MARCH 29—Into the sixth day of the crash bombs and cruise missiles into terror war against the Serbian people, the U.S. province of Kosovo. While Washington the war front, it is clear that the target—have a vital interest in defeated the Serbs against the American-led NATO attack! Down with the United Nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!—has kept a tight lid on news reports from areas—including the headquarters of Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia—where hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, and innocent peoples in the 1980s. Clinton's cynical lies to the contrary, NATO's rear against Serbia has nothing to do with "human rights" or defense of the Albanian population of Kosovo against ongoing starvation blockade imposed in 1992, America's rulers declared themselves to be unchallenged masters of a "New World Order." When Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Slobodan Milosevic's Serbia refused to bow to Washington's dictates, they were branded as "rogue states" to be punished and whipped into line.

In 1991, the Pentagon war machine launched a devastating attack against Iraq, formerly a Moscow client state. The ongoing starvation blockade imposed in 1990 by the U.S. and other nations economic sanctions! All U.S./UN/NATO troops out of the Balkans!—resulting in the death of well over a million Iraqis—has been punctuated by periodic terrorist bombing, which continues to this day. In 1995, NATO warplanes and missiles were launched against the Bosnian Serbs as a prelude to the U.S.-led occupation of Bosnia. Throughout this period, Serbia has been subjected to Western economic sanctions which have doubtless contributed to the deaths of many Serbs, especially children, the poor and the elderly.

U.S. military actions and economic warfare in the Near East and Balkans are in a broader sense also directed against its main imperialist rivals: Germany and Japan. It is not only the rulers in Baghdad and Belgrade who are to be taught that the U.S. is now "the world's only superpower," but also the rulers in Tokyo, Berlin, Paris et al. In savaging Iraq, American imperialism is demonstrating its determination to maintain control over the Persian Gulf oil fields and to gain control over the oil and gas fields of the former Soviet Caucasus. U.S. intervention in the nationalist/communist wars precipitated by the German-initiated breakup of Yugoslavia is aimed above all at maintaining American military dominance in Europe through NATO.

In the current war against Serbia can be seen the specter of a wider Balkan war or series of wars such as took place early this century. These wars, resulting from the intersection of regional nationalist conflicts with rivalries among the major continued on page 5
Defeat U.S. Imperialism...

(continued from page 1)

"ethnic cleansing." In fact, the all-sided national liberation struggle of the Serbs was directly instigated by the imperialists in their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution. Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient rivalries of the central European imperialist rivals. Marxists oppose the poison of nationalism and fight for the class unity of the workers of all nationalities. The strong and powerful Serb nationalism is the result of imperialist rivalry. Yugoslavia was torn apart by the Serb nationalists into the Yugoslav, Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, Croatian, Slovenian, Bosnian and Albanian states, all with their own imperialist ambitions. If America's capitalist rulers get away with imposing their diktat in Kosovo, it will give them a freer hand to sow terror and destruction around the world. It will also strengthen the hands of the oppressors in the Balkans to increase their drive to destroy the former Yugoslavia through capitalist counterrevolution in 1991-92. Now the U.S. imperialists—whose butchery over two million people in their losing counterrevolution for the world war of the working class and oppressed here to fight against the torrent of attacks being leveled by Wall Street and its political agents, the Demo­cratic and Republican parties. We fight to build the multiracial revolutionary workers' party, forged in the crucible of class struggle, which is the necessary instrument to lead the working class to the overthrow of this entire system of capitalist racism, exploitation and war through a socialist revolution which rips industry and agriculture from the hands of the filthy rich and creates an egalitarian socialist economy.

Lenin and Trotsky's Comintern: Party of World Revolution

This month marks the 80th anniversary of the founding of the Third International in Moscow. Under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, which was the outcome of the October Revolution of 1917, the Comintern counterposed to the pro-imperialist Socialist Democracy Movement is the Second International of world socialist revolution.

Trotsky

The Third International was transformed into an anti-revolutionary trade union movement which usurped political power in the Soviet Union in 1923-24, passing over to outright reformism in the mid-1930s, Trotsky and the Left Opposition carried forward the program of Leninist internationalism today. The International Communist League seeks to reaffirm the Trotskyist Fourth International, founded in 1938, as the necessary instrument in the fight for new October Revolutions around the world.

Lenin

Seventy-two years have passed since the Communist Party announced its program in July 1919 as a Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the communist movement, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Even at that time communism, as the class struggle of the working class, to cleanse the movement of the disintegrating admixtures of opportunism and sectarianism, to prepare the way for the advent of a new international, revolutionary proletariat of various nationalities, to develop along complex paths, but also severe defeats. But essentially the movement proceeded along the path indicated in advance by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The epoch of final, decisive struggle came later than the apololes of social revolution had expected and hoped. But it has come. We communists, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of various nationalities, are determined to fight for the victory of the communist revolution around the world.

