

## Sadistic Killing in Wyoming

# Anti-Gay Crusade: Incitement to Murder

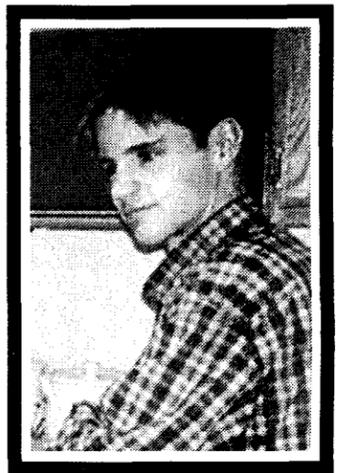
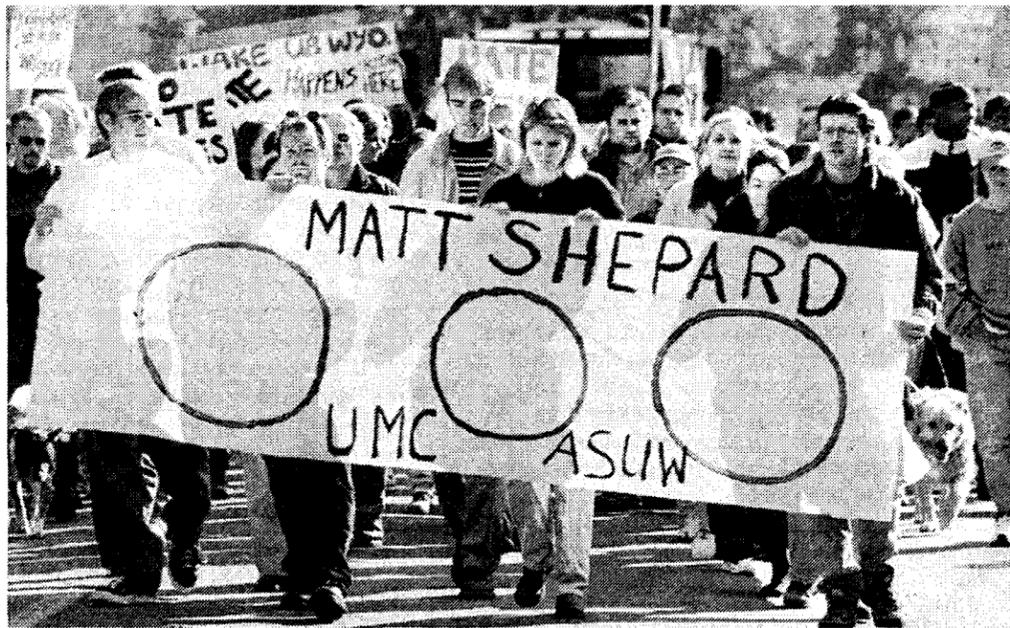
On the night of October 6, Matthew Shepard was kidnapped, sadistically tortured, lashed to a fence, ruthlessly beaten over the head with a .357 magnum pistol and left to die by his two tormentors on the frigid plain near Laramie, Wyoming. Only 21 years old, the gay University of Wyoming student died in a Colorado hospital six days later. In its chilling depravity, the murder of Matthew Shepard recalled last June's lynching in Jasper, Texas of James Byrd Jr., a black man who was dragged behind a pickup truck by two KKK killers until his body ripped apart.

The killing of the slight, personable Wyoming student was met across the country with horror and outrage. But the responsibility for this savage crime lies not just with the vermin who crawled out of the nether reaches of the American Rockies. The murder of Matthew Shepard was directly prepared and incited by a vicious crusade demonizing homosexuals as "diseased, predatory sinners." Promoted by Senate Republican leader Trent Lott, this reactionary vendetta was boosted in the national media this summer with ads by the Christian fundamentalist right screaming for gays to repent and "convert"—or else.

Even as Shepard's family and friends gathered at his funeral, a dozen religious fanatics turned out to spew their anti-gay vitriol, while gay advocacy groups in Colorado have been subjected to e-mail death threats saying, "I hope it happens more often." Immediately after the attack on Shepard, the right-wing Family Research Council announced plans to step up their "war against the homosexual agenda and fight to maintain the traditional meaning of 'family.'" This war has meant a sharp escalation in terror across the country, including a 35 percent rise in attacks on homosexual youth between 1996 and 1997 and at least 18 murders targeting gays last year alone.

In the wake of the killing, there has been an outpouring of calls for more and stronger "hate crimes" laws to prevent attacks on gay people. To call on the capitalist state to protect the interests of the oppressed is not only futile but fosters deadly illusions. The bourgeois state is an apparatus of repression whose purpose is to defend capitalist class rule, from which every manner of racial and sexual prejudice springs. Only a day after Shepard's death, the Supreme Court spurred on the

**Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals!**  
**For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!**



As Matthew Shepard lay dying in hospital, fellow students at University of Wyoming marched to express outrage over savage anti-gay attack.

AP photos

anti-gay witchhunt by rejecting a legal challenge to a Cincinnati measure enshrining discrimination against homosexuals. And last night, a march in New York in memory of Matthew Shepard was assaulted by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's cops, who waded into the peaceful crowd on horseback and with nightsticks flailing, dragging off over a hundred people (see box, page 11). **Drop all charges against the arrested gay rights protesters!**

It is a measure of the ferocity of the Christian fundamentalist onslaught that Clinton's Democrats can posture as protectors of the rights of women and homosexuals. The Clinton White House has presided over a broader attack on civil liberties and social programs benefitting minorities and the poor than any administration in decades. The Democrats avidly joined with Congressional Republicans in the racist devastation of even minimal welfare programs for millions of women and children. Under the "pro-choice" Clinton presidency, access to abortion, especially for poor and rural women, has actually decreased. Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy for gays in the military has led to a 67 percent

increase in the number discharged for homosexuality. And in New York, Democratic Party state legislators were instrumental in pushing through a bill demanding that doctors turn over the names of people who test positive for the HIV virus to the government, which can only intensify the persecution of people with AIDS.

Addressing an October 15 protest at New York University against the Wyoming murder, a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth Club declared:

"From the racist death penalty to the reactionary 'family values' campaign, the Democrats are no friends of the oppressed. It is grotesque to look to these same rulers to draw up 'hate crime' legislation as some kind of redress for the heinous murder of Matthew Shepard. Such laws will not be used to defend oppressed people but to strengthen the repressive forces of the state, which are used in this country and in this city to terrorize minority communities and anybody who wants to stand up against the increasing immiseration in this society.

"From the rollback of abortion rights to the anti-sex witchhunt going on right now against the White House—which threatens the right to privacy for all of us—the capitalist rulers are intent on regimenting youth and the population at large. We think that the government

should get out of the bedroom and we say: Down with reactionary 'age of consent' laws! Full democratic rights for homosexuals! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!"

### Democratic Rights Are Indivisible

As Marxists, we fight to forge a revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat which will act as a "tribune of the people," as Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin put it in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), "able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects." Indeed, one of the early decrees of the Bolshevik government which came to power in the October Revolution of 1917 abolished all laws against consensual sex including homosexual acts. This, like measures making divorce easy and granting the right to free abortion, was subsequently overturned by the Stalinist bureaucracy which usurped power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24, ultimately paving the way for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet

*continued on page 10*



**Young Spartacus**  
**Down With Jospin  
Government's Racist Repression!**  
**High School Student  
Protests Sweep France**  
Page Four

**Zionists Amnesty the Bourgeoisie of Auschwitz**  
**The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt"  
and German Imperialism**  
Page Six

# Feds Snare Leftists in Sinister Surveillance Web

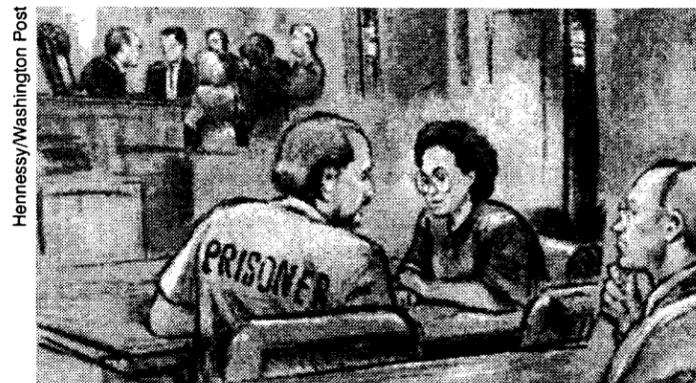
## Drop All Charges Against Kurt Stand, Theresa Squillacote!

On October 7, the "espionage" trial of Theresa Squillacote and her husband, Kurt Stand, opened in a federal district court in Virginia. Held without bail since their arrest last October, Stand and Squillacote face many years in prison on charges of conspiracy to spy for the former East Germany (DDR) and Soviet Union and for Nelson Mandela's South Africa. Jim Clark, arrested at the same time and threatened with life imprisonment for possession of a document concerning nerve gas production for the U.S. military, pleaded guilty. In exchange he was given a reduced sentence and has tes-

tified for the government at trial.

These longtime leftist political activists have been charged under the 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), which virtually eliminates the Fourth Amendment prohibition against unreasonable search and seizure in going after leftists, immigrants and anyone else the feds deem undesirable. In contrast to other types of criminal investigation, FISA allows tapping into the phone lines of not only those under investigation but all those whom they may call. Recently, the Clinton government has met opposition in its efforts to expand the use of

Court artist's depiction of October 1997 hearing for Kurt Stand, Theresa Squillacote. Jim Clark (far right) pleaded guilty, testified for government.



such "roving wiretaps" beyond "foreign intelligence" cases.

In the 1980s, those targeted by the FBI as "agents of a foreign power" included over 1,300 political and religious groups in the Central America solidarity milieu. More recently, FISA has been used to go after Arab immigrants caught in the cross hairs of the government's "anti-terrorist" hysteria. Under the 1978 law, seven *secret* courts were created to hear FISA wiretap applications. These have approved every one of the more than 10,000 such applications made over the past 20 years. Those targeted cannot even lodge a legal challenge, since they are denied information regarding either the source or substance of the allegations against them.

Stand, Squillacote and Clark have been active in leftist politics from the time they were leaders of the University of Wisconsin chapter of the Young Workers Liberation League, the Communist Party (CP) youth group in the early 1970s. This was at the height of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) operation, which maintained files on thousands of leftists and under which dozens of Black Panther Party members were assassinated outright and hundreds more

framed up and imprisoned. Nonetheless, Squillacote and Clark went on to pass FBI security clearance checks to obtain their jobs, she as a lawyer for the Pentagon procurement office and he for a Pentagon contractor.

The feds claim that the three were exposed as spies after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the DDR in 1990. The government's case is based on vague references in files seized from the former East German secret police to an agent codenamed "Junior" and his wife and another agent recruited by Junior named "Jack." In the absence of any evidence that the three ever passed any information to East Germany, the FBI placed them under round-the-clock surveillance, wiring their homes and offices. Knowing that Squillacote, born with a deformed hand and only one leg, was under treatment for a stress disorder, the feds even bugged her psychiatrist's office. In one of three searches of the Stands' home, government agents discovered a letter Squillacote had written to Ronnie Kasrils, a leading member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and defense minister in the capitalist government of

*continued on page 5*

### Leninist Party— Tribune of the People



TROTSKY

*In our fight to forge a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, we look to the model of the Bolshevik Party built by V.I. Lenin, which emerged as the revolutionary wing of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and led the proletariat to power in the October Revolution of 1917. Lenin stressed that revolutionary socialists had to act as "tribunes of the people"—opposing every instance of*

*oppression and tyranny—in order to make the proletariat conscious of its role as the gravediggers of the capitalist system.*

Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to *all* cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter *what class* is affected—unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic point of view and no other. The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe *every* other social class in *all* the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata, and groups of the population. Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats; for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding—it would be even truer to say, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding—of the relationships between *all* the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life. For this reason the conception of the economic struggle as the most widely applicable means of drawing the masses into the political movement, which our Economists preach, is so extremely harmful and reactionary in its practical significance. In order to become a Social-Democrat, the worker must have a clear picture in his mind of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the vagabond; he must know their strong and weak points; he must grasp the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish strivings and its real "inner workings"; he must understand what interests are reflected by certain institutions and certain laws and how they are reflected. But this "clear picture" cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment; upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way; upon what finds expression in such and such events, in such and such statistics, in such and such court sentences, etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.

