Rightist Mobilizations and Imperialist Intrigues

Turmoil in the Balkans

U.S./UN/NATO Forces Out!

DECEMBER 16—Once again the world's attention has been drawn to the Balkans, where the combination of local nationalist enmities and imperialist intrigues has produced bloody slaughter. Elections in Bosnia in September, held under the guns of 30,000 UN and NATO "peacekeeping" forces, predictably confirmed the de facto partition of the country into regions under the control of hardline Bosnian Serbs, Croat and Muslim nationalists. Wherever the combination of local nationalities and imperialist interests intersect, new bloody conflicts have erupted. The latest challenge to Milosevic began in mid-November when his regime refused to carry Serbian Македония and Македониа, which had been scheduled to leave Bosnia by year's end, would be staying on for (at least) another 18 months. These would include combat units from Germany, which already has thousands of "non-combat" support forces in Croatia—the first deployment of German military might outside its borders since the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich.

At the same time, both Serbia and Croatia are in the throes of political crises. Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic is confronted by large, student-centered protests in Belgrade led by anti-communist movement headed by opposition leader Vuk Draskovic (above), nationalist and open admirer of World War II Chetnik mass murderers.

Washington Arms Zedillo's War Against Peasant Guerrillas U.S. Hands Off Mexico!

In recent months, spokesmen for U.S. imperialism have been flagrantly provocative in pushing for direct military intervention in Mexico. In September, a week after a series of bold raids on police stations and military outposts by the peasant guerrillas of the Popular Revolutionary Army (EPR), U.S. Assistant Secretary of State James Jones openly flaunted Mexican national sentiment by publicly urging the country's rulers to accept U.S. military and intelligence aid. Speaking in Mexico City and Cancun, Jones denounced the EPR as a "terrorist" group and repeatedly urged the Mexican government of President Ernesto Zedillo to accept "whatever they need" to crush the insurgents, including CIA "information" and Pentagon military support. A report in the San Francisco Chronicle (10 December) noted that this "was the first time in recent years than an American diplomat had broken the Mexican taboo on even speaking of U.S. armed involve- ment south of the border."

Zedillo immediately ordered a brutal "anti-terrorist" crackdown, subjecting the country to a virtual state of siege. Some 500 peasant and working-class activists have been detained or tortured since late June. And while a ratted Mexican official replied to Jones, "offer" by insisting that "the Mexican government is exclusively responsible for keeping order within its borders," Washington's neocolonial lackeys in the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) regime conspicuously refused to rule out direct American involvement.

In fact, the U.S. has been quietly providing military assistance to Mexico for decades, including construction of airfields. In recent years, Washington has funneled significant quantities of arms and military equipment to Mexico. Shortly after the outbreak of the ZapataISTA (EZLN) peasant uprising in Chiapas in January 1994, the Pentagon began delivering large quantities of military vehicles, helicopters and weaponry to the Mexican armed forces. Thousands of U.S. troops, Drug Enforcement Agency nars and CIA agents were deployed in Guatemala for "reactionary" military operations near the border with Chiapas. At the same time, Clinton has massively beefed up militarization of the border with Mexico in order to terrorize immigrant workers seeking to cross into the U.S. And Zedillo has agreed to an unprecedented pact to have Mexican soldiers stationed at U.S. bases. Meanwhile, the "School of the Americas" (more accurately known as the "School of the continued on page 10
The following leaflet was issued on November 20, 1996 by the Italian Spartacist Youth Group, who have been active in mobilizations in defense of the immigrants threatened with eviction and deportation.

For more than a week, 60 immigrant workers have taken refuge in the Church of St. Bernard in downtown Milano, threatened with eviction by the police and Mayor Formentini and abandoned by the immigrant government of the Ulivo (Olives Tree) coalition in its drive to be admitted to the Maastricht Treaty’s “monetary union” and its racist capitalist “Fortress Europe.” To achieve this the government is bleeding the working class dry and granting them and all social gains, including the already impoverished and wretched public school system. This eviction comes in the context of the threatened expulsion of 250,000 immigrants who are to be targeted as “illegals” when the minimal protections offered by the apartheid decree of the former Dini government expire. The chief of police is already talking about chartering flights to carry out the deportations.

