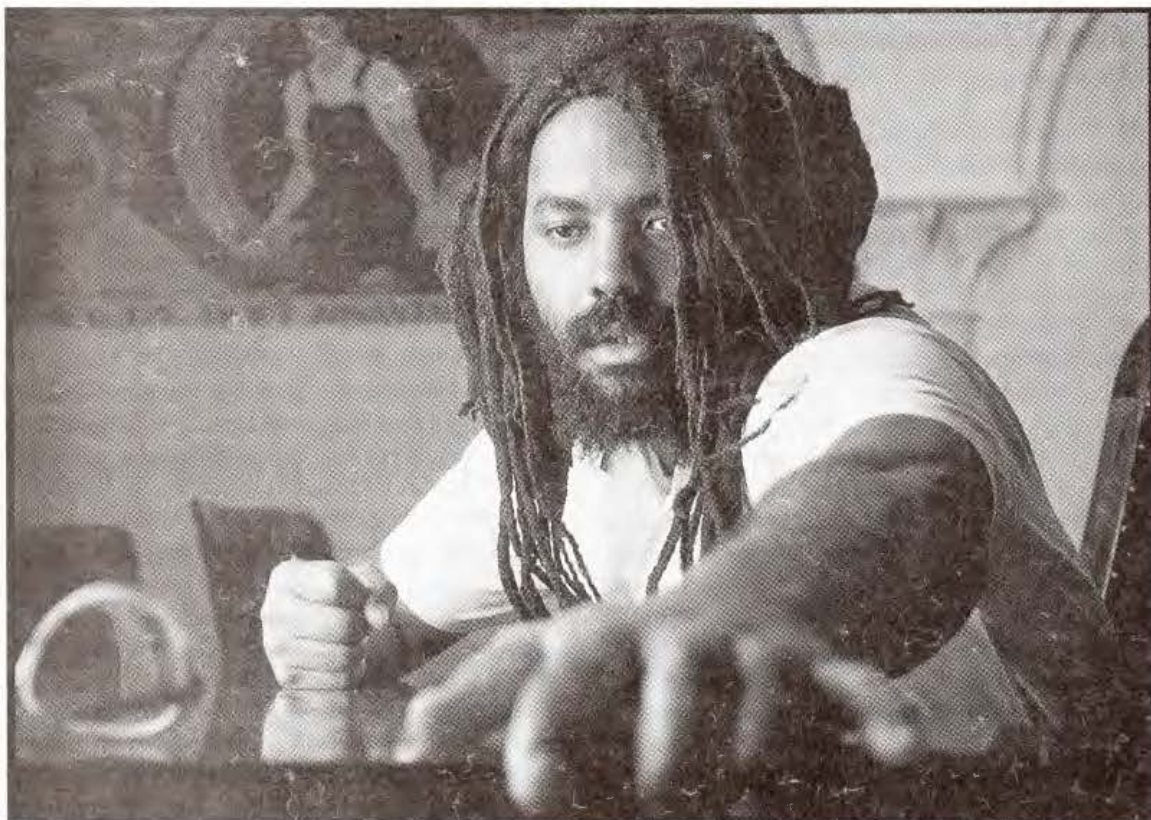
WV's smear is the exact opposite of the truth. The SL knows full well (although they don't breathe a word of this to *WV* readers) that Heyman made his request in the course of preparing and fighting for the ILWU work stoppage. In fact, such a list could be of help precisely in combatting attempts by red-baiting bureaucrats to scuttle or sabotage the action. Besides, in the very same paragraph *WV* states that the information Heyman sought was "readily available" in "the pages of *Workers Vanguard*" itself! So how does requesting such information constitute "going after the reds"?

WV's logic is so contorted that even readers who know nothing of the facts can figure out that something is seriously amiss here. Certainly no ILWUer will be convinced: longshoremen know who has fought to mobilize union action for Mumia. The *WV* "polemic" is mainly directed at the members and supporters of SL who might wonder why the organization they have loyally supported has adopted this stance toward the first attempt in the U.S. to mobilize union power on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, something the SL always said it was for but lately has done nothing to bring about. They might also wonder why *WV* is notably silent about the work stoppage demanding Mumia's freedom called by the state teachers union of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, as a result of the work of our comrades of the Liga Quarta-Internacionalista do Brasil (LQB).

There is a connection here. The SL and International Communist League (ICL) have regularly solicited Heyman in the past for endorsement of various demonstrations. But while not a supporter of the IG/LFI, Heyman won union support (from the ILWU and International Dockers' Conference) for the Brazilian Trotskyist workers facing bourgeois state repression. And he had the gumption to speak out against the ICL's betrayal of the struggle by the LQB to expel cops from the unions in Brazil, and to criticize the ICL's attempts to sabotage defense of our Brazilian comrades as the state was demanding "search and seizure" of their leaflets. The vicious mudslinging against Heyman is most likely intended to go after him for this. In venomously attacking the defendants in the *Neptune Jade* case and now spewing lies against the organizers of the longshore shutdown for Mumia, the SL is displaying increasing symptoms of its political degeneration.

For any SLer who takes seriously their own profession of communism, this latest outburst should be a wake-up call. You can't defeat the reformists and centrists and make a revolution with such deliberate distortions. They only serve those who in fact seek to conceal the true nature of the capitalist state, and who would use any stick or smear to undercut powerful labor action for Mumia.

Mobilize the Power of the Working Class to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!



**Mobilizar a força da classe operária
para libertar Mumia Abu-Jamal agora!**

**Mobilisons le pouvoir de la classe ouvrière pour
la libération immédiate de Mumia Abu-Jamal!**

**¡Movilizar la fuerza de la clase obrera
para liberar a Mumia Abu-Jamal, ya!**

**Mobilisierung der Kraft der Arbeiterklasse
um Mumia Abu-Jamal sofort zu befreien!**

League for the Fourth International/Liga pela Quarta Internacional/Liga por la
IV Internacional/Ligue pour la Quatrième Internationale/Liga für die IV. Internationale