—V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (1902)



LENIN

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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## Spartacist Events

### Spartacist League Forums

#### BOSTON

#### The Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

Saturday, October 24, 7 p.m.

103 Harvard Hall

Harvard University

(Take the Red Line to Harvard)

For more information: (617) 666-9453

#### NEW YORK CITY

#### The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism Today

Saturday, October 24, 3 p.m.

Vanderbilt Hall, Room 214

New York University Law School

40 Washington Square South

(between MacDougal and Sullivan streets)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

#### SAN FRANCISCO

#### Imperialism and Class Struggle in Asia

Saturday, October 24, 7:30 p.m.

Women's Building

3543 18th Street (near Valencia)

For more information: (415) 777-9367 or (510) 839-0851

### Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste Forum

#### VANCOUVER

#### The Fight for a Trotskyist Party "Who We Are and What We Fight For" Programmatic Theses of the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste

Friday, November 6, 7 p.m.

Britannia Community Centre, Room L4

1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

### Spartacus Youth Club Classes

#### BOSTON

#### Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed

Thursday, October 29, 7 p.m.

College of Arts and Sciences, Rm. 220

725 Commonwealth Avenue

Boston University (BU East/Green Line B Branch)

For readings and information: (617) 666-9453

#### CHICAGO

#### Capitalism Creates Its Own Gravediggers—The Working Class

Tuesday, October 27, 6 p.m.

Cobb Hall, Room 104

5811 S. Ellis

University of Chicago

For readings and information: (312) 454-4930

#### MADISON

#### Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism

Saturday, October 31, 3 p.m.

Memorial Union (see Today in the Union)

University of Wisconsin-Madison

For readings and information: (312) 454-4930

#### NEW YORK CITY

#### Trotskyism vs. Stalinism: The Revolution Betrayed

Tuesday, October 27, 7 p.m.

Loeb Student Center, Room 413

New York University

(LaGuardia Pl. & Washington Sq. South)

For readings and information: (212) 267-1025

#### TORONTO

#### Marxism and the National Question

Thursday, October 29, 7 p.m.

International Student Centre

33 St. George Street (north of College St.)

For readings and information: (416) 593-4138

## From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

# Selling Out Assata



"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, fulfill it, or betray it."

—Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1966)

On Sept. 14, 1998, the House of Representatives passed a resolution (CR H7653) calling on the Cuban Government to return former Black Political Prisoner, Assata Shakur. What makes this resolution remarkable (other than its obvious political hypocrisy) is the action (or lack of action) taken by Black politicians in the House.

There is something sickening about Black Congresspersons swarming to the defense of President Clinton, who has built his political career on the skillful manipulation and timely betrayal of Black interests to appeal to his party's (and the majority party's right-wing) so-called "centrists," while selling out one of Black America's most celebrated and respected fighters for Black liberation.

Assata Shakur, as a member of the Black Panther Party, and later as a member of the Black Liberation Army, fought for the freedom of Black people in the streets, in the prisons, and later in the Free Liberated Territory of America, in Cuba, as a proud and beautiful soldier for her people. That *any* Black politician could dare condemn her for fighting for her freedom against the most racist, conspiratorial, and deadly attacks in Black contemporary history, is an obscenity.

In the House Bill, (which refers to her by her "slave name," Joanne Chesimard), the resolution writers

claim she killed a New Jersey State Trooper on May 2, 1973, along with "2 friends." The Resolution does not begin to tell the truth, that Assata, and her two companions were ambushed by State Troopers who were bent on killing several known Black Panthers, and that they indeed succeeded in killing one, and almost mortally wounding her. Deputy Minister of Information, Zayd Malik Shakur, was murdered by the state on that day, and Assata, his protege, was almost murdered, beaten, thrown into a morgue alongside of her brother Zayd, and later charged with killing Zayd! She was railroaded in a trial that is known by legal scholars as a miscarriage, and thrown into a hell-hole where she was the only woman in the entire prison. The only "justice" she has ever received, was her liberation from a state dungeon in 1979.

If one examines the signers of the Resolution, it is striking to find the names of such Black politicians as John Conyers, Sheila Jackson-Lee, Jesse Jackson, Jr., Chaka Fattah, Cynthia McKinney, Carrie Meek, and the like (Mercifully, Alcee Hastings, John Lewis, and Bobby Rush abstained from voting). Have any of these members of the Congressional Black Caucus read *Assata*? Have any of the CBC's lawyer-members ever read Evelyn Williams' *Inadmissible Evidence*?

If they had, there is no way they could have signed on to such a damnable congressional resolution!

Assata has rightly condemned this dastardly act as a contemporary, latter-day fugitive slave law. In 1850, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act, which meant,

in the words of early Black Nationalist Martin R. Delany:

"By the provisions of this bill, the colored people of the United States are positively degraded beneath the level of the whites—are made liable at any time, in any place, and under all circumstances, to be arrested—and upon the claim of any white person, without the privilege, even of making a defence, sent into endless bondage. Let no visionary nonsense about *habeas corpus*, or a *fair trial*, deceive us..."

Delany was condemning an act that threatened the freedom of *all* Blacks, anywhere in the United States. Nearly 150 years later, and the U.S. Empire seeks to expand its reach to the entire globe.

The CBC recently made much about their role of "fairness cops" in the congressional process leading up to impeachment for Clinton. As a wealthy, Yale-trained, former law professor with millions at his disposal (not to mention the power of the presidency), he hardly seems to need their help. Instead, a Black, courageous woman who must face the monstrous might of the Empire, has not a single defender in Congress. Like their hero, Clinton, they seem to have mastered the politics of betrayal.

30 September 1998

© 1998 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

To join the fight to free Mumia and for the latest updates on his case, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099; phone (212) 406-4252. E-mail: 75057.3201@compuserve.com. Urgently needed contributions for Mumia's defense, which are tax-deductible, should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

## Hands Off Former Black Panther!

# Black Democrats Join Racist Vendetta Against Assata Shakur

On September 14, the House of Representatives passed a resolution demanding that the Castro government return former Black Panther Party activist Assata Shakur and others who were granted asylum by Cuba. Shakur fled to Cuba after her 1979 escape from a New Jersey prison, where she was serving a life sentence. Her frame-up was part of the U.S. government's deadly COINTELPRO terror operation against black radicals of the 1960s and '70s, in which 38 Panther members were assassinated and many more imprisoned, including Shakur's comrade Sundiata Acoli, who

remains behind bars to this day. The Congressional resolution, which passed without opposition, caps an ongoing vendetta by the New Jersey cops and Republican governor Christine Whitman, who even placed a bounty on Shakur's head earlier this year (WV No. 692, 5 June).

As death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—another victim of the COINTELPRO war on the Panthers—points out in his column published above, joining in the vote to drag Shakur back into a racist prison hellhole were members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). For years, these types have drummed up black votes for Clinton's racist Democrats, who in tandem with the Republicans have condemned black women and children to starvation with the axing of welfare, poured kill-crazy cops onto ghetto streets, pushed the racist death penalty and waged war on immigrant rights. After all that, it should come as no surprise that 23 black Democrats would vote to imprison a heroic fighter for black rights like Assata Shakur.

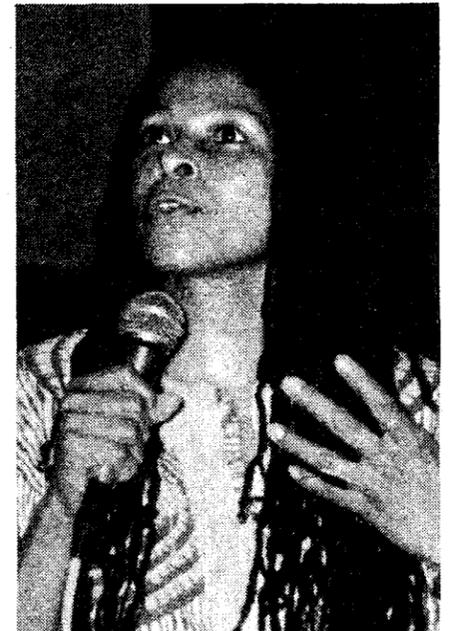
When caught out in their support for this reprehensible motion, some members of the CBC started furiously backpedaling. CBC chairman Maxine Waters repudiated her vote on the floor of Congress one day later. In a September 29 letter to Fidel Castro, Waters "explained" that the Republican House leadership had "quietly slipped this bill" through a session "reserved for non-controversial legislation" and deceptively used only Shakur's former name of Joanne Chesimard. Three weeks after the vote, Chicago Congressman Danny Davis issued a similar statement and letter to Castro. To

believe Waters and Davis, they either voted for a resolution they hadn't bothered to read or endorsed the extradition of black COINTELPRO victims other than Assata Shakur! Such "slip-ups" remind us of the old saying that if you're going to dine with the devil, you'd better bring a real long spoon.

The Congressional resolution demanding Shakur's extradition is also part of the ongoing drive by U.S. imperialism to crush the Cuban Revolution and restore capitalist rule on the island, which remains subjected to a starvation embargo to this day. We call for unconditional military defense of the Cuban deformed workers state against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution and for a working-class political revolution to oust the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy which is opening the road to capitalist restoration.

While posturing as a "friend of labor" and relying on black support, the Democratic Party of Waters, Davis & Co. is just as much a capitalist party as the Republicans, dedicated to upholding the class rule of the bourgeoisie which is maintained through the oppression of black people here and imperialist aggrandizement abroad. It was the Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson, with liberal Ramsey Clark running the Justice Department, which escalated the COINTELPRO war of terror against black radicals. And it was Johnson's predecessor, John F. Kennedy, who ordered the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The fight for black rights and against capitalist repression requires a *break* with the Democratic Party of racism and imperialist war and the forging of a multiracial



Elana Levy

Assata Shakur in Cuba.

revolutionary workers party. Hands off Assata Shakur! Free Sundiata Acoli! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! For black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1

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No. 15

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**Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

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# Young Spartacus

**Down With Jospin Government's Racist Repression!**

## High School Student Protests Sweep France



Vink/Magnum



AFP

As high-school students in Paris took to streets to demand better schools, popular-front Jospin government unleashed cop terror.

OCTOBER 20—We print below a report written two days ago by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France/Jeunesse Spartaciste on the mass protests by high-school students which have erupted around the country. Today, some 25,000 students and others marched in Paris, and hundreds of thousands more in other cities. The popular-front government of Socialist Party (PS) prime minister Lionel Jospin, which includes Education Minister Claude Allègre and Communist Party (PCF) transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot, has responded to the protests with cop repression particularly directed at youth of African and North African descent from the impoverished working-class suburbs. Today's protest in Paris was met with a violent cop attack, and more than 80 were arrested. Drop all charges now!

For weeks, the high-school students' demonstrations have been growing in strength. Starting in Nîmes and Montpellier, they spread throughout the country. Last Thursday, 500,000 demonstrated nationwide. High-school students are protesting against increasingly intolerable conditions and demanding smaller classes, more teachers and teachers aides and better equipment. Now the teachers are joining the movement with a call for a strike on October 20, the day of the next national student demonstration.

We sent teams selling *Le Bolchévik* to the October 15 demo in Paris and have sought to intervene in high-school general assemblies to express our solidarity with the students and to present our program. We fight for free quality education, open to all and free from social or racial segregation. But even such just and elementary democratic demands as quality education run up against a capitalist class which controls the means of production, distribution and finance. The capitalists see no good reason to provide a decent education for most children, especially those of working-class and immigrant backgrounds. Poverty and despair in the ghettos is the only future which capitalism can offer these youth.