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ers and immigrants have mobilized in the streets to defend the rights of all immi-
grants and minorities. But parties like Rifondazione and the PDS, in order to rule in the interests of the capitalist state, try to prevent any struggle against racist oppression. The RC and PDS were enthusiastic supporters of the Martelli law that imposed border controls and “illegal alien” status. Both parties voted confi-
dence in the Dini government just a few days before it introduced its apartheid anti-immigrant law, and both joined in propugning the popular-front Ulivo gov-
ernment headed by Prime Miniser Prodi. Behind its talk of “fighting the right,” this class-collaborationist government— which unites Rifondazione, the PDS, the Bank of Italy and the Vatican—has purpose other than defending the class interests of the Italian bourgeois.

The popular-front government is doing what the right was unable to do: cut pen-
sions, health care and education, pass racist laws, and intensify the oppression of women in the country. The Ulivo/PRC popular-front moves against the working class and petty bour-
geoisie in the name of the left. It drives whole layers of the middle class into the arms of the fascists and of the Northern League racists, whose “greenshirt” gangs threaten to impose racist “law and order” in the cities. The racist, and the street demonstrations led by the blackshirts of the fascist National Alliance/ MSI are becoming ever more ominous and dan-
gerous. It is urged that the working class unite with all the intended victims of the fascists—immigrants, Jews, Roma (Gypsies), women and gays—to smash the racist and fasci-
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The ILP broke away from the Labour Party. That was correct. If the ILP wanted to become the revolutionary lever, it was impossible for the handle of this lever to be left in the hands of the thoroughly opportunist and bourgeois leadership. Complete and un condi tional political and organizational independence of a revolutionary party is the first prerequisite for its success.

But while breaking away from the Labour Party, it was necessary immediately to turn toward it. Of course, this was not to court its leaders, or to pay them bittersweet compliments, or even to suppress their criminal acts—no, only characterless centrists who imagine themselves revolutionaries seek to win over the masses by accumulating themselves to the leaders, by flattering them and reassuring them at every step of their friendship and loyalty. A policy of this sort is a road that leads down to the swamp of uncommit
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A critical court date is approaching for three participants in the June 29 Chicago anti-Klan protest who face false charges of assault and battery against police and obstructing police. Charges against six other anti-Klan protesters arrested on June 29 were dropped previously. Earlier this month, a Chicago Circuit Court judge granted the Anti-Klan Three an evidentiary hearing, now scheduled for January 23, based on their motion to drop the charges (see "New Legal Papers Document Cop Vendetta: Defend Chicago Anti-Klan Three—Drop the Charges!") BY NO. 657, 6 December). It is especially important for the integrated labor movement and all opponents of racist terror to turn out on January 23 in solidarity with the Anti-Klan Three.

The January 23 hearing will provide an opportunity for the Anti-Klan defendants to put the Chicago police and city officials on trial for suppressing news of the KKK's plans to stage its race-hate provocation and for then brutally attacking the anti-Klan protest. The defense will document how the anti-racist activists are being persecuted for exercising their First Amendment rights of assembly and free speech. It is important for the integrated labor movement and all opponents of racist terror to stand up against racism and the oppression of minorities.

All out on January 23! Drop the charges against the Anti-Klan Three!
Australia: Defend Canberra Anti-Racist Militants!

Trade-union, Aboriginal and youth protesters stormed Canberra's Parliament House, fought a bloody cop attack, August 19.

MELBOURNE—Tens of thousands of people demonstrated here on December 8 to protest against an escalating wave of racist violence across the country. More open expression to this racist onslaught, in (Member of Parliament) used her first speech to Parliament for a

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

With the ALP out of government for the first time in 13 years, the reformist and centrist left groups are offering their services as waterboys for the Labour ACTU bureaucracy. As the union tops join in the Howard Conservative Coa-

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

reached out from the organised working class to the deeply oppressed and margin-

unions' and minorities. Notably, Howard has refused to openly denounce Hanson, the government-aided and involved in a multiracial protest outside Parliament House in August.

The storming of Parliament House on August 19 showed the class anger seeth-
ing at the base of Australian society. In the largest demonstration ever held in Canberra, up to 35,000 miners, striking auto workers, heavily Southeast Asian manufacturing workers and other trade unionists joined the Aborigines and students to protest government attacks on welfare and the unions. As we wrote at the time, “In a country dominated for decades by an official policy of ‘White Australia’ racism, this militant, multiracial outpouring of anger was truly spectacular.” (“Workers, Aborigines Storm Australian Parliament,” WY No. 650, 30 August).

The ACTU leadership had planned the rally as a vehicle to pressure Parliament to “amend” its anti-union legislation. But the lid came off when the cops attacked Aborigines marching at the head of a contingent of 6,000, many of them members of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU). As the workers rushed in to defend the Aboriginal protestors, the cops were overwhelmed and retreated to the Parliament building, where a two-hour battle ensued. The following day, riot squads from the Australian Federal Police (AFP) again assaulted Aboriginal protestors outside the Parliament.

