

Report from Moscow

Soviet Workers Protest "Free Market" Shock Treatment

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Overthrow Yeltsin's Starvation Regime

MOSCOW, January 18—Two weeks have passed since Russian president Boris Yeltsin's "free market reform" sent the prices of food and other necessities skyrocketing. Despite demagogic promises of abundant supplies, the store shelves remain empty and lines remain long. Popular anger is fast bubbling to the surface. As "Tsar Boris" tours Russia, he is greeted everywhere by placards, jeers and shouts attacking the "liberalization" of prices. And Yeltsin's political allies have started to desert and denounce him.

At the same time, hyperinflation, hoarding and speculation are destroying the links between mine and factory, between collective farm and food store. In Moscow, most industrial enterprises have enough supplies to operate for only another two or three weeks. With the imperialist-dictated "shock treatment" being carried

out by Yeltsin and his counterrevolutionary cohorts, the entire economy is grinding to a standstill. Moscow TV News One (17 January) reports that miners across the country are ready to strike: "In Dzerzhinsk, there are 18,000 miners who are unemployed because they ran out of support timbers in the mines" and have no money to buy more. "In Armenia, the lack of gasoline and heating oil is catastrophic. There is electricity only six hours a day in the cities and four hours in the countryside. The enterprises have stopped working. There is energy only for the bakeries and hospitals. Kindergartens are closed down."

Food riots have started erupting in various Soviet cities. In Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, police opened fire on thousands of students marching on the

continued on page 8



At January 12 Kremlin protest against starvation prices, demonstrator holds up picture of Lenin.

Inside:

Film Review

JFK Was a Vietnam War Criminal

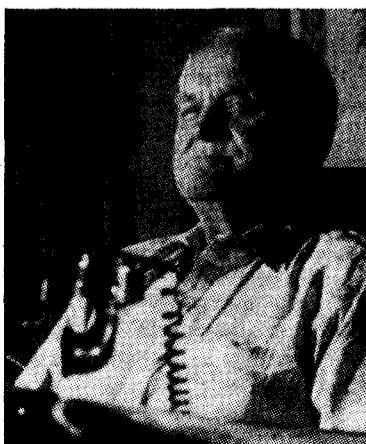


Conspiracy Theories and Liberal Myths

See Page 6

Yugoslavia and Kohl's Euro-Reich

See Page 11



Gus Hall Coup
Against Right Wing

CPUSA Shatters

See Page 4

Targeting Iraq's Hussein, Again

Bush Reelection Ploy

George Bush wants to get a "twofer" out of Iraq. First time around, the "Operation Desert Storm" blitzkrieg gave him an easy win over an outclassed opponent. This "victory" could then be used to intimidate resistance to an American-dominated "New World Order." One year later, it's election time and the tempers of hard-pressed American workers are as frayed as last year's yellow ribbons. Bush desperately needs a boost after his recent photo-op disaster in Tokyo, barfing on the prime minister of Japan. (Now Japanese audiences are cracking up watching a performing monkey trained to roll his eyes and keel over at the command of "Bush-san, Bush-san.") So since prosperity doesn't seem to be just around the corner, George Herbert (Hoover) Walker Bush has set in motion a campaign ploy code-named "Bring Me the Head of Saddam Hussein."

Remember CREEP (Committee to Re-Elect the President) of Watergate fame? Now Son of CREEP has probably dispatched a black-bag team to Baghdad. To set the stage there was a planted lead article in the Sunday *New York Times* (20 January), under the kicker, "White House Weighs Proposals to Topple Hussein Before U.S. Presidential Vote." There would be "covertly" fomented uprisings of Kurdish rebels in the north and Shi'ites in the south of Iraq to "draw out and divide Mr. Hussein's last Republican Guard divisions." Of course, the "Saudi-backed option would require a major allied air campaign over Iraq and possibly the reintroduction of American ground troops in the region." This "campaign" would culminate with the assassination of Saddam Hussein—something it is now confirmed that the U.S. tried but failed to do last year.

The "leak" gave war secretary Dick Cheney the chance to act tough and cagey on CBS' *Face the Nation* talk show, predicting that the Iraqi leader would be ousted while saying coyly, "if we were engaged in such planning,

obviously I couldn't talk about it." William Safire, who had first floated the scenario "based on a tip from an intelligence source," called it the "April Surprise" (after the "October Surprise" in which the Reagan team allegedly got the Iranians to refuse to return the hostages until after the 1980 election). Safire wrote:

"Mr. Bush knows that he will have to return to Saddam Hussein. As Manuel Noriega can testify, this American President is better the second time around. He has asked the Joint Chiefs for a plan to strike again....

"When? An October 'surprise' would be too obviously political. Much depends on Saddam's cooperative recalcitrance, but some of our spooks expect a balloon up in April or May."

From the bunch that once sent a brace of pearl-handled revolvers and a Bible to the Iranian ayatollahs, nothing is too blatant or bizarre.

This time, instead of bungling a burglary they would put bombs down the airshaft of a bunker, playing the videotape in real time on the TV evening news. *U.S. News & World Report* (20 January) reports that "Despite the Bush administration's repeated denials that it had specifically targeted Saddam Hussein, in the final hours of the war—within hours of the ceasefire—two U.S. Air Force F-111F aircraft dropped specially designed 5,000-pound bombs on an Iraqi command bunker 15 miles northwest of Baghdad in a last-ditch effort to kill the Iraqi leader." One central command officer involved in deciding where to drop the bombs said, "I would be lying to you if I told you they weren't meant for Saddam Hussein."

So now we're being bombarded with the "one year after" retrospectives from the kept American media who "can now tell all," having covered it all up at the time. It only confirms what we told you last year: "Desert Storm" was no video war, it was calculated,

continued on page 13

Political Asylum for Joe Doherty!

After an eight-year vendetta, the U.S. government may succeed in banishing Irish Republican fighter Joseph Doherty to a life of torture in British jails. On January 15 the Supreme Court cleared the way for Doherty's deportation. Every lower court had ruled for Doherty. District judge John Sprizzo declared Doherty was convicted of a political offense "in its most classic form." Yet the Reagan/Bush "Justice" Department and the Reagan/Bush Court denied Doherty's right to even have a hearing on his request for political asylum.

In 1980 Doherty survived a murderous ambush by British SAS commandos in Belfast only to be convicted in a star chamber proceeding for the killing of one of his would-be assassins. Escaping two days before sentencing, Doherty made his way to New York. He was arrested by immigration cops in 1983, and has been jailed ever since.

Though Doherty's struggle has won widespread international support, damaging sectarianism within the Irish Republican movement erupted just weeks before the Court decided his fate. Doherty came under attack from the Irish Northern Aid Committee for voicing concern about damage caused to a hospital complex adjacent to the Musgrave military base recently attacked by the IRA. The Manhattan-based *Irish People* dropped his weekly column. Subsequently the paper announced the dispute was cleared up and Doherty was back on staff.

The PDC steadfastly defends the IRA from British imperialism's brutal repression. But unlike the uncritical cheerleaders of Irish nationalism, we recognize a distinction between defensible Republican attacks on symbols of imperialist repression, such as a British military base, and indiscriminate terror like pub

bombings which serve only to divide the Irish working class and strengthen British colonial rule.

Hours after the Court announced its decision supporters protested at Joe Doherty Corner on Pearl Street in lower Manhattan. The Partisan Defense Committee has persistently defended Joe Doherty. On January 20, the PDC sent an urgent protest to the Attorney General demanding Doherty be granted asylum.

* * *

Two years after defeating a vicious COINTELPRO frame-up, former New York Panther leader Dhoruba bin Wahad (Richard Moore) is threatened with a return to the prison hell where he already spent 19 years. On December 19, the New York Court of Appeals granted the prosecution's appeal from the March 1990 court decision which overturned Dhoruba's conviction. The racist state authorities threaten to bury him behind bars and throw away the key.

Framed on charges stemming from the shooting of two cops in a 1971 machine-gun attack on Manhattan D.A. Frank Hogan's home, Dhoruba's conviction was reversed on grounds that the prosecution withheld evidence, including ballistics tests and witness statements. The D.A.'s star witness Pauline Joseph,

a diagnosed paranoid schizophrenic, had given 19 contradictory statements to the cops during her 20 months in police custody. Her initial statement that Dhoruba was innocent was never disclosed. When Dhoruba sought to call her back to the witness stand after one of her statements clearing him came to light, the prosecutors denied knowing her whereabouts, although at that very moment she was still in police custody.

New York's highest court declared that this outrageous conduct did not automatically nullify the conviction. Dhoruba is scheduled for a hearing in February where he is now "required to make an actual showing that prejudice resulted from the prosecution's" concealment of evidence. *Smash the frame-up of Dhoruba bin Wahad!*

* * *

On December 4, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was denied parole for the tenth time. The day before the parole hearing Oakland mayor Elihu Harris and the majority of the City Council supported a "Resolution in Support of Justice for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)," which was distributed to the parole board together with a letter from the 70,000-member Central Labor Council of Alameda County

continued on page 15



TROTSKY

Trotsky's Red Army

Today, the counterrevolutionary regimes of Yeltsin in Russia, Kravchuk in the Ukraine and their counterparts aim to destroy the Soviet state and destroy the Soviet Army, carving them up along national lines and leading to fratricidal war. The Red Army, forged under Leon Trotsky's leadership after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, under the banner of communist internationalism won victory over the host of tsarist Whites, reactionary nationalists and imperialist expeditionary forces which sought to overthrow the young Soviet workers republic.



LENIN

The Red Army is the first armed state force in history which serves to defend the interests of the working people against the exploiters and oppressors....

The creation of the Red Army was a sort of test for the working class: would it, or would it not, be able to create, in a short time, an armed force with which to defend itself and open the way to peaceful socialist construction? All the events of the past year testify that the Russian working class has passed this great historical test. The Red Army has been created. It had suffered many setbacks, but, by and large, it has coped victoriously with the enemy on our numerous fronts....

There can be no doubt that the creation of a large army and the conduct of a protracted war on gigantic fronts has imposed heavy sacrifices on the economic and cultural constructive work of Soviet Russia. On the other hand, however, the very fact that a mighty Red Army has been created in an exhausted country is proof of the great economic and cultural strength of the working class. Only the lofty idea of struggle for the complete emancipation of the working people from all forms of oppression was capable of inspiring the vanguard of the working masses and helping them to overcome all expressions of weariness, disintegration and anarchy....

In accordance with the entire course taken by our revolution, the leading role in the Red Army belongs to the advanced, tempered fighters, the Communist proletarians. As commissars, as members of Communist cells, and often as Red commanders, they guide the spiritual life of the Soviet regiments and make them what they should be—the fighting instrument of the Communist revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Red Army" (July 1919)



Protest outside New York courthouse against 1970 trial of "Panther 21." Days after his acquittal in that case, cops again framed Dhoruba bin Wahad, who is still fighting for his freedom.

Lying, Concealing Evidence, Strong-Arming Scientists

Creeping Police State

From elimination of defendants' rights to racist speedup on death row, the rulers of American capitalism are tightening the claws of their "legal" apparatus, with strong appetites for and tendencies toward a police state. Just consider three articles in a single *New York Times*, dated 20 December 1991. Taken together they have a certain sinister cohesiveness, like those molten quicksilver droplets that congeal themselves into the evil Terminator II.

The first piece was headlined, "State Appeals Court Narrows Right to a New Trial When Evidence Is Withheld." This concerns former Black Panther Dhoruba bin Wahad (Richard Moore), who has already done 19 years on a COINTELPRO frame-up and was only released when he proved the state withheld evidence in his trial (see "Class-Struggle Defense Notes"). On December 19, the appeals court dangerously narrowed the 30-year-old *Rosario* rule, which mandated an *automatic* reversal of conviction

if the prosecution concealed any evidence relevant to the testimony of a witness. In Dhoruba's case, the D.A. concealed numerous contradictory statements by their chief witness and lyingly claimed not to know of her whereabouts (she was in police custody).

It is a crime punishable by imprisonment to lie to a federal officer or the cops. But evidently not the other way around. The *Times* article, "Jury Clears Friend of Kennedy Family," stems from the rape trial of William Kennedy Smith. On the night of March 31, Palm Beach police gained entrance to the Kennedy mansion by lying to houseguest William Barry, a former FBI agent and step-too-slow bodyguard to the late Robert F. Kennedy, telling him they were investigating the theft of an urn, not an accusation of rape. Barry told the cops the Kennedys might have already left Palm Beach, although they didn't depart for another day. For this he was charged with obstruction of justice, even though the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

George Chomalou died on December 4 of complications from surgery. He was 62 years old. He was active in the socialist movement for 50 years and is survived by his wife and comrade, Sophie. Although he was a member of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT), we in the Spartacist League remember George warmly, in the words of one comrade, "as a feisty curmudgeon who enjoyed a night of hard smoking, drinking and arguing politics—George was one of the most gregarious and sweetest guys ever to all who knew him."

In many ways, George was representative of a whole layer of older members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who were purged from the party as Jack Barnes unveiled the full flowering of his program. In the mid-1960s, the stodgy SWP leadership of Farrell Dobbs & Co. handed the party over to Barnes, who quickly installed a whole layer of his cronies in the effective leadership; over the course of the subsequent years, Barnes shunted aside and demoted to "advisory" roles the layer of older leaders and cadres, accompanied by a lot of pious gloating about a "new generation" of leadership.

The founding members of the Spartacist League, organized as the Revolutionary Tendency, fought inside the SWP to reverse the party's definitive slide into centrism (and soon, reformism) in the early 1960s. The RT, centered in the SWP's youth organization, sought to win some chunk of veteran party members, who represented a living continuity with the authentic Trotskyist party founded and led by James P. Cannon. But the premature and bureaucratic expulsion of the RT in 1963 frustrated our attempt to win over organizationally loyal SWP veterans. Within the SWP a sort of niche continued to exist for older members under the protection of Joseph Hansen and his *Intercontinental Press* apparatus—and they could take some comfort in the fact that the party did still publish Trotsky's works.

Hansen's death in 1979 opened the way for a "night of the long knives" purge of the older party veterans, the organizational corollary of Barnes' famous 1982 speech denigrating the role of Trotsky and disavowing Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution." This spelled out a Barnesite "theoretical" basis for the SWP's increasingly quirky politics of slavishly uncritical tailism of such forces as Castro's Cuba, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the South African ANC and the American bourgeois feminists of NOW.

Barnes' explicit attack on Trotsky was the last straw for a number of party veterans; as George once remarked, "When I was a kid I was won to the permanent revolution, and I'm not about to stop now." Other founders of the FIT included George Breitman, who for years had headed the work of preparing the volumes of Trotsky's writings for publication. In reality the SWP had long ago renounced permanent revolution in deed over the questions of the Cuban Revolution and Algeria. And the bureaucratic framework for the mass expulsions of oppositionists of the 1970s and 1980s was laid back in 1963, when the RT was expelled for "disloyalty," and 1965, when the organizational rules were "revised" explicitly

Veteran Trotskyist Remembered

George Chomalou

1929-1991

to justify the political expulsion of the RT.

To the members of the FIT who stuck with the moribund party until Barnes contemptuously threw them away, the "glory days" of the old SWP were always the mass popular-frontist coalitions and marches of the Vietnam antiwar movement, in which the SWP was the right-wing, social-patriotic "best builders." Over the years, we had many sharp fights with George Chomalou over this question, failing to convince him, although he admitted being repulsed during the Persian Gulf War by the social-chauvinism which dominated the "yellow ribbon" protests. But unlike many on the left, George loved open, fierce comradely debate and was never afraid of a fight. On several occasions George defended the SL against exclusion, attempted censorship and slander by the SWP, Communist Party and others; his adherence to the old Trotskyist principle of workers democracy sometimes got him in hot water with his comrades.

George became involved with left politics at a young age; one of the early political influences in his life was an uncle who was a Greek anarcho-syndicalist. When George was 12 years old, his opposition to World War II led him to join the Communist Party's youth group. But when the CP flipflopped and gave support to the U.S. in the war, George found himself selling war stamps, a situation he hated. At one point he led a strike in his high school against the no-strike pledge, which landed him in trouble with the CP. To his chagrin, the people who defended him were the people he had been taught to consider "counterrevolutionary fascist Trotskyites." He realized that despite everything he had heard in the CP, the SWP's position against the war was correct. After political discussions he joined the Akron local of the SWP in 1948. A year later, he married Sophie, whom he had known since 1942.