Fighting against the attacks on education and on youth of immigrant descent is

part of our program to smash this racist capitalist system, where everything is based on the bourgeoisie's profit drive. We seek to replace it with an egalitarian socialist society, where production is for human need. This can happen only through a workers revolution like the Russian October Revolution of 1917 when the working class took power under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

The response to the students by the Jospin-Gayssot-Allègre government was clear: police repression. In Lille on October 13 and then in Paris on October 15, the cops violently attacked youth from the immigrant neighborhoods, who were labeled with the racist code word "looters" [*casseurs*]. These youth were expressing their anger at an unbearable situation. They don't even have enough money for a subway fare; for them, especially for young women, the future is unemployment or at best—for a minority—temporary jobs or "youth jobs" [part-time and lower-paid government jobs]. Their schools are in terrible shape. Often, they cannot even go to high school. They have a right to nothing. They are victims of the capitalist system, which is really responsible for the violence. Our aim is to focus the justified anger of the youth in a revolutionary direction. This requires a leap in consciousness to understand that youth must ally with the power of the working class and organize along with it to put an end to the capitalist system.

**We defend all those now facing prosecution by the government!** More than 150 were arrested on October 15 in Paris. Those already sentenced have received stiff penalties, some up to ten months in prison. One young woman got a two-month suspended jail sentence for having picked up a pack of cigarettes off the sidewalk! The same cops who evict the *sans-papiers* [undocumented immigrants] and smash strikes will be unleashed against the high-school students as soon as they are seen as a threat to this racist government. We say: An attack on one is an attack on all—Free all the youth now! Drop the charges!

With its propaganda against "looters"

and "violence in public transportation," the government serves up a full-fledged racist campaign to criminalize youth from the immigrant communities. It is in fact trying to line up urban petty-bourgeois white youth against them. After a strike by railworkers in Paris last week, Jospin—the self-proclaimed representative of the forces of order—went on television to call for merciless repression of ghetto youth. The government uses racism to divide the working class and prevent it from uniting in struggle against capitalism and oppression.

When we talk to high-school students, it is obvious that this racist campaign has had considerable impact; and it is passed along by all the other left groups. Thus, the "High-School Committee of the Paris Region" at Jussieu does not call—even on paper—for defense of the jailed youth. But youth must understand the need to defend the arrested students. The cops are the guard dogs of capital, implacable enemies of workers and the oppressed. When youth tell us they need more cops to "keep order," we urge them to think again and remind them of the cops' role in the May 1968 upsurge. We tell them that it means more of the same cops who killed Semira, Eric Ben-Tarima (a homeless man from Tarbes killed for a cigarette), Fabrice and Abdelkader—all of North African descent—last December. And indeed, at the same time they were arresting high-school students, the cops were also attacking a demonstration of *sans-papiers* in the Trocadéro area. It was with a denunciation of "looters" that [former interior minister Charles] Pasqua sent SWAT cops against high-school students in 1986, killing Malik Ousseki. For the same reason, when high-school students want more cops "against violence in the schools," the result can only be repression against everyone. We say: Cops out of the schools and colleges!

The high-school students want to protect themselves against "political co-optation." But isn't it politics when you go into the streets to protest against school conditions? At an October 17 protest meeting, marshals from the Communist Party youth organization and the

JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, youth group of the fake-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] wanted to exclude our comrades. This is not surprising: these groups have supported the racist capitalist government of Jospin-Gayssot, even calling for a vote for it. In contrast our newspaper, *Le Bolchévik*, is well known for its hard opposition to this government. In fact, carrying out the government's racist line, these groups have also excluded ghetto youth: Youth from the working-class and immigrant 93rd Département [region] in the Paris suburbs told us that after the October 15 demo, a group of 12 technical school students from that area were kept out of the general assembly meeting at Jussieu that day with no explanation except that it was too crowded.

Many youth at the demo at Paris' La Nation plaza on October 15 told us we were right that this is a racist government. They also think the problem is broader—that there is a global crisis, wars. And that's right: the attacks against immigrants and youth are the spearhead of the bourgeois offensive against the working class and oppressed. The reformist Communist and Socialist leaders want to keep the existing system afloat. The government of the PS-PCF popular front—a class-collaborationist coalition with parties of the bourgeoisie—is a capitalist government. It can't be reformed, but must be swept away by the power of the working class.

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, "leftist"—i.e., social-democratic or popular-front—governments have been installed throughout Europe to implement anti-working-class austerity and to deport immigrants who were brought in earlier but are no longer needed as much. In Britain, Labour prime minister Blair is leading a draconian attack against education. In Italy, it is the [ex-Stalinist social-democratic] PDS which established concentration camps for immigrants in the South and militarized the borders last summer—with the support of Rifondazione Comunista. In Germany, Schröder's Social Democrats have waged a racist anti-immigrant campaign and have pledged to squeeze the working class to improve the competitiveness of German imperialism against its international rivals, mainly the U.S. and Japan. Our comrades of the International Communist League in these countries opposed a vote to these parties and continue to struggle against these governments.

Under capitalism, education is not a right but a privilege granted by the bourgeoisie according to its momentary, anarchic needs. But today, the bourgeoisie is preparing new imperialist wars—what it has in store for working-class youth is to use them as cannon fodder. The only alternative for youth is to fight alongside the working class, since students don't have social power. Only the working class, including its immigrant component in industry, has the social power to put an end to this rotten system, because the working class produces the wealth that the bourgeoisie appropriates. That is why those who fight for the rights of youth, immigrants, women and gays must be mobilized behind the working class in the fight against all forms of capitalist oppression and with the perspective of socialist revolution. But for that the working class needs a Leninist party—a multiethnic, internationalist vanguard party of the proletariat which brings together the most advanced elements of the working class as well as the best elements of the youth, whether they are workers, high-school or college students or unemployed. Join the Ligue Trotskyste de France and its youth group, the Jeunesse Spartaciste! We are fighting for new October Revolutions worldwide! ■

**Spartacus Youth Club Leaflet**

**Protest Nazi Holocaust Apologists at UCLA!**

We reprint below a leaflet which was issued by the Los Angeles Spartacus Youth Club last month. It was originally sent as a letter to the Daily Bruin, the newspaper at the University of California at Los Angeles, which did not print it.

The Spartacus Youth Club, youth group of the revolutionary Marxist Spartacist League, protests the *Daily Bruin* (31 August) giving a platform to the fascist "Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust" (CODOH) to spew their genocidal filth. The images from Auschwitz, Treblinka, Babi Yar and the many other concentration camps where millions of Jews as well as Roma, communists, trade unionists and homosexuals were annihilated must be seared into the memory of the working class and all the oppressed. Groups like the CODOH who deny the horrors of the Holocaust are fascist apologists for Nazi terror who are planning the next holocaust, whether they dress their genocidal Hitlerism in academic garb or not.

A letter by one Julianne Sohn, who ran across the CODOH's fascist flyers at UCLA, in the 24 August issue of the *Bruin* reduces the entire question of fascist terror to one of "free speech." She writes that it is "comforting in a twisted, little way" that such groups as the CODOH and active Nazi recruiter David Irving's Institute for Historical Review (IHR) exist. Nazi apologist David Irving has been a star attraction at meetings of fascist terror gangs from the British National Party, to the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensive" in Germany, to the white-supremacist Heritage Front in Canada, to

the Klan and Nazis in the U.S. The existence of such groups can hardly be "comforting" to the families of victims of Klan and Nazi terror, like James Byrd who was lynched just last June in Jasper, Texas.

Students, beware! What Nazis like the CODOH and IHR are trying to do is use an academic façade to gain "respectability" in order to have access to a larger audience from which they can recruit to their program of racist murder. This path was paved when liberal student bureaucrats at Cal State Northridge (CSUN) invited Klansman David Duke to "debate" affirmative action in 1996. As we wrote then, "Duke and his fascist stormtroopers are not about academic debate. They are vicious killers and a mortal threat to blacks, immigrants, Jews, homosexuals and anyone else who doesn't fit their idea of 'Aryan America'.... Their methods of 'debate' are the lynch rope and the burning cross." We also warned that this could spawn a "newly strengthened fascist movement in the state of California." It was no coincidence that one week after Duke's appearance, a Latino fisherman was brutally stabbed by skinheads in Huntington Beach. Emboldened by Duke's recruitment drive at CSUN, fascist outfits like the CODOH and IHR are currently testing the waters at UCLA in a drive to organize skinhead and Klan terror against minorities; and in racist America this means first and foremost the besieged black population.

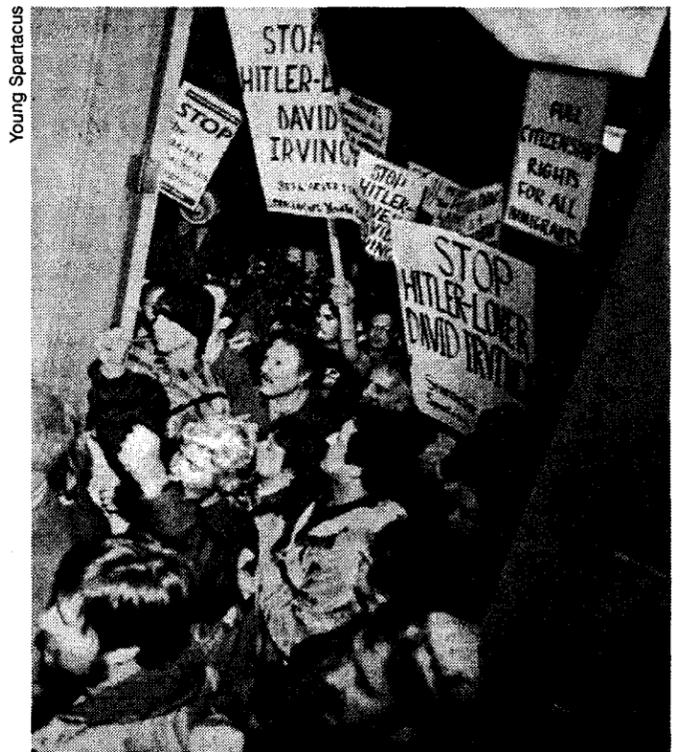
Fascists are capitalism's shock troops, called upon by the state to defend capitalist property relations when threatened

by mass unrest or proletarian seizure of power. The ultimate aim of the Nazi rabble is to utterly destroy working class organizations, like in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy.

Encouraged by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, the bourgeoisie has internationally been waging war on immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, women and labor. This capitalist onslaught on the gains achieved by the working class and oppressed through hard social struggle has given rise to fascist threats and provocations across the world, including the U.S. It is no mere coincidence that these flyers have appeared at UCLA in the wake of the administration's racist purge of campus through the axing of affirmative action and imposition of huge fee hikes. In the U.S., fascist scum are emboldened by the racist ruling class' bipartisan attacks on blacks, immigrants and labor, and have stepped up their murderous activities.

When the Nazi Irving and his black-

booted followers appeared in Berkeley in 1994, hundreds of anti-fascist militants, organized in a united front initiated by the SYC, ran them out of town! The SL and SYC have successfully organized thousands-strong labor/black mobilizations to stop Nazi and Klan mobilizations of terror from San Francisco to D.C. to Philly and Springfield. Our strategy is to mobilize the social power of the integrated working class leading behind it all the fascists' intended victims in a struggle to crush the fascists, especially now when they are still small. This is part of our broader struggle for socialist revolution and the establishment of an egalitarian, socialist society, where production is based on needs and wants rather than profit. The SYC fights to build the revolutionary, multiracial workers party, counterposed to both the Republicans and Democrats, absolutely essential to accomplish the historic task of smashing fascism and the capitalist system of exploitation and racial oppression that breeds and foments it. Join us! ■



**Spartacus Youth Club led hundreds in routing 1994 fascist rally in Berkeley, California featuring Nazi apologist David Irving.**

**Surveillance...**

(continued from page 2)

Nelson Mandela's African National Congress. In a classic entrapment scheme, the feds then forged a letter to Squillacote from Kasrils, leading to a series of meetings with an FBI agent posing as a South African official during which Squillacote allegedly delivered a Pentagon document and a CIA memorandum on the global arms market.