Reporting on the August 19 confrontation, a headline in the Building Worker (23 August), a CFMEU publication in Victoria, summed up: “Workers Defend Aboriginal Brothers & Sisters—Police Provocate Workers.”

In the wake of the August protests, the government, cops and capitalist media launched a nationwide witchhunt against Aboriginal, trade-union and youth agitators. Under the rubric of a special taskforce code-named “Operation Veneer,” the AFP has laid serious criminal charges against at least 13 people. This is on top of the 50 people who were arrested on August 19 and 20 in Canberra. In a November 18 protest letter, the Partisan Defence Committee denounced the witchhunt:

The nature and target of the charges makes clear the government’s intent to stifle a layer of Aboriginal, union and youth militants. We denounce Operation Veneer as a sinister exercise in domestic police repression targeting those the Howard government deems politically “undesirable.” It is calculated to intimidate into silence the intended victims of, and those who would protest against, the deliberately reactionary political, economic and social agenda of the Howard Conservative Coalition. We demand that all the charges against the Canberra anti-government protestors be dropped immediately.”

The Spartacist League/Australia distributed a leaflet at the December 8 demonstration calling for defence of the victimised Canberra protestors: “We salute the Aboriginal, unionist and student youth militants who in integrated social struggle defeated this calculated cop provocation. The strength of the union movement must be brought to bear in defence of the militants of 19-20 August.” The December demonstration bore no comparison with the militant, union-centred actions last August. No Aboriginal contingents and only a handful of trade-union contingents were present at the Melbourne rally, while a steady stream of popular-frontist, “patriotic” rhetoric— including from Tony (Liberal) politicians—emanated from the platform. SL&A placards counterposed a class-struggle fight against racism, demanding that charges be dropped against the Canberra militants and calling for “Full Citizenship Rights for All Australians!” and “For Union/Minority Mobilisations Against Racist Terror!”

SL&A ACTU Tops Line Up Behind Racist Witchhunt

Meanwhile, the traitorous leaders of the ACTU and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) have collaborated with the government witchhunt, fingerling militants to the cops and promising their capitalist masters an internal purge of anti-

capitalist trade unionists. Doug Cameron, national secretary of the Australian Manufacturing Workers’ Union (AMWU), wrote in the Metal Worker (October 1996): “I have advised the ACTU that if any AMWU official is charged with a serious offence in relation to the rally, and found guilty, then their employment with the AMWU will be terminated.” And the CFMEU leadership forced New South Wales organiser Vladmar Vegg to resign his union post long before he was charged. Other known union targets of the witchhunt have been told that they are effectively on their own.

In the present climate of vicious racist reaction, the union bureaucrats are deliber-

ately seeking to cut off the hand that
Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has recently won a legal victory against Pennsylvania prison authorities in U.S. Federal District Court in Pittsburgh. Last year, Jamal brought a civil suit against the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections for punishing him for his powerful prison writings by blocking his access to media interviews. The suit also charged the authorities with obstructing Jamal's access to legal counsel by intercepting privileged correspondence between him and his attorneys and forwarding copies to the office of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. In June, a court magistrate found that prison officials had violated Jamal's rights to free speech and to legal counsel. At the same time, the magistrate allowed that such actions were justifiable if the authorities could claim "a reasonable suspicion" that Jamal was violating prison rules (see "Hanging Judge Against Prison Gag Order"; WV No. 648, 5 July).

Now, on December 4, Judge Donetta Ambrose also weighed in against a challenge by prison authorities to the June finding, on the basis that officials who intercepted, opened and read Jamal's correspondence with his attorney, a right that is founded upon the common law, upon the Sixth Amendment and upon the Fourteenth Amendment.

In her ruling, Ambrose also gave the lie to the state's claims that Jamal had deliberately waited until the warrant was signed in June 1995 before filing a petition for "post-conviction relief" (PCRA) to turn the latest atrocity in Sabo's courtroom. The new evidence was provided by Jamal's innocence and of the long, dismal record of police coercion of witnesses and suppression of evidence in the case. The new evidence was provided by the powerful testimony of eyewitness Veronica Jones, who told the court how she saw two men run from the scene of the shooting, corroborating her initial account to the police in 1981 and that of four other eyewitnesses.

These accounts proved that Jamal, who was sitting on the ground being severely from a near-fatal gunshot wound inflicted by Faulkner when police arrived on the scene, could not have been the killer. Jones also revealed that she was coerced into changing her initial true account by the time of the 1982 trial after two police detectives threatened her with a long prison term on gun possession charges.

