

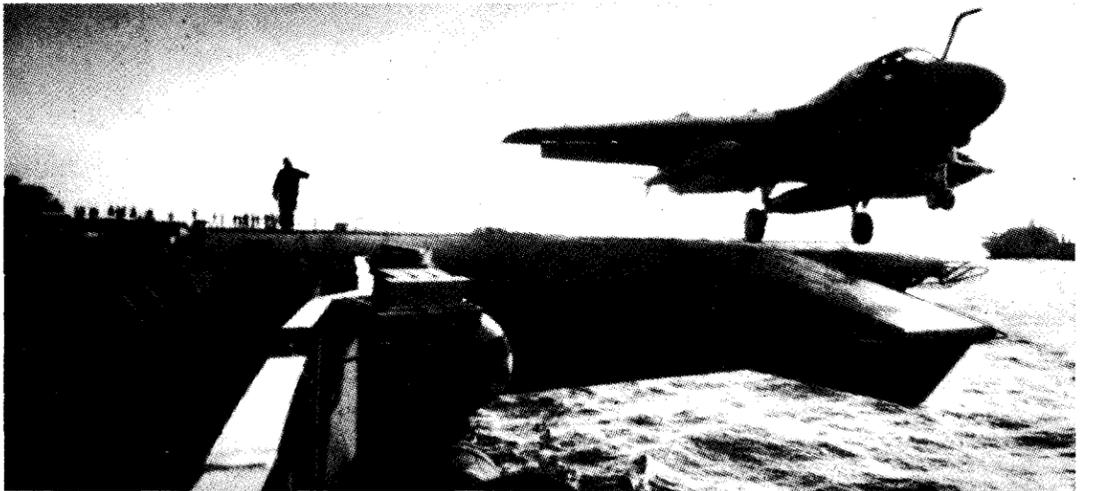
## Defend Serbia Against U.S./NATO Attack!

# Bosnia: Powder Keg of Europe

FEBRUARY 28—This morning, U.S. F-16 fighter jets under NATO command shot down over central Bosnia what the Pentagon claims were four Bosnian Serb planes. The imperialist alliance has gone beyond its starvation blockade against Belgrade under United Nations auspices and the fig leaf of "peace-keeping," and is now directly carrying out acts of war against Serbia. While the Western media are filled with propaganda supporting "poor little Bosnia" and denouncing Serbian "ethnic cleansing"—conveniently ignoring the same murderous tactics carried out by Croats and Bosnian Muslims in the three-sided nationalist civil war in the former Yugoslavia—class-conscious workers the world over must come to the defense of the Serbs against the attack by the imperialists who are the blood-drenched enemy of all mankind.

The "New World Order" is quickly getting a lot more disorderly. Moscow's dispatch of troops last week to the environs of Sarajevo foiled Washington's plans to bomb Serb positions in the surrounding mountains and then "negotiate." Clinton's claims to the contrary, today's jet strikes were undoubtedly a

*continued on page 4*



Aircraft carrier USS America plies Adriatic Sea as launching pad for U.S. imperialist air strikes against the Serbs.

Brian Palmer

# Genocidal Zionist Massacre

## Israeli Troops, Settlers Out of the Occupied Territories!

MARCH 1—Last Friday's horrendous slaughter of Palestinian Muslims worshipping in a mosque in the West Bank town of Hebron was a chilling statement of intent by extreme Zionists. These messianic killers are prepared to drown the Palestinian Arab people in a genocidal bloodbath rather than give up so much as an inch of "Greater Israel." This is their answer to the "peace" agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

As Zionist "ultra" Baruch Goldstein fired away during the early morning prayer service in the Muslim holy site, the walls and floors of the mosque were drenched with blood. This was calculated mass murder. Goldstein, a settler dressed in his reserve officer's uniform, loaded one 35-round clip after another into his army-issued Galil automatic rifle. As many as 60 or more Palestinians were killed, perhaps 200 more wounded.

As outraged protests swept the Occupied Territories, the Israeli rulers poured in massive troop reinforcements. Six people were gunned down immediately, as soldiers fired into a crowd of anguished relatives and neighbors outside a hospital in Hebron. Twenty Palestinians were killed just in the first two days after the Hebron massacre. One young Palestinian

hospital volunteer remarked bitterly: "This is the Israelis' peace."

Seeking to salvage the anti-Palestinian accord with the PLO, a spokesman for Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin insisted: "It was a one-man show—no question about it." But while Clinton and the American press echo the



Wounded Palestinian child, one of nearly 200 wounded and some 60 killed February 25 in a murderous rampage by an ultranationalist Israeli settler during mosque services in West Bank city of Hebron.

AP

## Down with Israel/PLO Anti-Palestinian Accord!

Israeli government's line, the Hebrew-language press in Israel acknowledges that the Israeli army was complicit in the slaughter.

Goldstein was allowed to enter the mosque during prayer services at the height of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan without even the normal per-

emptory weapons check. When horrified worshippers tried to flee to safety, Israeli soldiers opened fire on the crowds,

*continued on page 10*



# Protest Birmingham Cop Assault on Black Students!

On January 15, the anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, a demonstration of 40 black youth in Birmingham, Alabama was savagely attacked by cops. The scene was chillingly reminiscent of Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor's stormtroopers unleashing dogs and firehoses on civil rights workers in the 1960s—only today racist cop attacks on protesters are carried out in a city where the mayor, the police chief and the majority of the city council are black!

The demonstrators were protesting the planned construction of a waste transfer station, to be built by Browning-Ferris Industries (BFI) in the black Titusville section of the city. As they arrived at City Hall, over 100 cops converged and waded in, swinging billy clubs and spraying mace. Fourteen youth, some as young as 12 years old, were brutally beaten and then arrested. They were charged with incitement to riot, resisting arrest and assault on a police officer.

To protest this vicious cop brutality,

the march organizers—the Malcolm X Grass-Roots Movement, the Ujima Youth Organization of Atlanta, and the Southern Organizing Committee (SOC) Youth Task Force—have called a "Back to Birmingham Unity March" to be held in Kelly Ingram Park at 3 p.m. on March 4, marking the 29th anniversary of the civil rights march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama. The protesters are also calling for the dismissal of several cops.

The racist cop riot in Birmingham coincided with Ku Klux Klan provocations against Martin Luther King Day carried out in eight state capitals. In Austin, Texas some 2,000 people took to the streets to drown out the racist filth spewed forth by 33 KKKers. The focal point of the battle against the Klan night-riders was Springfield, Illinois, where a struggle to mobilize the social power of organized labor and the black community against the fascists was spearheaded by the Partisan Defense Committee,

**Black youth were clubbed and maced by 100 Birmingham cops last January during march to City Hall on anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday.**



associated with the Spartacist League.

On January 15, Birmingham's Democratic mayor, Richard Arrington, reportedly supported the demonstrators and assigned an escort of black police officers to accompany them. But as the demonstration neared City Hall, a police car driven by a white cop pulled in front of the line of march to force it onto the sidewalk. Cops tried to grab the bullhorn held by a march leader and confiscated a red, black and green black nationalist flag.

One cop radioed the lie that there was an "officer down." This incited a swift, massive police presence. Aware they were being videotaped, the cops dragged people into City Hall where they were beaten and arrested. "Police tore locks from the head of one young man, leaving the hair on City Hall steps. A handicapped man driving with the march was ordered from his car by other police and knocked to the ground" (*Baton Rouge Post*, 10 February).

The racist cops went berserk, even landing their blows on other cops. The police later used the absence of a permit to "justify" their actions. Black police chief Johnnie Johnson cynically declared that his cops "showed enormous restraint" (*Birmingham Post-Herald*, 17 January). We demand: Drop the charges against the anti-racist protesters!

In the early '60s, as the Klan rained bloody terror on civil rights marchers,

Birmingham was known as "Bombing-ham." This is where the KKK carried out the September 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church, killing four young black girls. Today, in front of the rebuilt church, Mayor Arrington has built a multimillion-dollar museum, celebrating the battles of the civil rights movement.

Arrington was first elected in 1979, amid widespread anger over police terror against black Birmingham. Now he has called for hearings over the racist assault on Martin Luther King Day in order to head off outrage over this attack. SOC issued a statement declaring that the assault on black demonstrators "was not the work of all Birmingham police" and that the racist cops were "throwbacks to the past in Birmingham."

But no monuments or hearings can disguise that the past lives on in the present in Birmingham. Black faces in high places do not stop racist cop terror, as the police act as judge, jury and executioner. Dominated by Martin Luther King's liberal pacifism and reliance on the Democratic Party, the civil rights movement was incapable of fighting the root causes of racial oppression, which is in the economic and social structure of capitalist society.

To effectively fight racist oppression and smash the instruments of racist terror like the KKK, it is necessary to mobilize

*continued on page 11*



TROTSKY

## The Bolsheviks Abolished Laws Against Homosexuality

*As we commemorate International Women's Day, March 8, women's rights are under reactionary assault around the globe: abortion doctors are gunned down and clinics attacked in the U.S., while counterrevolution in the Soviet-bloc deformed workers states has targeted women's gains from childcare to free abortion. The 1917 October Revolution, which gave rise to the Soviet Union, for the first time laid the basis for real equal-*



LENIN

*ity for women and eliminated all laws against homosexuality. As laid out by Dr. Grigorii Batkis, the director of the Moscow Institute of Social Hygiene, the early Soviet republic held that the state should stay out of sexual matters as long as there was effective consent. These emancipatory principles were later reversed as the conservative Stalinist bureaucracy sought to entrench itself in part by reinforcing the family and traditional social values.*

The present sexual legislation in the Soviet Union is the work of the October Revolution. This revolution is important not only as a political phenomenon, which secures the political rule of the working class. But also for the revolutions which emanating from it reach out into all areas of life....

The social legislation of the Russian communist revolution does not intend to be a product of pure theoretical knowledge, but rather represents the outcome of experience. After the successful revolution, after the triumph of practice over theory, people first strove for new, firm regulations along economic lines. Along with this were created models governing family life and forms of sexual relations responding to the needs and natural demands of the people....

The revolution let nothing remain of the old despotic and infinitely unscientific laws; it did not tread the path of reformist bourgeois legislation which, with juristic subtlety, still hangs on to the concept of property in the sexual sphere, and ultimately demands that the double standard hold sway over sexual life....

Now by taking into account all these aspects of the transition period, Soviet legislation bases itself on the following principle:

*"It declares the absolute non-interference of the state and society into sexual matters, so long as nobody is injured, and no one's interests are encroached upon."* (Emphasis in original)...

Concerning homosexuality, sodomy, and various other forms of sexual gratification, which are set down in European legislation as offenses against public morality—Soviet legislation treats these exactly the same as so-called "natural" intercourse. All forms of sexual intercourse are private matters. Only when there's use of force or duress, as in general when there's an injury or encroachment upon the rights of another person, is there a question of criminal prosecution."