TROTSKY

The bourgeois world order has been sufficiently lashed by socialist criticism. The task of the international communist movement must be to overthrow that order and erecting in its place the edifice of the socialist order. We summon the working men and women of all countries to unite under the communist banner, under which the greatest victories have already been won.

LENIN

Proletarians of all countries! In the struggle against imperialist savagery, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bureaucracy and bureaucratic property, against all kinds and forms of social and national oppression—Unite! Under the banner of workers' Soviets, under the banner of revolutionary struggle for power and the triumph of the proletarians under the banner of the Third International—proletarians of all countries, unite!—Manifesto of the Communist International to the Proletariat of the Entire World (March 1919)
As Fake Lefts Wallow in “Human Rights” Imperialism

ICL Protests Demand: “Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Terror Bombing!”

As the U.S./NATO launched military attacks against Serbia, the International Communist League immediately swung into action against the imperialist war as a unified Leninist internationalist organization. The ICL immediately joined in against the war, issuing leaflets, initiating speakouts and intervened in other protests to raise our unique revolutionary perspective for defense of Serbia against imperialist attack and for defeat of imperialism through worker revolution.

The U.S./NATO air strikes and the buildup of imperialist ground troops threatening a wider war provides further tinder for social explosions within the imperialist centers. While the fake lefts issued leaflets, initiated protestations are in the best interests of the workers they purport to represent. It’s bloodly terror against weaker nations, against colonial and semicolonial peoples during World War II—today calling for an organized anticapitalist revolution to overthrow imperialist war is in sharp contrast to the fake Trotskyists who peddle illusions that the imperialist warmongers will stop the war in their terror. Demonstrations called by self-proclaimed socialists in the U.S. and Europe have centered on bleating pleas to “stop the bombing.”

The ex-Stalinists of the Prague Communist Party (PCF), the ex-Stalinists of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, Italy, Germany and Britain are going over. In Germany, mothers of soldiers reading, “Defend Serbia” chants are in the best interests of the workers they purport to represent. It’s the fig leaf for the imperialist occupation and for defeat of the Yugoslav peoples during World War II. It’s the fig leaf for the imperialist occupation of Kosovo with or without U.N. moves. Just across the narrow Adriatic Sea from the slaughter and studded with NATO military bases, Italy has been plunged into another civil war by the Balkans war. The popular-front government there has been carrying out vicious repression against Albanian refugees streaming into the country, and which exterminated the Balkan peoples during World War II.

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France, Spain—Down With Anti-Basque Repression!

For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basque People

PART ONE

On March 9, as right-wing Spanish prime minister José María Aznar was being hosted by French Socialist prime minister Lionel Jospin, police in Paris staged a roundup of supporters of the separatist Basque Homeland and Freedom (ETA). The arrest of Javier Arizcuren-Ruiz (also known as Kantauri), a key leader of ETA, along with six accomplices, precipitated massive demonstrations demanding “Independence!” and “General amnesty for ETA prisoners!” in the Basque country of northern Spain.

The latest arrests came only six months after ETA declared a unilateral truce in its decades-long fight for an independent Basque homeland. In announcing the cease-fire, ETA proclaimed that it was “willing to learn” from the April 1988 Northern Ireland “peace” accords, a reactionary imperialist-imposed deal which maintains the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority there and mandates the continued presence of the British military.

Aznar halted “Franco-Spanish cooperation in the fight against terrorism.” Indeed, for years French and Spanish authorities have collaborated with Spain in waging a brutal campaign of repression against Basque militants. Millions of Basques have been imprisoned or exiled to Spain, where torture of political prisoners is routine, and dozens continue to languish in French prisons. We say: Free Javier Arizcuren-Ruiz and all victims of anti-Basque repression in France and Spain!

We publish below an article written before the recent events, translated from the newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Libertaire (LC). The Aznar government has used the anti-ETA campaign to discredit the Basque and Catalan separatist movements.

A far more sinister campaign has erupted in what are popularly known as “anti-terrorist” demonstrations—vast reactionary demonstrations that express, in their tailing of the Popular Front, the hysterical witchhunt against ETA, the monstrous capitalist-imposed deal which maintains the subjugation of the oppressed Catholic minority there and mandates the continued presence of the British military.

Indeed, for years France has collaborated with Spain in waging a brutal campaign of repression against Basque militants. Millions of Basques have been imprisoned or exiled to Spain, where torture of political prisoners is routine, and dozens continue to languish in French prisons. We say: Free Javier Arizcuren-Ruiz and all victims of anti-Basque repression in France and Spain!

Last July [1998], the long simmering unrest in the Basque region of northern Spain exploded into international prominence, as vast reactionary demonstrations thonged major Spanish cities following the kidnapping and shooting of a minor bourgeoisie politician by the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA—Basque Homeland and Freedom). In the space of a few weeks, a massive million people joined protests against the killing of Miguel Ángel Blanco Garrido, a town councilman from the ruling Popular Party (PP) of José María Aznar. In Madrid, Bilbao and elsewhere, representatives of the right-wing government marched hand in hand with leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties and the trade unions.