For courageously coming forward now to tell the truth, Jones was punished by being dragged off the stand in Sabo's court and taken to jail. Sabo then arrogantly ruled that Jones' testimony was "of no moment" and "ineffective." But as Jamal's new appeal states: "Jones' uncorrected testimony would have profoundly changed the mix of evidence at trial."

The appeal points out: "Had Jamal been provided a true opportunity to present a defense at the 1982 trial, the evidence thus would have shown that: (1) the only two eyewitnesses to identify Jamal as the 'shooter' both received undisclosed favors from police and the prosecution in return for their testimony; (2) free eyewitnesses saw someone flee the scene, and two of these witnesses initially said the fleeing person was the shooter.

The appeal also Restates other key evidence documenting the frame-up of Mumia, from the cops' contrived story of Mumia's "confession" to the lack of ballistic evidence linking Mumia to Faulkner's shooting.

The same day as Jamal's lawyers filed the new appeal in Philadelphia, some 500 people joined in a protest on Wall Street in New York City to mark the 15th anniversary of Mumia's arrest. The reformist organizers of the protest, notably Workers World Party and Refuse & Resist, focused the demands for a new trial. But the entire history of Mumia's frame-up argues against reliance in the capitalist court system. Jamal's recent ruling by Judge Ambrose points to the fact that the courts, the prison authorities, the governor and the prosecution are joined by a thousand ties in a system of racist injustice. As a Partisan Defense Committee sign at the protest read, "No illusions in Capitalist 'Justice'-Free Mumia Now!"

The gross interference by prison officials and the governor's office in Mumia's defense efforts—even as Jamal was attempting to challenge the death sentence hanging over him—is only one of countless examples of how the racist "justice" system has targeted Mumia for death. From the time he was a young leader of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in the 1960s, Mumia was subjected to daily cop surveillance as part of the FBI's "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), which sought to "neutralize" the Panthers and other radical activists. The state's vendetta continued when Jamal was a widely known journalist who exposed the racist reality of daily life in Philly, and later when he became a supporter of the MOVE organization. It culminated in Mumia's being falsely charged and sent to death row in 1982.

As Marxists, we place our confidence in the power of the working class and the oppressed. The wave of international protests for Mumia in the summer of 1995, which helped stay the executioner's hand at the time, gave a glimpse of the kind of militant struggle that must take place to free Mumia. As part of our fight to sweep away this capitalist system of racist repression and injustice, we demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!■
On Northite SEP and “Bolsheviki” Tendency in Britain:

How Others See Them

By entering into the imperialist refrain that “communism is dead,” many self-proclaimed workers' organizations and political groups are rapidly dichotomizing any pretense to Leninism. Here we reprint two pieces, initially published in the Communist Party of Great Britain’s Weekly Worker (28 November), which offer the views of other leftist organizations on the liquidationist antics of two groups who have made much of themselves as the continuators of Bolshevism—David North’s “International Committee of the Fourth International” (IC) and the so-called International Bolshevik Tendency (IBT).

The first article, titled “IBT Opportunism,” is signed by the New Zealand Communist Workers Group which, for specialist in centrist, is affiliated to the Liaison Committee of Militant Groups for a Revolutionary Communist International (LCMCI), a split from the centrist tendency headed by the British Workers Power group. Much of the IBT’s leadership consists of elements who individually fied the organization in the early 1980s, in the face of the escalating imperialist anti-Communist war drive. They nonetheless claimed to be the true repository of the principles and program of Spartacist, i.e., revolutionary Trotskyism.

Although this posture was manifestly fraudulent, it is evidently one that the IBT does not seek to maintain in the current climate of post-Soviet revolution. In the past few years, they have more openly thrown their own political colors, which are generally atone to the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia milieu they inher. In Canada, this was demonstrated in their Anglo-Chauvinist call for a “no” vote in a referendum on Quebec indep. In New York City last winter, a prominent BTjer joined many of his fellow employees at the liberal-chic Valerie Voices in crossing picket lines of striking workers.

In Britain, the IBT recently liquidated into Arthur Scargill’s left-reformist Socialist Labour Party. The LCMRCI piece nicely captures the IBT’s opportunism in this regard. However, it might be more accurate to accuse Scargill—who has stood to the left of the IBT on such crucial questions as the picket line and Soviet-defen siveness—of opportunism for letting them join his party.