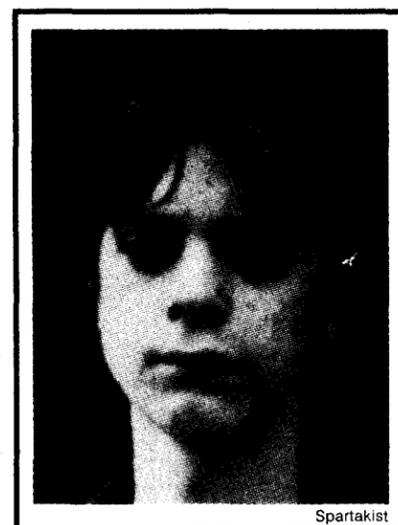
—Grigorii Batkis, *Die Sexualrevolution in Russland* (1925), excerpts translated in John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (1974)

## Daniel Eggers 1976-1994

Our comrade Daniel Eggers of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) died on January 6 in Hamburg. He was only 17 years old. Daniel died of meningitis complicated by pneumonia and kidney failure. Three days after his death, when 100,000 Berliners filed past the Memorial to the Socialists dedicated to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the SpAD laid a wreath there in honor of Daniel. On January 15, he was buried in his hometown of Winsen in the presence of many relatives, friends, coworkers and comrades.

Daniel was an apprentice in a nursing home, a profession traditionally reserved for women. He chose that field out of his desire to work with people, helping in physical therapy for the aged. Politically, he came out of the "autonome" milieu, won to Trotskyism by our opposition to the capitalist reunification of Germany. His application for membership in the SpAD was titled, "Especially Convinced of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Daniel Eggers represented the best of the thousands of young anti-fascist



Spartakist

fighters in Germany and Europe today. In November 1992, he initiated the defense of an immigrant hostel against Nazis in Niedersachsen, and later participated in the defense of an immigrant residence in East Berlin on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking power. He joined our ranks because he was convinced that only workers revolution could root out the fascist plague. He eagerly traveled to the Ruhr to sell *Spartakist* to striking steel workers.

Daniel was so young, with so much potential. A new generation of revolutionary youth will find inspiration, as we do, in his all too brief life.

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson,

Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg

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.

The closing date for news in this issue is March 1.

No. 595

4 March 1994



Ach/Newsday

# Giuliani Declares War on NYC Labor and Poor

It is New York City's most brutal winter in decades. And for the poor, the homeless and those still holding onto a union job, it got a lot more brutal after the former federal prosecutor, now mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, delivered the opening charges in his indictment against city workers. Giuliani says he is going to eliminate at least 15,000 jobs this year, with severance packages for older workers paid for by looting union pension funds. This is the opening shot in a full-scale racist union-busting war against the workers, poor people and minorities who are the majority of the NYC population.

Giuliani is particularly targeting homeless shelters, senior centers, children's aid, jobs for youth, public hospitals—the programs that are the literal line between life and death for the poorest of the poor. Police, of course, are exempted from the cuts, as are teachers and firemen. But while more cops are hired and more jails are built, as welfare recipients are fingerprinted and hospitals devastated, Giuliani is gearing up, as he vowed during his election campaign, to wipe out 35,000 of the 100,000 "non-exempt" city employees.

Giuliani's list of the first 5,000 jobs to go includes 1,484 sanitation jobs, 994 social service jobs, 463 health care workers and 282 pink slips to homeless services workers. In the second wave of cuts, announced last week, fully half of the jobs eliminated are from the Department of Social Services, totaling 20 percent of the entire staff (4,600 out of 23,600).

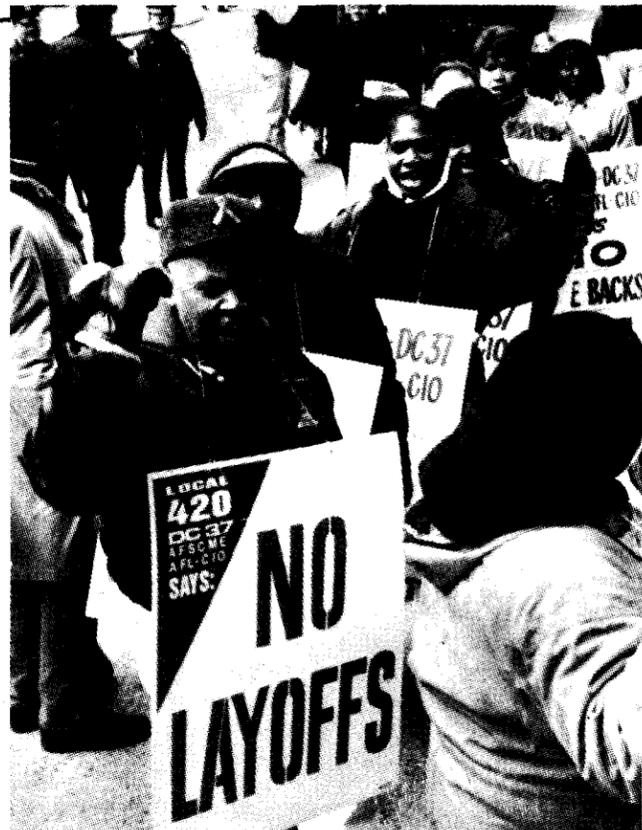
The budget ax came down just days after the mayor and the cops' calculated provocations against blacks in Harlem and Brooklyn in the guise of enforcing "law and order." There was the cop assault on a Nation of Islam mosque in

Harlem followed by the killing of the son of a black Muslim leader in Brooklyn. On Martin Luther King Day, when he was booed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Giuliani lectured black elected officials who dared criticize him that "they're going to have to learn how to discipline themselves in the way in which they speak." Even the *New York Times* (18 January) called this racist display "condescending" and "chilling."

In February, the mayor announced he was stopping new construction at Kings County Hospital, the grossly understaffed, overcrowded complex serving central Brooklyn, where hundreds of thousands of black people, Caribbean immigrants and other ethnic minorities are concentrated. When the board of the Health and Hospitals Corporation objected, Giuliani reacted like a tinpot dictator, threatening to fire the board. And when his Latino front man Ruben Diaz denounced this summer's Gay Games as a breeding ground for AIDS, the mayor defended this openly anti-homosexual bigot.

Giuliani has managed in short order to infuriate virtually every sector of the population outside of white ethnics and Hasidic Jews. But that could point to his downfall. This Reagan Republican mayor owes his election to the racist backlash voters of Staten Island. This is an administration with a very narrow base, headed by a brittle "law and order" freak with an Elliot Ness complex, trying to run roughshod over a city of immigrants and minorities. Giuliani may think he's untouchable, but he can be brought down and politically defeated. But to defeat the bourgeoisie's vicious program to build jails and close hospitals, which Giuliani is carrying out,

**Angry AFSCME hospital workers in February 3 protest against mayor's layoff plans to cripple health care for New York City poor and working people. But Local 420 president James Butler relies on Democrats, refusing to mobilize workers to strike against Giuliani's war on the unions and minorities.**



WV Photo

requires a break with the Democrats and forging a workers party to focus the felt hatred of the working masses and the oppressed in a struggle against the bankers, brokers and real estate interests the mayor represents.

## Killer Cuts and Killer Cops

Giuliani was the cops' candidate, and New York police know they have gotten the green light to beat and kill in the city's ghettos and barrios. Recently, the mayor's new NYPD commissioner, William Bratton, announced that all city cops, not just transit cops, will be getting 9mm pistols, and instead of the former

ten-shot limit they will get magazines with 15 cartridges. Giuliani plans to add thousands more police to the ranks that David Dinkins swelled by 6,000. And just to drive the point home that the cops have carte blanche, Bratton wants to set up a police unit to investigate those who file complaints against the cops!

No doubt the city's rulers figure they may need many more of these heavily armed professional strikebreakers and racist thugs-in-blue as they assault the livelihoods of tens of thousands of city workers and the vital services they provide, from garbage removal to health

*continued on page 5*

# San Francisco Women's Clinic Attacked by Anti-Abortion Thugs

SAN FRANCISCO—Thugs from the anti-abortion outfit "Operation Rescue" (O.R.) stormed SF's Pregnancy Consultation Center early on the morning of February 19. Unlike previous actions seeking the limelight of publicity, this was a guerrilla raid meant to wreak violence and do real damage. Some 70 O.R. bullies surrounded and mauled women entering the clinic. The *Bay Area Reporter* (24 February) said, "Clients were punched and kicked, children were terrorized, and at least two defenders sustained minor injuries in the most brutal attack on a San Francisco clinic in years."

A handful of clinic defenders from the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) were there, mobilized on short notice following the previous night's O.R. raid on a San Jose abortion clinic, where patients were turned away. Though BACORR was outnumbered, they successfully defended the clinic, got all the women in and kept O.R. out. One defender told WV, "You'll be proud to know we got some good licks in." The BACORR defenders locked the doors of the SF clinic in time to prevent an occu-

pation by the O.R. terrorists.

The police were called, but not surprisingly the capitalists' lawmen merely stood by, threatening to arrest the clinic defenders. The frustrated O.R. mob then split and drove off toward a doctor's home in West Portal, in line with Operation Rescue honcho Randall Terry's directive to target doctors as the supposed "weak link" in clinic defense. In another confrontation in a church parking lot, BACORR cars kept O.R. cars from leaving.

O.R.'s "intention last Saturday was to use violence against women, pure and simple," a BACORR activist told WV. They had "no P.R., no outreach, no media—they were a goon squad, a strike force." She said she expected that "since Dr. Gunn was killed, the 'grass roots' façade of O.R. would split and what we would be looking at would be multiple small groups of terrorists. What we saw on Saturday in San Francisco was 'field exercises' for O.R.'s new look."

"There's a perception out there that with a so-called 'pro-choice' president and the RICO laws, everything's okay," clinic escort Bob Kay told the *Reporter*.

"This was a wake-up call—It's not okay!" In the past the Christian fundamentalist bigots have poked at the fringes of liberal cities like San Francisco, but now, sensing the rightward political shift exemplified by Mayor

Jordan's "Matrix" war on the homeless, they are emboldened to raid the city itself.

Meanwhile the fake "left" is paralyzed, bound to Clinton's Democratic Party, which is carrying out the capitalists' austerity program combined with increased police repression. The cops, the Democrats, the bourgeois feminists who preach "respectability" and reliance on the ruling class won't defend women's rights. We call on labor and all supporters of abortion rights to defend the clinics and stop the O.R. thugs in their tracks! ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

\$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

New  Renewal

international rates: \$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail

\$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard*

\$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*

\$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Apt. # \_\_\_\_\_ Phone(\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

# Defend Serbia...

(continued from page 1)

"payback" against Russia's intervention in Bosnia. Now the U.S. is trying to cobble together a deal that will make the Balkan wars even bloodier than they already are. The latest proposal is for a "united" Croatian-Muslim state in Bosnia confederated to a "Greater Croatia" dominated by Germany. While the State Department is pretending to be the god-father, summoning the parties to Washington, the plan was hammered out in a meeting near Bonn which was arranged by German foreign minister Kinkel and Russian foreign minister Kozyrev.