The Aznar government has used the climate of anti-ETA hysteria to reinforce its draconian “anti-terrorism” legislation, aimed at crushing the Basque independence movement’s decades-long resistance to Castilian-centered bureaucratic domination and repression. Shortly after the shooting of Blanco Garrido, 23 leaders of Herri Batasuna (HB), a petty-bourgeois nationalist coalition which is seen as the political wing of ETA, were each sentenced to seven years in prison for the “crime” of distributing a propaganda video by ETA.

As Marxists-Leninists, we defend the Basque people’s elementary democratic right of self-determination, including the right to full independence from the French and Spanish states. Hands off the leaders of HB!

While Marxists oppose the petty-bourgeois strategy of individual terror in the struggle against capitalist oppression, we do so from the standpoint of the class-conscious proletariat, which uniquely has the social power to overthrow the capitalist system on account of its relationship to the means of production under capitalism. Nonetheless, when the oppressed direct their actions against the bourgeoisie and its state, we stand them against the retribution of the capitalist government.

Today, the treacherous leaders of the Basque proletariat such as Julio Anguita of the Communist Party (CP) make common cause with Franco’s heirs against the Basque nationalists. This is hardly surprising. The reformist social democrats and Stalinists derailed the massive working-class upsurge that followed the death of Franco in 1975 and channelled it into support for the Juan Carlos “reform” monarchy and the centralist Constitution, which explicitly denies the right of self-determination for the Basques, Catalans and others. The Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and the CP-dominated United Left (IU) popular front are signatories to the Pacto de Añuría Enea, an all-party device designed to isolate the more militant nationalists of HB and to combat ETA. And the PSOE, when it was in government, set up the Grupos Antiterroristas de Liberación (GAL) death squads to assassinate ETA members in collusion with the French security forces, controlled at that time by Mitterrand’s Socialist Party.

Defense of the Basque nationalists is in no way implies the slightest accommodation to nationalism as an ideology. In Spain, the polarization along national lines—HB is capable of mobilizing a demonstration of 40,000 people in a Basque country in response to the anti-ETA demonstrations—can only be overcome by a proletarian vanguard struggling against national oppression. Without this crucial element, the historical strength of nationalist ideology, the Basque and Catalan separatist movements, is doomed to fall into the arms of the Basque nationalists, who are today the main force in the region. Only genuine proletarian leadership fighting against the entire capitalist system would unite behind it not only those struggling against national oppression but also other specially oppressed sectors—from youth demonstrating against “temporary employment agencies” which organize wage slavery to women activists, who demonstrated in large numbers on International Women’s Day [1999], against violence to women activists.

Marxists fight to have the national question taken “off the agenda” in order to lay bare the fundamental class reality that the Basque and Catalan militants have counterposed interests. The Basque bourgeoisie, which increasingly looks towards France for freedom to exploit its “own” working class (for example, in the demand for “autonomy it, in many cases, from Spanish sovereignty”). The Basque bourgeoisie also has independent economic interests outside Spain.

For the Right of Self-Determination for the Basque People

Tens of thousands march for Basque independence in San Sebastián in Spain, July 1997, carrying pictures of imprisoned ETA supporters.

Basque region spans the border between Spain and France. ICL calls for right of self-determination of Basque people in both countries.

The National Question and Bourgeois Revolutions

Today, the Basque region, and especially its proletariat, was in the vanguard of militant struggle against the dying Franco dictatorship. In 1970, international protests against the Burgos trials of ETA militants forced the bloody- soaked regime to commute the death sentences passed on six of the defendants. At the time, ETA was popular among Spanish workers, many of whom supported the cause of Basque and Catalan self-determination. Likewise, the Spanish left opposed the anti-ETA repression and formally supported the right of Basque independence.

Workers Vanguard
The NATO attack on Serbia has sharply increased tensions between the U.S. and Russia, which seeks to convert its perevolyarnaya, aristocrat role as the great-power protector of the Serbs. When Washington peremptorily told Russian prime minister Yevgeny Primakov that it was about to proceed with the assault on Serbia despite Russian protestations, Primakov closed this door on the possibility that Clinton in mid-flight and ordered his plane to turn around. And while most NATO allies have now fallen in line behind the U.S., both Greece and Italy—site of 14 NATO air bases which are the result of the war against Serbia—have already called for a halt to the bombing campaign. Meanwhile, in marked contrast to the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, the U.S. ostentatiously shunted aside the UN even as a fig leaf for its military atrocities.

The destruction of the Soviet Union, the world’s first workers state, ushered in a new era in regional wars and particularly in American imperialist military adventures. The post-Soviet world at the end of the 20th century increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world. That world was destroyed—along with millions of Europeans, workers in and out of uniform—during the four-year-long slaughter which raged across the continent from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. World War I marked the first global inter imperialist conflict, a bloody conf in the U.S. that captured state that esteemed all progressive role.