The second article we reprint here comes from the “Soviet Workers Group and Scottish Trotskyist Unity Group” (TUG), an “external faction” of the Northite IC and its ersatz International Communist Party (ICP) in Britain. The TUG’s assessment of the ICP’s transformation into the “Soviet Equali ty Party” is quite apt. However, its “return to the formerly internationalist tradition of the ICP between 1985 and 1987” is evidence of an advanced case of delusion. Evidently, the supposedly halcyon days of the IC began after David North seized the reins of power from deposed “founder-leader” Gerry Healy in 1985. Picking up where Healy left off, Y. Hyland grotesquely peppered her speech with references to the trade unions as “prison camps” for workers.

The specter of a polite “debate” with these parties was obscene, particularly in this area. Hatred for the Tories’ decimation of the coal industry, where most working people here once earned their living, runs so deep that, as the London Guardian noted, “houses displaying a Tory poster in the window tend to get bricks thrown at them. An SLB supporter spoke from the floor to expose the SEPs pretensions to ‘socialism” as a fraud, blasting the Healyite-instigated vendetta against the NUM and the SEPs current hostility to the trade unions. Our comrades also noted how the SEP echoes the lies of the Tories and New Labour in blaming the NUM for the
of the base of support in the bleak former mining leader in Capstick's campaign explained why he had broken with the Labour Party after years of membership: "Because I'm a socialist, of course," he told the Times. "Almost all the SLF activists in our comrades encountered bought拷贝 of Workers Democratic traditions.

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Barnsley By-Election...

(continued from page 7)

Arthur Scargill stands in contrast to union-haters like Kinnock, Blair and the SEP. We Spartacists have defended the miners' union, and its president, against state attacks and witchhunts before, during and since the 1984-85 miners battle. At all times we have always stated our revolutionary opposition to Arthur Scargill's politics, which amount to "old" Labour reformism. "Old" Labour politics have never touched a hair on the head of British imperialism and have betrayed workers in the struggle. The defeat of the miners paved the way for Thatcher's workers in struggle. The defeat of the Labour Party, which was stabbing the NUM in the back.

British nationalism has always been a hallmark of Labourism (New or "old"). While the SLP opposes the European Union as a bosses' club, and makes statements against "narrow nationalism," they in fact push little-England protectionism. Where this leads was illustrated in 1992 when Scargill ended up alongside arch-racists like Winston Churchill junior in a class-collaborationist campaign to "save British coal." This policy of protectionism means opposing foreign imports, inevitably pitting workers in different countries against each other. It also fuels racism and leads to trade wars, which in turn lead to shooting wars. Only a party which fights for international working-class solidarity across national lines can fight for the interests of the working class, above all that means fighting against our own imperialist rulers.

The election statement of the "Socialist Equality Party" barely mentions the British Army's presence in Northern Ireland. They write as if the imperialist trooper is in no way a monstrosity, as if the British working class has no special responsibility to oppose the imperialist machinations of its own bourgeoisie. The role of the British Army is the brutal subjugation of the oppressed proletariat in Ireland. The SLP election leaflet does not address racist terror, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-Traveller bigotry; the SLP's constitution even bars recent immigrants from membership. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and for trade union/minority mobilisations against racist terror.

Defensive struggles against capitalist austerity are taking place across Europe. What's needed are Leninist vanguard parties to fight for working-class power. Abolish the survivals of feudalism—the monarchy, the House of Lords, and the established churches! For the right of self-determination for Scotland and Wales! British troops out of Northern Ireland now! For a federation of workers republics in the British Isles! We fight to complete the task begun by Lenin and Trotsky when they led the working class to victory in Russia in October 1917—to pursue the class struggle to a victorious conclusion, with state power embodied in workers councils throughout the world.

Others See Them... (continued from page 7)

haven't broken with Labourism. Scargill is against making an electoral alliance with his left, despite the fact that Militant Labour has many more members and they expressed their willingness to do that. His defeat of the miners paved the way for Thatcher's union-busting and job-shutting offensive. We, the Triple Alliance of coal, rail, dockers and miners unions striking in solidarity, have never touched a hair on the head of British imperialism and have betrayed workers in the struggle. The defeat of the miners paved the way for Thatcher's workers in struggle. The defeat of the Labour Party, which was stabbing the NUM in the back.

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Fight the Liquidation of the ICP

Edited statement by the Trotskyist Unity Group and Scottish Trotskyist Unity Group (external Leninist faction of the ICP)

The transformation of the Australian Socialist Labour League and British Fourth International Communist Party into the Socialist Equality Party represents the political capitulation of the Labour Party's committee of the International to the example set by the American Workers League when it expelled the Socialist Equality Party.