The Hamburg news magazine *Der Spiegel* (28 February) asks if reunited Germany will return to the Balkans as a "Patron for Peace?" It declares that there are "detailed blueprints in Bonn drawers" for the Croatian/Bosnian Muslim "economic union"...which include massive dispatch of Bundeswehr medical personnel and construction troops, technicians and administrative advisers, and even German police. The Fourth Reich of German imperialism wants to obtain through economic and political means what Hitler's Third Reich failed to achieve: a protectorate over the south Slavs as part of its neocolonial encroachment on East Europe. "If it goes the way Chancellor Kohl and Russian president Yeltsin want," the article states, "a summit should seal the peace—and simultaneously Germany's new role in foreign policy." *Spiegel* asks pointedly, "A new axis?"

But the latest imperialist proposal amounts to a German-protected Greater Croatian federation in which there are large Serb enclaves which will not willingly accept incorporation into a state dominated by the Croats. The Croatian regime would then be beefed up militarily and economically by Western imperialism, in the first instance against the Serb minorities. This plan is an incredible provocation, which would lay the basis for massacres and massive forced population transfers. It was precisely the prospect of forcible incorporation of the Serbs into Croatia which fueled the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia beginning in mid-1991,

leading to the Serb minorities consolidating enclaves in both Croatia and Bosnia. Washington's scheme would never be accepted peacefully. If the U.S./UN attempts to impose such a plan by force, it would require an imperialist onslaught, laying the basis for years of bloody irredentist fighting.

Two weeks ago, Clinton thought he had everything down pat. The U.S. and its NATO "allies" would launch UN-authorized air strikes in order to teach recalcitrant Serbian president Slobodan

all wings of Russia's fractious capitalist ruling circles, from the ultranationalist fascist Zhirinovskiy to Western bankers' toady Yegor Gaidar. Yeltsin aide Vitaly Churkin warned that NATO bombing would mean "all-out war." Even as he grudgingly acquiesced to Washington's *diktat*, Yeltsin himself intoned: "Some people are trying to resolve the Bosnian question without the participation of Russia."

So days before NATO's February 21 deadline for air strikes if Serb forces did



Russian troops welcomed by Bosnian Serbs with three-finger Orthodox Christian salute.

Milosevic a bloody lesson in obedience. Then they would lean on the Muslim-led Bosnian forces to accept an earlier plan, which had been on the table for months, dividing Bosnia into three entities (Muslim, Croatian and Serb). Clinton dusted off the "War Powers Act" to formally notify Congress of his readiness to order an attack, while in speech after speech he vowed to "exact a heavy price" from the Serbs. "The blood lust is up in Washington," commented one NATO diplomat.

But then Yeltsin made his dramatic move to defend Russian interests. Opposition to direct Western military intervention in its Balkan backyard has united

not withdraw their artillery from around the Bosnian capital, Churkin held a joint press conference with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to announce that Russia would send in 400 "peacekeeping" troops to police a Serb withdrawal. Now any Western military action against the Serbs would also be an attack on Russian forces. As Russian soldiers drove through Serb-held suburbs of Sarajevo last week, they were enthusiastically greeted by crowds giving the Orthodox Christian three-finger salute, offering bottles of plum brandy, while Serbian demonstrators shouted, "Hooray Mother Russia! Hooray Yeltsin! Hooray Zhirinovskiy!"

A miffed White House mumbled a few words of "gratitude" that the Russian deal had averted the need for air strikes, while complaining that the first they heard of it was on CNN. *A Wall Street Journal* (22 February) commentary acerbically noted that the interplay between Russia and the West over Bosnia "looked more like confrontation" than "cooperation." Meanwhile Yeltsin press secretary Kostikov crowed that Russia had "won an important battle for its world status." Foreign minister Kozyrev declared, "In the future, our foreign policy will continue to defend Russia's vital interests, even in those cases where it is contrary to the interests of the West." In case there was any ambiguity, he added: "Russia will not listen to the West's lessons and lectures" (*Economist*, 26 February). The subsequent meeting outside Bonn served to underline differences between Russia and NATO and among the Western imperialists.

As we noted last issue: "Despite the current veneer of imperialist consensus, war-torn ex-Yugoslavia is a cauldron for imperialist intrigue and conflict." Liberals and reformists hailed the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War as opening up a new vista for international peace. In fact, the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state as a military counterweight to U.S. imperialism has made the world a far more dangerous place, sharply exacerbating the threat of trade wars and armed conflicts among the major imperialist powers and their regional allies. The clash of conflicting nationalist and impe-

rialist interests in the Balkans is a prime example.

While the Clinton White House wants to pose as a "peacekeeper," Yugoslav journalist Misha Glenny finds "much evidence to support" the view of "one of the highest-ranking officers of the Bosnian Army" who says: "We have no illusions about American intentions in this region. The U.S. wishes to establish a military presence in the Balkans." In mid-February, the U.S. decided to grant recognition to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, where it already has 300 American soldiers under UN auspices. Greece, which is in a nationalist uproar over Macedonia's independence, effectively levied an embargo against the landlocked country, cutting off its access to the port of Salonika, where much of its imports and two-thirds of its oil supply come in.

At the same time, Russian foreign minister Kozyrev stopped off for discussions with Greece (where he met with his German counterpart Kinkel) before embarking on a tour of Prague, Budapest and Warsaw, where he warned the former East European client states to toe the line on Russia's intervention in Bosnia. Prime Minister John Major of Britain, a traditional imperialist patron of pre-Titoist Yugoslavia, announced that he had known of—indeed encouraged—Yeltsin's plan to intervene but had withheld this "confidence" from his NATO "allies." And President François Mitterrand of France, another historic patron of Serbia, proposed putting Sarajevo under United Nations administration in order to piece off the Serbs as part of a settlement. The reaction of the Clinton administration was "less than enthusiastic."

Asserting its claim to be world gendarme, Washington now wants to host meetings between the warring factions in the former Yugoslavia as well as between the Israeli Zionist butchers and their Palestinian victims. But dreams of a Pax Americana are increasingly turning into nightmares of ever-widening wars. Clinton's support for a shotgun marriage between Bosnian Croats and Muslims under the roof of the fascistic Tudjman regime in Zagreb is a provocation to Serbia and an aid to Germany, which engineered the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia by pushing "independence" for its Croatian and Slovenian client states three years ago.

Serbs well remember the atrocities carried out during World War II by Croatian and Bosnian Muslim nationalists fighting under the swastika of the Third Reich. Even the *New York Times* (22 February) confessed that "there seems to be little reason for the Serbs to accept such an agreement." Indeed, there is every reason to see this as an invitation to foment another round of fratricidal bloodletting.

Today, "heroic Sarajevo" has become a battle cry for those who seek "humanitarian" imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslim regime which, wherever it has the military wherewithal to do so, has pursued "ethnic cleansing" with no less a vengeance than its Croatian and Serb opponents. But under Tito's deformed workers state, multiethnic Sarajevo symbolized the possibility of harmonious relations among the south Slavs. Under capitalism Yugoslavia can only be a cauldron of nationalist feuding, as it was between the world wars. What is needed is workers revolution throughout the region, creating a genuine socialist federation of the Balkans.

The Balkans once before served as a cockpit for interimperialist slaughter, as the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 set the stage for the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Today, the trip wires are being put in place for imperialist world war, only this time all sides will be armed with nuclear weapons. We say: *Down with the UN starvation blockade! Defend Serbia against imperialist attack! U.S./NATO out of the Balkans, now!* ■

# Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

plants and keep out the scabs" (WV No. 572, 26 March 1993). Now the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that clinics can use the federal RICO (Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act) law against blockaders. The January 24 opinion written by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, on a suit brought by the bourgeois feminist National Organization for Women (NOW) eight years ago, means blockaders can be prosecuted for a "pattern of racketeering."

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARRAL), claimed the decision was a powerful weapon. It is, but in the service of the ruling class. The sweeping and vague RICO "conspiracy" law enacted in 1970 is a dragnet catch-all whose provisions allow for multiple prosecutions, special heavy sentences, and stripping the victim of any financial assets. RICO has become the government's first-strike weapon to go after leftists and unions. It has been used in the past to railroad radical activists like the Ohio 7 and purge union officials in the Teamsters.

In another ominous blow against women's rights, on February 7 Supreme Court Justice David Souter upheld Pennsylvania's reactionary "Abortion Control Act." The law requires a 24-hour waiting period for every woman seeking an abor-

tion, while unmarried women under 18 must get parental consent or approval from a county judge to have an abortion. The day the act took effect, amid massive confusion at least 190 women at ten clinics in Pennsylvania were denied abortions. A temporary injunction delaying the law's enforcement has been issued. Abortion rights activists now say they are thinking of resurrecting the "Overground Railroad" for teenagers seeking out-of-state abortions. They had dismantled it in high hopes when Clinton was elected.

In the service of the Clinton White House, bourgeois feminists like NOW have repeatedly sabotaged the mass defense of clinics that's necessary to smash anti-woman terror. The "power feminists" may get off on the idea that they can now wheel and deal in the corridors of Congress, just like Democratic BEOs (black elected officials) talk of "empowerment" while the ghettos are devastated. But working women, poor women, black and Latino women will never have power under capitalism. The capitalist cops and courts are not neutral arbiters, but the main defenders of this capitalist system of misery for most of us and privilege for the few. We fight for the labor movement, minorities and youth to organize real clinic defense. For free, safe abortion on demand, available to all women, as part of a program of free, quality medical care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

# Giuliani...

(continued from page 3)

care. Those signs in the subways telling straphangers not to give to the homeless are not just a cruel joke by a bunch of selfish creeps, but a warning that it's now a crime to be poor. What Dinkins started by bulldozing homeless encampments, Giuliani wants to escalate by locking up "squeegee men" and the homeless as he swells their ranks with city workers.

The Giuliani budget calls for a huge 29 percent cut in the housing program over the next four years. Public hospitals are being told to make do with hundreds of millions of dollars less. Ultimately, the City Hall privatizers want to sell off all the public hospitals, the sole source of medical care for New York's working poor, to the highest bidder. Not only is construction stopped at Kings County Hospital, but the Burn and Radiation Therapy Unit at Harlem Hospital, which is the only such facility in all of Harlem, is slated to be closed. Another ghoulish scheme that's being proposed is to release terminally ill prisoners from jail and hope that Medicaid picks up their health care bills.