At that time, the Akron SWP local had about 125 members, and concentrated its work in the United Rubber Workers union. But when the Cochran-Clarke faction mounted a challenge inside the SWP in the early 1950s, their rightist views won support among a majority of the SWP's trade unionists. George was one of a half-dozen comrades who led the fight for the party majority in the Akron local. When the Cochran-Clarke faction split, the Akron local was decimated, and those left in the SWP moved to Cleveland.

Greek was George's native language and he did international work for the party around the question of Greek Trotskyism. He was also a highly cultured man, trained to be an opera singer.

All his life he loved opera and classical music. He had a huge library of 78 r.p.m. records and books about opera and music. But as an active communist George was black-listed during the McCarthy period. It really hurt him to be unable to work in the profession he loved so much. Instead he sang in dinner clubs for years, doing Gilbert and Sullivan, light opera and popular tunes. With his beautiful voice, he was in great demand for charity events in the Akron area, which he rarely refused.

In the early 1960s, George resigned from the SWP, citing personal reasons. In 1974 he rejoined and found himself in an unpleasant bureaucratic organization. Still, George was very proud when Sophie decided to join the SWP in the late 1970s, although she could tell right away that this wasn't the party she'd known for years through George; something was very wrong with it.

Comrades of the SL first ran into George in 1979 in Cleveland at the regular Saturday night Militant Labor Forums. He was the only SWPer who would talk to us, and at first we thought he'd been assigned to do so. But George simply enjoyed talking politics with the SL, and he felt he agreed with us on the defense of the Soviet Union and permanent revolution. He was always up for a discussion, whether on the telephone, or on the street during a demonstration, or at his house over a bottle of his potent Greek brandy. One of his favorite books was *In Defense of Marxism*, and he was an avid reader of *Workers Vanguard*. He encouraged his comrades in the FIT to read it and sometimes xeroxed important articles and distributed them by mail.

In the last weeks of his life, George continued to express interest in our work in the Soviet Union and our fight to build a genuine Trotskyist party there. Over the years, he encouraged us in some of our efforts, particularly our labor/black mobilizations against KKK/Nazi fascist provocations and our campaign against the "Fourth Reich" annexation of the former East German deformed workers state.

In a lot of ways, George Chomalou's political life captures the tragedy of the degeneration of the SWP: a really great guy, tough as nails, a red to his bones, trained in the Cannon school so he wouldn't renounce Trotskyism and the Russian Revolution, but whose later years were in our opinion largely wasted because the party to which he felt such great loyalty succumbed to popular-frontism and ultimately became Barnestown. Like Dick Fraser, who was one of our close political mentors, George was one of the human links to the revolutionary party of James Cannon, which we believe, despite some weaknesses easier to see in hindsight, had possessed the capacity to lead a workers revolution in this country if such an opportunity had opened during the effective political lifetime of its central cadre.

In remembering George, we admire his dedication and sincerity in seeking to uphold the banner of Trotskyism as he understood it, and his hatred for the SWP's spitting on traditions which we also claim as our own. We miss him a lot.

cops came in on false pretenses. As it turned out, a Palm Beach grand jury refused to indict Barry, possibly because he had friends in high places. Others have not been so lucky.

The third article, "Critic of 'Genetic Fingerprint' Tests Tells of Pressure to Withdraw Paper," reported that the FBI and others have been employing McCarthyite scare tactics against scientists who question the government's rush to convict using unproven "DNA evidence." Scientists have been publicly questioning the accuracy of the procedure, which seeks to match tiny bits of genetic DNA material found at a crime scene with samples taken from a suspect's body. The article says that two professors dissenting from the government's stance, Dr. Daniel Hartl of Washington University and Dr. Richard Lewontin of Harvard, were forced by the editor of *Science* magazine to tone down a critical article in the journal. Hartl was contacted by

the Justice Department's Criminal Division Strike Force and told that "publication of the paper would be a disservice to the system of justice in the United States." He described it as a "stunning, chilling conversation."

Scientists who have testified in court for the defense have been particular targets of this old-fashioned witchhunt. Dr. Simon Ford, a British geneticist, was questioned about his visa status, a poison pen letter was sent by a Minneapolis prosecutor to some judges accusing him of fraudulent billing practices, and he was subjected to a search of his laboratory and all his papers there. The government campaign worked—Ford stated he has been discouraged from testifying in such cases. And on January 10, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in New York granted greater leeway to the prosecution in using DNA evidence.

Clearly all this has nothing to do with

science, truth or justice. As Gore Vidal points out in the *Nation* (27 January), dealing with the drug witchhunt: "Our 'inalienable' rights are being systematically alienated. Never has an American government been so busy interfering with the private lives of its citizens, subjecting them to mandatory blood, urine, lie-detector tests. Yet the war on drugs has nothing at all to do with drugs. It is part of an all-out war on the American people by a government interested only in control."

Vidal quotes Thomas Paine, in *Common Sense*, one of the great documents of the American Revolution:

"When we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries by a government, which we might expect in a country without government, our calamities is [sic] heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer."

One of the ideals of the bourgeois revolution was that the state and its police powers should not be raised above or be

unaccountable to the citizenry. All members of society were supposed to be formally equal before the law, with "the authorities," including the police, held to the same standards as everyone else—or somewhat higher standards. Today this statement would be met with utter blank incomprehension by any citizen of Harlem or Loisaida, or at best with cynical laughter.

Today's police-state tendencies are a direct reflection of the 1980s "decade of greed," one of the most dramatic shifts in income distribution in U.S. history, and are intended to keep the rich richer and the poor prostrate. It is left to us communists to lead the fight to defend and restore the democratic gains of the first American Revolution, as well as the second (the Civil War and emancipation from slavery), as we fight for a third American revolution to obliterate capitalist police-state terror forever. ■

Gus Hall Coup Against Right Wing



CPUSA Shatters

Less than six months after Mikhail Gorbachev, under orders from Yeltsin and imperialist godfather Bush, dissolved the Soviet Communist Party, the American Communist Party (CPUSA) was shattered by a deepgoing split. At its 25th convention held in Cleveland in early December, longtime Stalinist boss Gus Hall ousted from their posts the "right opportunists"—that is, those who want to shed the "Communist" label and liquidate outright into the Democratic Party. As a revolutionary organization the American CP died long ago. Yet it remained, within the framework and scale of the U.S. left, a significant reformist organization simultaneously doing donkey work for the Democrats while paying obeisance to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

With this split the CPUSA is reduced to an ossified sect. The right opposition, the "Initiative to Unite and Renew the Party," reportedly gathered over 900 signatures—one-third of the membership—and dominated the party's two largest centers, New York City and Northern California. It included almost all of the party's black leaders, among them one-time political luminary Angela Davis, former presidential candidate Charlene Mitchell, former *People's World* editor Carl Bloice and other black spokesmen including James Jackson, Kendra Alexander and James Steele. The Initiative group also featured current *People's Weekly World* editor Barry Cohen and the party's longtime leading "theoretician" Herbert Aptheker. Except for Hall and Jarvis Tyner, all the CP's "big names" are on the outs.

After taking a 33-30 defeat at the hands of a pro-Gorbachev majority in the CP's National Committee last September, Hall came back with a nostalgic replay of the heavy-handed Stalinist methods of the 1930s-'40s. This was featured by the bourgeois media—even the German newsweekly *Der Spiegel* quipped, "Stalin Wins in Cleveland." *PWW* editors Cohen and Bloice were locked out of the offices and fired. At the convention, it was reported that goons surrounded the mikes during discussion and a uniformed Cleveland cop was stationed behind the registration desk, allegedly to prevent disruption by the Initiative people. All travel by members between party districts in the U.S.

and all international travel have been banned without express permission of the leadership.

Meanwhile, the longtime, slick Stalinist operators of the opposition are acting like babes-in-the-woods liberals. Bay Area party boss Kendra Alexander complained that the Hall leadership used insinuations of "FBI infiltration" and the accusation of "factionalism" against herself and her cothinkers. As if this hasn't been the standard smear against all oppositionists in the CP for decades! That personification of a Stalinist hack intellectual, Herbert Aptheker, who denounced the 1956 Hungarian Revolution as a CIA plot, now lectures his comrades on the need for "honesty." The Initiative people held a "counter-convention" across the street in Room 211 of the Cleveland Convention Center.

Locked out: Carl Bloice and Barry Cohen, former editors of *People's Weekly World*, find themselves out in the cold.

People's Weekly World Supplement



And insofar as they could, they also used dirty tricks: new *PWW* editor Tim Wheeler complained that Cohen had "electronically lock(ed) the staff out of the computer files."

As a factional maneuver at the convention, the Initiative group passed a resolution calling on the Communist Party to issue a "public apology" for its despicable treatment of Japanese American members during World War II (they were told to resign and go willingly to FDR's concentration camps). But now their unconditional loyalties will be to the Democratic Party of Hiroshima, the Bay of Pigs and the Vietnam War. The only

question is whether these ex-Stalinists will liquidate directly or via the social-democratic Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). It is scarcely accidental that the Initiative document first appeared in public in the January issue of *Crossroads*, the magazine of Irwin Silber & Co., alongside a positive report of the DSA convention.

For the moment, the red-white-and-blue Initiative crowd has formed "Committees of Correspondence," harking back to the "founding fathers" of 1776. There is reportedly turmoil in various state committees. But despite the charges and countercharges of "right opportunism" and "rigid Marxism-Leninism," you can be certain that Hall's rump CP and the Initiative people will be reunited this summer (along with the DSA) in supporting whatever candidate the Dem-

ocrats nominate to run against George Bush. The New Year's message from *People's Weekly World* (4 January) ends with the clarion call: "Let's work to defeat George Bush in 1992." This is the watchword of the "people's front" extending from Arkansas governor Bill Clinton to Gus Hall.

But why in the world should anyone join a pro-Democratic Party Stalinist reformist sect? The "long march" into oblivion of the "Communist Workers Party" and the tenuous shadow-existence of Nelson Peery's "Communist Labor Party" are telling examples of the futility of this road.

One correction for the record: in his speech at the Cleveland convention, Hall accused the "Trotskyite Spartacus League" of "pushing 'the dump Gus' line." Not true, Gus. Standing on the program of Lenin's Bolshevism, we have no interest in who leads the remnants of American Stalinism into oblivion. Besides, in terms of political anthropology, Hall is well typecast as the last American Stalinist.

Rainbow Coalition Splits CPUSA

The right opposition drew much of its authority and assertiveness from the fact that it embraced every major black party leader except Jarvis Tyner. Because the masses of American blacks have little sympathy for anti-Communism, prominent black CPers have an entrée into radical-liberal political circles (e.g., Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition") not available to their white counterparts. The various committees against racist frame-ups and police brutality, lobbying groups for civil rights or welfare rights, anti-apartheid support groups, etc., constitute a milieu in which black CPers can hobnob with black Democrats and enjoy the illusion of involvement in big-time politics.

For example, when Nelson and Winnie Mandela visited the U.S. in 1990, Charlene Mitchell had an opportunity to meet them. A key Hall aide, Carole Marks, suggested that Mitchell should have asked Nelson Mandela to meet with the CPUSA executive, to which Mitchell reportedly replied: "No, Carole. He shouldn't have come here." Of course, it was absurd to think that Mandela on his way from Cuomo and Dinkins to Bush would meet with Gus Hall. The point is that Mitchell and her friends felt embarrassed and restrained by the CPUSA, while Hall & Co. felt their own black comrades were helping consign them to political irrelevance.

In this way the poisonous racism of American politics and society envenomed and inflamed the faction fight among the contending reformists of the CP. At one point last spring, Hall had to testify before the party's "Insensitivity Committee." Black National Board member James Steele, in his "Reply to the Discussion" (31 July 1990), asserted that "racism permeates the national leadership." For Steele, the decisive test of anti-racism is "everyone's relationship with the key forces of the Rainbow Coalition," and he denounced Hall for planning to "criticize [Jesse] Jackson and the labor movement for retreating from political independence."

In reality, Hall has supported and will continue to support Jackson and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party of American imperialism. The difference is that Steele and his cothinkers now want to dissolve into that party entirely. Steele, Mitchell & Co. may think they can have a bright future, perhaps as staffers for the likes of New York mayor David Dinkins or Virginia governor Douglas Wilder. But it ain't so. Look at the vicious red smear launched against ex-CWPer Margaret Chin in the NYC city council elections. Prominent former Communists cannot make it in big-time bourgeois politics in this country even if they claim to be born-again Democrats and "democrats."

And Gus Hall is no racist. We have no reason to believe that he is more abusive toward black oppositionists than he is toward white oppositionists.

From "Socialism in One Country"...

It all goes back to the Russian question. In his December convention speech, Hall relapsed into the standard Stalinist method of blaming the last guy for everything that went wrong: "Wrong policies and misleadership by Gorbachev and company continue to make a shambles of the socioeconomic system." Meanwhile, the right-wing opposition Initiative statement declared, "Our sym-

pathies should lie unequivocally with the Communist and other forces which are striving for the reconstruction of their societies on a democratic and progressive basis." In the code-language of Stalinist factionalism, notably the omission of any reference to "socialism," this deliberately opens the door to joining the Yeltsinite capitalist counterrevolution. In September the right-wingers called to "deplore all public statements which give the impression of sympathy for the coup or its aims."

Given the enormity of the calamity which hit them since the onset of the mortal crisis of Stalinism, the paucity of the analysis by any wing of the CP is telling. The right-wingers prattle on about taking a "fresh look" at everything, but Aptheker's facile comment that it all went off the rails with "the Stalinization of Lenin's party" begs the question of how and why. Hall belongs to the "that's the breaks" school of historical analysis, sagely remarking, "Another root cause of the crisis is the fact that socialism was born in the most backward countries, industrially, technologically and culturally" (*The Crisis in the Soviet Union*, 8 September 1991). True, but does that mean the October Revolution was doomed from the outset? With their Stalinist blinders, it's no wonder they still can't see the "blank spots" of Soviet history.

Above all, they avoid the crucial question of "socialism in one country," the anti-Marxist platform on which a conservative bureaucracy usurped political power from the working class in the Soviet Union. While Stalin seized control of the party apparatus at the 13th Party Conference in January 1924 by wholesale manipulation, he had to politically combat the Leninist program of world socialist revolution on which the Communist International was built. Thus Stalin asserted:

"The victory of socialism in one country, even if that country is less developed in the capitalist sense, while capitalism remains in other countries, even if those countries are more highly developed in the capitalist sense—is quite possible and probable."

—"The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists" (December 1924)

Trotsky unremittably fought this nationalistic revision of Marxism. Speaking at the 15th Congress in November 1926 over constant heckling from the hostile bureaucrats, he replied by quoting Lenin's statement on the first anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution:

"The complete victory of the socialist revolution in one country alone is inconceivable and demands the most active cooperation of at least several advanced countries, which do not include Russia."

In his prophetic critique of the 1928 Stalin/Bukharin program for the Comintern, Trotsky wrote:

"Harsh truth and not sugary falsehood is needed to fortify the worker, the agricultural laborer, and the poor peasant, who see that in the eleventh year of the revolution, poverty, misery, unemployment, bread lines, illiteracy, homeless children, drunkenness, and prostitution have not abated around them.... We must tell them that we will enter on the path of real socialist construction only when the proletariat of the most advanced countries will have captured power; that it is necessary to work unremittably for this, using both levers—the short lever of our internal economic efforts and the long lever of the international proletarian struggle."

—Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*

Trotsky went on to expose the logical reactionary conclusion of "socialism in one country" for the various pro-Moscow CPs around the world:

"If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only after but also before the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany.... It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism."

One is reminded of Dorothy Healey, who joined the CP in 1928 and quit in 1973.

In her autobiographical *Dorothy Healey Remembers* (1990), she sums up her break with the Kremlin by championing "the complete independence and autonomy of each Communist Party." Today Healey may be a key link in drawing the Initiative people from the CPUSA into the Democratic (Party) Socialists of America.