In pursuing their vendetta against Stand, Squillacote and Clark, the feds and their media, mouthpieces unleashed an anti-Communist "red scare." This surreal attempt to revive the McCarthyite witchhunt of the 1950s is as deranged as it is sinister. As "evidence" that the three had become spies as a result of their socialist beliefs, the witchhunters claim that Stand was "recruited" by his father, a refugee from Hitler's Germany who went on to join the American CP. The feds furthered their bizarre claims by pointing out that the Stands named their two children after German revolutionary leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were murdered by military reactionaries during the 1919 Spartakist uprising in Berlin. The bourgeois press has made a point of noting that Stand was the North American representative of an international food workers union and that he and Clark are members of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (21 October 1997), onetime New Leftist Ronald Radosh, who has carved out a

career justifying the heinous 1953 frame-up execution of American Jewish leftists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, resurrected the McCarthyite refrain that the CP was a "recruiting ground for Soviet espionage." Radosh even tried to red bait the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, noting that DSA leaders "now influential in John Sweeney's AFL-CIO, defend their comrade Mr. Clark and his associates in espionage." In fact, Sweeney's membership in the anti-communist DSA, which is an integral part of Clinton's Democratic Party, is fully in keeping with his role at the helm of the pro-capitalist labor misleadership. But the purpose of the *Wall Street Journal's* red baiting broadside against Sweeney was to grease the skids for the government's assault on the labor movement in the aftermath of last year's widely popular Teamsters strike against UPS.

In an open letter to the DSA, Stand laments that "the socialist experiment failed in the Soviet Union and elsewhere." It was not socialism which failed, but the Stalinist perversion of Marxism. In the guise of building "socialism in one country," Stalin and his heirs betrayed one revolutionary opportunity after another, undermining and ultimately selling out the Soviet degenerated workers state and the deformed workers states of East Europe. As part of our struggle for new October Revolutions around the world, the Trotskyist International Communist League fought down the line against capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR and USSR, seeking to mobilize the proletariat in political revolutions to sweep away the

nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies.

Opposing the fight for international socialist revolution, the Stalinists instead pursued the chimera of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, promoting class-collaborationist alliances with supposedly "progressive" elements of the bourgeoisie. This policy, which led to catastrophic defeats for the proletariat internationally, is implemented today by the SACP, which serves as a loyal component of the neo-apartheid regime defending the interests of the racist South African capitalist rulers.

In the U.S. this has translated into the CP's role as stalwart champions of

the Democratic Party of racism, union-busting and imperialist war as a supposed "lesser evil." Indeed, the FISA law under which Stand and Squillacote are being prosecuted was braintrustered by liberal Democrat Ted Kennedy and strengthened under Clinton's attorney general Janet Reno in 1995. Since he assumed the presidency in 1993, Clinton has carried out the most concerted assault on civil liberties this country has seen in decades. For the American capitalist class, the Stands' "crime" is their decades of opposition to the policies of the imperialist rulers. Free Kurt Stand and Theresa Squillacote—Drop all charges now! ■

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## The Holocaust, "Collective Guilt" and German Imperialism

We reprint below the concluding part of an article, originally published in the German-language edition of Spartacist (No. 20, Summer 1998), dealing with the controversy touched off by Daniel Goldhagen's Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust (Vintage Books, 1997) and a recent polemic against Goldhagen by Norman G. Finkelstein and Ruth Bettina Birn titled A Nation on Trial: The Goldhagen Thesis and Historical Truth (Henry Holt & Co., 1998). Parts One and Two appeared in WV Nos. 697 and 698 (25 September and 9 October).

### SPARTACIST

It is a telling comment that the various fake leftists who have weighed in on the Goldhagen debate pretty much restrict themselves to ground covered far more effectively by academics like Finkelstein. Having tailed after the anti-Soviet Social Democracy for years, they now buy into the imperialist lie that "communism is dead." All of them accept the framework of the debate laid down by the bourgeoisie and its ideologues, either wallowing in "collective guilt"—like the fake-

### PART THREE

Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec)—or leaping to defend the "honor" of the "German workers movement," i.e., the Social Democracy.

Typical of the latter are the political bandits of David North's Socialist Equality Party (SEP). While citing Trotsky's writings on fascism and the Jewish question, North devotes the bulk of his lengthy dissertation on Goldhagen's book to a historical account of the opposition by the Social Democratic Party (SPD) to anti-Semitism (*International Workers Bulletin*, 5 May 1997). He barely mentions the October Revolution of 1917, does not discuss at all the capitalist counterrevolution (supported by the Northites!) which has led to the current sharp rise in fascist terror, and reduces Trotsky's struggle in the early 1930s solely to the issue of the united front against fascism.

In fact, North's treatise amounts to little more than a panegyric to the parliamentary exploits of the SPD which, he ludicrously claims, "represented a revolutionary mass movement of the working class" right up until August 1914! Thus does this charlatan amnesty the Eberts,

Scheidemanns and Noskes and liquidate Luxemburg and Liebknecht's years-long struggle against the reformist and centrist SPD leaders. Not surprisingly for an "equality" party which panders to anti-black, anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry, North "borrows" from the anti-Semitic stereotypes of bourgeois society, sneering that Goldhagen was motivated by the allure of "handsome monetary profits" and decrying the "crass eco-

seen in Germany in years and is up to its neck along with the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) in funding "youth centers" for Nazi skinheads.

### SPD Spearheads Resurgent German Nationalism

With the exception of the centrist Revolutionär Sozialistische Bund (RSB—Revolutionary Socialist League), German supporters of the USec, not one

opposition to U.S. missile installations to mark out an independent position for German imperialism against both its American ally/rival and its Soviet enemy. Marching in lockstep behind this nationalist "movement" was the SPD/Green-loyal fake left. In contrast, Trotskyists declared: Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!

When an incipient political revolution erupted in the DDR (East Germany) in



Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong protest in January 1990 against fascist desecration of Red Army memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park, contested elections two months later with call, "No to Capitalist Reunification! For a Germany of Workers Councils!"

conomic self-interest" of the prewar Jewish bourgeoisie for refusing (unsurprisingly) to support the SPD.

Going further, Linksruck, affiliated to Tony Cliff's British Socialist Workers Party [and the U.S. International Socialist Organization], is not content simply to defend the record of the Social Democracy. Buried deep inside the SPD's youth group for years, Linksruck is firmly wedded to Social Democratic politics. In rebutting Goldhagen's "collective guilt" thesis, the Cliffites feel compelled to rally to the "honor" even of young Nazi stormtroopers, posing the grotesque question: "Is the simple Hitler Youth equally as guilty as the industrialist who financed Hitler's rise to power?" (*Linksruck*, March 1996). This is what comes of years of enthusing over every anti-Communist movement on the face of the planet. In September 1997, Linksruck actively campaigned for the SPD, which waged the most racist election campaign

of these groups even notices that the "ordinary Germans" Goldhagen speaks of were members of a Nazi *police battalion* or takes exception to his promotion of the "democratic" credentials of German imperialism. In fact, these pseudo-revolutionaries share such illusions. Virtually to a man, they joined the SPD in promoting the capitalist reunification of Germany in 1990 and in cheering on Yeltsin's counterrevolution in the Soviet Union the following year.

At bottom, the notion of "collective guilt" is not only compatible with but complementary to resurgent German chauvinism. As Israeli writer Amos Alon noted in the *New York Times Magazine* (26 January 1997), "Ritualized lip service to guilt serves to give the new nationalism and the new xenophobia a good conscience." The SPD and the "left" bourgeois Greens helped spearhead the revival of German nationalism in the 1970s and '80s, riding on pacifist

1989-90, our party was unique in opposing the annexationist designs of the West German bourgeoisie. While the rest of the left tailed behind the SPD and its imperialist masters, we threw the forces of our entire international into the fight to defend the collectivized foundations of the East German deformed workers state and to place the proletariat at the helm of political power. In the course of this struggle to bring revolutionary, i.e., Trotskyist, leadership to the proletariat, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) was forged out of a fusion between the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and the newly formed Spartakist Gruppen.

In January 1990, after fascists had desecrated a memorial in East Berlin's Treptow Park to the Soviet soldiers who had died in the struggle to smash Hitler's Nazis, we issued a call to "Stop the Nazis Through United Front Action!" Fearful of our growing impact on the East German working class, the ruling Stalinist party was forced to take up the united-front call and 250,000 came out to protest at Treptow. At this mass rally, the speakers for the TLD and Spartakist Gruppen linked the fight against Nazi terror to the need for proletarian political revolution in the East and socialist revolution in the West, warning that resurgent fascism "would again threaten all mankind as soon as the first crises in a reunified Greater Germany appear." We opposed the drive by the German bourgeoisie, its SPD "Trojan horse of counterrevolution" and the DDR Stalinists to foment capitalist restoration, counterposing the call for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany: "For a red Germany of workers councils in the framework of a Socialist United States of Europe!" As an expression of our internationalist program, we issued literature in their own languages to Soviet soldiers and Cuban, Angolan, Vietnamese and Polish workers in the DDR.

U.S. Trotskyists saluted May Day rally by survivors of Buchenwald concentration camp.

Diez Verlag Berlin

### THE MILITANT 12 May 1945

#### HOW WORKERS CELEBRATED MAY DAY AT BUCHENWALD

While the Allied press does its utmost to whip up a poisonous lynch spirit against the entire German people, the prisoners of all nationalities released from the Nazi concentration camps express warmest solidarity with their German comrades who were the first victims to feel the barbaric whip of the Nazi oppressor.

At Buchenwald, one of the worst camps, the 15,000 prisoners organized an inspiring celebration of May Day, demonstrating the brotherhood of the world working class on this traditional holiday. Here is how PM's correspondent (May 2) described it:

"Many of these men . . . have been in Fascist jails or camps for 10 years or more. Their brothers have been murder-



As we had warned, capitalist *Anschluss* led to a sharp escalation in racist and chauvinist terror. When a supermarket chain in Berlin imposed a disgusting ban on Polish customers shortly thereafter, the SpAD responded with an immediate protest picket which became known even to trade unionists in Warsaw. We again initiated a protest demonstration when the German state imposed a quota on Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union. In the face of growing terror by fascist skinheads, the SpAD has fought for *workerimmigrant mobilizations to stop the Nazis!*

### Usec: From "Arab Revolution" to "Collective Guilt" Zionism

Within Germany, an "anti-national" clique of burnt-out former West German Stalinists and New Leftists issued a book, *Goldhagen and the German Left*, which accepts the "collective guilt" thesis and writes off the German proletariat as a seamlessly reactionary mass. A couple of years ago, *Junge Welt*, once a creature of the DDR Stalinist bureaucracy, went so far as to hail British imperialism's aerial incineration of a hundred thousand civilians in Dresden during World War II.

The Usec, in a review by Sascha Moebius (*Inprekorr*, December 1996), also welcomed *Hitler's Willing Executioners*. Demonstrating how much this outfit has distanced itself from even its former pretense of Trotskyism, Moebius joined the chorus of praise for Goldhagen's belief in modern German society's "profound democratic character." Offering a "class" gloss to Goldhagen's unalloyed Zionism, Moebius argues that the Nazis triumphed because the SPD and—even more so—the German Communist Party (KPD) failed to "adequately combat" the "ideology" of anti-Semitism—as though the struggle against fascism was simply a clash of ideas!

The victory of political counterrevolution in the Soviet Union in 1923-24 led to a recrudescence of anti-Semitism in the homeland of the October Revolution, as the Stalinist bureaucracy used this vile bigotry in its drive to crush the Trotskyist Left Opposition. Trotsky at times compared the *political regime* under Stalin with that of Hitler, but he stressed their counterposed *class characters*—the latter basing itself on capitalist imperialism, the former parasitically resting on the collectivized property forms issuing out of the October Revolution. Trotskyists called for *unconditional military defense* of the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalist attack and internal counterrevolution while fighting for *proletarian political revolution* to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In any case, the Usec's real fire is directed not at the reformists and Stalinists but at Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. Moebius denounces the German Trotskyists for supposedly refusing to take Hitler's "anti-Jewish propaganda" seriously. He dismisses the early Kautsky's Marxist analysis of the Jewish question as "superficial and often insensitive," counterposing "the more useful analyses of Vladimir Medem of the [Jewish separatist] 'Bund'."