While the U.S. SEP uses the mythical imagery of the American Revolution (see International Worker No. 223, 3 November) in order to portray history not as the class struggle but rather as a transcendent or timeless struggle for equality. Hence, because the bourgeoisie has failed to realise this original moral quest for equality this principle has to be taken up by the working class in the struggle for socialism. However, this emphasis upon inequality is used to justify an ethical appeal to the working class. We can see this in the statement of the British SEP:

"Our party appeals to the mention of socialist ideals and egalitarian traditions of the working class: the principle of solidarity with all workers in struggle, the readiness to fight for the common good, the confidence in a better future and determination to make it a reality." (International Worker No. 224, 16 November).

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This ethical appeal adapts to the timeless quest for equality, although they accept the framework of the imperialist "peace" process, which is premised on the British-SEP's conception of peace in place. The U.S. SEP election leaflet does not address racist terror, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-Traveller bigotry; the SLP's constitution even bars recent immigrants from membership. We fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, and for trade union/minority mobilisations against racist terror.

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Spartacist League

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The TUG offers a united front to all those within the ICP who want to struggle against this opportunism, and to this end the TUG and the Scottish TUG has now decided to become the Scottish Leninist faction of the ICP in order to facilitate this necessary political struggle. It is no coincidence that both the majority of the WRP and the newly created British SEP are liquidating at this moment. This is because they are adapting to the political consensus which exists within the working class in the midst of counterrevolutionary developments in the recent period. These include the longstanding character of the Tory government and the demise of Stalinism and its replacement by bourgeois regime.

This rejection of scientific practice is also a rejection of a dialectical philosophical approach to and role in analysing political practice. In this instance the WRP majority and the British SEP seem unable to locate the Gulf War, Ireland, the bureaucratic liquidation of the Glasgow branch, the poll tax, and the absence of democratic centralism as being key elements in their opportunism and nationalist de-

The WRP is international to the example set by the Fourth International. The TUG international conference has come to the conclusion that the present period is characterised by splits, fissures and liquidationism, which poses the need for scientific socialism to rebuild the Fourth International.
Assassin") at Fort Benning, Georgia, has been training Latin American military officers. This training, targeting a relatively small minority of Mexicans, for decades in torture, execution and "neutralization" of leftists. The U.S. narcotics war's gambits and four troop transport planes, to Mexico to fight "drug trafficking." While in the U.S., the war on drugs meant savage cop terror in the ghettos, throughout Latin America it has been used as a pretext for death squad terror aimed at crushing all resistance to starvation austerity and union-busting. Even a New York Times (25 November) editorial conceded that U.S. "drug aid" to Colombia "was being used to fight rebels," and was going to units ranked among the worst human rights abusers. At a meeting in Mexico City earlier this month, Clinton "drug czar" General Barry McCaffrey vowed, "We're going to do training, evidence, intelligence, equipment. We're going to do real stuff!" (New York Times, 12 December). McCaffrey has effectively praised Mexican cooperation and proclaimed himself a "public servant" not only of Clinton but of the Mexican president. While in the U.S., the military leader, such talk is truly sinister.

Immediately in the wake of the in-flammatory statements, the Clinton adminis­trator came the furor over the publication of a new book by former U.S. secre­tary of defense, Caspar Weinberger. The New War depicts a "fictional" account of a U.S. invasion of Mexico in the year 2003. It names the country has been made "ungovernable" by the rise of a left-nationalist party-pointedly simi­lar to the Porfiriada (Dias) as the Democratic Revolution (PRD)—supported by guerrilla move­ments. Complete with invasion maps and images of U.S. Apache choppers gunning down insurgents, Weinberger maps out a "successful" invasion by U.S. military forces. The book is motivated as a warn­ing to present-day U.S. imperialist lead­ers to get ready for such "contingencies."

The provocative speeches and writings by American leaders hit hard in a country where intense national feelings against U.S. imperialism go back to the Mexican-American War of 1846-48. The U.S. annexed Texas in 1845, invaded Mexican City in 1847, and essentially stole the territories that once made up most of northern Mexico in 1848. At the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 which toppled the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz, 40 percent of U.S. foreign investments was in Mexico and U.S. bankers, mining, oil, and railroad compa­nies virtually ran the economy. The U.S. invaded Veracruz in 1914 and troops moved into Mexico in 1916. The U.S. gave military aid to various "revolutionary" armies provided they pledged to defend Washington's interests and crush plebeian revolts like those led by Francisco (Pancho) Villa in the north and Emiliano Zapata in the south. Today, U.S. imperialism's increasingly aggressive military posture toward Mex­ico is a reflection of growing concern over the crumbling authority of the PRI regime in the face not only of peasant insurrection, but widespread urban discontent. The imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the resulting peso crash a year later have battered the middle class and driven wide layers of the working class and urban and rural poor to desperation. In a 1991 joint statement against the NAFTA proposal by the Mex­ican, Canadian and U.S. sections of the International Communist League, we warned: "The American ruling class wants to pick up the Mexican economy in one huge bust—after bargain basement prices." (Stop U.S. "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico, VW No. 530, 5 July 1991).