Various social-democratic critics, such as Theodore Draper, have laid what they perceive to be problems with the entire history of the American Communist Party at the doorstep of the Kremlin. But in the early years following the victory of the Russian Revolution, which

the "old" thinking of the late 1930s "People's Front." Reeling under the impact of the Nazi seizure of power in Germany in 1933, due to the sabotage by both Stalin and the social democrats of united-front workers' struggle against fascism, the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 codified the policy of class collaboration known as the "People's Front." This was the international counterpart of "socialism in one country," subordinating the various national CPs to their "own" bourgeoisies. In the U.S. the "progressive" bourgeoisie was identified as the FDR Democrats, and so for the 1936 elections, despite

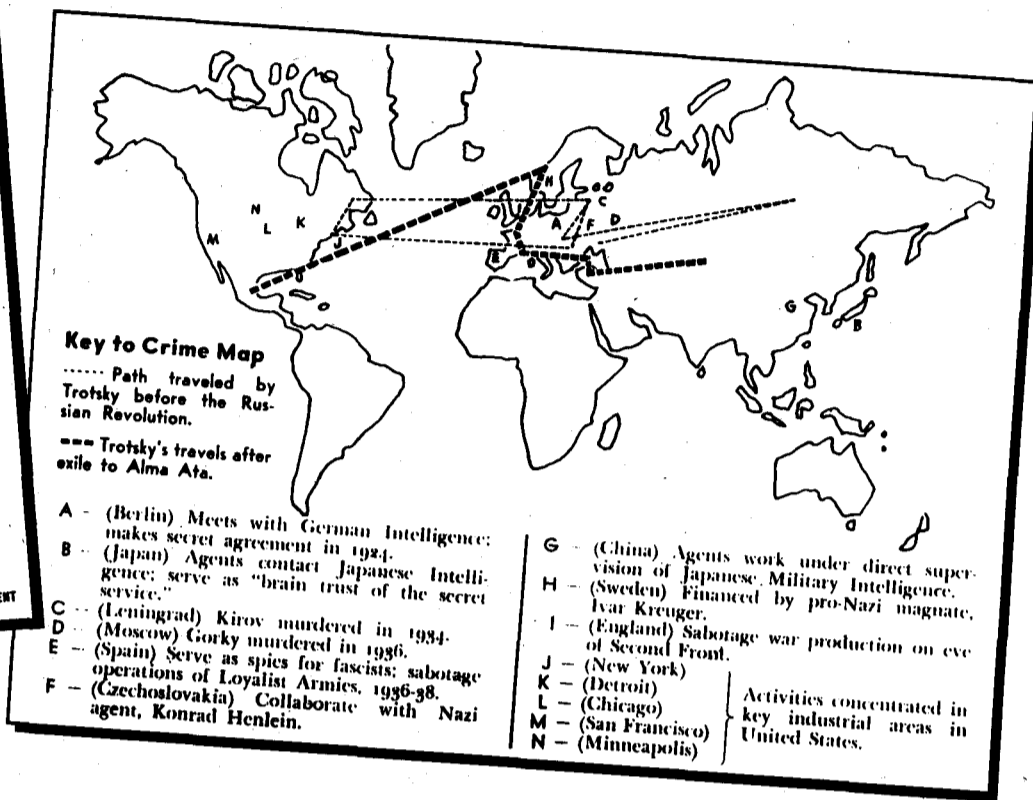
to railroad the CP leaders). By the end of the war the party had dissolved itself into an "association," following Stalin's example of dissolving the Comintern, and they cheered the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the decades since the CP attempted to promote a bourgeois liberal third party, Henry Wallace's Progressive Party in 1948, its Democratic Party mask has grown into the "Communist" face. Today the party has become virtually indistinguishable from any other Democratic Party club—except, of course, when the subject of the Soviet Union came up, a fact which constantly stood in the way

Stalinist Smear Job Against Trotskyism



1947 CP pamphlet and "crime map" slandered Trotskyists, retailed frame-up lies from Moscow Trials.



animated working-class struggle internationally, the authority and ideological guidance of Lenin's and Trotsky's Comintern was invaluable for those who fought for proletarian power in the U.S. It was in fact the intervention of Lenin/Trotsky's Comintern which pulled the American Communists out of infantile "ultraleft" policies in the early '20s, forcing a merger of the two needlessly separate parties, bringing the new party out of its fetish for an underground existence, leading it to work inside the AFL unions. And as related by early Communist leader and later founder of American Trotskyism James P. Cannon, "Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow."

The rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy contributed decisively to the degeneration of the American and other Communist parties abroad. But the CPUSA's descent into reformism was by no means simply a matter of following orders from Moscow. The same pressure which world imperialism placed on the young Soviet workers state was also felt in a different way by the cadre of the world Communist movement, especially as the initial impact of the Bolshevik Revolution receded over time. Cannon observed about Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country":

"The acceptance of this theory by the other Communist parties in the capitalist countries prepared by their own weariness and loss of historical perspective, implicitly signified their renunciation of the revolutionary program in their own countries. At the same time, it gave them—for consolation—an ersatz program which enabled them to save face in making the transition to reformism, and to pretend to themselves and others that they were still fighting for 'socialism'—in another country."

—James P. Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism* (1962)

...to the Popular Front

Today's "new thinking" on both sides of the CP split sounds very much like

running their own fig-leaf candidate, Earl Browder, the CP donned the mask of reformist social-patriotism, proclaiming that "Communism Is 20th Century Americanism" and subordinating everything to the re-election of Franklin Roosevelt.

The popular front became the be-all and end-all of CP policy, leaving aside the short-lived "left" turn of 1939-41 as a result of the Hitler-Stalin pact, and was the basis for innumerable CP crimes. In addition to their vile treatment of their own Japanese American comrades during WW II, how about their scabberding and denouncing Mine Workers leader John L. Lewis as guilty of "treason," calling him part of a "pro-Nazi fifth column" for defying the wartime no-strike pledge. Or the CP's sabotaging the 1941 "March on Washington" Negro rights movement, claiming that agitation for fair employment practices would undercut the "war effort." Or their support for the wartime imprisonment of the Trotskyists by the Roosevelt administration under the Smith Act (which a decade later was used

of ultimate bourgeois electoral "success." The Initiative group now senses that the collapse of the Soviet Union has removed an albatross around their reformist necks. But the continuity of Marxism-Leninism was maintained in the U.S. by the Trotskyists, who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and fought for class-struggle policies against the popular front. The Trotskyists opposed the imperialist Second World War, while steadfastly defending the Soviet Union—many comrades died on merchant ships on the dangerous "Murmansk run" to deliver supplies to the Red Army.

Continuing this fight today, the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights to defend the gains of October against the onslaught of Yeltsinite counterrevolution. We seek to reforge an authentically Bolshevik International on the principles of the first four congresses of the Comintern, to return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky, to put an end to capitalist oppression through world socialist revolution! ■

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Young Spartacus

Conspiracy Theories and Liberal Myths

JFK Was a Vietnam War Criminal

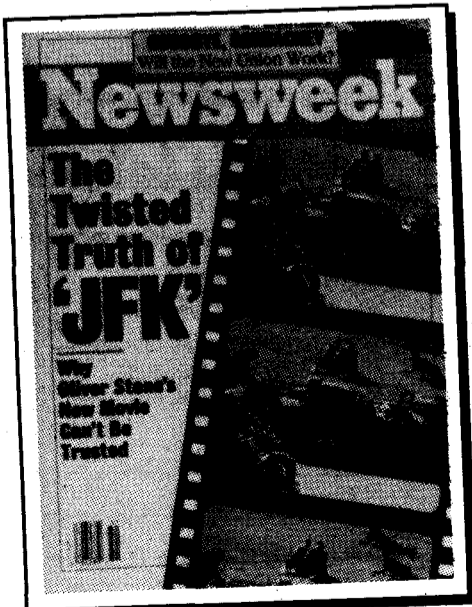
Oliver Stone's glitzy, star-studded movie about the assassination of John F. Kennedy is dedicated to the youth of America and implores them not to trust the government. For youth tuned in to music videos like Billy Joel's "We Didn't Start the Fire," for a generation that has come of age with "Conragate" and revelations that the government is

Young Spartacus Film Review

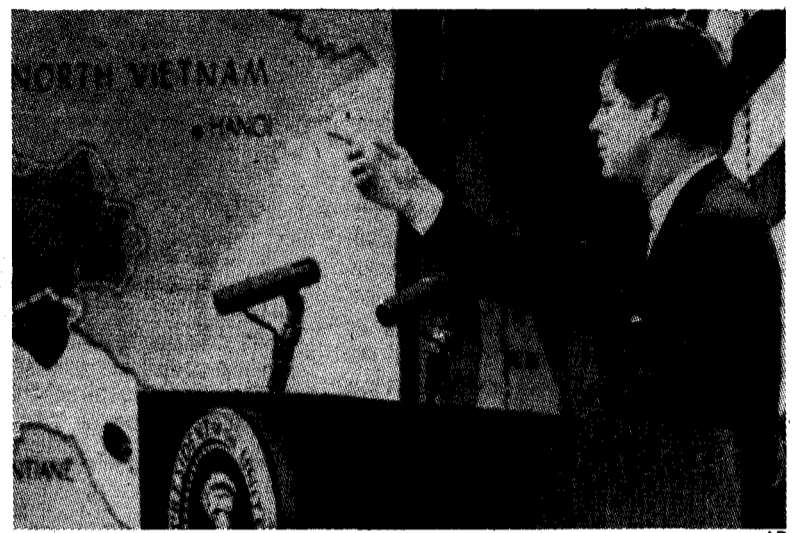
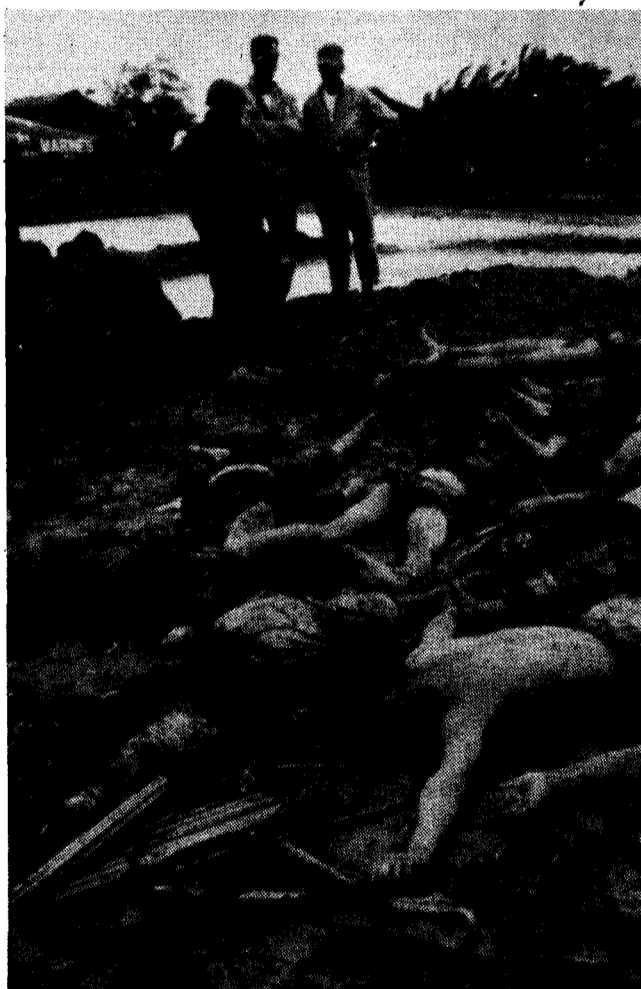
run by a bunch of corrupt, lying thieves and scoundrels, this film is ripe for the times. *JFK* is packing 'em in at the box office...and drawing a blistering barrage from all corners of the bourgeois press.

Liberal columnists and rightist pundits are spilling bottles of ink in fury over Stone's "irresponsible" and "not to be trusted" *whodunit* which asserts that JFK's assassination was a conspiracy planned and executed at the highest echelons of the "military-industrial complex." But it is Stone's lying, liberal *whydunit* that has us Marxists hopping mad. The movie *JFK* asserts that the boyish Prince Kennedy was an anti-militarist out to dismantle the CIA, negotiate with Castro and pull American troops out of Vietnam, and that America would be Shangri-La today if not for Kennedy's unnatural death in Dallas. Well, gentle reader, as Stone himself might say, "don't believe the hype." To get the truth, the real JFK must be exhumed from Oliver Stone's mountain of myths.

Was Lee Harvey Oswald a lone nut



Bourgeois media ralls against Oliver Stone's *JFK* for undermining faith in American government.



Burrows/Life

JFK escalated Vietnam War, sending over 16,000 "advisers," shown here in Mekong Delta (1962) surveying scene of their slaughter.

assassin or a patsy for a CIA conspiracy? As Alexander Cockburn wrote in an excellent autopsy of *JFK*, the answer to this question "has as much to do with the subsequent contours of American politics as if he had tripped over one of Caroline's dolls and broken his neck in the White House nursery." Cockburn adds:

"Get a life," Captain Kirk once told some Trekkies. Get some history too. Critics of *JFK* like Tom Wicker have fretted that "in an era when mistrust of government and loss of confidence in institutions (the press not least) are widespread and virulent, such a suggestion [i.e., that representatives of the ruling elites murdered J.F.K.] seems a dubious public service." In fact the dubious public service is to suggest that J.F.K. himself was not a functional representative of those elites.

"The real J.F.K. backed a military coup in Guatemala to keep out Arévalo, denied the Dominican Republic the possibility of land reform, helped promote a devastating cycle of Latin American history, including the anticipatory motions of the coup in Brazil, and backed a Baathist coup in Iraq that set a certain native of Tikrit on the path to power. He presided over Operation Mongoose, inflicting terror upon Cuba. At the very moment bullets brought J.F.K.'s life to its conclusion in Dallas, a C.I.A. officer operating firmly within the bounds of Kennedy's policy was handing poison to a Cuban agent in Paris, designed to kill Castro....

"J.F.K. sent in 16,000 advisers [to Viet-

nam], sponsored the strategic hamlet program, launched napalm and defoliation upon the South and covert terror and sabotage upon the North. He never entertained the idea of a settlement...."

—*Nation*, 6/13 January

Remember Bay of Pigs!

Kennedy was a liberal, militantly anti-Communist Cold Warrior whose "charisma" replaced the fright of McCarthyism and the stodginess of the Eisenhower years, and served to whip up support for America's imperialist ambitions abroad. He narrowly defeated then vice president Richard Nixon in the 1960 election, arguing that the Republican White House was giving ground to Communism. In the televised Nixon-Kennedy debate just before the election, the handsome media-sharp Kennedy wiped the floor with the grey dishtowel Nixon. "I have seen Cuba go to the Communists," raved Kennedy. "I have seen Communist influence and Castro influence rise in Latin America...the balance of power is in danger of moving with [the Soviets]. They made a breakthrough in missiles, and by 1961-2-3 they will be outnumbering us in missiles...I look up and I see the Soviet flag on the moon."

Just three months into office JFK launched the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. The *gusano* scum who fled Cuba after the revolution were armed and

trained by the Kennedy administration for a botched attempt to bring back the rule of the big landlords, the American sugar interests, and the Mafia with their gambling dens and whorehouses that had flourished in Cuba under the dictator Batista. (Indeed the Mafia served Kennedy in a multitude of tasks—from truly bizarre murder plots to kill Castro with poisoned cigars, to the more mundane hustling of girls into the White House for JFK's liaisons, to the rustling of votes, e.g., in Chicago where an extraordinary number of dead people came back to vote Democrat in the very close 1960 election.)

The ignominious defeat of the *gusanos* and their CIA handlers at the Bay of Pigs was a victory for the workers and peasants of Cuba and a stinging defeat for U.S. imperialism. Immediately following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy fulminated, "Let me then make clear as your President that I am determined upon our system's survival and success, regardless of the cost and regardless of the peril." The next year Kennedy brought the world to the edge of nuclear abyss by threatening war with the Soviet Union over missiles placed in Cuba. Khrushchev "blinked" and withdrew the missiles, but with massive Soviet military and economic aid and a lot of courage and determination by the Cuban

Black Trotskyist Excluded from Forum on David Duke

ISO "Public Meetings" — For Suckers Only

We reprint below a letter from the Spartacus Youth Club at San Francisco State University to the campus newspaper.

30 November 1991

To the editor:

I am black and was raised in the South. I have experienced first hand the racist terror of the KKK while growing up and then while serving in the Marines. I am also a supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club at SF State who was locked out of a November 20

"public" campus meeting of the International Socialist Organization on David Duke.