In subsequent articles, Moebius also attacks Marx's groundbreaking 1844



Ullstein

**Revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered by military reactionaries at behest of Social Democrats during January 1919 Spartakist uprising.**

article "On the Jewish Question," the basis for Abram Leon's later work (*The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*), for its supposed "anti-Jewish/anti-Semitic stereotypes" (*Inprekorr*, February 1997). This hoary anti-Marxist canard is a favorite of Zionists and liberals, who wax hysterical over the language used in Marx's materialist description of the Jewish people in the Middle Ages as rooted in commercial capital. Moebius also comes out with an explicitly Bundist line advocating a "Jewish national and social emancipation movement" to fight anti-Semitism in pre-World War I Germany (*Inprekorr*, March 1997). From tailing a mythical bourgeois "Arab Revolution" infested with anti-Semitism in the 1970s, the Usec has gone full circle to capitulating to "left" Zionism and the anti-Palestinian "peace process." Now it openly sides with the Menshevik Bund and its separatist project of "cultural autonomy" against Bolshevik internationalism.

It was Lenin's program of revolutionary internationalism, consummated in the October Revolution, which opened the portals of emancipation to the deeply persecuted and oppressed Jews of the tsarist "prison house of peoples." *The Bund opposed this program*, and went on to be reduced to an empty shell in Russia within a few years of the revolution, as its working-class base flocked to the Bolsheviks.

Moebius' line is reactionary when applied to pre-Nazi Germany. Before launching their genocidal project, the Nazis first had to stigmatize and isolate Germany's Jews precisely because they were so assimilated. As late as 1939, four years after the Nuremberg Laws banning contact between the "races," one in ten Jews was married to a non-Jew. Even after the February 1943 *Fabrik Aktion*, the final roundup of Jews in Berlin, German women married to Jewish men staged a street protest in the Rosenstrasse in the heart of the German capital to successfully demand the release of their husbands who had been seized. In *The Last Jews in Berlin* (1982), the story of hundreds of Jews who found refuge in German homes until the war's end, Leonard Gross remarks how Hitler despised cosmopolitan, lib-

Der Spiegel



23 OCTOBER 1998



F. Darchinger

**1980s "peace" movement, "left" spearhead for resurgent German nationalism. Now Green leader Joschka Fischer serves in racist SPD-led government.**



Willy Römer

eral Berlin as "that sinful Babel."

Even in the horrors of the Nazi slave-labor system, there remained vestiges of internationalism. In his memoir, *The Holocaust Kingdom* (1965), Alexander Donat, a participant in the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising who was shipped off first to a Polish concentration camp and then to slave labor in a German quarry, recalled an incident which helped give him the strength to survive:

"One day while I was digging in the quarry alone, a German civilian walked by, stopped and stood about a hundred yards away from me. Suddenly, in the unnatural silence, he began to whistle the first bars of the *Internationale*. 'Arise ye



Der Spiegel photos

**Social Democratic war minister Gustav Noske reviews troops, 1919. SPD backed Hindenburg (right), directly aiding Hitler's rise to power.**

prisoners of starvation, arise ye wretches of the earth....' So struck was I by this song of international solidarity in that pit of hatred that when he stopped, I whistled the second verse. When I stopped, he picked up the third verse, and so our whistled dialogue continued until the anthem was finished."

### "United Front" über Alles?

The various left groups who pay occasional lip service to Trotskyism stand in the tradition not of Trotsky's Left Opposition but of the *Right* Opposition of Brandler and Bukharin. For them, the alpha and omega of the struggle against fascism in Germany was the united front—and on the parliamentary plane at that. The RSB's *Avanti* (December 1996) takes this social-democratic parliamentary cretinism to new depths in a review of Goldhagen's book, where Nick Brauns writes: "A fighting united front of the workers parties could not only have stopped the fascists on the street but through its strength also convinced and won over a large number of voters from the right." For the RSB, what was posed was not proletarian revolution but a fight to win voters from the Nazis!

Polemicalizing against the RSB's far more left-wing centrist predecessor, the SAP, Trotsky insisted: "The policy of the united front cannot serve as a program for a revolutionary party." Trotsky always stressed that the *tactic* of the united front, though urgently posed, was an integral,

and subordinate, component of a *revolutionary program for proletarian state power*. "Through the United Front—to the Soviets as the Highest Organs of the United Front": this was at the core of Trotsky's "What Next?" (1932) and all his writings in this period.

The struggle against fascism is inseparable from the fight for proletarian revolution. Any other perspective reduces itself to an attempt to pressure the "democratic" bourgeoisie—whether expressed in open appeals for a class-collaborationist "popular front," or looking to the racist SPD lieutenants of German imperialism, or even in the "street fighting" bravado of the anarchoid autonomes who, however heroic in individual instances, rely on the "neutrality" of the bourgeois state and its police.

In "refuting" Goldhagen's equation of "ordinary Germans" with the Third Reich's cops, Nick Brauns presents the thoroughly liberal argument: "Not only 'absolutely normal Germans,' but absolutely normal people were and are trained as soldiers and policemen to kill, torture and commit mass murder and genocide." It is to such "absolutely normal Germans" that Brauns himself appealed to join in a "united front" as 5,000 fascists rampaged unhindered through the streets of SPD-run Munich in March 1997. Speaking far from the Nazi rallying site, Brauns urged the "ladies and gentlemen of the police" to remember that one of their own had been killed by a Nazi shortly before and expressed his regret that the "state and police can't and won't protect us" (see

*Spartakist* No. 128, June/July 1997).

Self-styled "Marxists" who plead with the state to ban the fascists or seek to pressure the SPD to do so likewise foster the illusion that the capitalist state can be made to act in the interests of the oppressed. Germany's constitution already includes a ban on Nazi organizations and symbols, so how come this country has the most menacing fascist movement in Europe today? Meanwhile, the Bundeswehr is infested with Nazis at every level, while from Rostock to Munich the cops and courts either collude with the Nazi race-terrorists or protect them from anti-fascist protesters.

While the RSB attacks Goldhagen's praise for latter-day German "democracy," it conspicuously refuses to point to the SPD's role as a key prop of the Fourth Reich. Likewise, Brauns notes that in the early 1930s, "the SPD leadership supported as a 'lesser evil' right-wing politicians like Reich president Hindenburg, who ultimately invited Hitler into the government." But the SPD did more than support the reactionary Hindenburg. As Trotsky wrote of the Social Democratic leaders: "The thousands upon thousands of Noskes, Welses, and Hilferdings prefer, *in the last analysis*, fascism to Communism" ("For a Workers' United Front Against Fascism," December 1931). Even with many of their own comrades already in Nazi

*continued on page 8*

# Holocaust...

(continued from page 7)

dungeons, the SPD leaders urged workers to march in Hitler's "National Day of Labor" parade on May Day 1933. Later that month, the SPD parliamentary fraction voted—without a single dissenting voice—to support Hitler's foreign policy declaration.

In light of the SPD's racism and its attacks on the working class, the RSB now characterizes it as a "bourgeois party" ("Our Critique of the Erfurt Declaration," *Avanti*, April 1998). Thus, with a stroke of the pen, they seek to sweep under the rug the contradiction between the SPD's bourgeois program and its mass working-class base. But as is the case with centrists, this analysis has no effect on their actual practice of tailing the SPD. They offer as an electoral alternative the PDS, which is made up of remnants of the former East German Stalinist ruling party which sold out the DDR to German imperialism, and Nick Brauns recently even decamped from the RSB to the PDS.

The PDS is nothing more than an SPD of the second mobilization, pushing an "Ossi" (East German) nationalism which is no less poisonous than the mainstream chauvinism of the SPD. In recent years, leading PDS spokesmen have even held friendly meetings with outright fascists. Among those PDS leaders is Christine Ostrowski, who echoes the Nazis' anti-immigrant racism, railing in *Neues Deutschland* (30 April) against "foreign colleagues" who work under "illegal conditions" while "every third construction worker in the East is unemployed." Meanwhile, a recent report on the Nazis in *Die Zeit* (23 April) quoted one storm-trooper bragging about contacts with Communist Platform, the self-styled "left wing" of the PDS: "They are also against big capital."

The defense of workers and minorities in Germany can only go forward through



Spartakist

intransigent political struggle against the Social Democracy, both of the SPD and PDS varieties. In the fight to forge an authentically Bolshevik party, the SPD (a party of the type Lenin termed a "bourgeois workers party") must be *split* and its mass working-class base won to the program of proletarian revolution. The huge Turkish and Kurdish component of the proletariat, forcibly alienated from German bourgeois society by vile racist oppression, can be a strategic lever in this task. But this means reaching out to these workers on the basis of proletarian internationalism, not capitulating to nationalist and Bundist prejudices as much of the left does.

Those who seek to pressure the SPD to "fight" reveal thereby their own support to the racist bourgeois order. Writing in 1932, Trotsky observed that "the rottenest portion of putrefying capitalist Europe is the Social Democratic bureaucracy":

"The Social Democracy supported the war in the name of future prosperity. Instead of prosperity, decay set in. Now the task no longer consisted in deducing from the inadequacy of capitalism the necessity for revolution, nor in reconcil-

ing the workers to capitalism by means of reforms. The new task of the Social Democracy now consisted in making society safe for the bourgeoisie at the cost of sacrificing reforms.

"But even this was not the last stage of degeneracy. The present crisis that is convulsing capitalism obliged the Social Democracy to sacrifice the fruits achieved after protracted economic and political struggles and thus to reduce the German workers to the level of existence of their fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers."

This is the role of the SPD today as it prepares to take the reins of government for German imperialism.

Indeed, in one country after another in West Europe, social-democratic parties—either in their own name or in popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties—are today administering capitalism, not even to implement token reforms but to dish out austerity and racist repression. For now, the German bourgeoisie is confident that it can rely on the SPD lieutenants of capital to police the workers movement. But for the ruling class that has already resorted to fascism once, today's Nazi movement is the embryo of a fascist army held in reserve. Those

who today amnesty the bourgeoisie's responsibility for Nazism in the 1930s disarm the workers and oppressed before a system that will again turn to fascism if the need arises. "People's Fronts on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution," wrote Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International.

In the aftermath of the final unraveling of the October Revolution, the international political situation is beginning to resemble the eve of World War I. World capitalism is faced with the threat of a new, and potentially far more convulsive, crisis. As German imperialism rearms, as the major powers struggle for control over markets and spheres of exploitation, we once again face the prospect of inter-imperialist conflict and a new, and potentially final, Holocaust—a nuclear armageddon. The salvation of humanity and the realization of a classless, egalitarian, communist society lies in the timely re forging of Trotsky's Fourth International and the victory of new October Revolutions around the world. ■

## PL Embraces Goldhagen: "Collective Guilt" and Collective Stupidity

Among those joining Zionist apologists for Israeli anti-Palestinian terror and ideologues for "democratic" imperialism in promoting the "collective guilt" line rehearsed by Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners* are none other than the self-proclaimed "revolutionary communists" of the Progressive Labor Party (PL). Last spring, an editorial in *Challenge* (15 April) fulminated:

"At the start of World War II, Josef Stalin, who led both the Soviet Union and the Red Army that eventually crushed Hitler, was asked to identify the Germans responsible for Nazi fascism. His reply: 'All Guilty!' By the end of the war, he had changed his mind, blaming

instead just the German ruling class and the military High Command. We think he was right the first time."

This chauvinist condemnation of the entire German people dovetails with the line of the U.S. imperialists, who justified such atrocities as the firebombing of Dresden by likewise denouncing all Germans as Nazis. One of PL's own members, in a letter to *Challenge* (13 May), disowned the editorial as "not a class-based analysis" and "dangerously unscientific and nationalist."

As the *Challenge* editorial implies, PL's grotesque line blaming the German proletariat for Nazism comes straight

from its mentor, the Russian nationalist *vozhd* (leader) Stalin. As we explained in Part Two of "The Holocaust, 'Collective Guilt' and German Imperialism" (WV No. 698, 9 October), it was Stalin himself, through the instruments of the Communist International and the German Communist Party (KPD), who was largely responsible for the victory of Hitlerism. Standing at the head of millions of revolutionary-minded German workers, the Stalinists disarmed the proletariat in the face of the Nazi menace in the early 1930s. The KPD rejected the Trotskyist Left Opposition's urgent appeals to forge a united front against the Nazis with the Social Democratic (SPD) workers and to lead a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power. Thus the Stalinists abetted the reformist SPD misleaders who helped pave the way for Hitler through their years of defending the interests of Germany's capitalist rulers.