## Targeting the Unions

In an article headlined "Taking on the Unions," the *New York Times* (3 February) noted that Giuliani "has signaled in many ways that he would stand up to a confrontation. He often cites Philadelphia's Mayor, Edward G. Rendell, as a model. And Mr. Rendell is best known for staring down his once powerful unions and winning concessions despite a brief strike." (Actually, we best know Rendell as the D.A. who set up the 1985 Mother's Day massacre of the black MOVE commune.) At the same time, they worried that Giuliani could provoke a losing confrontation with labor, warning that sanitation workers have been working without a contract since October 1991, and "it is also not clear how long New Yorkers would endure, say, a garbage strike without blaming the Mayor."

For Giuliani to carry out his program of enriching the wealthy with tax cuts and privatization of public services, while keeping interest payments on the city debt flowing into the bank coffers, he must decimate the unions. In the face of this onslaught, labor is worse than disarmed—it is bound through a tame and toothless labor bureaucracy to the racist Democrats. In an article titled "With No Clear Leader or Strategy, Unions Prepare to Face Giuliani," the *Times* (21 February) wrote:

"For decades, New York's mayors shared the public stage with a well-known cast of irascible, flamboyant leaders of municipal labor. There were the titans who could welcome a new mayor into office with a strike on Inauguration Day, and later the labor statesmen who worked with the city in the fiscal crisis of the 1970's. Now the last of the union leaders who catapulted to prominence in the fiscal crisis has left the stage, clearing the way for less visible, less bombastic, and, in some cases, less tested successors."

We are far from the days of Mike Quill, the feisty leader of the transit workers who went to jail in 1966 for defying an anti-strike injunction, declaring, "The judge can drop dead in his black robes and we would not call off the strike!" During the 1970s "fiscal crisis," labor "statesmen" like former AFSCME District Council 37 head Victor Gotbaum literally played ball with the bosses—he was a regular tennis partner of Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) financier Felix Rohatyn. Labor fakery muttered about strikes while pouring billions in union pension funds down the Big MAC rathole and allowing the slashing of city services from libraries and hospitals to firehouses and bridge maintenance.

For decades, labor's power in the Big Apple has been held in check by the labor traitors. This pro-capitalist union bureaucracy was a product of the Cold War witchhunt that drove the reds out

of the unions. And they've trained their replacements who have never even seen a strike to sell out—all they know is giveback. *Newsday* (2 February) referred to Gotbaum's successor as head of the 140,000-member District Council 37, Stanley Hill, as "a mild-mannered conciliator." That's putting it mildly. The municipal labor coalition is in tatters, as the United Federation of Teachers and now the Transport Workers Union tops have pulled out to make their own giveback deals.

When Giuliani unveiled his cutback plans, the top city AFSCME officers were in Orlando, vacationing at Disney World in \$185-a-night rooms. Hill's major complaint was that Giuliani won't "sit down" and talk about it. Far from



1980 New York City transit workers strike shook citadel of world finance capital, but simple trade unionism wasn't enough to overcome Democratic Party strikebreaking.

fighting the cutbacks, Hill wrote in the union newspaper, "It's not that the mayor's plan is all bad...we are ready to sit down with the city and work out a plan that shares the pain equally. We don't fear change, but business must do its part" (*Public Employee Press*, 11 February).

James Butler, head of hospital workers Local 420, has held rallies protesting plans to lay off janitors, nurses and technicians and the closing of the Harlem Hospital burn unit. But Butler's rallies are mainly to vent the anger among his ranks. The word "strike" is never uttered. Instead of organizing the union's strength, Butler relies on the city's Democratic establishment—from Ruth Messinger to David Patterson and Charles Rangel—the capitalist politicians who have long presided over New York's descent into hell. Under Democrat Dinkins, the city's unemployment rate soared past 10 percent and much higher among minorities. Central Harlem residents are dying at a 50 percent higher rate than the overall U.S. population. And this in a city which trains 10 percent of the nation's doctors in its teaching hospitals.

Dinkins and the Democrats paved the way for Giuliani, as the hopes of the black and Hispanic population for improvements under a black mayor were soon reduced to apathy and despair. Dinkins promised the ruling class during his 1989 election campaign that the unions "will take it from me," and they certainly did—though not enough to satisfy Wall Street. Giuliani got elected as the first Republican mayor of New York City in nearly three decades by promising to attack minorities and the unions with a vengeance.

In 1975, Gerald Ford told New York to "drop dead," in the words of the famous *Daily News* headline, as the capitalist class, from the White House to the Albany state house, declared war on municipal unions and the minority poor. In the midst of economic recession, this war was waged to reverse the '60s decade of struggle, when city unions grew in numbers and confidence and a shaken ruling class anxiously doled out "poverty programs" and government

services to buy off black Democrats and cool out the black inner cities which had gone up in flames of rebellion.

Where racist right-wingers like Barry Goldwater earlier called to slice New York off from America and float it out to sea, "progressive" bankers like Felix Rohatyn now talked of "blacktopping" the South Bronx and turning it into a giant parking lot. This marked a shift as the ruling class, which had treated blacks as a reserve army of labor, wrote off an entire generation of black youth to lumpen destitution. *Hundreds of thousands* of black workers were driven out of strategic heavy industry (steel, auto) as American capitalism "rationalized" production, forcing a massive plunge in the standard of living of the entire working

mayor Riordan to New York's Giuliani and the death-penalty Democrats in the White House, the ruling class is determined to drive up its rate of profit by driving down the costs of maintaining services in the cities and the people who live there. "Illegal" immigrants, who were earlier attracted as sweatshop labor to keep wages down, are now scapegoats for everything from "welfare fraud" to earthquake relief.

Rather than backstabbing, go-it-alone attempts to deal with Giuliani, who will only play one sector off against another, it is necessary to mobilize city labor at the head of all the oppressed in a class-struggle fight against the racist rulers. The tens of thousands of NYC transit workers can bring the center of world capitalist finance to a screeching halt. But as the experience of the 1980 TWU strike showed, such a struggle won't be won through simple trade unionism, but must be waged politically. The present fight by militants in the transit union to defend black track worker James Frazier—who was shot and nearly killed by the NYPD, then fired by the Transit Authority, and whose only "crime" was having survived to tell his harrowing story—could serve to galvanize this powerhouse of labor.

At the height of the '70s fiscal crisis, we wrote:

"The layoffs will mean drastic cutbacks in education, hospitals, fire protection, sanitation, welfare case-handling, child-care centers and many other already grossly inadequate services, with the worst cuts being made in ghetto areas. The entire working-class and poor population of New York City will be the losers unless the municipal unions launch a city-wide general strike to stop all layoffs and cutbacks, to cancel the city debt and expropriate the banks without compensation. But the city labor leaders have betrayed the workers every step of the way and are the chief agency preventing such a mobilization, allowing the ruling circles to accomplish their despicable aims."

—WV No. 72, 4 July 1975

Amid student protests, wildcat strikes and fierce anger over the cutbacks, the Spartacist League put forth a program of transitional demands to mobilize labor against Wall Street and the bank-induced "crisis." We marched under banners demanding, "For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs! Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks! For a Workers Party and a Workers Government." Today, such a program for sharp class struggle is just as valid, and twice as desperately necessary. This is the road to bringing down race-baiting labor-hater Giuliani. ■

## International Women's Day Spartacist 4 Events

Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyiste Forum

### The "Date Rape" Issue: Feminist Hysteria and Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Speaker: Marie Hayes, TL Central Committee

Saturday, March 12, 7:30 p.m.

St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. West (1 block west of Spadina)

**TORONTO** For more information: (416) 593-4138

### Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Next class:  
Tuesday, March 8, 7:30 p.m.

*The Fight for Women's Liberation*

Room 317, Hamilton Hall  
Columbia University

(take the #1 or 9 train to 116th and B'way)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

**NEW YORK CITY**

Next class:  
Wednesday, March 9, 7 p.m.

*Right-Wing Bigots/Liberal Feminists  
Whip Up Anti-Sex Hysteria,  
Target Women, Gays, Youth*

West Madrone Room, ASUC Building  
University of California

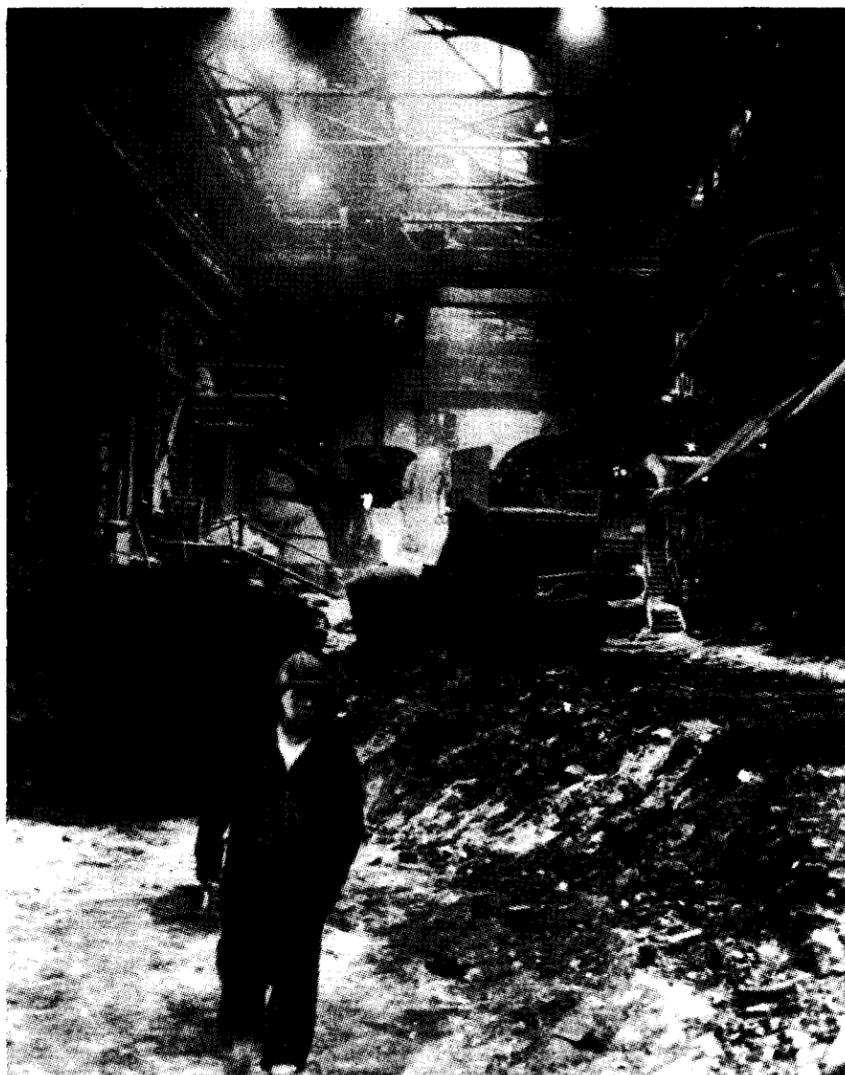
For more information: (510) 839-0851

**BERKELEY**

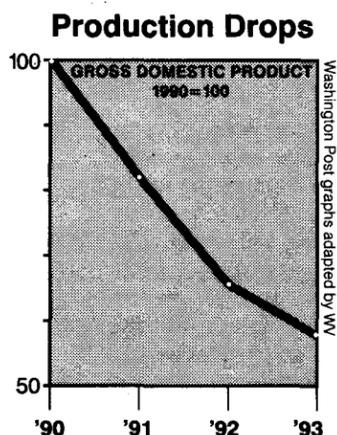
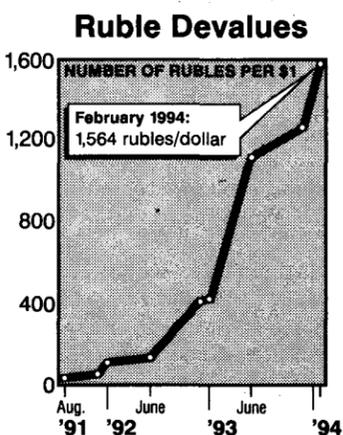
# Post-Soviet Russia: Immiseration and Chaos



Reisinger/Black Star



Der Spiegel



From Siberian coal mines to metal foundries of European Russia, capitalist counterrevolution means devastation for working class of former Soviet Union.