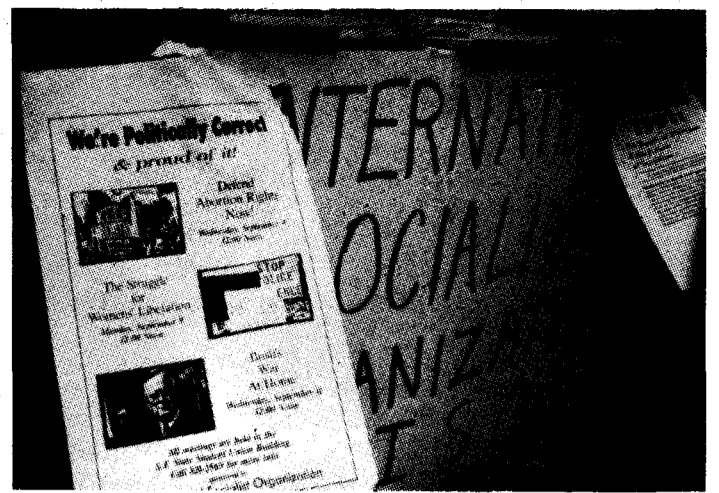
David Duke—the fascist with a face-lift—welcomes being called the "Boris Yeltsin of American politics." For its part, the ISO welcomes the counter-coup led by Yeltsin—a Great Russian chauvinist demagogue who now spearheads the drive to take the Soviet Union back to the days of tsarist pogroms and capitalist enslavement—as the second "Russian Revolution." The forces they embrace in this "rev-

olution" include the Russian fascists of Pamyat and other scum who could be found on Yeltsin's barricades in Moscow flying the Confederate flag, the banner of KKK racist terror. And while they cheerlead for these viciously reactionary anti-communist forces in the Soviet Union, at home the ISO excludes communists, that is Trotskyists, from their "public" meetings.

Political debate between competing political organizations can shed a good deal of light, as well as heat, on vital questions such as the fight against fas-

cist terror. Obviously this opinion is not shared by Deanna Cunningham, the author of the misleading *Golden Gater* (21 November 1991) article "Factionalism Divides Campus Organizations," who was the only person to go into the meeting. Other students who listened to our political protests against the ISO's exclusion refused to attend. As a black woman from Louisiana put it to the ISO, "What have you got to hide, it's supposed to be free speech!"

What the ISO has to hide (and what continued on page 13



ISO's "PC" lit table at SF State lauds counterrevolutionary "Russian Revolution of 1991."

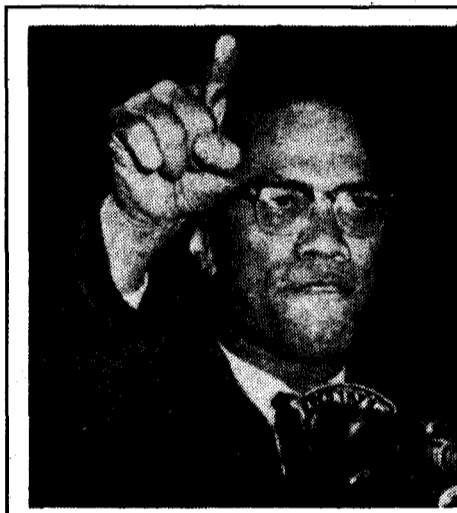
Young Spartacus

people, the U.S. was unable to roll back a revolution made, as Castro liked to say, "in the nostril of Yankee imperialism."

Many American youth who became radicalized in the '60s traveled to Cuba to cut cane and witness firsthand a revolution that overturned capitalist property relations and, despite Stalinist deformations, led to a significant increase in literacy and living standards for the Cuban masses. For three decades U.S. imperialism has strangled the Cuban economy with an economic blockade. The appetites of the ruling class to finally crush Cuba are sharpened now that Cuba has been abandoned by its former Soviet ally and protector. Yet Oliver Stone would have you believe that JFK, the man who began the imperialist drive to reconquer Cuba, was offed for being "soft on Communism."

Remember Vietnam!

The central, most pernicious lie in *JFK* is Oliver Stone's myth that Kennedy planned to pull American troops out of Vietnam if he won a second term in the 1964 elections. That is why, in the world according to Stone, Kennedy was tumbled in "a fascist coup d'état" which brought LBJ to power and kept the U.S. war machine in Vietnam. Where does Stone's effective and compelling conspiracy demonology lead? Stone delivers his audience straight back to the quest for a Democratic Party white knight to battle the forces of darkness.



UPI

Malcolm X had no place in Oliver Stone's liberal fairy tale *JFK*. Malcolm said, "When you vote Democrat, you vote Dixiecrat." Of JFK assassination he noted, "The chickens come home to roost."

In fact one of the most radical conclusions drawn by the generation that was drafted to fight in Vietnam was precisely that this dirty anti-Communist crusade was proclaimed, initiated, escalated and led, *not* by rightists like Barry Goldwater and the younger Ronald Reagan, but by the great *liberal* hero of the day, John F. Kennedy. It was the Kennedy boys, the Bundy brothers, Robert McNamara and his whiz kids at the Pentagon (who promised "more bang for the buck")—the whole cast of "Camelot"—who began escalating the war in the early 1960s, absolutely confident that they would win and prepared to murder as many Vietnamese as necessary for their objectives.

Kennedy mythologizers have made much about minute changes between National Security Action Memorandum 273, as drawn up by the JFK team in October 1963, and the wording released by LBJ a month later. As "evidence" the nuances have about as much significance as what the nutty JFK conspiracy buffs see in the man along the parade route in Dallas who opens an umbrella, thus "sending a signal" about the lack of air cover during the Bay of Pigs.

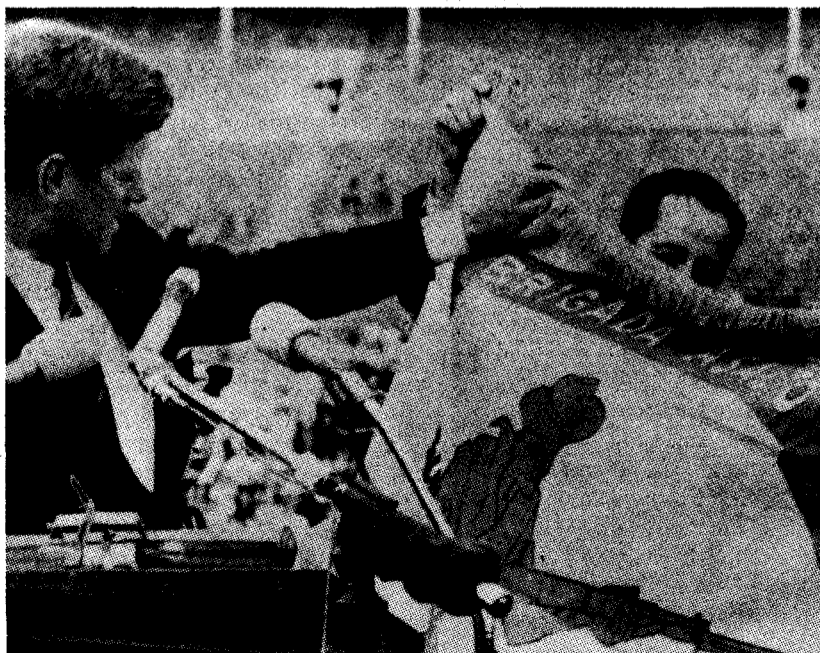
JFK vowed, "We are not going to withdraw.... In my opinion, to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia." The Kennedy-version NSAM 273 stated: "We will adhere to our policy of

working with the people and Government of South Vietnam to deny this country to communism and to suppress the externally stimulated and supported insurgency of the Viet Cong as promptly as possible. Effective performance in this undertaking is the central objective of our policy in South Vietnam."

When Kennedy took office in January 1961 there were 685 American "military advisers" in Vietnam. By the time of his death Kennedy had jumped it up to almost 17,000 "advisers" who actively directed the atrocities being committed against the Vietnamese. Most of these troops were from Special Forces—counterinsurgency units that Kennedy took a special personal interest in. As commander in chief, JFK liked to visit the base, gladhand his men and dress them in the infamous green berets.

Central to Kennedy's war plan was the "strategic hamlet program." Under "Operation Phoenix" thousands of Vietnamese villagers were forcibly relocated under American guns into concentration camps ringed with barbed wire. Suspected "VC" sympathizers were exterminated. This desperate attempt to behead and suppress a popular revolution ended in defeat. The Vietnamese had something to fight *for*, and to free their country from capitalist immiseration and colonial bondage they fought heroically until the last American puppet was airlifted off the roof of the Saigon embassy.

continued on page 13

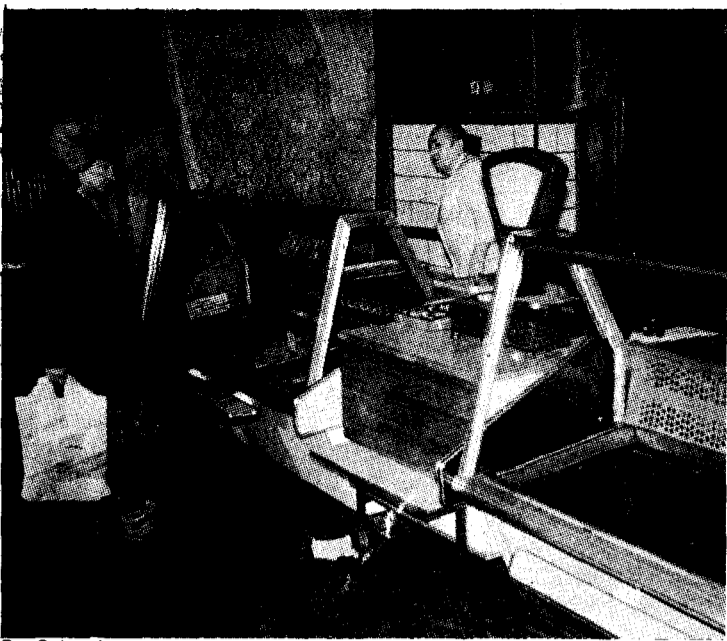


Simon and Schuster



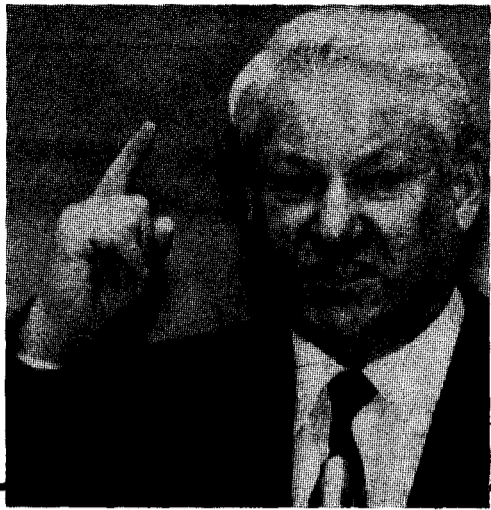
Editorial Letras Cubanas

Counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* present Kennedy with brigade flag after the Bay of Pigs fiasco. Right: Heroic Cuban defenders defeated JFK's attempt to smash their revolution.



Der Spiegel

Yeltsin decrees "free market" price explosion, while state shops remain empty.



Reisinger/Black Star

Desperate people buy soup from Moscow street vendor.

Soviet Workers...

(continued from page 1)

presidential palace; several were killed. A week ago, shoppers in Stavropol broke store windows in outrage against the out-of-reach price of sausage—a kilo now costs up to a month's wages of an average worker. Angry protests in Vladimir over the cost of milk led local authorities to lower the new price from 6 rubles to 1.20 a liter, still massively higher than two weeks ago. Spontaneous food protests have spread to Moscow as well. On

overwhelmingly for maintaining a single army and unified command structure. One young naval officer demanded the resignation of commander in chief Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, a leading Yeltsin supporter in the military. A senior lieutenant of the strategic rocket forces declared, "The army should not be a toy in the hands of politicians. That is a path to civil war." An officer speaking for the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKR), who called "to defend Soviet power as our fathers did," was ordered away from the microphone and badly beaten up.

Organized working-class protests and strikes against the price rises could gal-

per month to soften the blow and prevent Russians coming in to buy goods; the coupons are now trading on the black market at ten times their face value! The consciously engineered free fall of the ruble means that every time hard-working citizens pass a street kiosk they are taunted by the sight of a single pack of Marlboros selling for the equivalent of a week's wages.

One elderly woman staring at the new prices in the state-owned Yelisevsky Gastronom (supermarket) in central Moscow gasped, "It's a nightmare come true" (*Moscow Guardian*, 10 January). Another shopper added, "Only rich people can buy in these shops now." And the prices in the private markets, where plentiful supplies are available, are many times higher.

Decisive and disciplined working-class action to seize the hoards of food supplies from speculators who funnel goods into the private markets, or sequester them in anticipation of still higher prices, would be immensely popular among all layers of the population. Workers committees to seize and distribute food supplies could lay the basis for genuine workers soviets, drawing in elected representatives from all factories and enterprises, as well as students, pensioners and white-collar workers. Workers defense guards to protect food supplies and distribution points could pave the way to the formation of workers militias, allying with pro-socialist units of the Red Army. Only through seizing political power in its own name, and sweeping away the counterrevolutionary "governments" precariously perched atop the fractured bureaucratically degenerated workers state, can the Soviet working class combat the catastrophe that now faces it.

Revolutionary proletarian leadership is key to deciding the fate of the Soviet proletariat and the deeply battered homeland of the October Revolution. If the proletariat does not act in its own name, the danger exists of fascist and other anti-Semitic and nationalist demagogues seizing on the growing desperation of the working masses and derailing the possibilities for struggle, by raising the old pogromist cry of "Beat the Yids!" Yet the numerous "Communist" remnants of the old Stalinist ruling party either give backhanded support to capitalist restoration or make common cause with Jew-baiting Great Russian chauvinists. This was graphically demonstrated in a January 12 demonstration dominated by the newly formed RKR. While some 15,000 people, many of them carrying red flags, turned out to denounce the price rises and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union, demonstration organizers not only provided a platform for unalloyed Russian nationalism but allowed an organized fascist and monarchist contingent to participate with impunity.

In the midst of this counterrevolutionary turmoil, the International Commu-

nist League is fighting to forge the cadre of an authentically Leninist multinational vanguard party. Only a return to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky can provide a program for a struggle to reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of collectivized economic foundations and reverse the counterrevolutionary tide.

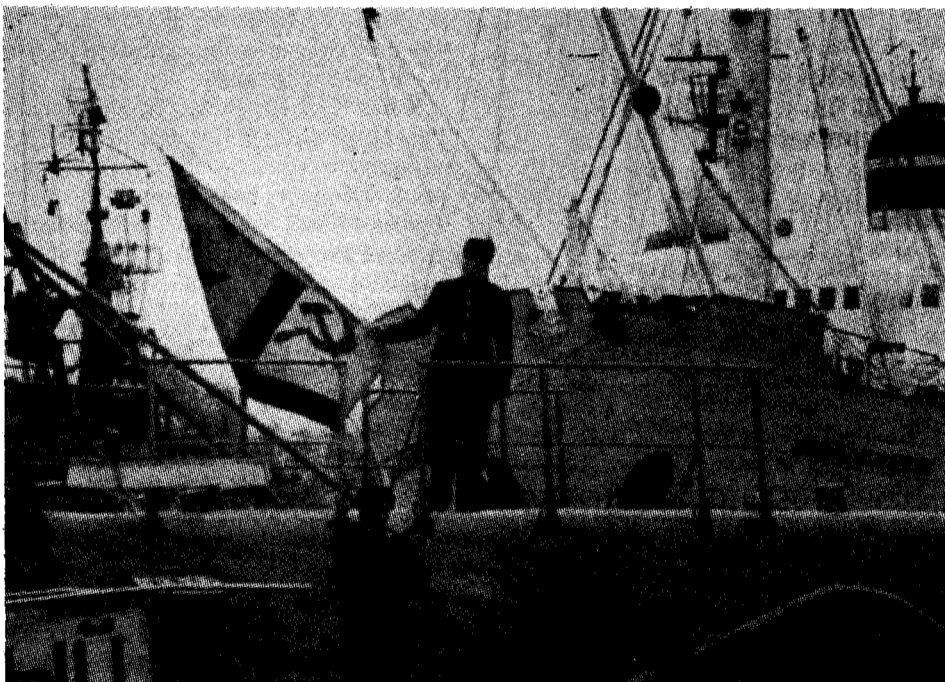
Miners in the Vortex

Beginning with the massive strikes in the summer of 1989 in the Kuznetsk Basin of western Siberia, the Donets Basin of the eastern Ukraine and the Karaganda coal fields in Kazakhstan, the miners have been the most combative section of the Soviet proletariat. However, in the absence of revolutionary leadership, the miners sought to defend their living standards within the framework of Gorbachev's perestroika (i.e., market-oriented "reforms"), such as gearing miners' wages to the profits of their particular mines. As the promises of the Gorbachev regime were broken and conditions continued to deteriorate, an independent miners union was formed under a hard pro-Yeltsin leadership with open ties to American imperialism.