That is, indeed, what has been happen­ing. The U.S.-engineered peso "bailout" effectively put the Mexican economy into receivership to Wall Street. Zedillo has massively escalated the "privatization" of Mexican industry begun by his predecessor Salinas, agreeing to sell huge chunks of the state-owned oil company, PEMEX, viewed by Mexicans as a "national treasure" since its nationalization in the 1930s. Zedillo has also begun to sell off another industry which once symbolized imperialist domination of the country, the railroad. While defending peasant-based guer­rilla groups as the EZLN and the EPR against state repression, we warn that their petty-bourgeois nationalist pro­grams are only meant to preserve the capitalist government into "democratic" reforms and gain a few more crumbs off their table. Thus, both groups look to the bourgeois-populist PRI, which supports not only NAFTA but also the military's war against "terrorists." Guerrilla strug­gle based on the atomized, parasitical and petty-bourgeois peasantry is incapable of effecting a social revolution in Mexico. Petty-bourgeois guerrilla movements were able to come to power and carry out a social overturn in places like Cuba and Vietnam—resulting in bureaucratically deformed workers states—only in the absence of a politically active proletariat and because the Soviet Union existed as a bulwark against imperialism (see "Cuba and Marxist Theory," Marxsit Bulletin No. 8). In Mexico today, with its huge, combative proletariat, such movements do not have the first play to posture against, much less smash, the capitalist state. The power to defeat the starvation assault on the Mexican ruling class and the U.S. imperialist overlords lies with the industrial proletarian mobilized behind a revolutionary party armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolu­tion and standing at the head of the poor peasantry and all the oppressed. A victo­rious socialist revolution would have to immediately seek its extension throughout Latin America and the U.S. impe­rialist heartland, particularly through the human bridge forged by millions of Mex­ican Central American immigrants.

Here in the "belly of the beast," the U.S. working class must fight to smash the in­sidious operations of the Mexican imperialist adventurer down the line, as part of the struggle against its own capitalist exploiters. Down with the racist war on immigrants—Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! U.S. hands off Mexico!"
was alliance with traditional rightists. His shambles, Miloscvic's former right-wing nationalists have turned against him. His Serbian strongman. A chant heard frequently in the marches is, "Down with the red bandits!" And the London Financial Times (17 November) reports it. Writing for its readers: "The Serb president is discarding his nationalist colours in a calculated alliance with Marxist-Leninists."

Washington and the Western media have portrayed the opposition as "peaceful" and "democratic," ranging, according to the New York Times, "from nationalists to social democrats." This is an utter whitewash. While the odd pro-imperialist liberal may be involved in the protests, the core of the movement, as a Time (10 December) report indicates, consists of fascists and hardline chauvinists who "embrace Serb nationalism."

Its two principal leaders are Zoran Djindjic and Vojislav Deraskovic. When protests began, the supposedly "peaceful" Djindjic called for "uprisings, strikes, violent protest". His party's actions have been as violent as the Serbian monarchy. A year later, unveiling a monument to Chetnik leader Draza Mihalovic, he rhapsodized how "mass murder, executed by the Allies, in 1946, had "sealed the broken wings of the nation.""

The U.S., with its program of "brogduing" the Serb people as cannon fodder, is a monument to Chetnik leader Draza Mihalovic. The West has effectively buried any ideas of a "peaceful" transition to "reconciliation". In August 1995, the Croatian army bloodbath. This was followed, in tandem with US military and NATO air strikes, by a series of "Greater Serbia," aimed in a "cessation of fire". The Zagreb regime. The Yugoslav Partisans, and other ex-Yugoslav republics, the Serbian Commonwealth was eventually a "nationalist" regime in Croatia in 1993. In the recent Bosnian elections, the Serbs won overwhelmingly, with the Muslims winning only in the capital city of Sarajevo. The Western powers imposed an economic embargo against Serbia—sanctioned by the UN—in order to force a "cessation of fire." The wars—"a war against all wars"—have been a failure of the international community, the NATO-led "coalition of the willing". The Serbs—making up a third of Bosnia's population—were a largely peasant population which overwon 60 percent of the land in the republic, while the Bosnian Muslims were a predominately urbanized people. Thus, when the war began the well-armed Serb forces were able to take over much of the country, and lay siege to Sarajevo and the other cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

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Milosevic’s acquiescence—is what laid the basis for the U.S.-sponsored Dayton Accords in November 1995 which divided Bosnia in half between the so-called “Croat Muslim Federation” and the “Republika Srpska” (Serbian Republic).