Like all bureaucratic misleaders of the proletariat, the Stalinists foisted responsibility for their own criminal treachery on the supposed "passivity" of the German working class. By 1935, two years after allowing Hitler to come to power unchallenged, the Stalinist Comintern had passed openly over to defense of the bourgeois order, promoting class-collaborationist "popular fronts" with supposedly "anti-fascist" wings of the West European bourgeoisies. Spurned in his efforts at partnership with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin consummated a bloc with German imperialism with the August 1939 Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.

While defending the right of the Soviet degenerated workers state to



Soviet World War II poster glorified tsarist autocracy. Stalin pushed Russian nationalism, portrayed fight against Nazi invasion as war to save "Mother Russia."

make whatever military alliances necessary to further its defense, Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky warned against Stalin's illusions in his "non-aggression" pact with Hitler. Indeed, far from leading the war against Nazi Germany (as PL would have it), Stalin beheaded the Red Army high command on the eve of the war, rejected warnings by his own intelligence services of an impending Nazi invasion, and paralyzed Soviet military defenses following Hitler's attack on the USSR in June 1941. It was *despite* Stalin that the multinational Soviet peoples and their Red Army triumphed over Nazi fascism in World War II.

As proletarian internationalists, the Trotskyists opposed all the bourgeois states in that inter-imperialist war, while calling for military defense of the Soviet

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# Balkans...

(continued from page 12)

imperialist rivals that the massive American arsenal of destruction continues to make it top dog" ("Down With U.S. War Moves in the Persian Gulf!" WV No. 685, 27 February).

U.S. declarations of "upholding a moral standard" in Kosovo reek of hypocrisy. This is the capitalist ruling class which dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, which in its drive to suppress social revolution slaughtered millions in the 1950-53 Korean War and millions more in Indochina in the 1960s and '70s, which has propped up one right-wing military dictatorship after another. And while the German bourgeoisie weeps crocodile tears for Albanian Kosovars, it has been viciously expelling thousands of refugees who had fled the communal wars in the Balkans which were largely instigated by German imperialism.

Throughout the Cold War, the imperialists did everything possible to whip up nationalist tensions in East Europe and the Soviet Union as a battering ram against the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. Milosevic himself rode to power in 1987 on a Serbian-nationalist drive against the Kosovo Albanians that pointed straight to counterrevolution. The ethnic civil wars and forced population transfers ("ethnic cleansing") which accompanied the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state were fanned by the imperialists, who cynically exploited the situation to pursue their own divergent appetites. Now the imperialist powers are even trying to dictate what the ethnic composition of the Kosovo police force should be as part of the deal with Milosevic.

Unlike Bosnia—with its deeply interpenetrated Serb, Croat and Slavic Muslim populations—Kosovo's population is 90 percent ethnic Albanian. We defend

the right of self-determination—that is, the right to secede from Serb-dominated Yugoslavia—for the Albanian-populated areas of Kosovo, so long as the separatist struggle is not subordinated to direct military intervention by the imperialists. At the same time, we defend the rights of the Serb and Roma (Gypsy) minorities to live in Kosovo on the basis of full legal equality and give no political support to the UCK, whose indiscriminate attacks on Serbian villages testify to their murderous nationalism.

Today, imperialist spokesmen cynically decry the national/communal wars sweeping the former Yugoslavia as a consequence of "age-old feuding" and savage Balkan "traditions." One observer ironically remarked that to get into the "European community" you had to have carried out your own "ethnic cleansing" at least a few generations ago. As we wrote in "Ethnic Cleansing and Nationalist Wars" (WV Nos. 580 and 581, 16 and 30 July 1993):

"The formation of the classic nation-states in West Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries was also a bloody, protracted process. But it was linked to the extension of trade, the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, under imperialism, in relatively backward capitalist countries the development of the national economy and the emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie are stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination. Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities."

We opposed all sides in the communal bloodletting that erupted in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, while denouncing every form of imperialist intervention. The sanctions that the imperialists imposed on Serbia six years ago—alternately eased and intensified since—have deepened the desperation of the entire population while especially hitting children, the aged and poor. Meanwhile, Iraq has been subjected to a U.S.-dictated starvation blockade which has killed over one million people—most of them

young children—in the past eight years. We say: Down with imperialist sanctions against Serbia and Iraq!

The imperialists' attempt to cloak their bloody terror in "humanitarian" garb is sheer cynicism. What's downright obscene is how "radical" liberals and reformist "socialists" have been rabid in pushing for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. The liberal *Nation* (30 March) demanded "the imposition of a no-fly zone" in Kosovo and "a U.S. military reaction." In Europe, "radical chic" celebs like Bianca Jagger and Vanessa Redgrave, who was a leading light of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party before its implosion in 1985, have been in the forefront of the crusade for an imperialist military assault against the Serbs. Jagger and Redgrave were joined at an October 4 "Kosovo Solidarity March" in London—where signs calling to "Bomb Serbs" were prominent—by a number of Healyite splinters, including Redgrave's Marxist Party and Cliff Slaughter's Movement for Socialism, as well as by a contingent from the Socialist Outlook group associated with the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (Usec).

The Usec and the Slaughterites—joined by feminists in the U.S. and Europe—have long been avid cheerleaders for imperialist intervention in the Balkans. When these outfits cobbled together a campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia" in the early '90s, we described them as "Fake Lefts in the Baggage Train of Imperialism" (WV No. 604, 5 August 1994). Also supporting this "socialist" stalking-horse for imperialist intervention was the centrist British Workers Power (WP), whose chief complaint against the UN military force in Bosnia—which WP nominally opposed—was that it had "not lifted a finger to stop ethnic cleansing" (*Workers Power*, December 1993). When the U.S., Britain and other NATO powers embarked on a massive bombing attack on the Bosnian Serbs in 1995, WP abandoned even its pretense of opposition to imperialist terror, declaring in a 5 Sep-

tember 1995 statement that "in the war between NATO and the [Bosnian Serb] Republika Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides" and arguing that NATO's "objectives would be progressive" if only the war planes did not have NATO insignia!

It is precisely on the basis of such murderous "progressive objectives" that Washington is seeking to bolster NATO forces as an imperialist gendarmerie to promote its interests throughout Europe. Describing as a "watershed" NATO's decision to bomb Serbia without UN authorization and with "a less-than-watertight legal argument"—as though that ever impeded imperialist terror—an article in the *New York Times* (18 October) was headlined: "NATO Shatters Old Limits in the Name of Preventing Evil." And Clinton's secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, declared NATO to be "our institution of choice" for "defending Western values on the continent."

A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved through socialist revolution which brings the multinational proletariat to power. Military intervention by U.S. and other imperialist forces can only deepen national hatreds among the South Slav peoples, further crush them under the boot of imperialism, and risk igniting a war which would bring to the fore inter-imperialist conflicts which have intensified since the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The immediate prelude to the hideous carnage of World War I was a succession of Balkan Wars which were manipulated by the Great Powers and fueled by rival local nationalisms. It was the 1917 Russian Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks which pointed the way out of imperialist war and nationalist fratricide. Today, the ICL seeks to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International to lead the struggle for new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Union. The Stalinist bureaucracy, having repudiated Bolshevik internationalism in favor of the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" as far back as 1924, portrayed the war not as a defense of the world's first workers state but as a "Great Patriotic War" for "Mother Russia." The American Stalinists openly embraced U.S. imperialism and opposed strikes as sabotaging the "war against fascism," even hailing the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. As for Stalin "changing his mind" about who was guilty for German Nazism, this was a result of his attempt toward the end of the war to cement a "Free German Movement" encompassing not only an "anti-fascist" wing of the German bourgeoisie but even anti-Hitler elements of the Nazi regime (see Wolfgang Leonhard, *Child of the Revolution* [1957]). The latter-day Stalinists of PL criticize Stalin not for betraying proletarian revolutions from Spain to Germany, Italy and France, but for supposedly backtracking on the Kremlin's wartime anti-German chauvinism.

PL declares in its editorial: "Unlike the German working class, the Italian workers were not committed to fascism," noting how the "red-led mass anti-fascist movement hung Mussolini by his toes, and defeated the fascists." In fact, the Stalinists literally disarmed the Italian proletariat and chained it to a postwar popular front which salvaged the tottering bourgeois order. Even PL's internal critic notes that "the Italian Communists, their partisan army, and their allies held state power in their hands at the end of WWII, but thought they could trust the Italian capitalists to share power in a coalition government." Facts are, indeed, stubborn things.

Despite its vacuous "revolutionary" rhetoric, PL has never broken from Stalinist class collaborationism, veering between and combining idiot sectarian

posturing and crass opportunism. With PL now deeply immersed in one of its cycles of "left-center coalition" building in the "mass movement," its liberal underbelly is all the more evident. PL boasts of attempts to win "honest center" elements out of everything from the sinister, male-chauvinist Christian Promise Keepers to reactionary black demagogue Louis Farrakhan's 1995 Million Man March, even while labeling these movements—as well as the AFL-CIO trade-union federation—as fascist. More recently, *Challenge* (23 September) trumpeted PL's contingent at last month's "Million Youth March" led by anti-Semitic bigot Khalid Muhammad.

Rejecting Marxism, scientific socialism, and the revolutionary program needed to mobilize the multiracial proletariat in a conscious struggle for socialist revolution, PL instead seeks to animate its membership with petty-bourgeois, "collective guilt" liberal appeals. For PL, racism and other types of oppression boil down to a bunch of bad ideas in people's heads. PL even denounces "cynicism" as fascist and vituperates in its editorial:

"When we accept racist deportations and concentration camps for 'illegal' immigrants, we are guilty. When we fail to act against the rulers' wars for profit, we are guilty. When we ignore the homeless and hungry, we are guilty."

Like its mentor Stalin, PL in effect blames workers and minorities for their own exploitation and oppression by the capitalist system. PL's dismissal of the trade unions as "fascist" is an expression of its refusal to wage a political struggle against the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO misleaders who oppose any mobilization of the working class in its own immediate interests or in defense of the oppressed. Meanwhile, PL itself reinforces backward consciousness in the working class, from its promotion of anti-gay bigotry to its opposition to even minimal measures against racist discrimination like affirma-

tive action. PL is indeed guilty—of adding the minds of those subjectively revolutionary youth attracted by its communist rhetoric.

Fascism grows on the topsoil of capitalism in its death agony by seeking to weld the myriad discontents of the petty bourgeoisie and the declassed lumpenproletariat into an extreme nationalist, xenophobic movement to smash the workers. In the U.S. today the fascists are a menacing but still small fringe of race-hate terrorists. However, the moment that class struggle and social upheavals seriously challenge capitalist

rule, the bourgeoisie will turn to these shock troops of reaction to smash the proletariat, just as the German capitalists turned to Hitler. From Detroit to Washington, D.C. to Springfield, Illinois the Spartacist League has built mass labor-centered mobilizations—drawing in blacks, gays, immigrants, Jews and others—to stop the Ku Klux Klan, Nazis and skinheads. This is a crucial part of our fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party dedicated to the struggle for socialist revolution, the only road to eradicating the danger of fascist barbarism once and for all. ■

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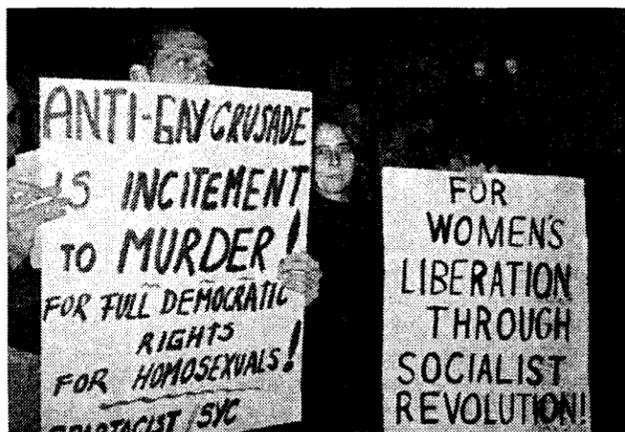
# Anti-Gay Crusade...