But now the miners are facing and reacting against the effects of the Yeltsinite drive toward capitalist counter-revolution. The strike in Karaganda was preceded by one in December restricted to one mine, triggered by the fact that many miners had not been paid for two months. Notably, in addition to wage demands, the workers called for doing away with the extortionate "free enterprise" cooperativist stores, a demand being raised again in some areas now. But the main demand of the pro-capitalist (and pro-Yeltsin) leadership of the Independent Union of Miners centers on raising the price of coal paid by the state procurement agency with the extra profits being cycled back to the miners.

Such wrong-headed demands are by no means peculiar to one group of miners but are widespread among Soviet workers facing the disintegration of the economy and the ascendancy of pro-capitalist forces. In the Karaganda case, the local mines are of poorer quality than those in other regions, particularly in the Kuzbass. Only a collectivized and centralized economy would subsidize higher-cost and lower-grade coal, thus ensuring *equality of income for all miners*. If industrial enterprises are "free" to buy what they want and negotiate over prices, they will never pay the same for lower-grade Karaganda coal as for higher-quality Kuzbass coal.

The demand for "workers management" of enterprises within a market economy is the hallmark of social democrat Boris Kagarlitsky, who has functioned as the self-styled "left wing" of the counterrevolutionary camp. Especially as the Soviet economy spirals downward, this would mean ruthless competition between the miners of the different coal fields. Moreover, if the



Financial Times

Raising Soviet Navy flag on battleship in Black Sea Fleet. Contending nationalist regimes of Yeltsin's Russia and Kravchuk's Ukraine are at loggerheads over control of armed forces.

January 12, 1,500 people linked hands to block off the Kuznetski Most, only blocks away from the Kremlin, after a store ran out of milk—a commodity which has grown so rare that many can't remember when they last saw it in the stores.

The Yeltsin government is in increasing disarray, and is increasingly despised by much of the population. Significantly, a recent poll showed that a third of Russians believe the imprisoned Kremlin coup plotters of last August should be freed. Key Yeltsin ally Ruslan Khasbulatov, speaker of the Russian parliament, has now added his voice to the growing chorus calling on the government to resign, denouncing as "utterly senseless" the "uncontrolled, anarchic and runaway price rise." While Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk squabble over how to carve up the living body of the Soviet armed forces and particularly the strategic Black Sea Fleet, the military is openly expressing its dissatisfaction with all the nationalist governments.

At an assembly of 5,000 military officers in the Kremlin on January 17, the mood was angry and the sentiment was

vanize the simmering Soviet population around a proletarian axis of struggle and open the way to political revolution to sweep away the fragile counterrevolutionary governments which now hold sway in Russia and the other republics. Already this month Lithuania has been hit by a weeklong strike shutting down the five biggest newspapers in the republic. On January 13 the miners in the Karaganda coal field in Kazakhstan walked off the job. However, their misguided demand was for the state procurement agency to pay higher prices for their lower-grade coal. There is now talk of the Vorkuta coal miners going out as well. And in the city of Voronezh, several hundred miles from Moscow, workers threaten to take strike action if "measures are not taken by February 1."

The uncontrolled price rises are giving the Soviet working people a taste of what capitalist restoration means. It is virtually impossible now for an average working couple to feed their family, and on many goods the prices have continued to escalate sharply after the January 2 ukase (edict). In the Ukraine the government has supplemented workers' wages with 200 rubles worth of food coupons

lackeys of Wall Street and Frankfurt led by Yeltsin and Kravchuk open Russia and the Ukraine to the world market, Soviet miners would face competition from South African coal produced by superexploited black miners and from highly mechanized strip mines in the western United States and Australia.

Rosa Luxemburg, in her classic polemic against social-democratic reformism, *Reform or Revolution*, explains why producer cooperatives (the equivalent of "workers management") under capitalism are always destroyed by market competition:

"As a result of competition, the complete domination of the process of production by the interests of capital—that is, pitiless exploitation—becomes a condition for the survival of each enterprise. The domination of capital over the process of production expresses itself in the following ways. Labor is intensified. The work day is lengthened or shortened, according to the situation of the market. And, depending on the requirements of the market, labor is either employed or thrown back into the street. In other words, use is made of all methods that enable an enterprise to stand up against its competitors in the market. The workers forming a cooperative in the field of production are thus faced with the contradictory necessity of governing themselves with the utmost absolutism. They are obliged to take toward themselves the role of capitalist entrepreneur—a contradiction that accounts for the failure of production cooperatives, which either become pure capitalist enterprises or, if the workers' interests continue to predominate, end by dissolving."

The salvation of the Soviet working class now facing capitalist counter-revolution does not lie in enterprise self-management and profit-sharing schemes. It lies in *defeating* the forces of counterrevolution in order to preserve and revitalize the collectivized economy on the basis of proletarian political power and centralized planning. This requires a perspective based on down-the-line opposition to the introduction of the market and on the internationalist unity of workers of all nationalities. The ruse of pitting workers of one region or nationality against another is the game by which the bourgeois forces hope to divide and atomize the proletariat in order to crush any workers' resistance.

Army in an Uproar

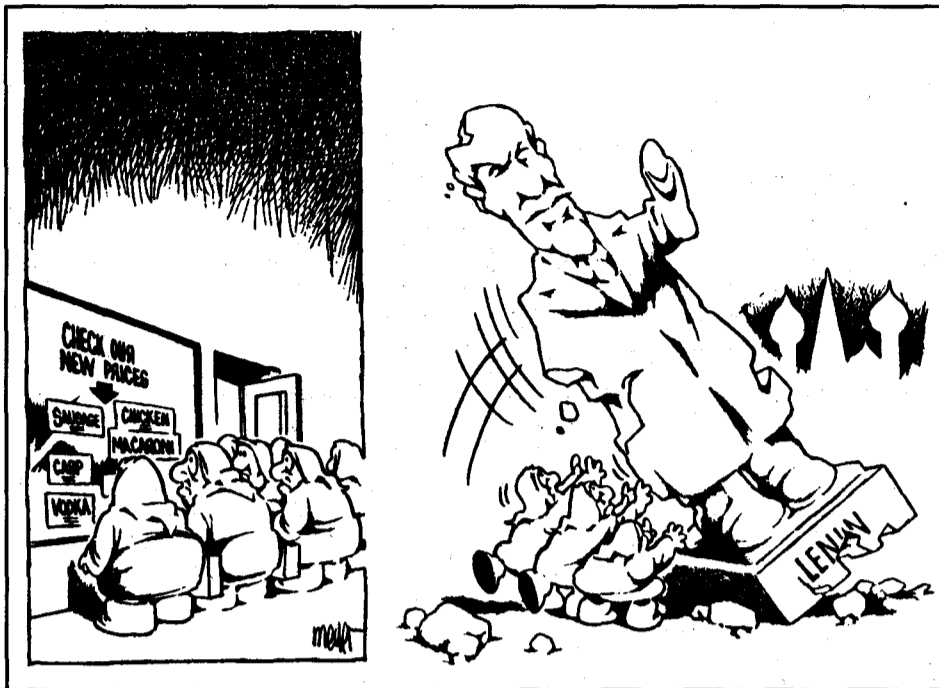
It is not only the economic situation which threatens to explode in the faces of Yeltsin and his counterparts. The armed forces remain the one significant multinational institution in the Soviet Union, and its very existence is threatened as the various republican "governments" scramble to dismember the Union and divide up the spoils. The focus of the deep divisions between the republics remains the conflict between Yeltsin and Kravchuk over the Black Sea Fleet. A week ago, Yeltsin thundered that the fleet "was, is and will remain Russia's." Negotiations last week produced

a flimsy compromise which promises to divide up the fleet ship by ship, with the Kiev regime insisting that all ships not armed with nuclear weapons belong to it.

But Air Force deputy commander in chief Col. Gen. Boris Pyankin has warned that the dispute between Yeltsin and Kravchuk "has created a dangerous ferment among the troops." The com-

mander back to the old tsarist watchword "Russia, One and Indivisible." In the absence of a communist internationalist perspective, the impulse of many military men to restore social order and a strong state can readily be channeled into suppression of working-class unrest.

As we wrote last month: "The military officer corps is the only remaining genuinely multinational Soviet institution.



San Francisco Chronicle

mander of the strategic nuclear forces in the Ukraine, Maj. Gen. Vladimir Bashkurov, practically threatened Kravchuk: "In my division I have more buttons than the President, so you better be careful of me." The 14 January *Pravda* featured a front-page statement from the "Officers Assembly of the Moscow Garrison," the successor to the political commissariat Yeltsin sought to outlaw, warning against the breakup of the army.

Less than 10 percent of troops stationed in the Ukraine have thus far submitted to Kiev's new loyalty oath, with some 100 units explicitly refusing, and the Kravchuk regime appears to be backing off from its ultimatum to expel all "disloyal" units by the end of the month. Nor is Yeltsin's proposed oath of loyalty to the Russian government faring much better.

Moreover, while soldiers are being buffeted by the same nationalist pressures as Soviet society at large, the divisions over the loyalty oath do not seem to be along the lines of national origin. By all accounts, the military hierarchy remains intact. One appeal circulating within the armed forces from an aviation unit insists:

"The army has been the force restraining fratricidal slaughter. The politicians of the independent states, in pursuit of their aims, have done all they can so that nationalist sentiments reach a point resulting in the intended political and economic dividends for themselves and so force men in uniform to come to power."

The appeal concluded with a demand for "the provision in the transitional period of uninterrupted legal and social protection of officers and their families, produce, food, pay and normal conditions of life."

But conditions of life in the Soviet Union today are anything but "normal." The conditions of officers and troops will not be defended if the army is dismembered, and the Soviet Army will be destroyed if the various counterrevolutionary regimes succeed in destroying the Soviet Union and its socialized foundations. Ominously, if not surprisingly, the voices for maintaining military unity overlap heavily with those of Russian nationalism, seeking to erect a strong Great Russian (bourgeois) state which dominates the other republics and restores the "prison house of peoples" which Lenin's Bolsheviks fought against and uprooted. Thus the Stalinist/Russian nationalist *Sovetskaya Rossiya* (14 January) highlights its coverage of the January 12 demonstration with calls for "The Army, One and Indivisible." This

harks back to the old tsarist watchword "Russia, One and Indivisible." In the absence of a communist internationalist perspective, the impulse of many military men to restore social order and a strong state can readily be channeled into suppression of working-class unrest.

Stalinist "Patriots" and Great Russian Chauvinists

At the January 12 demonstration the crowd cheered as speakers denounced the renaming of Leningrad and demanded Yeltsin's resignation, and also when a military speaker called on the army to "fulfill its constitutional duty and take authority into its own hands." But the rally's organizers, the Toiling Moscow/Toiling Russia umbrella group dominated by the RKRP, had made the focus of its demonstration call a demand that Yeltsin come to address the rally!

The demo brought together all that is disgusting and retrograde about the so-called "patriotic" holdovers from the collapsed Stalinist bureaucracy. Called as a sequel to an earlier protest on December 22, its chief demand was "Let the voice of the people be heard." The

"people" its organizers had in mind were the likes of Nevzarov, the populist-monarchist television commentator who recently linked up with the pro-capitalist "black colonel" Viktor Alksnis to form the Russian-nationalist "Nashi" ("Ours") party. Nashi's banner draped the platform and supporters of Zhirinovskiy's fascist Liberal Democratic Party were present. At the December 22 demonstration, Zhirinovskiy was even allowed to speak from the platform.

Unlike the huge November 7 Revolution Day march in Moscow which tapped into widespread sentiment against Yeltsin's counterrevolution, the subsequent demonstrations have been much smaller and significantly Russian-nationalist in coloration, with Pamyat and other fascist groups openly participating with their anti-Semitic filth. On January 12 there was even an organized bloc of several hundred fascists and monarchists at the flanks of the demonstration. Red flags and portraits of Lenin (and a few of Stalin) were to be seen alongside tsarist banners and anti-Semitic signs. A call from the podium was made for "unity of all forces, from Communists to monarchists" to preserve "the great state." Nevertheless, for many of those who turned out, the red flags and calls for soviet power were not merely window-dressing for a nationalist program. Over 1,800 pieces of ICL literature were sold to those open to an authentically communist program—despite intimidation and threats from fascists and anti-Semites marauding through the crowd.

The Stalinist bureaucracy suffered a decisive political defeat last August when Yeltsin's countercoup followed the botched coup attempt by Kremlin conservatives. The remnants of the self-styled "patriotic" wing of the Stalinists have no basis for an independent political existence. They have no perspective for the multinational Soviet working class to overthrow Yeltsin and the other counterrevolutionary regimes in the non-Russian republics and to reintegrate the Soviet Union on the basis of proletarian political power. Instead, the Stalinist "patriots" seek to make common cause with Great Russian nationalists of the most reactionary stamp in the name of opposition to Western domination. We are now seeing the most degenerate form of Stalinist "popular frontism"—a political bloc with monarchists and fascists.

The Russian Communist Workers Party, formed at a conference in Sverdlovsk two months ago, is the largest of the numerous "Communist" splinters cast off by elements of the decomposing

continued on page 10



Niedenthal/Time

Russian fascist blackshirts of Pamyat spew anti-Semitic filth.

Spartacist Forums

Break-Up of Soviet Union Spells Disaster

For Proletarian Political Revolution to Overthrow Yeltsin's Starvation Regime!

Special Eyewitness Report from Moscow!

Speaker: Len Meyers, WV Editorial Board

Saturday, February 8, 7:00 p.m. Barnard Hall, Room 304
For more information: (212) 267-1025 Barnard College, 116th and Broadway

NEW YORK CITY

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, January 31, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley, 126 Barrows
For more information: (510) 839-0851

BERKELEY

Friday, February 7, 7:30 p.m.
First Unitarian Church
2936 West 8th Street (near Vermont)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, February 1, 7:30 p.m.
Unitarian Church
1187 Franklin Street
For more information: (415) 777-9367

SAN FRANCISCO

Speaker to be announced

Tuesday, February 11, 12:30 p.m.
SF State University
Room B-114, Student Union
For more information: (415) 777-9367

Defend Cuba Against Gusano Terrorists!

On January 20, a Cuban firing squad executed terrorist commando leader Eduardo Díaz. Death sentences issued on January 11 by the Provincial People's Court of Havana against two of his confederates, Daniel Santovenia and Pedro Alvarez, were reduced to 30 years imprisonment by the Cuban Supreme Court and the Council of State respectively. The three were captured trying to infiltrate the country on December 29. They had with them a shipment of weapons and explosives for their mission of deadly sabotage. These terrorists were associated with the anti-Communist paramilitary group Alpha 66 and had trained in the Florida swamps alongside assassination squads like Omega 7. If they had succeeded it would have cost the lives of untold numbers of Cubans.

Moreover, on January 10, three Cuban policemen were murdered and a fourth gravely wounded by Cubans attempting to steal a boat to flee to the U.S. The police had been tied up and were shot in cold blood to prevent them from identifying their assailants. Thousands of Cubans paid their respects to the slain officers in a ceremony at which Cuban defense minister Raúl Castro announced that if necessary, revolutionary tribunals would be reinstated. Seven people will be tried in this case, two of whom could be sentenced to death. There is a justified clamor from the Cuban masses to apply the maximum penalty against such counterrevolutionary murderers.

Particularly in this hour of danger to the besieged Cuban Revolution, counter-revolutionary attempts against Cuba's security must be met with forceful countermeasures. Under U.S. imperialist guns for three decades and subjected by Washington to a vicious economic embargo aimed at bringing the defiant island to its knees, Cuba has now been cut off from Soviet aid as a result of the collapse of the Stalinist regime in

Moscow last August. This has greatly emboldened the *gusano* (worm) exiles in Miami, who have stepped up their sinister plotting as U.S. president Bush escalates his threats against the government of Fidel Castro.

The Spartacist League/U.S. and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have from the beginning

revolutionary *gusano* activities, from terrorism to drug smuggling. Moreover, it has done everything it could to speed up racist legal lynchings in the U.S., where more than 3,800 people have been sentenced to death since 1976, most of them black and Hispanic. We denounce as well the hue and cry over Cuban "human rights" activists who have offered them-

Santovenia) should be carefully examined. However, military needs require that those who would assault the revolution face swift and limited measures.

This is utterly different from the case of General Arnaldo Ochoa, a popular war hero of Cuba's internationalist mission in Angola. We denounced the Stalinist show trial and execution of Ochoa in 1989, part of a wide-scale purge in the name of fighting bureaucratic corruption and privilege. That trial, in which his case was amalgamated with others accused of actual drug smuggling, was used by Castro to offer cooperation with Washington in a "common war" on drugs. As we wrote: "*Ochoa and the others were executed in an effort to appease Yankee imperialism, by offering up a sacrificial lamb*" (WV No. 500, 20 April 1990).