Serbia—under the leadership of V.I. Lenin called on the workers to turn that imperialist war into a civil war in all the belligerent coun tries. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) in Russia followed this course of struggle, which resulted in the October Revolution of 1917 that smashed the capitalist state and took revolutionary Russia out of the imperialist carnage. We are not now in another inter imperialist war, but the bombing of tiny Serbia is a continuation of that World War I—by the biggest and most arrogant military power on earth is an ominous escalation in U.S. imperialist aggression which will increase the deepening divisions between the major competing capitalist powers, bringing the threat of a new war closer.

As Marxists, we oppose the predatory aggression of the U.S. ruling class against Serbia. Without revolutionary opposition to these war moves, U.S. imperialism’s appetite for broader con

quest will only be whetted, leading inex orable toward world war, i.e., a struggle for redivision of the world for economic exploitation and spheres of influence. Thus it is in the urgent interest of the working class in all countries—especially workers in the U.S., who have been used as expendable cannon fodder in two world wars and in the counterrev oltu rary wars in Korea and Vietnam—to oppose by words and deeds the war aims of all the members of the NATO geous political establishment and mass media have demonized Milosevic and Saddam Hussein. Washington’s main just ification for U.S./NATO military interven tion in the Balkans is the charge that the Serbs were engaging in “genocide” against the Bosnian Muslims and now the Albanian Kosovars. Like all bourgeois nationalist groups, Saddam Hussein and Milosevic keep themselves in power through the murderous repression of minority peoples as well as of their entire villages in seeking to suppress the popular leftist insurgency.

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The terminal crisis of Tito's Yugoslavia in the mid-1980s, as its countersubversion swept across East Europe, when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. While the U.S., Britain and France initially made a halfhearted diplomatic effort to preserve a unified Yugoslavia as a capitalist state, the newly united German Fourth Reich moved in to subvert its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. The U.S. then pushed for overthrowing its weight behind an independent Bosnia under the leadership of Muslim nationalist forces. The drive of German imperialism to restore its sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is not simply motivated by historical remembrance or a desire for revenge. This region contains a wealth of minerals of strategic importance to Germany.

The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. A quarter of the Serb population lived outside its own national republic, mainly in Croatia and Bosnia. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, the large Serbian communities confronted a hostile Bosnian Muslim regime in Sarajevo. The Serbs, thus, sought to overthrow the then-ruling Stalinist bureaucrats in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, leading to a socialist federation of the Balkans. Today, we fight for socialist revolution to overthrow all the capitalist regimes in the Balkan region, from Tito's Croatia to Milosevic's Serbia.

In the past few weeks, the U.S. has attempted to overthrow the then-ruling Stalinist bureaucracies in Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria, leading to a socialist federation of the Balkans. Today, we fight for socialist revolution to overthrow all the capitalist regimes in the Balkan region, from Tito's Croatia to Milosevic's Serbia.

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The last month and, even more sharply, in the public outrage in Italy provoked by a U.S. military court's acquittal of an Air Force pilot who sent 20 people plunging to their deaths in a car in the Italian Alps during a training flight last year. The U.S. bureau chief for La Repubblica expressed "the feeling that the United States is a super-power," as we are so often told—acts more and more unilaterally and capriciously. At protests following Sadat's Hussein or a low-flying pilot" (New York Times, 6 March).

The NATO bombing of Serbia also takes place at a time of growing American belligerence toward China supposedly "stealing" U.S. military secrets. While the Stalinist bureaucrats in Beijing, as part of their headlong drive toward capitalist restoration, remain desirous of doing lucrative business deals with American and other capitalists, they are resentful and to a degree fearful of America's self-appointed role as cops of the world. The People's Daily (25 March), organ of the ruling Chinese Communist Party, accused NATO of "flagrantly using burlinie military force to interfere in Yugoslavia," and China joined Russia in voting against the NATO bombing in the UN Security Council. Such actions are, to be sure, an impotent form of diplomatic protest. But they signal the potential for major and bloody conflict in the Far East in the not-so-distant future.

Meanwhile, Germany and Japan are rearming space and have thrown off their post-WWII bans against engaging in military actions abroad. German imperialism, under a Social Democratic/Green coalition government, is gloating that its fighter jets are taking part in the air war against Serbia, its first combat role since World War II. Coincidentally, Japanese warships last week fired on two boats, described as North Korean ships, in international waters. While the incident itself was relatively minor, it was likewise the first time since World War II that Japanese imperialism had deployed naval destroyers on a military mission.