(continued from page 1)

Union in 1991-92.

Under capitalism, democratic rights—particularly for racial and ethnic minorities, women, homosexuals and other sectors of the oppressed—are necessarily partial, fragile and reversible. Gay oppression is directly linked to the oppression of women in the family, a key prop of capitalist class rule, and can only be rooted out through the overthrow of this profit-driven system of exploitation. As we wrote at the time of a 1993 mass march for homosexual rights in the U.S. military (“Full Rights for Gays! Down With U.S. War Machine!” WV No. 574, 23 April 1993):

“Bigotry against women and gays in particular flows from entrenched sexual stereotyping decreed by the sexual division of labor in the family, the root of the oppression of women in bourgeois society, and enforced by religious moral codes against ‘sin.’ Capitalist society needs the family, a bedrock conservatizing force and the mechanism by which capitalist private property is passed down from generation to generation, and so *cannot*



WV Photo

October 15 New York University protest against heinous murder of Matthew Shepard.

ultimately ‘legitimize’ those who fundamentally deviate from its restrictions.” Whatever measure of tolerance homosexuals have been able to achieve in contemporary American society has been a byproduct of the social struggles of the 1950s and ‘60s, particularly the black civil rights movement which shattered the pervasive social conservatism which was the domestic corollary to the anti-Soviet Cold War. With the American bourgeois order buffeted by social protest and U.S. imperialism suffering humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina, the capitalist rulers granted a series of liberal

reforms to blacks, women and gays. But these minimal measures were almost immediately subjected to attack as the bourgeoisie moved—under the administration of Democrat Jimmy Carter—to regiment the population through “moral rearmament” in preparation for a renewed war drive against the Soviet Union. Today, emboldened by capitalist counter-revolution in the former USSR and East Europe, the religious right is intent on making “sin” synonymous with crime—a variant of the biblical notion of overarching Satanic evil—graphically seen in the moralistic injunctions thrown around by Republicans and Democrats alike amid the drive to impeach Clinton for a consensual sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky.

In an article in the *New York Times Magazine* (11 October), gay Republican Andrew Sullivan expresses alarm at “a wholesale assault on the beliefs and practices of an entire post-1960’s settlement” being pushed by right-wing ideologues like William Kristol and the Christian fundamentalist wing now entrenched in the Republican Party. “For the new conservatives,” writes Sullivan, “the counter-attack on homosexual legitimacy is of a piece with the battle against Presidential adultery.” And the chief focus of this puritanical crusade is the drive to eliminate the right to abortion entirely, as Kristol makes clear when he rants in *Commen-*

tary (February 1997) that “abortion is today the bloody crossroads of American politics.” Sullivan reports how one speaker at a conservative conference in Washington, D.C. last June “decided legal contraception and abortion as the ‘homosexualization of heterosexual sex,’ and bemoaned that nonprocreative trends among white Europeans was leading to ‘race death.’”

Such racist diatribes, recalling the Nazis’ genocidal propaganda, underline how the reactionary offensive against gays and women targets all the oppressed. The same scum who murdered Matthew Shepard went on to viciously attack two Hispanic men that same night. The “right to life” terrorists who bomb abortion clinics and assassinate health care providers also perpetrate racist terror against blacks and immigrants. In the eyes of these sexist bigots and racist nightriders, those who do not fit their image of “righteous, patriotic Americans” are not fit to live.

Democratic rights are indivisible. The fates of all those subjected to special oppression in capitalist society—homosexuals, women, immigrants, blacks—are inextricably intertwined. Moreover, defense of bourgeois-democratic rights is tightly linked to the defense of specifically proletarian rights—to organize unions, to strike, to picket—which are also currently under attack and can only be wrested and defended from the bourgeoisie through class struggle. As an SL speaker at an October 15 gay rights protest in Chicago said:

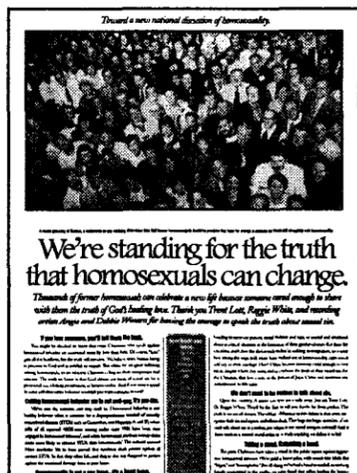
“With 40 percent of the nation’s income concentrated in the hands of 1 percent of the population, in order to handle the growing explosive contradictions between the ruling class and everyone else, the bosses must increase the repressive apparatus of the state, which includes going after everyone and intrudes on all aspects of social life. That’s the meaning of the attacks on abortion, on gays, on black people in this country.

“The people who have the interest and the power to mobilize against these attacks are the ones who created the wealth in this society, the working class. Those are the ones who, against the



Ferry/Gamma-Liaison

Incitement to murder: vile media campaign by religious bigots demonizes gays.



# Kaiser Strike...

(continued from page 12)

aim of pressuring the company back to the bargaining table. Such toothless lobbying efforts sounded the death knell of a series of strikes in the 1980s and ‘90s, from Hormel meatpackers and Detroit newspaper workers to Ravenswood Aluminum workers and now Pueblo steel workers.

While promoting a “corporate campaign” during the 20-month Ravenswood strike by West Virginia USWA Local 5668 in 1991-92, the USWA tops directed union members to comply with injunctions limiting picketing. As the strikers returned to work, the USWA tops abandoned Local 5668 member Bob Buck, who had been framed up and sent to prison for defending his union. Meanwhile, they capitulated to company demands to *let the scabs join the union.*

Kaiser’s current drive against the union takes place in the context of the growing world capitalist economic crisis—which among other things has led to a steep drop in steel and aluminum prices—impelling workers into struggle internationally. Workers in Russia suffering under the impact of capitalist counterrevolution are desperately fighting starvation conditions, South Korean workers face the ravages of unemployment and wage losses, and in Brazil the government has announced a full-scale austerity program at the behest of the IMF vultures.

This situation cries out for international labor solidarity, uniting workers across national lines in class struggle against all the exploiters. But this is hardly the perspective of the AFL-CIO misleaders, who instead boost the interests of American corporations against workers internationally. Even as Kaiser and others ratchet up their anti-union drive, the USWA bureaucracy has joined

with U.S. steel magnates in a chauvinist “Stand Up for Steel” campaign demanding that the White House impose protectionist measures against imports. On September 10, major newspapers ran full-page ads signed by USWA president George Becker and steel company CEOs screaming, “The Dumping of Foreign Steel at Cutthroat Prices Threatens America.” The campaign went on to reach a fever pitch of chauvinist bigotry, with ads vituperating against “the Japanese threat to thousands of American jobs” and calling for the U.S. government to act “swiftly and effectively by all necessary means” against foreign steel producers and governments.

It is this kind of language which the American imperialists employed to prepare the groundwork for the Pacific War against Japan in World War II! Indeed,

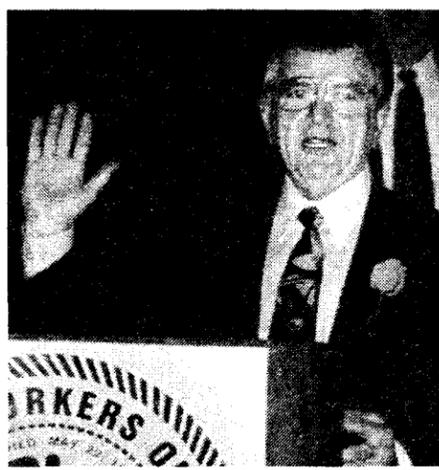
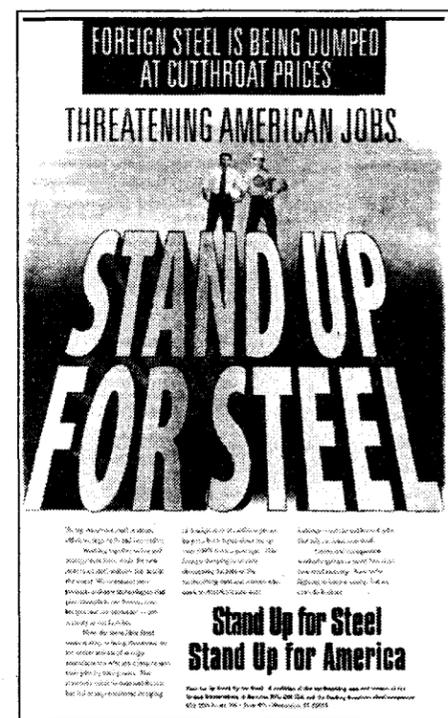
trade wars lead to shooting wars—the ultimate means by which rival capitalist states seek to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. In pushing the “Stand Up for Steel” campaign, the USWA tops simply parrot their corporate masters, who will champion “free trade” when convenient to open up overseas markets for exploitation and will demand protectionist measures whenever foreign competition hurts their profits. The bureaucracy’s increasingly racist and bellicose pleas to save “American jobs” is in fact a campaign to save American capitalist profits. Protectionism is *poison* to class struggle, pushing workers to embrace the “national interests” of their own exploiters against “foreign” rivals.

Opposition to protectionism is ABC for Marxists. Yet the International Socialist

Organization (ISO), which pretends to offer a “militant” alternative to the union misleaders, echoes the flag-waving chauvinism promoted by the AFL-CIO tops. While claiming to oppose the USWA’s ad campaign, *Socialist Worker* (9 October) complains that “the steel bosses aren’t concerned about being ‘American.’” It continues: “For example, National Steel, a backer of the campaign, is owned by the Japanese firm NKK! And another campaign supporter, Inland Steel, is owned by the Indian company Ispat.”

Such grotesque appeals to “anti-foreigner” backwardness are part and parcel of the ISO’s reformist perspective, which is premised not on overthrowing the rule of the American bourgeoisie but on pressuring it to act on behalf of workers and the oppressed. Within the unions, the ISO consistently offers political support to one or another wing of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Indeed, the *Socialist Worker* article goes so far as to call on “Becker and other labor leaders to make good on their promise of international labor solidarity.”

What promise? Particularly with the spectre of a looming world depression and heightened inter-imperialist rivalry, the U.S. rulers look to their “labor lieutenants,” like Becker and the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom, to police the workers, including through the lie that the struggle for job security means defense of “American interests” against working people abroad. In the course of the class battles to come, a new leadership of the labor movement—based on a program of militant internationalist struggle against the capitalist rulers—must be forged through political combat against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. This is linked to the fight for a revolutionary workers party based on the Marxist understanding that the entire capitalist profit system must be rooted out and replaced by workers rule. ■



Dave Rentz

USWA president George Becker joins with steel corporations in pushing anti-Japanese chauvinism. Protectionism is poison to class struggle.

Democrats and the union misleaders, need to take up the fight for the rights of all the oppressed. In 1982, the Nazis wanted to march on Gay Pride Day here in Chicago. The Nazis thought that no one would bother to come out to stop an attack on a more vulnerable section of the population. They were wrong. Three thousand people came out to stop them from recruiting to genocide."

Initiated by the Trotskyist SL, the united-front labor/black mobilization against the Nazis in June 1982 drew support from dozens of trade unions and black, Hispanic, Jewish, gay, student and leftist organizations. This was a fighting example of the role of the Leninist vanguard leading the proletariat, and behind it all the oppressed, in defense of the rights of homosexuals and all minorities.

### Liberal Moralism and "Family Values" Reaction

Particularly as Democratic Party liberals have paid lip service to homosexual rights in recent years, petty-bourgeois gay activists have concentrated their efforts on legislative reforms. In "gay meccas" like San Francisco, the liberal gay milieu has indeed simply become a part of the racist, anti-working-class Democratic Party machine. Such types have increasingly embraced "family values" moralism. In response to the hate-mongering ad crusade by the Family Research Council last summer, mainstream gay organizations countered with an advertisement promoting god, church and patriotism, with a "typical," religious, Republican family announcing: "We're living proof that families with lesbian and gay kids can be whole, happy and worthy of all that this great country promises."