The bureaucratic Castro regime stifles the creative forces of the working masses, with the only direction coming from on high. Hunkering down in the face of the imperialist onslaught, Havana has increasingly adopted a bunker mentality reflected in the purge trial of Ochoa et al. In unconditionally militarily defending Cuba against counterrevolution, we fight for a proletarian political revolution to establish an authentically communist-internationalist regime based on workers democracy such as that which existed in the early Soviet workers republic of Lenin and Trotsky. We seek to break the encirclement of Cuba by fighting for workers revolution internationally, first and foremost in the United States.

We reiterate today: You don't defend Cuba by joining Bush's "drug war" cover for imperialist intervention. You don't defend Cuba by killing your generals. You defend Cuba with the fullest workers democracy in defense of the revolution. ■



Coffins of three Cuban policemen, assassinated by *gusanos*, lie in state at Ministry of the Interior, Havana.

stood foursquare for military defense of Cuba against imperialism and counter-revolution, external or internal. Immediately after the announcement of the cutoff of Soviet aid and withdrawal of Soviet troops last September, the SL held an emergency solidarity demonstration outside the Cuban Mission to the United Nations. Today we declare that defense of embattled Cuba includes meting out implacable and exemplary measures to this advance party of invaders, if only to discourage those who would follow.

It is the height of arrogance for George Bush to plead for clemency. His government is fully complicit in the counter-

revolutionary pressure and subversion campaign, ten of whom have been arrested in conjunction with the recent terrorist attack.

The Trotskyist Spartacist tendency has fought against the death penalty in the U.S. and capitalist governments around the world. We oppose it in Cuba as well, in the legal code of a workers state. But we are dealing here with *war measures*, of self-defense against counterrevolutionary attack. Marxists are not out for blood vengeance, and all extenuating factors (such as were considered in reducing the sentences of Alvarez and

Soviet Workers...

(continued from page 9)

Stalinist bureaucracy. Unlike the overtly social-democratic Party of Labor (Trud), whose most prominent spokesman is Boris Kagarlitsky, and Roy Medvedev's explicitly pro-Gorbachev Socialist Party of Labor—both of which accept the introduction of a market economy—the RKRП claims to oppose the introduction of the market in principle. Kagarlitsky's outfit openly models itself on Neil Kinnock's British Labour Party and calls for "free wages" to accompany "free prices," while the founding conference of the Socialist Party of Labor last month featured an invited delegation from the German Social Democracy, the labor lieutenants of the Fourth Reich.

Cohabiting the Stalinist swamp with the RKRП is the Russian Party of Communists (RPK) and the Union of Communists, both of which issued out of the former Marxist Platform of the CPSU and both of which accept the introduction of capitalism with talk of a "mixed economy" and maintenance of a strong state sector. Yet another, smaller grouping is the All-Union Communist Party (B), VKP(B), composed of various competing "Unity" (Yedinstvo) organizations, including that of notorious Stalin apologist Nina Andreyeva. The VKP(B) explicitly calls for a return to the Stalin era (as well as the traditions of the medieval Grand Duke of Muscovy, Alexander Nevsky!) and its leaders make no bones about their virulent Russian nationalism.

The Stalinist United Front of Toilers

(OFT) has for all intents and purposes ceased to exist, with its Moscow apparatus going into the RKRП and other supporters, such as those around the newspaper *Kontrargumenty i Fakti*, pulling away in an attempt to form a clearinghouse for "Marxist" views. At the time of the August coup and countercoup, *KIF* claimed that the main enemy was the pathetic "Gang of Eight," even as Yeltsin was spearheading pro-imperialist counterrevolution.

As for the RKRП, its chief components consist of the commander of the Sverdlovsk military district, General Albert Makashov, a pronounced anti-Semite who ran in last June's Russian presidential election with the open backing of the fascist Pamyat; the Leningrad Communist Initiative, whose chief ideologue was Makashov's running mate, Andrei Sergeev; and Viktor Anpilov's *Molniya* newspaper in Moscow. Despite orthodox-sounding denunciations of capitalism and calls for elected workers soviets to rule, the RKRП consistently aims its main fire against "Western capital" and is chiefly characterized by its ever more open appeals to Russian nationalism.

At its founding conference in Sverdlovsk, one RKRП leader praised the Bolsheviks for leading "the people to fight against those who destroyed Great Russia in February 1917" (*KIF*, January 1992). And Sergeev last year dismissed the "idea of international collectivism" as outdated, adding: "If we continue to stick with it, we will do moral harm to the Russian people, but the idea of Russian, or Great Russian, if you please, collectivism will work."

Of late, the Russian nationalism of the RKRП, particularly of its most prominent spokesman, Anpilov, has grown increas-

ingly pronounced. Following the declaration of the "Confederation of Independent States" last month, Anpilov tried to compete with the Great Russian drum-beating of the extreme right-wing "Democratic Party of Russia" of Nikolai Travkin and called for a "united front" to "save the Soviet Union." Earlier this month, at a small December 6 protest against the price rises, Anpilov supporters not only joined with Pamyat but physically blocked with the fascist scum in a fight with anarchist demonstrators.

Yet the RKRП and the other Stalinist rump groups have no coherence and will be ripped apart by their internal contradictions, with the right-wing elements going over to the reactionary nationalist camp outright. Leftist elements of the RKRП have been openly critical of Anpilov's capitulation to Russian nationalism and even speak of an ill-defined "internationalist wing" inside the organization. While all these outfits preach popular-frontist nationalist unity, what is needed is authentic communist unity around a consistently internationalist program to defeat the counterrevolution and restore the multinational Soviet proletariat to political power as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

For an All-Union Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Anpilov and his ilk seek to channel the Soviet masses' desperate struggle to defend their living standards before the onslaught of capitalist counterrevolution into a bloc with reactionary nationalism. This is not only a sinister but a dangerous game, for the fascists whom it fuels and legitimizes will treat their erstwhile ostensibly Communist "patriotic" allies no less ruthlessly than they will treat

the Soviet workers, Jews and other nationalities, should they be given half a chance. An article on the new "left" organizations in *Pravda* (6 January) observed:

"If the leftist parties can't control the spontaneous protests of the working people and lead them in a civilized political manner, we can have two different political scenarios: either we can have an absolutely destructive spontaneous upsurge of the lower layers or fascist methods of rule by the upper layers. The elements of both already exist."

The *Pravda* writer would like to see a "civilized" parliamentary opposition along the lines of West European social democracy or the French Stalinists. But the consolidation of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union will be anything but civilized. There is an alternative to anarchy or fascism. It is the restoration of social and economic order on the basis of proletarian political power. Half a century ago Leon Trotsky predicted that the inevitable collapse of Stalinist bureaucratic rule will lead either to bloody counterrevolution or to the re-establishment of genuine soviet democracy such as was established by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

What's required is a proletarian-revolutionary leadership which can direct the elemental resistance of the masses in a conscious struggle for proletarian political revolution. The possibilities for defeating the counterrevolution are ample: hatred for Yeltsin and his cohorts grows by the day. Our comrades seek to forge a new Bolshevik vanguard nucleus through a regroupment of all those who would be communists on the program of Red October. For an all-Soviet Leninist-Trotskyist party built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■



Der Spiegel

Reich - chancellor Kohl promotes "Independent" Croatia and Slovenia, seeks German-dominated "new order" in Europe. Right: Croatian soldiers at roadblock give fascist salute.



La Repubblica

Yugoslavia and Kohl's Euro-Reich

The following article is adapted from Spartakist No. 92, January 1992, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

"We will plan an independent Croatia in the framework of the new European order if the Yugoslav state, due to its errors, perishes." Sound familiar? That was not (current German foreign minister) Hans-Dietrich Genscher but von Ribbentrop, the Nazi foreign minister, writing to his ambassador in Zagreb on 31 March 1941. Ten days later the "independent state of Croatia" was declared under the Nazi puppet *Poglavnik* ("leader") Pavelic as the German Wehrmacht marched on Belgrade. Slovenia had already been incorporated into the Third Reich. Together with Il Duce's Italy, the Nazi-backed Croatian fascist Ustashi, whose ferocity offended even hardened SS officers, murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs and other Slavs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies) before Communist-led Partisans liberated Yugoslavia from the hell of the fascist genocide machine.

German imperialism, grown more assertive after swallowing the former East German deformed workers state (DDR), relies on the power of its banks, instead of its tanks...for now. But if there were any question over who was in charge of the "New European Order" proclaimed at the Maastricht EEC (Common Market) summit conference in December, this was cleared up a few days later over the issue of recognizing the German-backed "independence" of Croatia and Slovenia. The United States,

Imperialist UN Troops Out!

England, France and other West European powers argued that "selective recognition" would only escalate the civil war in Yugoslavia, perhaps drawing in neighboring countries with overlapping nationalities, and the imperialist powers themselves. They wanted to pursue a policy of seeking to keep Yugoslavia intact while attempting to transform the now fractured multinational deformed workers state into a field for capitalist exploitation. But Kohl insisted, and the rest finally capitulated, in effect recognizing Germany as the pre-eminent European imperialist power.

Even if no Bundeswehr soldiers are sent, recognition of Croatia and Slovenia is itself an *act of war*. Serbia was Germany's enemy in two world wars. And today a new German "Axis" is emerging, including Italy, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, the Baltic "republics" and Czechoslovakia. A basis for this axis is their dependence on the D-mark, so that the Bundesbank determines the economic policies of many of these countries. Germany, backed by mini-imperialist Austria (whose president, Kurt Waldheim, was implicated in Nazi war crimes as a Wehrmacht intelligence officer in Yugoslavia in World War II), wants to pluck the richest morsels from the re-balkanization of Yugoslavia: Croatia and Slovenia, the predominantly Roman Catholic regions once part of the

Austro-Hungarian Empire. And right on the January 15 deadline set by Bonn, the EEC duly recognized the two splinter states. Fifty UN "observers," the advance guard of an expeditionary force of 10,000, have already been dispatched to keep a precarious imperialist-imposed "peace."

The German Racket

Washington and London had hypocritically complained that Germany as well as Japan refused to shed a little of their own blood for such glorious causes as the "Desert Storm" massacre in the Gulf to assert Bush's version of the "New World Order." At the same time, Japanese and German rearmament, combined with a more assertive foreign policy commensurate with their growing economic strength, sends shivers down the spines of their World War II adversaries. Suffering from what could be called the "WW II syndrome," for decades Bonn tried to maintain a low profile in foreign policy, while helping South Africa develop atomic weapons and bankrolling counterrevolution from Portugal to Poland. Now pursuing a more aggressive foreign policy in the face of the rapid decline of U.S. economic strength, it has counterposed to the U.S.-dominated NATO the German-dominated West European Union, with the perspective of developing WEU armed forces, while

using for its own purposes that all-purpose fig leaf for imperialist adventures, the United Nations.

Bonn supported Slovenian and Croatian claims for "independence" for months while claiming that it would not act alone. However, in a speech to the Bundestag (German parliament) in late November, Reich chancellor Helmut Kohl promised Croatia and Slovenia diplomatic recognition before Christmas. Thereby Bonn thumbed its nose at the UN and EEC negotiators in the Yugoslav civil war, Lord Carrington and Cyrus Vance, as well as defying the U.S., Britain and France—and got away with it. Although Germany is not even a member of the UN's highest body, the Security Council backed down from voting on a motion against any measure that would "postpone" a diplomatic resolution of the fighting in Yugoslavia, shorthand for recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. And Fourth Reich foreign minister Genscher bullied his EEC counterparts to adopt an Italian "compromise" for recognizing Slovenia and Croatia by January 15.

And if there were any doubt that the "Common Market" was going to be deutschmark-dominated, if not directly DM-denominated, that was dispelled when the Bundesbank raised interest rates to a 60-year high, forcing France, with its record unemployment, and other economically depressed West European powers to follow suit. This came the day after the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank *lowered* its discount rate, thus undercutting Washington's attempts to jump-start the stagnant American economy, and undermining President Bush's re-election chances. In a snub that underlined the new power relations, when Bush tried to telephone Kohl to plead for postponing recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, the chancellor refused to take the call. He was too busy at a conference of his Christian Democratic Union (CDU) celebrating "a great foreign policy success for us."

Other parties, especially the Social Democrats (SPD), have been even more nationalist than the CDU. Thus SPD chief Engholm attacked Bonn's *delay* in recognizing the Croatia of Ustashi-apologist Franjo Tudjman and a Slovenian government which has already amnestied all Second World War collaborators with Hitler's Germany and Il Duce's Italy. SPD foreign policy spokesman Norbert Gansel went even further, calling the EEC agreement a "rotten compromise" requiring that "conditions be fulfilled which are not required of any other state." To spell out this Social-Democratic *Realpolitik*: Turkey massacres Kurds and Germany persecutes

continued on page 12



Radical Press

Vukovar, Croatia: Fratricidal war has torn apart Yugoslavia, creating thousands of refugees.

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 11)

Turkish and Kurdish workers—and Turkey and Germany (therefore) have very warm diplomatic relations. Meanwhile, Roma and Cinti Gypsies are murdered with impunity by fascists and hounded from land to land by the governments of various West European “democracies,” including SPD-governed German federal states.

Reaction in the American media was muted but anxious, trying to put the best face on a diplomatic defeat that graphically exposed the dwindling influence of bankrupt U.S. imperialism in “Fortress Europe.” “Kohl to Compromise on Yugoslavia” was how the *New York Times* (18 December 1991) packaged it. But another piece of Metternichian *Realpolitik*, titled “Recognize the Power of the New Germany,” argued that “Europe’s greatest power should be made a permanent member of the directorate of the world’s greatest powers: the U.N. Security Council.” Germany “evidently has perceived that its interests in the Balkans go beyond revising European institutions, to revising European borders,” it noted, adding, “Can global revisionism be far behind?”

West European reaction ranged from annoyed to hysterical. The Paris conservative daily *Le Figaro* whined: “The Europe designed at Maastricht was not supposed to be a German Europe.” Oh no?! Margaret Thatcher’s trade minister Nicholas Ridley said of the Common Market, before she had to sack him, that it was “a German racket designed to take over the whole of Europe.” The British Tory *New Statesman* (20 December 1991) ran a piece by BBC correspondent Misha Glenny whose title reflects the view in London: “Germany Fans the Flames of War.” Glenny makes the rather obvious point that “There appears little doubt that Germany wishes to establish itself as *primus inter pares* in Europe.” But don’t get too worried, he argues, this time they are using economic means, including in the Balkans.

Yet now an independent Croatia buys arms on the open market, rather than having them smuggled out of Germany through the large and powerful right-wing Croatian community in Bavaria. And the war will expand southward to Bosnia, Macedonia and beyond. Capitalist economic expansion is “peaceful” after conquests are made and competitors are eliminated, but that inevitably requires war, as anyone with the least familiarity with the last two world wars would have to admit.

UN “Blue Helmets”: Camouflage for Imperialist Murder

Many view with hope the UN Security Council plan to send 10,000 infantry and police to serve on three fronts in Croatia. In Germany this view is shared by the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), the social-democratic successor to the Stalinist governing party of the former DDR. The PDS’ *Neues Deutschland* (6 January) writes: “The ending of the war in Croatia is probably no longer possible without the stationing of blue helmets” (UN “peacekeeping” troops). Shamelessly, and with apparently no sense of the grotesque irony, next to this article appears a piece titled, “The Greatest Losers in the Gulf War Are the Children,” which reports that due to the continuing UN blockade, medicines are unavailable in the hospitals, and cholera and typhus have reached epidemic proportions. The article doesn’t mention that in 1990 the PDS supported UN sanctions, which served as the pretext for the massive U.S./NATO build-up for mass murder in Iraq. Now the PDS calls on the UN, which is bringing the Khmer Rouge “killing fields” back to Cambodia and murdering the children of Iraq, to bring “peace” to the Balkans.

If the UN is idiotic enough to intervene militarily, then revolutionaries would side with the Yugoslav army and Serbia against the imperialist-backed forces, whether they sport blue helmets or not.

The German media are chortling that rather than “postponing” peace, their recognition of Slovenia and Croatia actually helped bring about the present cease-fire. But this is due more to the exhaustion and accomplishments of the warring parties than to the diplomatic skills of Genscher, or Vance and Carrington. Croatia has won “recognition”; the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav army has won one-third of Croatia. For Greater Serbian chauvinists like Serbian strongman Milosevic, such UN



Lebanon, 1978: UN “peacekeeping” troops policed Israeli border against Palestinian guerrillas. No UN troops to Yugoslavia!