Throughout the communalist slaughter, Western ideologists and Western intellectual hangers-on have adopted a posture of moral superiority to the supposed “violations of international law” by the Balkan peoples driven by “ancient feuds.” Here we have the mass murderers of Hoxha, Tito, Stalin and Hitler all expressing sympathetic concern over a particularly violent divorce—en, moreover, which they helped instigate. In his press conference announcing that U.S. troops would remain in Bosnia, Clinton experts tempted upon “nearly four years of horrible bloodshed,” the bloodiest conflict Europe has seen since World War II.

The Western imperialism, especially, the British, took the same “sin’t it ter- rrible” posture during the Balkan Wars of 1910-1913. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, brandish the rute of the ruse and the steel magnate, even dispatched a “commission of inquiry” to the Balkans at the time, staffed by “paci­ fistic” figures. The British concluded that “all this horror will not cease to exist as long as Europe continues to ignore the fate of the Serbs!” (New Review of Books, 19 December).

Yet a year later the European imperialists, especially the millions of British, French, Russian and German youth to kill one another in a war sparked when a Serb­ engering Timkevich was temporarily declared Serbian

During the American Civil War, the British ruling classes were able to, would also have liked to stop, “all that bloodshed” among the ex-colonials in North America. During the American Civil War there were real social issues at stake—centrally, the abolition of black chattel slavery in the South—the cur­ rent Balkan wars involve nothing but the self-interests of British ruling circles, and their capital­ ist cliques. Of course, what motivated Britain’s call for an end to the fighting during the Balkans was their veiled support for the weaker Southern Confederacy.

Likewise today, the hypocritical public postures of the various imperialist pow­ ers are determined by their different appetites in the Balkans. Reflecting the interests of British ruling circles, earlier imperialism’s current hostility to Moscow, the US, in turn, has a historical connection. Toward the end of World War II, Wash­ ington was intent on creating a “Greater Croatia” which would have included the Bosnian province whose eternal indepen­ dence all the imperialists now hypocriti­ cally proclaim. In Policy 1990 the York’s Cardinal Spellman, effectively acting as an emissary for President Frank­ lin D. Roosevelt, visited Mussolini’s Italy to meet with the Pope, and also with a representative of the Usta­ sha. Spellman made clear to the Usta­ sha, as reported in Richard West’s Tito and the Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia (1994), that “President Roosevelt has said that he would appoint an independent mission to stretch as far as the River Drina, that is, including all Bosnia-Hercegovina. I can only say, that West’s interview also helps to clarify the remarks West, “by the Usta­ sha leaders escaped all punishment for their crimes.”

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

Misha Glenny, a knowledgeable stu­ dent of Balkan affairs of liberal disposi­ tion, writes:

“Though they won’t say so openly, Brit­ ish IFOR (Bosnia NATO force) combat­ ants have just begun in earnest their transfer to the United States…Mainly British and American forces and their ‘agents’ are now preparing the way for the withdrawal of the British military, which is looking to the Serbs to take over the security in the territory. The Serbs are being promised all they need in the way of arms and supplies by the British government, which is understood to have agreed to buy from the late HMS Runciman are the only real solution for the Balkan crisis.”

Meanwhile, the U.S. International Socialist Organization (ISO), affiliated to Tony Cliff’s Socialist Party in Britain, exhorts the people of Serbia to “recognize that the national interest of the British imperialists is to push the Balkans toward another war to impose their will on the region.”

On the other hand, the British ruling class is to be accused of being “anarchists in uniform”. It has supported the “war of nationalities” in the Balkans, part of a Socialist Workers’ Party of the U.S., and has consistently worked to bring the Balkans closer together on the lines of the American model of a “capitalist democracy.” In the recent war in the Balkans, the British government has been the main supporter of the NATO forces, which have been responsible for a large number of civilian casualties. The British government has also been accused of providing arms to the Serbs, who are against the establishment of a genuine and democratic peace in the region. The British government has been accused of not doing enough to stop the bloodshed in the Balkans, and of not taking a strong stance against the destruction of Yugoslavia.

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