Just a few months ago, as army tanks shelled the Russian parliament, the American ruling class thought they finally had Russia in the bag. At Washington's prodding, Boris Yeltsin had spiked the nationalist opposition grouped around the parliamentary leaders. A new constitution, designed to legitimize the capitalist counterrevolution, had set up a virtual presidential dictatorship. Would-be czar Boris looked to be in a strong position to push through the economic "shock treatment"—wholesale closure of industrial plants, mass unemployment—demanded by the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Elections in December were supposed to produce a new, tame parliament dominated by pro-Western "democrats" like the IMF's main man Yegor Gaidar. Instead there was a huge protest vote whose main beneficiary was the fascist demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Zhirinovskiy, who called for a purge of American influence in Russia, did especially well in the military—a third of officers and enlisted men reportedly voted for him. He also did well among workers in heavy industry, who would be the main immediate victims of a monetarist "shock treatment."

The Stalinist "patriots" in the Communist and Agrarian parties also made a good showing in the elections, polling over 20 percent of the vote. With the support of Zhirinovskiy's party, an old Stalinist apparatchik, now with the Agrarians, was elected speaker of the lower house of parliament, the Duma, named after the last tsar's advisory body. Now this recalcitrant Duma has voted to amnesty Aleksandr Ruskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov, the imprisoned leaders of the parliament Yeltsin dissolved by tank

gunfire, as well as the "gang of eight" leaders of the botched August 1991 putsch, whose failure led to Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary ascendancy. And on February 26 almost two dozen of Yeltsin's jailed opponents were freed.

The "democrats" are humiliated, their Western imperialist sponsors distressed. Yeltsin, seeing which way the wind was blowing, changed tack and has adopted a more nationalist posture in both economic and foreign policy. His prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, who ran the natural gas industry under Gorbachev, declared: "The mechanical transfer of Western economic methods to Russian soil has done more harm than good." In response, the two leading "free-market reformers" in the Yeltsin regime—Gaidar and Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov—

resigned from the government, which they contend is now firmly in the hands of Soviet-era apparatchiks from the industrial-military complex.

Meanwhile, the continuing cataclysmic decline of the Russian economy has provoked a wave of strikes and strike threats in the aftermath of the elections. The business daily *Commersant* warned that the country is on the verge of "one huge strike." On February 10, TV screens across the country went blank as communications workers walked off the job to demand billions of rubles in back pay. The government caved in within hours. Vorkuta miners also went on strike, occupying pits over unpaid back wages. No sooner had Prime Minister Chernomyrdin agreed to meet their demands than miners at two pits in the

Kuzbass began a hunger strike. Now the head of the Independent Miners Union threatens nationwide action beginning March 1 if the government fails to meet its promises again.

Yeltsin's foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev—known as a fawning "friend of the West"—now proclaims that Moscow will "toughly uphold the interests of the Russian-speaking population" in the other former Soviet republics and stand up "for the interests of Russia." Venturing beyond the "near abroad," the Kremlin has also recently emphatically reasserted Russia's traditional role as a patron of its Serb "little brothers" in the Balkans, unilaterally negotiating a deal to circumvent threatened NATO air strikes and deploying 400 "peacekeeping" troops in the Bosnian Serb headquarters of Pale. Amid acute discomfort over the Russian move in Bosnia, Washington staged a table-thumping flap over the discovery of a Russian "mole" in the CIA.

In place of triumphalism in American ruling circles over the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, there are beginning to be dark warnings of a revanchist and nationalist Russia as a new threat to the West. Cold War academic Angela Stent of Georgetown University—a favorite CIA-sponsored think tank—projects that "Russia, striving to be a great power, could become a serious rival to the United States. Its nuclear arsenal is still aimed at us" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1993).

## Russian "Reformers" in Disarray, Washington in Quandary

Russia's pro-Western "democrats" and their imperialist controllers are engaged



Reuters

Struggling to survive, an elderly Russian pensioner offers her hair for sale.

in bitter recriminations over who is responsible for the rise of Zhirinovskiy and the more assertively nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime. Gaidar blames Yeltsin for not actively campaigning for him in the December elections and instead adopting an above-the-battle posture. Ex-finance minister Fyodorov charged that Strobe Talbott, the main U.S. envoy to the former Soviet Union, stabbed "reformers" in the back by calling for "less shock and more therapy" in the immediate aftermath of the elections.

Harvard's man in Moscow, economist Jeffrey Sachs—who had previously designed the electrodes for "shock treatments" in Bolivia and Poland—resigned from his position as economic adviser to Yeltsin and denounced the IMF for withholding money from the Russian government promised by Western capitalists. In turn, haughty IMF head Michel Camdessus (who normally speaks only to god) contended his agency was being made a scapegoat and condemned the Yeltsin regime for not carrying out the policies to which it had committed itself.

There is doubtless an element of diplomatic calculation in Yeltsin's new Russia-first posture: since trying to accommodate the IMF gained nothing but the growing hostility of the masses, perhaps the spectre of a more nationalist Russia, with Zhirinovskiy waiting in the wings, might pressure Western capitals to cough up more money. And so it might. A 15 January editorial in the *New York Times*—that influential mouthpiece of the American ruling class—argued that if the U.S. wants to call the tune in Russia it has to pay the piper, and pay something before the tune is played:

"America has pledged its share of aid to Russia, but it has yet to deliver many dollars. It cannot let the opportunity slip away once more. The aid must be delivered even before Russia tightens its budget by shrinking subsidies to unproductive factories....

"Russia needs a new social safety net not tied to the factory. To get one started, it needs outside help."

All this talk about providing Russia with a "social safety net" is bunk: the cost of unemployment insurance and job retraining for the *millions* of workers being thrown out of work is far greater than *any* conceivable amount of Western aid. The real purpose of the few billions being doled out to Moscow is to *buy off the elite of post-Soviet Russia*: industrial managers, government officials, military commanders.

The IMF honcho in Moscow justified his agency's stinginess by arguing that money given to the Russian government would largely be spent on luxury imports (Mercedes, BMWs) or be siphoned abroad. But that is just the point of such "aid": to pay for pliant agents in a Russian client state. As it is, Russia's new rich have already smuggled abroad *more than the \$22 billion* promised (but not delivered) by the West and Japan. Last year alone, one-third of Russia's export revenues, some \$15.5 billion out of a total of \$48 billion, was kept overseas.

Chernomyrdin now blames the economic collapse in post-Soviet Russia on "market romanticism." Gaidar & Co. contend it's the continuing heavy state subsidies to the industrial-military complex. But the real and fundamental reason is the capitalist counterrevolution. Whatever faction of the restorationists comes out on top in Moscow, whatever the policies and ideological posture of the government, the destruction of the planned, collectivized economy of the Soviet Union means the impoverishment and degradation of workers and collective farmers in Russia, the Ukraine, Central Asia and the other former Soviet republics.

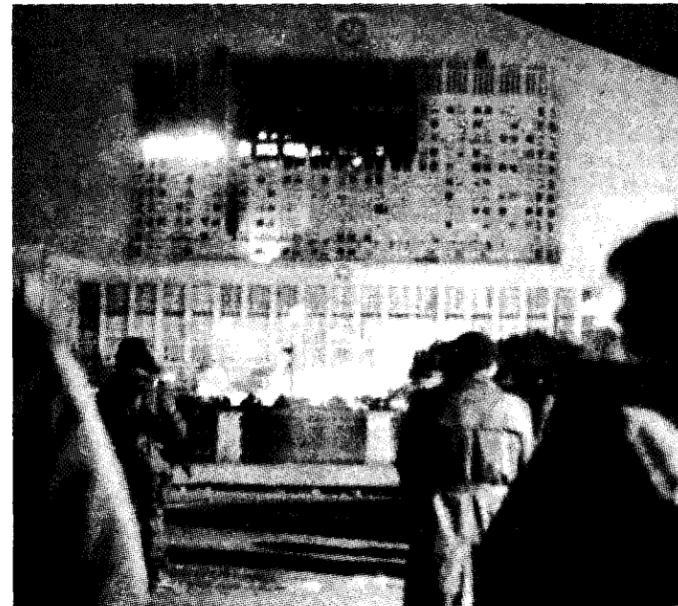
Over the past two years, Russia's would-be capitalist exploiters have been bitterly divided between pro-IMF monetarists like Gaidar and a nationalist-corporatist wing centered on the old factory managers and represented by

industrialist spokesman Arkady Volsky. Where Gaidar & Co. propose a wholesale shutdown of "bankrupt" enterprises and turning Russia into a neocolonial supplier of raw materials to the West, the corporatists argue for maintaining a core of the country's heavy industrial complex by continuing to pump subsidies in and ceding ownership to the managerial bureaucracy.

To do this, a corporatist regime would have to reimpose effective state control over exports and capital outflow, moving not only to discipline the working class but to tame the "wild capitalism" of corruption, racketeering and speculation. But that would antagonize the imperialist powers, and scare off potential investors, and that is something none of the fledgling capitalist factions dare risk. Under present conditions, Volsky's program cannot be carried out without an imperialist sponsor, such as the German Fourth Reich.

It is no accident that last fall, facing a solid front of imperialist hostility to Yeltsin's parliamentary opponents, Volsky & Co. in the end supported the bloody crackdown on parliament. A proletarian vanguard would have sought to mobilize the working masses against Yeltsin's bonapartist moves, including a military bloc with the forces around Rutsokoi/Khasbulatov during the fighting. In this confrontation the workers, seeing neither side as fighting for their interests, remained passive.