“peacekeepers” stationed along the battle lines inside Croatia can mark off the borders of their conquests, just as they do for Israel in occupied Palestine. For Tudjman they can provide the wall behind which he can, with Deutsche Bank credits, build up a full-fledged army as Croatia and Slovenia are turned into neocolonies of German imperialism.

Even so, this “cease-fire” appears no more stable in the long run than the 14 others, providing only a breathing space for a regroupment of forces. Serbian nationalist militia leaders inside Croatia are already denouncing the UN plan. Milosevic is proceeding to realize his chauvinist dreams of a “new Yugoslavia” reduced to a “Greater Serbia” consisting of Serbia and Montenegro together with newly declared “republics” proclaimed by the Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia/Hercegovina. In the latter they are claiming one-half of the land although they are only 31 percent of the population, as against 44 percent of Muslim descent and 17 percent Croatian. Secret meetings between Milosevic and Tudjman may have already discussed the partition of Bosnia between them. The next and potentially bloodier stage of the civil war is already being prepared, as Yugoslav army units are shifted from Croatia and are taking up positions inside Bosnia, as are Serbian and Croatian nationalist militias.

But nationalist claims do not end at the Yugoslav borders. Bulgaria and Greece both have claims on newly “independent” Macedonia, which in turn has a sizable Albanian community that comprises 20 percent of its population. Milosevic brutally crushed the autonomy of Kosovo province in Serbia, where Albanians constitute 80 percent of the population. After brutally throwing out of Italy thousands of Albanian refugees, Italian troops are now back in Albania, which they occupied during World War II. And fighting has been reported along the Kosovo-Albanian border. Meanwhile, Hungary under the right-wing nationalist Jozsef Antall is talking about defending the 400,000

ethnic Magyars of Vojvodina in northern Yugoslavia, whose autonomy was crushed by Milosevic.

Socialist United States of Europe

Decades of imperialist economic pressure, including the leverage of German bank loans, combined with “market reforms” and economic and political “decentralization” within Yugoslavia, served to exacerbate regional economic differences and revive historic national hatreds that have their origins in earlier imperial conquests and rivalries. The multinational deformed workers state forged with such heroic effort and at such great human cost by Tito’s Partisans is being ripped apart today by

halt not because the insatiable chauvinist appetites have been fulfilled, but rather because it has run up against the growing economic desperation and weariness of the working people of both nations. Desertions from and refusal to serve in the Yugoslav army have shot up dramatically. Last April, 750,000 Serbian workers staged a one-day general strike to protest intolerable working conditions. In November in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina, 20,000 Muslim, Serbian and Croatian workers united in a strike for wages owed them since September.

Within the nationalist framework of Stalinism, the Tito regime went about as far as possible to establish a genuinely multinational federation. But “socialism in one country” is a fraud, especially for a relatively backward Balkan country, as the present disintegration of Yugoslavia demonstrates. Capitalist counterrevolution can only mean nationalist genocide and savage imperialist exploitation. It is desperately necessary to mobilize the working class and socialist-minded officers and soldiers to fight the forces of fratricidal nationalism, which directly serve the predatory interests of Western imperialism, and to overthrow the Milosevics and Tudjmans. That requires the forging of a multinational vanguard in a revolutionary party based on the proletarian internationalism of Lenin, Trotsky and Christian Rakovsky.

It was the assassination of the Austrian heir apparent by a Serbian nationalist in Bosnia which triggered the First World War. But the real origins lay in the sharpening interimperialist rivalries, caused not least by the belated rise of the German Reich as a world power. Today with the disintegration of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the world takes on more the character it did on the eve of World War I. Pacifism continues to run very deep among West European workers, including in the powerful German proletariat, where the bourgeoisie had to destroy the workers movement and impose the shackles of Nazi dictatorship before it could proceed to imperialist war and the Holocaust. It is urgently necessary today to mobilize the European working class against the rising tide of racist chauvinism and fascist terror aimed first against immigrant workers and refugees, just as it is necessary to mobilize the proletariat of East Europe against fratricidal nationalism and rising anti-Semitism.

In summoning communists to forge a new party of world revolution, Leon Trotsky wrote: “To the madhouse of capitalist Europe it is necessary to counterpose the program of the *Socialist United States of Europe* as a stage toward the United States of the World.” ■

a civil war between “Great Serbian” chauvinists and counterrevolutionary nationalists in which both sides are the bitter enemies of the Yugoslav working people.

Milosevic’s Serbian nationalist militias in Croatia call themselves Chetniks, after the Serbian royalist guerrillas in World War II whose allegiance swung between British intelligence and the Italian fascist forces, whereas Tudjman’s militias look to the genocidal fascist Ustashi. Their six-month bloody civil war has left more than 10,000 dead and created 600,000 refugees. And it has drawn a blood line, inflaming historic hatreds between nations whose working people had united in the comradeship of combat against fascism in its most monstrous forms.

The war has ground to a temporary

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Bush...

(continued from page 1)

depraved mass murder. In its special on "Secrets of the Gulf War," *U.S. News* admits: "The decision to seek the blessing of the United Nations for the use of force against Iraq was part of a larger, more cynical strategy of the Bush administration to bypass Congress...." And now the publisher of *Harper's Magazine* reports that the "eyewitness" who told Congress Bush's favorite atrocity story about Iraqi troops pulling Kuwaiti babies out of incubators was...the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador in Washington.

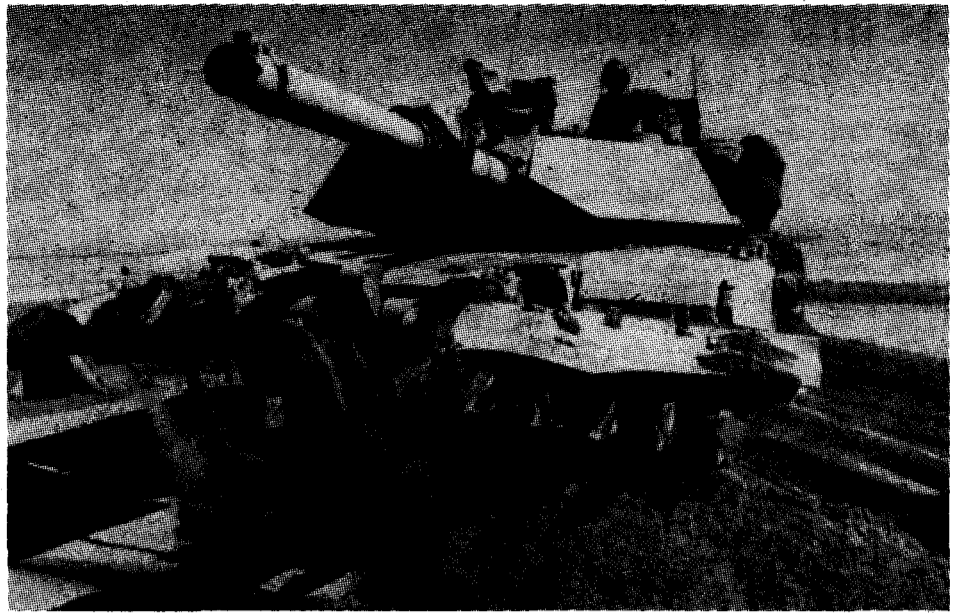
The bourgeois media are now queasy about some of the most horrendous U.S. atrocities, like the Amiriyah bomb shelter in which hundreds of women and children were deliberately incinerated. Now they're trying to minimize the numbers of Iraqi soldiers slaughtered in the grisly "mile of death" on the highway leading out of Kuwait City, where there was an unbelievable scene of sadistic butchery and carnage carried out after Iraq's

unconditional surrender. Last fall, a *Newsday* front page, "Buried Alive," described how the U.S. Army used plows mounted on tanks and combat earth-movers to bulldoze sand into more than 70 miles of Iraqi trenches.

"In the first two days of ground fighting in Operation Desert Storm, three brigades of the 1st Mechanized Infantry Division—'The Big Red One'—used the grisly innovation to destroy trenches and bunkers.... While 2,000 surrendered, Iraqi dead and wounded as well as defiant soldiers still firing their weapons were buried beneath tons of sand, according to participants in the carefully planned and rehearsed assault."

—*Newsday*, 12 September 1991

Young men buried alive, baby food factories bombed, civilian air raid shelters terror-bombed—this is the face of the "New World Order," a lot like the old order which brought you the horrors of Hiroshima and Vietnam. Today in Iraq, the Americans are back to their sanctions policy, touted as the "humane" solution by the liberal Democrats, under which tens of thousands of children suffer malnutrition, hunger and death, as medical supplies and food are choked off, and sanitation



U.S. tanks (above, M1A1 with plow) buried thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive during Bush's "Desert Slaughter."

facilities are still unable to function.

The American rulers consider themselves masters of the globe. With boundless cynicism they play their "dirty tricks" worldwide, from "peace

through depopulation" in Indochina to "re-election by assassination" in Iraq. We fight for world socialist revolution to bulldoze these bloody imperialist war criminals into the landfill of history. ■

JFK...

(continued from page 7)

The victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, at a cost of two million Vietnamese lives, marked the end of the "American Century." Their defeat of U.S. imperialism bought the world a big breathing space as the "Vietnam syndrome," the disgruntled domestic consciousness of that defeat, stayed the hands of U.S. rulers for a while. It took the collapse of Stalinism and the self-removal of the Soviet Union as a counterweight to American imperialist ambitions, for the U.S. to again rush in and massacre thousands of civilians as was done in the Persian Gulf. Bush marked his bloody victory declaring, "We've kicked the Vietnam syndrome."

Democratic Party: We Know Which Side You're On!

The politics of the Kennedy assassination buffs range from mainstream liberalism to the far-right Liberty Lobby. This is far afield from a Marxist understanding that social change is determined by class struggle, and not fundamentally by the life expectancy of bourgeois politicians. As we wrote in "Who Killed Cock Robin?" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 153, 15 April 1977) about the widespread disbelief in the Warren Commission's version of the Kennedy assassination:

"But in the absence of a perceived revolutionary alternative to bourgeois politics, the conspiracy industry and the muckraking fad have succeeded only in feeding the widespread cynicism. The various conspiracy theories all share the same technocratic, idealist and moralist illusion in the centrality of control over information. This is not to deny that there are capitalist conspiracies, but the capitalist state, like all others, is based on an armed body of men, not on security classifications....

"Who knows what would slither out from under the overturned rocks in a serious

and thorough investigation? Ultimately, it is the triumph of the proletariat which will make such an investigation possible and uncover the many unsolved mysteries in the bloody record of international capitalism."

Oliver Stone has been making the rounds at universities and talk shows to defend his film and his liberal vision of how "America lost its innocence."



Spartacist contingent at Bay Area protest against Gulf War, 20 October 1990. While social-patriotic left tailed pro-"sanctions" liberals, SL denounced Democratic Party, war criminals of Vietnam, Hiroshima.

Recently hundreds of students stood in line for hours in the Boston winter to see JFK and hear Oliver Stone speak at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. The irony is exquisite—did any of those freezing students wonder just exactly what goes on inside the K-School?

A fitting memorial to JFK, the K-School is a major Pentagon think tank, founded by the heirs of Camelot and tied by a thousand threads to the counterrevolutionary schemes (overt and covert) for every Democratic and Republican administration since. Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs and his K-School colleague-in-crime Graham Allison planned the starvation shock treatments introducing the "free world" to the working masses of Poland and the Soviet Union.

Selling the Democrats as the "lesser evil" is one of the constant refrains of American politics in this century. If the current Democratic leader is an unappetizing SOB like Truman, or you have a field of nonentities (like the "seven dwarfs" of the '88 election) then they hold up the mythical legacy of FDR or, in this case, JFK. The assassination of John Kennedy was not "the crime of the century." American entries in that sweepstakes might be the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or napalming of Vietnamese villagers—crimes carried

out by these same Democrats.

From Kennedy to Bush there stretches an unbroken bipartisan chain of imperialist dictatorship, oppression, terror, spying and slaughter. In antiwar demonstrations against U.S. imperialist aggression from El Salvador to the Persian Gulf, Spartacist protesters have confronted liberal and reformist illusions

a bygone "youthful indiscretion." While Duke changed his white sheets for a three-piece suit, nothing changed about his fascist politics. Yet in its press the ISO complains that the "anti-Duke coalition has opted to attack Duke on the singular issue that he once wore a white robe and paraded with a swastika armband as a teenager"! Instead they argue that the pro-Democratic Party "anti-Duke forces" must build a movement to "address issues of welfare, affirmative action, and taxation, which form the core of Duke's platform" (*Socialist Worker*, November 1991).

This is an old recipe for defeat called the popular front which pushes reliance on the "liberal" wing of the ruling class, in this case the Democrats, to act in the interests of workers and minorities. But both the Republicans and the Democrats simply put forward a "respectable" version of Duke's racist platform. And while they may express "distaste" for Duke, the rulers of this country keep the fascists in reserve to be used as the shock troops against labor and minorities.

We Spartacists have taken the lead in initiating labor/black mobilizations against KKK/Nazi provocations, including against appearances by "Klan in a Suit" Duke. Only integrated working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation can cut through the racist false consciousness of Duke's present supporters, isolating and smashing the hard core of fascists. Not the Democrats but a fighting workers party is needed to crush the fascists and put an end to them once and for all through socialist revolution.

To keep out these political views, the ISO disrupted its own meeting on November 20, substituting the fist for the brain. It is indeed ironic that the slander and exclusionism employed by these anti-Soviet "socialists" are simply the soft-core version of the methods Stalin, backed by the force of state power, employed against his opponents.

Hursey Bush,
for the Spartacus Youth Club

with our chant and signs saying: "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party—We know which side you're on!"

P.S. If you want a Stone flick that tells it like it is, see *Salvador*—which the *New York Times* denounced in their TV guide as "irresponsible." ■

ISO...

(continued from page 7)

they knew would have been exposed by the Spartacus Youth Club members) is that they echo David Duke's own script that his fascist terror was simply

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CHICAGO

South Africa...

(continued from page 16)

titled, "Where Communism Is Still in Fashion":

"Whatever may have happened in the Soviet Union, Communism continues to attract young black people in South Africa. Most of the party's 25,000 members are black, and have joined in the past 18 months."

As Stalinist parties have been collapsing across the globe, the South African Communist Party congress in early December met under the slogan, "The Future Is Socialism." Outgoing SACP chief Joe Slovo (who is suffering from bone cancer) made a rousing speech, defending Marxism and assailing capitalism's record of poverty and war. Delegates voted for a solidarity campaign in defense of Cuba. They excised the word "democratic" from the party's description of its goal as "democratic socialism" on the grounds it was redundant. And they elected as new party chairman Chris Hani, popular head of the ANC's guerrilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe ("Spear of the Nation," or MK for short).

But this all boils down to pure rhetoric. Slovo, an obedient Stalinist all the years the SACP/ANC was being supported by Moscow, jumped on the Gorbachev bandwagon, even as the "new thinkers" in the Kremlin were selling out East Germany and the USSR to the Deutsche Bank and the IMF, and ordering their South African party to make a political settlement with the apartheid regime. (The 23 July 1991 *New Times* even published a laudatory interview with apartheid puppet Buthelezi



Workers' Voice Photos

Black nationalist groups Pan-Africanist Congress (left) and Azanian People's Organisation (right) in turmoil over "negotiations" with apartheid regime.

officers and bantustan army chiefs were first revealed:

"As Engels said and Lenin reiterated, the essence of the state is armed bodies of men dedicated to preserving the property and rule of a class.... There will be no 'democratic, non-racial' post-apartheid capitalist state and army. 'Merging' with the SADF can only mean turning Umkhonto we Sizwe into strikebreaking mine police for Anglo American. The struggle for liberation and equality of South Africa's toiling masses requires a socialist revolution to smash the white-supremacist bourgeois state."

—"ANC and the Apartheid Army," WV No. 508, 10 August 1990

Black Workers: The VAT Strike

Black labor is the key to revolutionary emancipation in South Africa. The "new

excluded by De Klerk from Codesa, demanding that the government set up an "economic forum" equivalent to the political talks.

"A referendum was held in the streets of our country today," said COSATU leader Jay Naidoo. "The result was a devastating vote of no confidence in this government." Here Naidoo lays bare that the purpose of the strike was a maneuver equivalent to a parliamentary vote of no confidence. This view was amplified in an interview with Naidoo in the *South African Labour Bulletin* (October/November 1991): "COSATU has always been a political player and intends remaining a political player even if we have an ANC government in power."