As Marxists, we support laws codifying the civil rights of gays—including the right to same-sex marriage—while noting, "The real point is that marital status ought to be genuinely irrelevant: every individual should have the same protections regarding health, home and children" (*Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991). However, it is a dangerous illusion that even bourgeois and petty-bourgeois homosexuals can assure a place for themselves in this homophobic capitalist society. Anti-gay terror is



Savulich/Daily News

### Drop All Charges Against NYC Gay Rights Marchers!

**OCTOBER 20**—As several thousand marched in New York City last night to mourn the murdered Matthew Shepard and call for stronger "hate crimes" laws, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani unleashed an army of cops on horseback and in riot gear. Marchers were trampled, pepper-sprayed, beaten with nightsticks and indiscriminately arrested. Over 100 remain in jail as we go to press. This vicious attack underscores the danger of appealing to the forces of capitalist state repression to defend the rights of the oppressed. Drop the charges now!

not confined to the hinterlands. In New York City, for example, reported "bias crimes" against homosexuals have skyrocketed by 81 percent in the past year.

In promoting themselves as part of the "American mainstream," some homosexual groups have organized campaigns which actually fuel anti-gay prejudice. For years, "respectable" gay rights organizations have shunned and denounced the North American Man-Boy Love Association (NAMBLA), which has suffered enormous persecution by the bourgeois state for its commitment to defense of the rights of "men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships with each other." As part of our consistent defense of NAMBLA against state repression and against exclusion from gay rights protests, the Spartacist League has noted (WV No. 587, 5 November 1993):

"The portrayal of NAMBLA as child molesters has nothing to do with the protection of children; rather it is part of a

generalized campaign against sex aimed at the 'moral rearmament' of the American people which would bolster the bourgeoisie's authority. The guiding principle for sexual relationship between all people ought to be one of effective consent."

More recently in San Francisco, Community United Against Violence, a group set up to monitor and expose anti-gay attacks, has run posters on city buses blaring, "Women Can Rape Women," feeding into the bigots' depiction of homosexuals as "predators." Tailing the bourgeois-feminist and gay-lifestylist milieu in pandering to "family values" reaction is the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), which hails anti-pornography censor Catharine MacKinnon for "trail-blazing legislation that attacked porn as sex discrimination" (*Freedom Socialist*, March-May 1994). In the name of "protecting women and children," such laws strengthen the powers of the bourgeois state in attacking free speech and other civil liberties, including censorship of feminist publications.

For its part, the reformist Workers World Party (WWP) openly fosters illusions in the Democratic Party. In a statement on the murder of Matthew Shepard, WWP calls to lobby Congress to end "hate crimes," proclaiming: "If President Clinton or other politicians really wanted to put an end to these crimes, they could call for a national mobilization of millions of people to march on Washington and occupy the Capitol until Congress enacts full civil rights for sexual and gender minorities, restores and expands affirmative action, restores and expands welfare and ends workfare, ends Pentagon funding and prison building and instead provides full funding for education, housing, and health care" (*Workers World*, 22 October). WWP might just as

well call on the capitalist Democrats to establish socialism while they're at it!

An avowedly "communist" group which actually promotes anti-gay bigotry is the Progressive Labor Party (PL), which has long been notorious for its fulminations against "movements which unite with drug addicts and homosexuals" (*Progressive Labor*, February 1971). PL's opposition to gay rights does not sit well with many of its younger members. But this disgusting position is firmly embedded in PL's puritanical Stalinist background with its embrace of the family as a "fighting unit for socialism." This has led PL to "intervene" in sinister Christian fundamentalist formations such as the all-male Promise Keepers, whose leader rails against homosexuality "as an abomination of Almighty God."

### Forge a Leninist Vanguard Party!

PL's pandering to such reactionary prejudices exposes as utterly hollow its claim to stand for communism. Pervasive racism and deep-going male chauvinism—combined with religious backwardness—have historically been used by the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. While anti-gay bigotry does not pose the same kind of strategic obstacle to proletarian revolution, the working class cannot be won to an understanding of its historic role as the gravedigger of capitalism without a relentless struggle by the communist vanguard against any and all manifestations of social prejudice and backward consciousness. Centrally, this means a political fight against the trade-union bureaucracy which chains the working class to the capitalist class enemy and plays a key role in promoting backward prejudices.

As we noted at the time of our 1977 fusion with the Red Flag Union, a Marxist group which emerged from the gay liberation movement (WV No. 171, 2 September 1977):

"The slogan 'Full Democratic Rights for Homosexuals' means a commitment not only to fight against such abuses as job discrimination and legal inequality, but also to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of homosexuals' democratic rights. It is not a separate demand for homosexuals, but a demand in the interests of the entire working class...."

"The socialist program is committed to the eradication of homosexual oppression, which is linked to the special oppression of women. The sexual division of labor based on child-rearing became a source of social oppression in class society. The nuclear family conditions sex roles which are inherently oppressive to those who deviate from the accepted sex role norms. While proletarian rule will do much to end homosexual oppression, the final eradication of all ideological oppression of homosexuals cannot occur until the family is replaced in socialist society."

It will take a proletarian revolution to sweep away the system which spawned the depraved killers of Matthew Shepard. The Spartacist League is committed to forging the internationalist Leninist vanguard party needed to lead the working class to victory in this fight. ■

**Blacks, Gays, Jews, Minorities — Nazis Want to Destroy Us & Ours! STOP THEM! 7 Committee Against the Nazis**



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated labor/black mobilization spiked Nazi provocation against Gay Pride Day, Chicago 1982.

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## U.S./NATO Hands Off Serbia, Kosovo!

OCTOBER 19—As we go to press, the threat of a massive bombing and missile assault by 16 NATO powers still hangs over the people of Serbia and the southern province of Kosovo. After mobilizing an armada of more than 400 military aircraft, Washington has now announced a ten-day postponement of any military assault to allow for a promised withdrawal of Serb police and army units. Last week, the U.S. and its NATO partners forced Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslavia, to agree to the entry of 2,000 imperialist “monitors” into Kosovo with the supposed aim of overseeing the Serb withdrawal. Meanwhile, 25,000 United Nations “peacekeeping” forces—including American units—remain in neighboring Bosnia, and a thousand more in Macedonia.

The International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, call for military defense of Serbia in the event of an imperialist attack. Whether or not the U.S.-dominated NATO alliance carries out its bombing threat, we forthrightly oppose this imperialist bullying and blackmail and declare: *All U.S./UN/NATO forces out of the Balkans!*

As usual, the imperialists have cloaked their threats of military terror in the language of “humanitarian” concern for the plight of Kosovo’s ethnic Albanian majority, which has been subjected to fierce repression by Serbian forces battling a secessionist insurgency by the Kosovo Liberation Army (UCK). This is the height of cynicism. The U.S. and other NATO powers are no less opposed to the right of self-determination for Kosovo’s Albanian population than is Serb-chauvinist strongman Milosevic. This was made crystal clear by an editorial in the London *Independent* (12 October) which, while screaming for an imperialist military assault, stressed: “Serbia should be clear that the West is not advocating independence for Kosovo, or its

absorption into a greater Albania.”

As Milosevic launched a wave of military repression in Kosovo last spring, the U.S. careened from threatening to step up sanctions against Belgrade to pressuring its European allies to ease such sanctions. When fighting between Serbian forces and the UCK started to get “out of hand,” the imperialist press launched a massive propaganda blitz suddenly “exposing”

the Balkans. Though ultimately rallying behind the bombing plan pushed by Washington and London, France opposed a resolution in the UN Security Council authorizing military action and Italy initially opposed an attack in the absence of such a resolution. Meanwhile, German Social Democratic chancellor-elect Gerhard Schröder has been strident in advocating military intervention

even talked of giving Serbia military aid against a NATO attack before offering to join the imperialist “monitoring” force.

Like the West European powers, Washington is fearful that the conflict in Kosovo could spread to the Albanian minority in Macedonia and draw in Albania as well as Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. But fundamentally, the U.S. has no stra-

### All UN/Imperialist Troops Out of the Balkans!



Watson/Pandis  
U.S. president Clinton, Social Democratic German chancellor-elect Schröder threaten imperialist attack on Serbs in Kosovo. Imperialist UN “peacekeeping” force in Bosnia.



DPA

Serb atrocities in Kosovo while Washington staged a show of force aimed at getting Milosevic to draw back (see “Down With Imperialist Intervention in the Balkans!” WV No. 693, 3 July).

NATO’s vacillations on ordering a military strike have nothing to do with pious proclamations of hopes for a “peaceful” solution, but rather reflect the fact that Washington and its West European “allies” have different appetites in

against the Serbs.

Germany is out to reassert its “sphere of influence” in the northern Balkan states of Croatia and Slovenia—enforced during World War II through a genocidal occupation of Yugoslavia by Hitler’s Nazis. Italy has similar aims in Albania, where it currently has an occupation force. Russia—which feels threatened by NATO expansion in East Europe and was under tsarist rule a patron of the Serbs—

tegic interest in the Balkans, other than to impose its diktat there and around the world. As we wrote of U.S. plans to unleash a bombing attack against Iraq last February, Washington’s repeated military threats and interventions highlight “the drive by U.S. imperialism to assert its ‘right’ to ride roughshod over the colonial and semicolonial peoples of the world and to demonstrate to its

*continued on page 9*

## USWA Tops’ Protectionism: Poison to Class Struggle

# Victory to Kaiser Aluminum Strike!

Some 3,000 members of the United Steelworkers (USWA) in Washington, Louisiana and Ohio have been on strike since September 30 against a union-busting drive by Kaiser Aluminum. Kaiser threw down the gauntlet against the union by demanding a contract which would cut one of every five jobs, allow unlimited “outsourcing” of production and maintenance work and implement forced overtime and other “productivity” schemes.

This is the second strike against Kaiser in three years. Like millions of other workers in the U.S., during the 1980s Kaiser workers were pressured by the union misleaders to make huge sacrifices in pay and benefits with the lie that jobs could only be secured through ensuring company “profitability.” Meanwhile, eight plants were shut down as Kaiser underwent two “lever-

aged buyouts.” Now the company wants to gut the union entirely. As soon as the current strike began, hundreds of managers and over 1,000 scabs were brought in to keep production going, and Kaiser CEO Ray Milchovich gloats that scabs are “coming and going without a problem.”

Such massive scabherding was also deployed to break a strike launched last October by 1,100 members of USWA Locals 2102 and 3267 against Oregon Steel in Pueblo, Colorado. In what has historically been one of the only union strongholds in the Rocky Mountain region, USWA members’ jobs have been taken by scabs.

*It doesn’t have to be like this!* As seen in a series of recent strikes—from UPS last year to Flint GM this summer—there is a renewed combativity among American workers fed up with

multi-tier wage schemes, speedup and mass layoffs. To defeat Kaiser’s union-busting requires that the union unleash the power residing in its ability to *stop production and cut off the flow of profits*. That means solid, mass picket lines to stop scabbing. It also means concrete labor solidarity from other key unions, starting with railway workers and Teamster truckers refusing to handle (“hot cargo”) scab aluminum. And that would mean going up against scabherding cops and strikebreaking court injunctions, i.e., against the capitalist state which exists to protect the property and profits of the corporate bosses. This points to the crucial need to forge a labor leadership imbued with the understanding that workers’ interests are irreconcilably counterposed to those of their exploiters, that the bourgeois state and the Democratic and

Republican parties of capital are the enemies of labor and the oppressed.

The pro-capitalist union tops promote the lie of a “partnership” between labor and capital, a class-collaborationist perspective which has undermined the power of labor and led to a series of stinging defeats for the USWA. In Pueblo, the USWA tops offered an “unconditional return to work” last December with the rationale that the National Labor Relations Board, an arm of the capitalist government, would declare the company’s union-busting “illegal” and grant millions of dollars in back pay to the strikers. While appealing to the anti-labor NLRB, the USWA tops launched a “corporate campaign” to convince customers to withdraw their accounts from Wells Fargo Bank, one of Oregon Steel’s main creditors, with the

*continued on page 10*