Without massive infusions of capital from the West, neither monetarism nor corporatism has a hope of pulling Russia



**Russian parliament building burning last October after Yeltsin ordered army assault in presidential coup backed by Washington.**

out of its morass in the next period. The Ukraine, which has been run by Volsky types since 1991, is today an economic basket case, aggravated by its extreme reliance on Russian energy and industrial parts.

Meanwhile, in Russia runaway inflation, capital flight, managerial looting and sheer economic chaos have already caused industrial production to fall by 60 percent in the past three years. Ruthless IMF-dictated monetarism would have the (intended) effect of permanently shutting down the vast majority of Russia's industrial enterprises. Chernomyrdin and the layer of industrial managers are seeking to keep a significant percentage of industry going. But even if they keep the upper hand, there will still be massive unemployment and economic misery for millions of workers.

In the Soviet era, industrial enterprises provided their workers not only with a wage but also basic social benefits: free medical and childcare facilities, often low-rent housing. Thus for a worker in Russia to be laid off or have his enterprise go bankrupt means not only the loss of income but immediate and total pauperization. Hence the sense of desperation which expressed itself in the vote for Zhirinovskiy.

Liberal British journalist Jonathan Steele observed that this fascist demagogue's main source of popular appeal did *not* lie in "Russian expansionism"



Der Spiegel



Reuters



Quan/NY Times

**Fat cats and capitalist bureaucrats starve Russian masses: (from left) former deputy prime minister Yegor Gaidar; former finance minister Boris Fyodorov; former Yeltsin economic adviser, Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs.**

but rather that "the Zhirinovskiy factor was a protest over economic pain, the emergence of a flamboyant class of new rich, and the rise in crime" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 January).

However, the increasing influence of Russian nationalism among the masses—even if presented in the guise of economic populism—will *prevent* working people from struggling against the economic pain wrought by the counterrevolution and its greedy new rich. The working class in Russia—shaped by the integrated, collectivized economy of the Soviet Union—is still heavily *multinational*. Even defensive economic struggles against plant closures and wage cuts can be organized only on a multinational basis.

The 19th-century German workers leader August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of fools." Today, we are

is heavily ethnically Russian. When a Russian nationalist won the presidential election there last month, the Ukrainian government threatened to take "decisive action" to defend "Ukraine's territorial integrity." A territorial war between Russia and the Ukraine would produce unspeakable horrors and destroy any possibility of effective working-class struggle against the capitalist counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union for years.

The older generation of working people in Russia, the Ukraine and other former Soviet republics look back on the Brezhnev era of the 1960s and '70s as a golden age. Even with the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state, workers and collective farmers retained real and valuable social gains of the 1917 October Revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, was made in the name of proletarian internationalism through implacable political struggle against all forms of Great Russian chauvinism. Today, a new Bolshevik party must be forged in struggle against all the forces of the counterrevolution, both the pro-Western "democrats" and the Russian nationalist demagogues.

### Capitalist Counterrevolution = Economic Devastation

Russian nationalists of all stripes, and also Western liberals and social democrats, blame the immiseration in the former Soviet bloc solely on monetarist "shock treatments" prescribed by the IMF. As if it were possible to replace a planned, collectivized economy with capitalism while maintaining full employment, living standards and industrial production! Every country in East Europe and the ex-USSR has experienced economic collapse and mass unemployment, whether the restorationist regimes were run by right-wing anti-Communists (Poland, Hungary) or by former Stalinist leaders (the Ukraine, Romania) or both successively (Lithuania).

The employment of labor clearly demonstrates the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and a collectivized economy, even one subject to pervasive bureaucratic mismanagement and parasitism as was the former Soviet bloc. The aim of a capitalist firm is to maximize the return on the money invested in that particular company. Managers therefore seek to maximize output (if it can be sold) while minimizing the cost and employment of labor. Hence, you can see in North America and West Europe mass unemployment coexisting with brutal speedup for those workers fortunate enough to have jobs. Some people are forced to beg in the streets while others are forced to work 10-12 hours a day.

The aim of a collectivized economy is to maximize the output of society as a whole by utilizing *all* available resources, both labor and the means of production. Moreover, Soviet-bloc governments prevented unemployment by not laying off workers even if their additional contribution to production was less than the wage paid them. That was far better than having them live on welfare or beg in the streets, risking unrest.

*continued on page 8*

# Russia...

(continued from page 7)

As a result, industrial enterprises in East Europe and the ex-USSR were grossly overmanned by the standards of capitalist profitability.

For example, the Wartburg auto plant in Eisenach, East Germany employed 14,000 workers. After capitalist reunification, it was taken over and rebuilt by the GM subsidiary Opel, which now operates the plant with 2,000 workers—*one-seventh* of its original labor force. While this is an extreme case, there are few major industrial enterprises in the former Soviet bloc, from East Berlin to Vladivostok, which could operate profitably in the world capitalist market without sharply slashing their labor force.

The Western media is now touting the Czech Republic as the "success story" of capitalist restoration in East Europe. Yet in the past two years the labor force in the Pilzen Skoda works—a core element of Czech heavy industry—has been cut from 32,000 to 20,000. At the same time, the real wage of the country's industrial workers has fallen by 25 percent! And the Czechs still have it better than the rest of East Europe.

In addition to the costs of preserving full employment, productivity in Soviet industrial plants suffered due to the imperialist pressures of the Cold War. In order to maintain military parity with the NATO powers *without reducing living standards*, during the 1970s the Brezhnev regime sharply cut back industrial investment. As a consequence, many branches of manufacturing in the USSR became increasingly obsolete by world market standards. However, the monopoly of foreign trade in the hands of the Soviet state—an essential element of a collectivized economy—protected the home market from the world market, preventing industrial enterprises from being bankrupted by a flood of cheap imports from the West and Japan. But now with the capitalist counterrevolution, production costs in post-Soviet Russia are being driven into line with those on the world market through a massive contraction of industrial capacity and an even greater slashing of the industrial labor force.

Defending themselves against the charge that their economic policies ruined Russia, Gajdar, Fyodorov & Co. contend there has been no "shock therapy." Unemployment, they claim, is a mere 1 percent and no major enterprises have gone bankrupt. The unemployment figures are phony and bankruptcy status meaningless. The Russian State Committee on Statistics estimates that, including concealed unemployment, up to 13 million workers are jobless, on unpaid or little-paid leave, or working a short week. Moreover, many plants whose gates are open and through which workers enter every morning are not producing anything for lack of supplies, and many which are producing goods cannot sell them. The *Washington Post* (18 February) summed it up in a headline: "Russia's Industrial Collapse Has Begun."

Today Russia is in a state of counter-revolutionary chaos. At the base, real power in the economy has passed into the hands of what is popularly called "the mafia"—a mélange of corrupt managers or officials, fly-by-night businessmen and criminal gangs. The thousands of new private businesses which have sprung up in the past few years routinely turn over 10 to 20 percent of their revenue as "protection money" to criminal gangs. At the same time, enterprise managers and petty entrepreneurs pay little if any taxes to the government, and much of the tax money that is collected never makes it into the central government coffers.

The fascist Zhirinovskiy skillfully exploited popular hatred and contempt for the newly rich wheeler-dealers, fear of criminal violence, and more generally a

longing for the restoration of social order. The Yeltsin regime, too, is using anti-mafia demagoguery in an effort to rebuild a strong state apparatus. In his address to parliament, Yeltsin played on the rise in crime to argue that "a strong and powerful Russian state is the most reliable and real guarantor of stability" (*New York Times*, 25 February).

Claiming that the old police organizations are irremediably corrupt, the government is proposing to set up an elite paramilitary formation, answerable only to the president, with special powers such

**American imperialist chief Clinton meeting with Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk. Destruction of Soviet Union has unleashed rampant nationalist conflicts.**



as the right to make preventive arrests. Members of this new super police force would be paid \$250-\$300 a month—several times the average wage in today's impoverished Russia. These would be the pampered shock troops of the counter-revolution, whose main target will not be the mafia but the workers movement, trade-union militants and leftist activists.

The working class *must oppose and resist* all moves to strengthen the repressive power of the state, whether made in the name of fighting crime and corruption or defending "the interests of Russia."

The restoration of social order in Russia can benefit the working people only if it is based on *their own, multinational class organizations*—trade unions, factory councils, committees of state and collective farmers, soviets. A reborn workers movement must organize its own military formations in the first place to defend strikes and protests against the cops, fascist thugs and criminal gangs. Workers defense guards must also protect Jews, Caucasians and other ethnic and national minorities against attacks by Russian chauvinists.

## For Proletarian Struggle Against Great Russian Chauvinism!

Russia's nascent bourgeoisie has inherited imperial ambitions from the tsarist autocracy. They want to rule a great power recognized and allied with one or another of the major imperialist powers. Zhirinovskiy's call for an "eternal alliance" between Russia and Germany to dominate the Eurasian continent only expresses this vision in a particularly extreme form. More "moderately," Adranik Migranyan, a member of Yeltsin's presidential advisory council, declared that "all geo-political space in the former USSR is Russia's sphere of interest" (*London Independent*, 13 January).

However, aspirations for a modern capitalist version of the tsarist empire confront the economic devastation of Russia wrought by the counterrevolution. Pre-1917 Russia combined a vast, backward, peasant-based agriculture—retaining strong elements of feudalism—with a large, relatively modern industry financed, directly or indirectly, by Western capital. Today, however, U.S. imperialism is bent on tearing down, not building up, Russian industry. Whereas Tsar Nicholas II could easily float large loans in European financial markets, the IMF treats Yeltsin like a naughty boy whose allowance is withheld for bad behavior.

Immediately after the December elections, Washington voiced a somewhat softer line on Russian economic "reform." Talbott made his widely publicized "less shock and more therapy" speech. And Vice President Al Gore while in Moscow sharply criticized the IMF for giving the Yeltsin regime less than \$2 billion of the \$14 billion which the Group of Seven imperialist powers had pledged to Russia.

But talk is cheap. U.S. Treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen intervened hard to ensure that soft talk on Russia was

Moscow's military interventions in the communalist civil wars in Moldova and Georgia.

Right before the December elections, the *London Economist* (4 December 1993) observed:

"America might even think its interests were being served if Russia acted as a neighborhood cop, preventing disorder spilling out from Central Asia into the Middle East or south Asia. To European countries, however, a Russian intervention in Ukraine, Azerbaijan or the Baltic states would look much more threatening."

Substantial elements in American ruling circles, too, believe that Russia cannot be maneuvered into acting as a pliant instrument of U.S. policy. Like the West Europeans, they advocate playing off anti-Russian nationalism in Poland, the Ukraine, the Baltic states, etc. against Moscow. These policy differences underlie the recent dispute in NATO over expanding the military alliance to East Europe. Clinton vetoed this move for the time being, piecing off the East European regimes with a meaningless "Partnership for Peace."