Liberal, Fake Lefts Spearhead "Human Rights" Imperialism

"See the world war II, back to the stone age!" For decades these slogans were associated with the most right wing, most anti-Christian, most oppositional supporters of American imperialism. As against such yahoos, liberals usually argued that the interests of American foreign policy are better served by diplomatic and economic aid. However, since the end of the Cold War, liberals along with many self-declared "leftists" have become the most strident advocates of U.S. military action to bring "democracy and human rights" to the rest of the world.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the case of the Balkans. The very same day that Kissinger published his piece, "No U.S. Ground Forces for Kosovo," the force, Marxists understand that in reality the American state is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, an instrument of bloody repression through which American capitalists maintain their exploitation of working people in this country and around the globe.

Nonetheless, a number of groups which claim to be Marxist are in fact advocates of "human rights" imperialism. Prominent among these is the International Socialist Organization (ISO). Basi­cally, the ISO seeks to attract young liberal­ists by presenting itself as more consistent and militant supporters of liberal prin­ciples than the Clinton White House and Democratic Party in general. Its criticism of Clinton's policy in the Balkans is substantially identical to that of the Nation, that the U.S. should withdraw Kosovo from the Serbs and give it to the Albanians. The ISO's Socialist Worker (12 March) states: "The U.S.-backed 'peace' plan won't bring peace in Kosovo because it doesn't deal with the roots of the conflict—the demand of the Albanian majority for independence."

To be sure, the ISO stops short of outright support for U.S./NATO military action against Serbia. But the reason these left social democrats give for opposing the bombing is merely that it "will only make a tense situation worse—and undermine oppor­tunities of Miloševic's war machine in Serb­ia." Thus the ISO depicts Miloševic and his "war machine" as the main enemy in the Kosovo conflict, not imperialism and its infinitely more powerful, nuclear-armed war machine. At protests in front of the ISO's New York office, the ISO has carried signs pleading with Clinton to "Stop the Bombing." But logically, if the NATO forces invade Serbia, overthrow Miloševic and replaced him with a puppet regime which granted "independence" to Kosovo, the ISO should support such an action. The core point is that by demonizing Miloševic as the main enemy of "freedom and democracy" in the Balkans, the ISO serves as a left apologist for the U.S./NATO terror bombing of Serbia.

The same holds for other left groups, some of which claim to be Trotskyists. A prime example in the U.S. is Socialist Action. Since Socialist Action professes to oppose American imperialism in prin­ciple, it absurdly claims that U.S./NATO intervention is aimed at strengthening the "independent socialist" movement in Ser­bia! "Imperialists Step Up Pressure on Kosovo Rebels," Socialist Action (Febru­ary 15). Socialist Action's resolution in the March issue asserts that "the West­ern powers will continue to bring the maximum pressure to bear on the Kos­ovar delegation to get them to accept terms that will meet Milosevic's political conditions."

Reading this, someone who knew nothing about what was happening in the Balkans would assume that the U.S. was now bomb­ ing the Albanian Kosovars with the support of the Serbs. In fact, Clinton convinced the Kosovo Albanian nationalists to sign the Rambouillet agreement in order to provide a diplo­matic pretext for attacking Miloševic's Serbia, which is what the U.K. wanted, as it railed even against Clinton's pre­tense of seeking a last-minute deal with Belgrade to avert the bombing.

The leaders of Socialist Action are not naive over the fundamental difference between American imperialism and the "socialist" movements. They know well that the Kosov­o Albanian separatists are the strong­est supporters of U.S. imperialism. U.S. air strikes against Serbia and of NATO occupation of Kosovo. If Socialist Action is serious about squaring its "anti-imperialist" pre­ensions with its line on Kosovo, try carry­ing signs reading "Down With U.S. Imperialism!" The real reason behind the fake socialists' support for NATO military adventurism in the Balkans is that they believe that NATO's military action will help "the progres­sive, capitalist state" promote "socialist trans­formation in Serbia, which is what the U.K. government wants, as it railed even against Clinton's pretense of seeking a last-minute deal with Belgrade to avert the bombing."

At bottom, the false-socialist reformists embrace the liberal view that the "demo­cratic" capitalist state can serve the inter­ests of working people and the oppressed and that imperialism is a policy which can be changed under pressure. World War II, in their mind, was a case of "imperialist conflagration, laid bare such illusions promoted by the likes of German Social Democrat Karl Kauk. It was the height of that imperialist slaughter, Bol­shevik leader V. I. Lenin noted in "Social­ism and War" (1915) that with the con­centration of capital in vast, powerful monop­olies, "Almost the entire globe has been divided up among the 'lords of capital' either by force or by deception and disingenuousness—by en­terting other countries in thousands of different ways."

Today, capitalism's ineluctable drive toward ever more and wider wars threatens to realize his most terrible vision of human­ity. We of the International Communist League fight for new October Revolu­tion, the only way to end once and for all the war-driven world capitalist system.
murder. As our comrades in the Spartacist LeaguelU.S. have pointed out in their leaflet, “These were the ‘socialists’ who were ‘over the moon’ when Blair was elected.” Sensitive to the brutality of NATO’s war in the Balkans might cast their eyes across the Irish Sea and ask why their party refuses to oppose the presence of bloody British troops in Northern Ireland!