To be "a political player" in the neo-apartheid capitalist state: this is the coffin the ANC/SACP are preparing for black labor, whose combativity and heroism in massive political strikes of the 1970s and '80s put the unions in the forefront of anti-apartheid struggle. What a crime! The role of the "communist" labor lieutenants of "verligte" ("enlightened") South African capital was seen in 1990 when Moses Mayekiso and Joe Slovo personally intervened to squelch the strike of militant black auto workers at Mercedes Benz in East London. Another key labor betrayal was carried out last October—the "performance-related" deal between the National Union of Mineworkers and the Anglo American and Genmin conglomerates in the gold mining industry. This piece-rate system will force a speedup under already dangerous conditions.

The South African Chamber of Mines hailed it as "an important development in the relationship" between the Randlords and black labor. But the *Weekly Mail* (25 October 1991) noted that "in some labour circles" the agreement remained "controversial." Using the

same treacherous formula as Naidoo, NUM acting chairman Marcel Golding (since his predecessor Cyril Ramaphosa moved to head the ANC) just wants to be "a player": "Our union wants to be a central player and will fight to be a central player in the management of transition" (*South African Labour Bulletin*, October/November 1991). While these yuppie labor fakers want to play the Jo'burg market and Pretoria parliament, for the hundreds of thousands of black miners "performance-related" wages mean *death underground*. Miners' lives will be sacrificed to the bloody rand.

What being "a player" in "post-apartheid" South Africa means was demonstrated by the December 4 showdown in Johannesburg between 2,500 miners from the Gold Fields mine in Doornfontein and the armed forces of the state. The workers were protesting the mass firing of 5,000 who had struck demanding the reinstatement of those earlier dismissed for participating in the "illegal" VAT strike. The miners' buses were surrounded by hundreds of riot police with rifles, shotguns, tear-gas launchers and armored personnel carriers. The government claimed the union hadn't gotten "permission" to protest under the "peace accords" signed last September by the ANC, COSATU, SACP, etc.

Black Nationalists in Turmoil

The intricate maneuvers leading up to the Codesa conference were acted out in a spate of meetings throughout the fall. In October, the ANC hosted a "Patriotic Front" meeting in Durban, to form a bloc going into the "power-sharing" negotiations with De Klerk's Nats. This was particularly geared to draw in the Azanian People's Organisation and Pan-Africanist Congress, black nationalist groups which are in political turmoil over the question of negotiations with



Williams/Reuters

Fascist apartheid die-hards launch terror campaign against De Klerk-Mandela talks.

under the headline, "That Valiant But Modest Zulu Warrior"! Slovo cynically plays to the crowd. For South African blacks, the chains of apartheid are inseparable from capitalist wage slavery. But when Slovo came to New York in late 1990, speaking to Wall Street and the White House he came out for "the private sector, foreign investment and so on" (*New York Times*, 15 October 1990).

As for Slovo's successor, Chris Hani, last summer Umkhonto we Sizwe held a congress in the bantustan of Venda. According to a glowing account in the American SWP's *Militant* (4 October 1991), the 500 delegates and ANC leaders gave "unqualified support" to the negotiations process. This included a "shift" to "training" to integrate MK fighters into the South African Defence Forces (SADF), the *apartheid army*!

"Umkhonto we Sizwe leaders, such as Chief of Staff Chris Hani, had been pressing for the incorporation of MK into the existing SADF. They had sought direct talks on the matter with top SADF and security officials, casting this as a parallel move to the negotiations between the ANC and the South African government."

According to the *Militant*, the conference adopted a resolution calling for "contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa" committed to "democratic nonracial, nonsexist South Africa." And Hani, in an interview with the *Weekly Mail*, made an appeal for MK fighters who "want to make a career in a future army." As we wrote in 1990 when Hani's secret meetings with "retired" SADF

South Africa" of De Klerk and Mandela is really neo-apartheid with a "democratic" cover. To throw off the yoke of white supremacy will take workers revolution centered on the millions-strong black proletariat. A taste of the power of the black unions was shown in the two-day general strike in early November. Arguably the biggest strike in South African history, three to four million mainly black workers, including three-quarters of the industrial workforce, shut down the factories and crippled South African business. Yet this show of muscle was used by the reformist/nationalist misleaders not to fight for workers power but as a pressure tactic to secure their place at the bargaining table.

The strike was spearheaded by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, ostensibly to "protest a new sales tax and the lack of black say in governmental economic policy" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 November 1991). The Value Added Tax (VAT) was introduced at the end of September to replace a general sales tax. The new 10 percent VAT stirred great anger among impoverished blacks by taxing basic necessities such as food staples and medical services, previously exempted. The ANC did not oppose the VAT itself, but objected to the way the tax was enacted without fully consulting anti-apartheid groups. "The days are over when the government can unilaterally make these kinds of changes without consulting liberation movements," an ANC spokesman stated. And COSATU objected to being

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Contents:

- South Africa and Permanent Revolution
- Mercedes-Benz Sit-Down Strikers Raise Red Flag, CP Sells Them Out
- South Africa: Razor's Edge
- Interracial Sex Ban Jolted In South Africa
- Wall Street and the Apartheid State
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Black History and the Class Struggle No. 8

South Africa and Permanent Revolution



July 1991

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the apartheid state. Also included were the "verligte" capitalists of the Democratic Party of Zach De Beer (former chairman of Anglo American); the Labour Party (which sits in the "coloured," or mixed-race, chamber of the segregated apartheid parliament); and bantustan "homelands" parties.

The "patriotic" popular front blew up as AZAPO was "expelled" as cosponsor of the conference (for sending letters to 14 of the participating groups demanding they cease collaborating with the government); AZAPO then denounced PAC as betrayers for staying in. PAC had earlier demanded participation of Zulu chief and apartheid toady Buthelezi's Inkatha terrorists as a condition for joining the Front! In December, PAC, facing a virtual split, pulled out of Codesa, charging the ANC had a secret deal with the government.

Mandela's maneuvering with De Klerk is generating discontent among black militants who see a sellout of even the ANC's traditional minimum program of "nonracial democracy." However, the opposition is largely along nationalist lines. Thus while PAC leaders were holding "talks about talks" with the ANC last November, delegates from more than 50 PAC branches around the country held a separate meeting denouncing their own leaders as "co-managers of imperialism." And in boycotting the Codesa negotiations, PAC denounced "a new alliance between the old [white] bosses and a new *induna* [black chiefs] class" (*Washington Post*, 20 December 1991). But these "Pan-Africanists," who proclaim "one settler, one bullet," wanted Buthelezi in the "Patriotic Front"!

For these hard black nationalists, whites are the enemy, not imperialism. Originating as a split from the ANC in 1959, PAC combined calls for greater tactical militancy with anti-Communism and opposition to collaboration with white, Indian and coloured leftists. During the 1960s PAC received support from anti-Communist Cold Warriors as their opposition to the Soviet-backed ANC led them to line up with the Chinese in the Sino-Soviet split. Likewise they supported Holden Roberto's FNLA, an instrument of Pretoria and Washington in the racist colonial war by apartheid South Africa against the Moscow-backed MPLA regime in Angola. Now the nationalists "fight" to preserve imperialist sanctions. This came to a head over the UN's lifting of the cultural and sports boycott of South Africa in December, in agreement with the ANC.

Thus AZAPO and PAC threatened to disrupt the recent concert tour by Paul Simon, who was invited by the ANC to sing for the first time in South Africa. (Simon's famous 1987 "Graceland" con-

cert together with Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Ladysmith Black Mambazo in nearby Zimbabwe attracted thousands of anti-apartheid activists, including many whites, who traveled hundreds of miles to attend.) Now that the ANC is "a player" in the neo-apartheid state, Mandela says it's OK for Simon to come. PAC and AZAPO want to keep the ban by the UN, the same outfit which imposed "sanctions" on Iraq as the run-up to Bush's "Desert Slaugh-



Campbell/Syigma

South Africa's black miners, powerhouse for workers revolution. ANC/SACP union leadership rams through "performance-related" pay deal spelling death through speedup in the mines.

ter." We Trotskyists oppose a general cultural boycott, which only seals off the South African black masses. The policy of boycotting everything South African is at bottom liberal moralism, looking to the imperialists rather than to the international working class.

Frequently acting as a pressure group on AZAPO is the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action headed by Neville Alexander, a small left grouping which is generally referred to as "Trotskyist." (WOSA was an observer at the 1991 congress of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat.) However, while Trotsky called for permanent revolution, for black emancipation in a soviet South Africa, WOSA's program is in effect calling for a "two-stage revolution," first bourgeois democracy through a constituent assembly, practically the sole focus of their agitation, and later for socialism. Thus WOSA participated in the Patriotic Front conference, even after AZAPO was booted out. According to the *American Socialist Action* (November 1991), "WOSA explained that the front should be based on a mass campaign for a democratically elected constituent assembly." So they call on this class-collaborationist popular front with the bantustan chiefs and

Randlords to achieve "democracy"!

The one group which has unambiguously denounced the ANC "power-sharing" scheme and its various popular-front maneuvers is the New Unity Movement centered on the Western Cape region. Continuing the tradition of the 1940s Non-European Unity Movement, which opposed the ANC's wartime collaboration with the South African government, New Unity calls in its "Ten Point Programme" for non-

African nation" but to achieve political and social equality for all of its diverse peoples. While militantly opposing a negotiated sellout of the masses' struggle against apartheid, and placing themselves in the Trotskyist tradition, New Unity does not pose the *proletarian centrality* of the struggle for socialist revolution in South Africa which is necessary to achieve the most basic democratic and egalitarian demands. Thus, as we have written, in fighting to build a racially integrated Leninist-Trotskyist party:

"The central strategic task for a communist vanguard in South Africa is to set the proletarian and plebeian base of the ANC against the petty-bourgeois nationalist and collaborationist tops in the struggle to create organs of *dual power*, the basis for a black-centered workers government."

—"South Africa and Revolution," in the Spartacist pamphlet series *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 8, July 1991

The imperialists crow "victory" in the one-sided Persian Gulf War and the decades-long anti-Soviet Cold War. The ascendancy of Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution in Moscow immediately threatens Cuba, halfway around the world and directly under U.S. guns. In "regional conflicts" from El Salvador to South Africa, the imperialist would-be masters of a "New World Order" seek to suppress revolutionary struggle not only by brutal repression and war but also through treacherous negotiations with the petty-bourgeois and reformist misleaders. But despite decades of nationalist and Stalinist betrayal, the South African masses don't buy the "death of communism" because they face a daily, desperate battle against the exploitation and oppression of capitalism.

There will be no peace in South Africa until the non-white majority has power in a revolutionary workers state which would unite Xhosa and Zulu, coloured and Asian, with ample room and full democratic rights for all those whites who would join in building a society based on genuine equality. *Black workers built the wealth of South Africa with their sweat and blood and with their lives. Those who labor must rule! As part of our struggle to reforge the Fourth International, the International Communist League seeks, through a process of revolutionary regroupment, to cohere a Trotskyist party in South Africa. This is the urgent task of the hour in preparing and leading the revolutionary struggle so desperately needed in South Africa today.* ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

stating that Geronimo was framed. The board recommended that Geronimo be transferred from Tehachapi prison to the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo and voted to consider his case again in one year.

A victim of a COINTELPRO frame-up, this former Black Panther Party leader has spent over 20 years in prison for a killing the government knows he did not commit. One week after the parole denial, attorney Robert Bloom filed a petition in the California Court of Appeal challenging last August's outrageous dismissal of Geronimo's *habeas corpus* petition. The petition contains evidence exposing the COINTELPRO frame-up, including statements by two investigators who saw FBI wiretap logs which prove Geronimo was at a Panther meeting in Oakland 400 miles away from the Santa Monica killing, and affidavits of six former Panthers that Geronimo was at the meeting with them.

At an Oakland press conference on

January 2, five former Panthers spoke out for Geronimo. Emory Douglas, John Seale, Harvey McClendon and David Hilliard, whose home was headquarters for the 18 December 1968 Panther meeting, confirmed Geronimo's presence there. They and Kathleen Cleaver, the only Panther leader to testify for Geronimo at his 1972 trial, cited the party's split into its rival Newton and Cleaver wings, exacerbated by COINTELPRO, as the reason others did not come forward previously. "We were duped," said Hilliard. "They had us believe he was an FBI agent." The PDC has fought for Geronimo's freedom for many years, publicizing his case and aiding in his legal defense. *Free Geronimo now!*

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

De Klerk and Mandela Maneuver



AP
Power-sharing "deal" means...



Kevin Carter
...oppression of black workers.

South Africa:

Down with Neo-Apartheid!

Just before Christmas, the racist Pretoria regime of F.W. De Klerk and the African National Congress (ANC) co-sponsored a "Conference for a Democratic South Africa," supposedly laying the basis for a "post-apartheid" state. Known as "Codesa," this was the culmination of several months of meetings and maneuvering intended to rope in any potential black opposition to this historic sellout of the desperately oppressed non-white majority. The *New York Times* (5 January) editorially hailed "South Africa's Trek to Democracy," saying that the country's "first interracial convention" was striving for a "multiparty democracy." The fact that "all but two of 18 political parties are represented in Codesa," said this authoritative voice of international finance capital, was a "sufficient consensus" to form a transition regime as talks proceed on a new charter incorporating an enforceable bill of rights.

But although the legal framework of apartheid may be scrapped, the negotiations at the Johannesburg World Trade Center aimed at drawing a "democratic" veil over white supremacy and the super-exploitation of black labor, the bedrock on which South African capitalism is based. An "enforceable bill of rights" means ironclad guarantees of privileged status for the white minority. The Codesa declaration's promise of "freedom, equality and security for all" means that

**For Workers Revolution!
For a Black-Centered
Workers Government!**

well-heeled residents of posh white suburbs like Lower Houghton or Berea, and impoverished blacks in the teeming townships of Soweto or Alexandra, are equally "free" to buy swimming pools and shares on the Jo'burg Stock Exchange.

However, both the ANC and the government are feeling pressure on their respective flanks. In early November, the black trade-union federations organized a giant two-day general strike to pressure the government to include them as "political players." A month later, the South African Communist Party, "strategic ally" of the ANC, held its first congress inside the country in 40 years, with a militant veneer. Meanwhile, ultrarightists were gaining ground among whites: apartheid hardliners of the Conservative Party won a landslide victory in a by-election in the Orange Free State. And fascist groups have launched bomb-

ing campaigns against integrated schools to symbolize their last-ditch stand for apartheid.

Thus the Codesa confab on December 20 opened with a high-profile spat between state president De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Blacks in the townships cheered (and white fascists seethed) as Mandela dressed down De Klerk, calling him the head of a discredited government and "not fit" to be president. As David Ottaway wrote in the *Washington Post* (22 December 1991):

"Some of the 228 delegates and convention observers felt that the dramatic dispute—sparked by an attack by the president on the ANC's refusal to hand over secret arms caches—would actually help put to rest charges by both hardline black and white groups boycotting the convention that the government and ANC had already reached a secret power-sharing agreement. "After yesterday's exchange," said Blade Nzimande, one of the Communist Party's delegates, "it should be clear that no deals have been made between the ANC and its allies and the government."

But by the next day, Mandela declared the incident "forgotten." No deals? What about "majority rule" in this overwhelmingly (88 percent) non-white country? While declaring that the ANC's traditional stance of "one person, one vote" is non-negotiable, Mandela told the *Johannesburg Star* that whites could be guaranteed a block of seats in a new South African parliament for a limited period.

"Something like what happened in Zimbabwe, where we are able to say we

guarantee that so many seats will be held by whites. I wouldn't necessarily be against that as an individual. Whether the organisation [ANC] would accept it I don't know, but that is the type of compromise one could think of to allay the fears of minorities."

—London *Guardian*,
30 December 1991

De Klerk, for his part, said an interim government (one of Mandela's main demands) was now on the agenda—to be approved in a segregated referendum in which whites would have veto power. But "deal" or no deal, they won't be able to easily shove this down the throats of millions of black township dwellers who braved the bullets, "hippos" and attack dogs of apartheid terror.

SACP: "Make a Career" in Apartheid Army

The London *Economist* (14 December 1991) commented in an article *continued on page 14*



Reuters
Joe Slovo and Chris Hani: outgoing and incoming chairmen of South African Communist Party.



AP
Black workers' two-day general strike in November paralyzed South Africa.