However, such diplomatic formulas and maneuvers cannot disguise the reality that the counterrevolutionary breakup of the Soviet Union threatens ever more extensive nationalist/communist wars, such as the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave which exploded in 1988, unleashing a bloody and continuing war in the Caucasus and signaling the beginning of the disintegration of the USSR.

Zhirinovskiy's electoral success and the more nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime indicates that the forces of counterrevolution are driving to set up a strong Russian state, appealing to popular support on the basis of chauvinist demagoguery. Unless that drive is derailed through class struggle against the new capitalist rulers, the workers and collective farmers of the former Soviet Union will face—in addition to the current economic immiseration—murderous repression and fratricidal bloodletting. As we wrote in "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (*WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992):

"To free itself of its would-be exploiters and oppressors, the working class must also assert itself as a 'tribune of the people,' opposing every manifestation of anti-Semitism and anti-woman and anti-homosexual bigotry, rising to the defense of all those—including African and Asian students, and the Central Asian peoples in Russia—who are increasingly exposed to violent racist terror. What is required above all is a revolutionary leadership capable of overcoming the divisions inspired by chauvinism and nationalism, clearing away the decades of false consciousness fostered by Stalinism, and linking the struggles in the ex-USSR to that of the world proletariat." ■

not backed up by soft loans and aid. A senior White House official told the *Washington Post* (23 December 1993): "We've not gotten into the business of setting up social safety nets, and we won't now." By the time Clinton made his first state visit to Russia in mid-January, he was back to preaching the IMF line of "reforms" first, money later. Since U.S. aid to Russia last year was a piddling \$1.5 billion—less than that given to either Israel or Egypt—Yeltsin was little inclined to heed the American president.

Zhirinovskiy's electoral success and the more nationalist stance of the Yeltsin regime has brought to the surface divisions among the Western imperialists over how to deal with the conflicting nationalisms unleashed by the destruction of the Soviet Union. The main current of the American ruling class is willing to support the restoration of a strong Russian state dominating the territory of the former USSR *if*—a very big *if*—Washington can retain ultimate control over the Kremlin. Both the Bush and Clinton administrations have put great pressure on the Ukraine to scrap the nuclear weapons inherited from the Soviet Union, which would thereby give Yeltsin's Russia a monopoly on nuclear war-fighting capacity in the region. And Washington has turned a blind eye toward

## SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

**National Office:**  
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116  
(212) 732-7860

**Atlanta**  
Box 4012  
Atlanta, GA 30302  
(404) 521-9338

**Boston**  
Box 390840, Central Sta.  
Cambridge, MA 02139  
(617) 492-3928

**Chicago**  
Box 6441, Main PO  
Chicago, IL 60680  
(312) 663-0715

**Cleveland**  
Box 91037  
Cleveland, OH 44101

**Los Angeles**  
Box 29574,  
Los Feliz Sta.  
Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(213) 380-8239

**Madison**  
Box 1492  
Madison, WI 53701

**New York**  
Box 444, Canal St. Sta.  
New York, NY 10013  
(212) 267-1025

**Norfolk**  
Box 1972, Main PO  
Norfolk, VA 23501

**Oakland**  
Box 29497  
Oakland, CA 94604  
(510) 839-0851

**San Francisco**  
Box 77494  
San Francisco, CA 94107  
(415) 777-9367

**Washington, D.C.**  
Box 75073  
Washington, D.C. 20013  
(202) 872-8240

## TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

**Toronto**  
Box 7198, Station A  
Toronto, ON M5W 1X8  
(416) 593-4138

**Montréal**  
C.P. Les Atriums  
B.P. 32066  
Montréal, QC H2L 4V5

**Vancouver**  
Box 2717, Main P.O.  
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2  
(604) 687-0353

# Kronstadt and Counterrevolution Then and Now

While memories of Stalin's terror remain vivid, Lenin continues to be a well-regarded figure among the masses of post-Soviet Russia. From its own anti-Communist perspective, the *New York Times* (11 January) noted: "Though Lenin's myth has been badly tarnished in recent years, the Government has generally avoided direct strikes at his memory, evidently for fear of offending the millions raised in the legend of the infallible leader who died too early to prevent Stalin's terror." One of Yeltsin's first moves after his bloody October coup was to shut down the Lenin Museum in Moscow.

On the eve of Clinton's January visit to Russia, Yeltsin launched a new campaign specifically targeting Lenin's popular stature, by once again raising the March 1921 Kronstadt mutiny—a stock item of anti-Bolshevik propaganda for the past 70 years. A 46-page report, released at a Kremlin news conference on January 10, "rehabilitated" the sailors who had insurrected against the government of Lenin and Trotsky. Pointing to the suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny, the new head of Russian television, Aleksandr Yakovlev, a longstanding "friend" of Western imperialism, declared that Stalin was "just the Great Continuator of Lenin's Task." Yeltsin spokesmen sought to discredit the rather tame Stalinist parliamentary opposition—which supports the capitalist restoration, proposing only that it be less harsh—by screeching at them, "look at the bloody trail you left."

The use of the suppression of the Kronstadt revolt as an ideological cudgel against the Bolsheviks has a long and sordid history. In particular, in the late 1930s at the time of the Moscow purge trials, petty-bourgeois liberals picked up an ongoing anarchist refrain over Kronstadt in order to associate Trotskyism, the upholder of the Bolshevik traditions and program, with Stalin's terror regime. Trotsky skewered the liberal/anarchist charges at the time in several articles, including "Hue and Cry Over Kronstadt" (January 1938).

Ever since 1921, the anarchists have claimed the Kronstadt mutineers as their own. The American anarchist Alexander Berkman called them "the purest of the pure." Berkman is best known for his failed attempt to assassinate the robber baron Henry Frick, who ordered the massacre of the Homestead steel strikers in 1892. How is it that the Kronstadt mutiny is hailed both by anarchists, who claim to be intransigent enemies of capitalist exploitation, and by Boris Yeltsin, the accredited agent of Wall Street in Russia today? Because Kronstadt marked the historic point of intersection between anarchist and bour-

## Yeltsin Sings an Old Anti-Communist Tune



Boris Yeltsin being sworn in as president in June 1991 by Russian Orthodox patriarch of counterrevolution.

geois reactionary anti-Communism.

Kronstadt was a naval base on an island in the Baltic near the former Russian capital of Petrograd. In 1917 the sailors, among them many pro-Bolshevik anarchist militants, played an important and heroic role in the October Revolution. However, over the next few years these original Kronstadters were sent to the various military fronts in the Civil War against the counter-revolutionary White armies, which were directly aided by Western and Japanese imperialist expeditionary forces. They were replaced in Kronstadt by politically raw youth, largely of rural peasant background.

By the winter of 1920-21, seven years of imperialist war and civil war had reduced Soviet Russia to an economic wasteland, leading to widespread peasant unrest against "War Communism," the requisition of grain by the Bolshevik government needed to defend the workers state against the White armies. There were a number of peasant revolts, often marked by anti-Semitic pogroms against the local Jewish communities.

The Kronstadt mutiny was a revolt of the sons of peasants in uniform against the harsh conditions of proletarian power in a Soviet Russia besieged

by world imperialism. The sailors' main economic demand was "free trade" in grain and other foodstuffs for the peasantry. Given the leftist, especially anarchist, traditions of Kronstadt, the mutineers sought to give their anti-Communist revolt a "revolutionary" coloration. The Bolshevik leaders understood that whatever the confused attitudes among the rebellious sailors, the uprising served the powerful forces of White Guardist counterrevolution. Kronstadt was extremely exposed, as the point closest to Europe and on the doorstep of Petrograd. To the north was Finland under tsarist general Mannerheim. And as Trotsky said in a July 1921 speech to the Communist Youth International, Kronstadt "was about to pass into the hands of French and English imperialism. Two or three days more and the Baltic Sea would have been ice-free and the war vessels of the foreign imperialists could have entered the ports of Kronstadt and Petrograd."

Leftist defenders of the Kronstadt mutiny maintain that the sailors only wanted to carry out an anarchist "third Russian revolution." However, Victor Serge, a supporter of the October Revolution who came from the anarchist movement in West Europe, understood, as he wrote in his *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901-1941*: "If the Bolshevik dictatorship fell, it was only a short step to chaos, and through chaos to a peasant uprising, the massacre of the Communists, the return of the émigrés, and in the end, through the sheer force of events, another dictatorship, this time anti-proletarian."

The Yeltsin report now claims that there was no evidence of participation in the Kronstadt revolt "by any counter-revolutionary organization." But while the bulk of the sailors—like the peasants who took up arms against the Soviet government at the end of the Civil War—certainly did not desire a return of the landlords, their leaders had extensive contacts with counterrevolutionary forces. This has been well documented in Paul Avrich's study *Kronstadt 1921* (1970). The evidence is all the more convincing given the author's sympathy for the Russian anarchist cause. Avrich contests that the slogan "Soviets without Communists" was raised by the Kronstadt mutineers. But as we noted in our two-part review of his book,

"Kronstadt and Counterrevolution" (WV Nos. 195 and 203, 3 March and 28 April 1978), whether or not this specific slogan was used by the Kronstadters, "and émigré circles which were in touch with them claimed that it was—it is perfectly clear that their aim was to bring down Bolshevik rule."

The principal leader of the mutiny was Stepan Petrichenko, the son of Ukrainian peasants, who a few months before the revolt attempted to join the Whites but was supposedly turned down. Avrich discovered that two weeks before the insurrection an agent of the counter-revolutionary National Center stationed in nearby Finland reported to his headquarters that a group of sailors had been recruited to play an active part in the coming uprising. Petrichenko played a key role in turning a mass protest meeting into a decisive break with the Soviet government. During the mutiny he and the other leaders set up a supply link with the Russian Red Cross office in Finland, a known front for the National Center. After the Bolsheviks suppressed the uprising, Petrichenko and his followers volunteered to join the White general Baron Wrangel.

Anti-communists of all stripes scream about the executions of the captured Kronstadt mutineers by the Cheka, the political police of the Bolshevik government. But it must be understood that the Bolsheviks were fighting to maintain proletarian rule. They only had to look at the savage anti-red terror which had inundated Mannerheim's Finland and those parts of Russia which had been temporarily controlled by White Guard generals.

Anarchists and other anti-communist "leftists" have tried to paint Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, as the "butcher of Kronstadt" in order to discredit the leader of the revolutionary opposition to Stalinism. While in fact Trotsky was not personally involved in the suppression, he supported it. In later years he justified this necessary measure, explaining:

"All the reactionary elements, in Russia as well as abroad, immediately seized upon this uprising. The white emigres demanded aid for the insurrectionists. The victory of this uprising could bring nothing but a victory of counterrevolution, entirely independent of the ideas the sailors had in their heads. But the ideas themselves were deeply reactionary. They reflected the hostility of the backward peasantry to the worker, the conceit of the soldier or sailor in relation to 'civilian' Petersburg, the hatred of the petty bourgeois for revolutionary discipline. The movement therefore had a counterrevolutionary character and since the insurgents took possession of the arms in the forts they could only be crushed with the aid of arms."