The ICL stands in the tradition of V.I. Lenin and the Spartacist League-International of International social-chauvinist and reactionary patriotism at the outset of World War I. Lenin’s “Socialism and War,” a powerful handbook of revolu­tionary internationalism written in 1915 and circulated clandestinely to workers and soldiers throughout Europe in the crucible of war, teaches:

“The war is a war between the social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by supporters of the slogan of ‘neither victory nor defeat’. A revolutionary class cannot win for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot win a revolution in a reactionary war for the bourgeoisie’s sake of peace...”

Lenin stressed that in the case of an imperialist war against a small or semicolonial people, it is the duty of the working class not only to fight for the defeat of one’s own war effort, but to defend the victims of imperialist aggression. That is why the ICL, forthrightly calls for the defeat of the U.S./NATO imperialism and for defense of Serbia! We called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian population of Kosovo against the Serbian Serbs. Our appeal in Belgrade until the Albanian separatists became simply a pawn of NATO’s predatory desires for empire, there was a right of self-determination for the Kosovo Albanians is necessarily subordinated now to the task of defending the imperialist bombing and threatened invasion.

The fake Trotskyists try to camouflage their treachery by demanding that all the people carry on fighting this war by limiting their calls to “stop the bombing” while piling the war effort to defend against the state’s demands about the need to crush Serbia! These ostensible leftists have made the Kosovar Albanians their cause célèbre just as the warmongers of NATO, the Albanian imperialist invasion of the Balkans. The French Lutte Ouvrière (LO), which has a well-deserved reputation for anti-imperialism, has also confirmed that the war effort is still under the hierarchie of the Serbs, not the Albanians. While most of the left bought into the humanitarian scare, the Spartacists of the Spartacist League-International for “U.S./NATO ousts of Serbia and the Balkans!”

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In Austria—a historic foe of Serbian aggression—workers with social-chauvinist garbage cannot fail to see that the latter’s military policy, the “New Order,” is not the solution to the crisis. But in Austria—a historic foe of Serbia—the WP affiliated a war lust that would put Bill Clinton to shame, unabashedly siding with the imperialists against Serbia. Complaining about the “wars” that NATO was waging, “neither victory nor defeat: A revolutionary perspective...”

The real impetus for Urban Warrior is not the defeat of the Serb forces is equally reactionary. The military brass claims that these bombing of Kosovo, but a thread—fractured America...—to collapse the tiny handful of the “third worlders” by driving down living standards, benefiting a few, that would put Bill Clinton to shame, unabashedly siding with the imperialists against Serbia. Complaining about the “wars” that NATO was waging, “neither victory nor defeat: A revolution­ary perspective...”

The real impetus for Urban Warrior is the destruction of social welfare programs while in practice perpetuating imperialist domination, and the war by driving down living standards, benefiting the poor. This has been accom­panied by a massive expansion of the cap­italist machinery of state repression.

Marine Corps Commandant General Charles C. Krulak declares that future battles will be fought in the “urban canyons” formed by high-rise buildings. And in a recent article in Armed Forces Journal, he claims (quoting the San Francisco Guardian, 10 March),

New York City, May 1992. Capitalist rulers were shaken as South Central L.A. was in outrage over the racist cops who beat Rodney King and protests spread across the country.

A L.A. upheaval confirmed the losing battle of forging united proletarian struggle. The power establishment has been shaken as the tiny handful of the “third worlders” by driving down living standards, benefiting a few, that would put Bill Clinton to shame, unabashedly siding with the imperialists against Serbia. Complaining about the “wars” that NATO was waging, “neither victory nor defeat: A revolution­ary perspective...”

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By 1971, the Socialist Workers Party (WP) group had crushed black and red vio­lence, creating the Serb forces are equally reactionary. Adding to the bourgeoisie’s propaganda blitzy for war in the Balkans, WP writes: “Victory to the Kosovan national libera­tion struggle” and calls for “Arms, medical supplies, food with no strings to the Kosovars!” Their aftermath—“No to NATO bombing of Serbia!”—is a thread­bare curtain to cover their capitulation to their own imperialism.

The outbreak of war has fractured Workers Power’s “international”—the League for a Revolutionary Communist International (LRCI)—into opposing pieces like rubble blocks blown across the war zone. In France, where demonstrations against the war have brought out as many as 10,000 people, including thousands of Serbs who have mobilized in defiance of NATO’s war by driving down living standards, benefiting the poor. This has been accom­panied by a massive expansion of the cap­italist machinery of state repression.

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The future urban center will contain a mixture of buildings, from high-rise to the elite to the poor and disenfranchised. For day to day existence of most of the urban poor will be balanced tenouosly.

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same article goes on to say:

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years later, President Johnson ordered the 5,000 troops into Chicago to quell unrest and federlized the Illinois National Guard. 

In 1967, the 82nd Airborne was brought in to repress the Detroit ghetto explosion. Former Black Panther Party leader Gerionito Ji (J) Pratt, a Vietnam veteran, described in an interview with Workers Vanguard (No. 382, 28 June 1985) how his unit was mobilized to put down the unrest: "I was a sergeant and had done the year over there [Vietnam] that was required. And they called in the orders to quell it because it was about the National Guard couldn't do it. It just so happened that the paramedics that they were four, or four, unit was something of a platoon of 70 percent black." Gerionito's unit was immediately pulled out and penalized for not doing its "duty" to suppress the black ghetto—shipped back to Vietnam during the height of the Tet Offensive.

The bourgeoisie is understandably worried that an army disproportionately composed of blacks and other minorities, i.e., the very same people targeted for domestic repression, cannot be relied on in times of "national emergencies" or imperialist war. Yet that is the result of "economic conscription," which compels working-class and minority youth—increasingly denied any access to higher education and faced with a future of low-paid jobs, if any—to "volunteer" for the armed forces.

Military occupation of Detroit, 1967: 43 were killed and over 7,000 arrested. Brophy supplied.

If one party is needed to lead the working-class and minority youth—increasingly denied any access to higher education and faced with a future of low-paid jobs, if any—to "volunteer" for the armed forces, as is being proposed, then the bourgeois class is fundamentally bankrupt.

The bourgeoisie is thereby supplanted by an opportunistic liberal class, a class that has the means of production and is thus able to control the masses. The bourgeoisie, in the height of the Tet Offensive.


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Recently the bourgeois media has been mooting the possible reinstitution of the draft, both to meet the projected demand for more cannon fodder and to dilute the minority composition. We oppose the draft as part of our appeal to capitalist imperialism: 

Not one man, not one penny for the imperialist military!

Democratic Party Pushes WEAPONS Ghetto

Former Democratic governor Jerry Brown's recent election as mayor of Oakland has wide support among both blacks and whites, many of whom believed his pledge to use his "connections" to revitaliz

the city. How Brown intends to do this was laid out in his campaign call to move 10,000 yuppies into the downtown area, the East Bay poor and the "people of color" to step up the "war on crime" and to insti-
New York... (continued from page 12)
include thousands of black workers who know that it could just as easily have been them as Amadou Diallo. Our call for labor protests has found deep resonance among the transit union membership. The power to stop the center of finance capital dead in its tracks. They have the power to stop the world among the transit union membership. (continued from page -1)

labor protests has found deep resonance workers in the city workers unions—from New York City government to a grinding halt.

There will be no end to police brutality short of the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression which the cops serve as armed guard dogs. But a massive mobilization of workers is critical. For a taste of that, recall the 40,000-strong protest by overwhelmingly white New York City construction workers last summer. Facing down mounted police, they took to the streets chanting, “New York got to go! Bringing that kind of social power to bear in a mass protest against cop terror would be a big step toward imbibing the working class with the understanding that its interests are inseparably linked to the defense of the American capitalist rule and the cops are the enforcers. At a March 10 hearing on police brutality in Harlem, a black father spoke powerfully to the everyday reality of treatment at the hands of the cops: “I live in the projects in Southview, and the way the police approach you there is not for polite. First, they curse at you, then you throw around, then they arrest you, then they arrest you... I do not allow my children after dark, after ten o’clock in the street. My 15-year-old, he’s six feet. He says, ‘Dad, but everybody out here lives like one.’ I say, ‘Yeah, but the police don’t know you.’ And that’s the reality!”

It was an opportunity out numbering the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the violent break into apartments with guns drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the “drug war” and police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn’t say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism as a tool to pit the police at the citizenry, what they do is to operate as the “thin blue line” protecting whites from the ghetto, the black and Hispanic youth. The cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the “Bill of Rights” for self-defense. If they ask you “You’re told you fit the description,” you’re spread-eagled, slammed into a car back seat and thrown into an escape alley. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interrogated by the New York Daily News (26 March), 81 out of 100 reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the police. Demagoguery is drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the “drug war” and police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn’t say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism as a tool to pit the police at the citizenry, what they do is to operate as the “thin blue line” protecting whites from the ghetto, the black and Hispanic youth. The cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the “Bill of Rights” for self-defense. If they ask you “You’re told you fit the description,” you’re spread-eagled, slammed into a car back seat and thrown into an escape alley. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interrogated by the New York Daily News (26 March), 81 out of 100 reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the police. Demagoguery is drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the “drug war” and police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn’t say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism as a tool to pit the police at the citizenry, what they do is to operate as the “thin blue line” protecting whites from the ghetto, the black and Hispanic youth. The cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the “Bill of Rights” for self-defense. If they ask you “You’re told you fit the description,” you’re spread-eagled, slammed into a car back seat and thrown into an escape alley. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interrogated by the New York Daily News (26 March), 81 out of 100 reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the police. Demagoguery is drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the “drug war” and police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn’t say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism as a tool to pit the police at the citizenry, what they do is to operate as the “thin blue line” protecting whites from the ghetto, the black and Hispanic youth. The cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the “Bill of Rights” for self-defense. If they ask you “You’re told you fit the description,” you’re spread-eagled, slammed into a car back seat and thrown into an escape alley. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interrogated by the New York Daily News (26 March), 81 out of 100 reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the police. Demagoguery is drawn, the hundreds of thousands of black and Hispanic youth behind bars are the direct result of the “drug war” and police. When he ran for NYC mayor in the last election, Sharpton didn’t say a word about reducing the power or size of the cops. While Giuliani plays on racism as a tool to pit the police at the citizenry, what they do is to operate as the “thin blue line” protecting whites from the ghetto, the black and Hispanic youth. The cops go into grade schools and give six-year-old kids the “Bill of Rights” for self-defense. If they ask you “You’re told you fit the description,” you’re spread-eagled, slammed into a car back seat and thrown into an escape alley. Of black and Hispanic men between the ages of 24 and 35 interrogated by the New York Daily News (26 March), 81 out of 100 reported that they had been stopped and harassed by the police. Demagoguery is
the workers movement, this myth is par­
ticularly propounded by the chauvinist French Communist Party (PCF), which also
tends to practically identify the entire “people” as “France” or the “Frenchpeople.”
It’s revealing to note how minor the differences histori­
cally have been between the authoritarian Spain
and so-called “Republican” France in their
repression of the Basque people.

In France, the Basques have no legal
status at all—there is no Basque departamento (administrative district), nor even a university. In recent years, the
drawal of the right of asylum, summary expulsion of Basque militants and the active
partnership with the French state in this
territory have served to nourish national resent­
ment also in the Basque region of France.

France has never had a real degree of solidarity with the Basques across the border. While the development of the Basque
language and culture has been very different, it is clear that today there exists a single
Basque nation divided and oppressed by these
two capitalist powers.

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Operation “Urban Warrior” Marines Invade Oakland

OAKLAND—For four days in March, some 700 U.S. Marines invaded this heavily black, working-class city and its environs. Using attack helicopters, hovercraft and amphibious ships, the Marines made repeated landings at the former Alameda Naval Air Station. At the now-closed Oak Knolls Naval Hospital in nearby Oakland, they fired off 10,000 rounds of blank ammunition and dozens of “flashbang” grenades in “mock” battles not far from residential neighborhoods and a school. Residents were awakened by the sound of automatic gunfire and Cobra helicopters buzzing overhead at tree-top level. "We were under aerial attack," complained one resident. “That was not supposed to be part of the deal” (San Francisco Chronicle, 17 March).

This military exercise, called “Urban Warrior Advanced Warfighting Experiment,” was an ominous display of the state forces to be mobilized against the working class, blacks and all of the oppressed in the event of any perceived challenge to the rule of racist American capitalism. Oakland is the latest of eight cities to be invaded by the Marines in such exercises. In Texas on February 8, with no advance warning “a squadron of eight black helicopters flying at tree top level dropped a team of elite special operations soldiers into the center of Kingsville” (San Francisco Bay Guardian, 10 March). For two hours, they conducted "war games" using live ammunition and real explosives, setting fire to one building. Residents of a retirement home watched in disbelief as explosions blew out windows of a nearby office building.

San Francisco’s Presidio, a former army base and now a national park, was originally scheduled to be the center of “Urban Warrior” in the Bay Area. But it was vetoed by the park service, which was concerned that the grass would be trampled! And in Monterey, where Marines staged an “occupation” of a military intelligence school, a planned amphibious landing was forbidden for fear of disrupting the whale migration. But no such compunctions applied when it came to terrorizing Oakland’s black population. Indeed, “New Age” Oakland continued on page 8

U.S. Marines descend on Alameda near Oakland in “Urban Warrior” exercise aimed at preparing for suppression of ghetto revolts, labor struggles.

As New York Seethes Over Diallo Killing

Beware Democratic Party Hustlers—Enemies of Labor, Blacks

Mobilize Mass Labor Protest Against Racist Cop Terror!

Seven weeks after the murder of black immigrant Amadou Diallo, gunned down in a hail of 41 bullets by four members of the NYPD's elite death-squad-style Street Crimes Unit (SCU), New York City continues to boil with outrage against the racist killer cops. Worried that the raw fear and hatred of the cops could ignite a social explosion, black politicians and white politicians alike want to appear on television and radio as the “people’s champion” and “law and order.”

Olympia Snowe (R-Maine) went on a “listening tour” of Harlem and other black neighborhoods, which would put Clinton and Janet Reno's Justice Department on the defensive. But no such compunctions apply when it comes to terrorizing Oakland’s black population. Indeed, “New Age” Oakland continued on page 8

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