—"The Questions of Wendelin Thomas" (July 1937)

Today, the spiritual heirs of the White Guardists, headed by Boris Yeltsin, are once again seeking to utilize the Kronstadt mutiny, this time to legitimize the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. ■



Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Trotsky standing at center with delegates to March 1921 Tenth Party Congress who mobilized to suppress anti-Communist Kronstadt mutiny.

### Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

#### Bay Area

Thurs.: 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)  
Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

#### Chicago

Tues.: 5:00-9:00 p.m.  
Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.  
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor  
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

#### New York City

Tues.: 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.  
41 Warren St. (one block below  
Chambers St. near Church St.)  
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

# Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

killing at least ten of the victims.

Moreover, autopsies reveal that, contrary to government and Western press accounts, grenades were also used in the massacre. Reporters were not allowed in until after fire engine hoses had swept the mosque clean of evidence. The *New York Times* (25 February) inadvertently let the truth slip out in an initial report, quoting an Israeli soldier outside the mosque telling journalists: "Go away. We've killed 30 Arabs."

One survivor recalled: "There were others.... They were all in soldiers' uniforms. We didn't know if they were settlers or army. What is the difference?" For the besieged Palestinian masses, who have seen some 1,400 of their youth killed in the six years since the start of the *Intifada* uprising, there is no difference between the bullets of soldiers and settler fanatics.

The Israeli government immediately announced a curfew in Hebron, as well as against Goldstein's settlement of Qiryat Arba, which sits like a heavily armed fortress on a hill overlooking the town. But while troops terrorized Palestinian residents, gangs of marauding settlers continued to strut undisturbed through the streets of Hebron fingering their Galils and Uzis and openly rejoicing over the massacre.

Meanwhile, militant demonstrations have also erupted in Arab neighborhoods and villages inside Israel itself—from Jaffa to Nazareth—even among the Bedouins who have generally tended to accept the Zionist regime. After the Israelis shot down a Bedouin youth, reportedly the first ever killed in "political violence," a mourner at his burial declared, "It said to me that I was a Palestinian, that I was not an Israeli, or even someone who the Israelis could parade to the world as a good Arab."

Urging Arabs not to "overreact," Clinton invited Israel and the PLO to Washington to resume the "peace talks." PLO leader Yasir Arafat called on Israel to disarm the settlers and appealed to the U.S. for "international protection" for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. His demands were instantly rebuffed by the Israelis though Rabin finally agreed to token "international monitors."

Amid a rampage of army and settler terror in the Occupied Territories in December, we wrote that the "bitter fruit" of the PLO's capitulation to Israel "is being harvested in the blood of the Palestinian people." Today, Arafat is almost as reviled among the Palestinian masses as is Rabin. In one Palestinian demonstration after another in the wake of the Hebron massacre, the cry has resounded: "Death to Arafat!" PLO spokesman Faisal Husseini was pelted with rocks and driven off when he appeared before angry protesters outside Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the scene of a bloody massacre perpetrated by Israeli troops in 1990.

Rabin still wants a deal with the PLO, but on Israel's terms: continued subjugation of the Palestinian masses—to be policed by Israeli troops and a PLO auxiliary. As negotiations over a partial withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho dragged on since the September signing of the accord, Rabin gloated: "Let them sweat a bit." But while Arafat sweats, his compatriots continue to die. Now the PLO leader may have nothing left to deliver. We say: Down with the ignominious Israel-PLO deal for a Palestinian ghetto! All Israeli troops and settlers out of all of the Occupied Territories now!

## Settlers: Spearhead of Zionist Reaction

Reportedly even within the almost seamlessly Zionist Israeli society, there is widespread shock over this wanton genocidal bloodbath. One elderly Israeli compared it to the pogroms carried out

against Jews in tsarist Russia.

The mass killer Goldstein was not an aberration in the highly charged nationalist climate of the Zionist garrison-state. Goldstein was a longtime member of the fascist Kach party of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, and managed Kahane's election campaign for the Israeli parliament. Like his assassinated leader, this Brooklyn-born Jew was driven by a deep racist hatred of blacks and Arabs to emigrate to Israel. We noted shortly after Kahane founded his Jewish Defense League in Brooklyn as an anti-black vigilante gang that there is no place in the U.S. for a Jewish fascist movement. Kahane and his followers instead set up a pipeline to Israel, where they have become the shock troops of the "settler" movement.

And Hebron is its murderous heart, the headquarters not only for Kach and its Kahane Chai ("Kahane Lives") splinter, but for the ultra-Zionist Gush Emunim of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, which spearheaded the settler movement.



Spartacists join demonstration outside Israeli consulate in San Francisco hours after the Hebron massacre.

Months after the 1967 war, Hebron became the site of the first Zionist settlement on the occupied West Bank, as Levinger and his followers were allowed to move into the military government headquarters by the army and then prime minister Rabin. Particularly since the signing of the accord last September, settler thugs have repeatedly rampaged through the streets of Hebron, shooting and throwing rocks at Arab homes and randomly firing at people.

Rabin and his mainstream Zionist "Labor" party are today regarded as traitors by the right wing for even talking with the PLO. Rabin has occasionally mouthed off against the settlers in recent months, while his "leftist" Meretz coalition partners even call for them to be disarmed. But Rabin is no "dove"—he is the author of the "iron fist" policy of "force, might, beatings" to suppress the Palestinian *Intifada* uprising which began in December 1987.

All wings of the Israeli ruling class want the settlements in the Occupied Territories. It was the Labor Party which ushered in the settlements: of the existing 140 or so, 90 were founded in the ten years of Labor governments after the 1967 occupation. Expropriations of Arab land have escalated since the signing of the "peace" accord. Government-financed building continues apace in the settlements around "Greater Jerusalem," which encompasses 30 percent of the West Bank's total area.

Indeed, between settlements, transport networks, "nature reserves" and the like, fully 70 percent of the West Bank is now off limits to its Arab residents! Like his predecessors, Rabin has been busily "creating facts" on the ground, so that by the time of an eventual Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories the Arab areas will have been reduced to small, isolated slivers of "cantons," i.e., ghettos.

In a typical whitewash, the *New York Times* (27 February) claimed that "most of the 130,000 settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are not ideologues; they are commuters." This may be true of some number of yuppies who are drawn to high-rise apartments in the "bedroom

suburbs" of Jerusalem by government housing subsidies, but the core of the settler movement—a quarter of it, even by the estimates of the Shin Beth secret police—are extreme racist nationalists who serve as an armed auxiliary to the occupation army.

Collusion between the settlers—many of whom are active duty soldiers—and the army at the highest levels is widespread and widely known. Last fall, Israeli TV viewers saw settlers gunning down three Arab residents of Hebron as soldiers watched. General Bar Kochba, who recently died, regularly "leaked" information from the general staff to the settlers. Following the signing of the accord, high-ranking army commanders warned Rabin that he could not "take for granted" that orders regarding withdrawal would be carried out.

The fascist mentality of outfits like Kach is revealed in their violent hatred not only for Arabs but for Jews deemed to be "Arab-lovers." Recently, Zionist right-wingers planted bombs outside the

"feelings which make men reckless of, or at least indifferent to, the rights and interests of any portion of the human species, save that which is called by the same name and speaks the same language as themselves." Djilas pointed out that in the Ottoman Empire, Muslims had full equality while Christians were second-class subjects, "prohibited, for example, from riding horses, carrying weapons, and wearing certain types of clothing" (*The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953* [1991]).

In Israel, while Jewish settlers are armed to the teeth, any Palestinian seen with a weapon is shot down without question. Meanwhile, today in the U.S., the rulers want to make everyone second-class citizens by taking away the right to bear arms. And while the Zionist apologists of the *New York Times* seek to disarm black and working people in this country, they dismiss "Palestinian demands for an immediate disarming of all Jewish settlers in the territories" as "unrealistic."

## The Bankruptcy of Palestinian Nationalism

As we noted in our article "Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto" (WV No. 583, 10 September 1993): "This deal carries to a conclusion the impotent logic of the PLO's petty-bourgeois nationalism, which counseled reliance first on the Arab bourgeoisies of the region and then on the 'good offices' of U.S. imperialism." The evident bankruptcy of Arafat's capitulatory policies has already produced a groundswell of support to "rejectionist" groups like the "radical" nationalist PFLP and DFLP and, more particularly, Hamas. The Hamas fundamentalists are sinister reactionaries who terrorize secular Palestinians and murder Jews at random.

Now Palestinian fundamentalists vow revenge for Hebron with the cry, "A tooth for a tooth." Although it is understandable, Marxists reject the sentiment for revenge killings. Indiscriminate terror would simply worsen the already poisonous relations between Jews and Arabs in the Near East. And it thereby decisively undercuts the cause of liberation of the Palestinian masses.

Revolutionaries side militarily even with fundamentalists like Hamas in armed conflicts with Israeli troops and settlers. But the nuclear-armed Zionist state has an overwhelming monopoly of firepower in its grasp. Palestinian emancipation requires the destruction of the Zionist garrison-state from within, through the revolutionary mobilization of the Hebrew-speaking and Arab workers.

Proletarian Marxists seek to break the Hebrew workers from their Zionist stranglehold and win them to a defense of the Palestinian people as part of the struggle for socialist revolution against their common exploiters, the Israeli bourgeoisie. A sharp rupture in the Zionist consensus would likely require cataclysmic historic events. But this is what revolutionary internationalists must look to, while standing foursquare with the Palestinians against every Zionist atrocity.

However, rather than fighting to build an independent Marxist vanguard, what passes for Trotskyism in Israel, the followers of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec), has for decades pursued a "program" of chasing after non-proletarian forces. Historically the Mandelite Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) tailed behind one wing or another of Palestinian nationalism, while in recent years cozying up to the left-Zionist "Peace Now" movement. Today, RCL leader Michel Warshawsky scandalously gives "critical support" to the Israel-PLO "peace" accord, insisting that "our job is not to denounce the agreement" (*International Viewpoint*, January 1994).

This brazen acceptance of a neocolonial "robbers peace" has led to an open division among the Mandelites in the pages of *International Viewpoint*. USec

## Right-Wing Provocation Routed

# Thousands at Randy Shilts Memorial

SAN FRANCISCO—Acclaimed gay author Randy Shilts recently died of AIDS at the age of 42. A reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Randy Shilts was best known for his groundbreaking 1987 book *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic*. He finished his most recent book, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the U.S. Military*, published last year, in a hospital bed.

On February 22, an overflow crowd of thousands came out for a funeral service for Randy Shilts at San Francisco's Glide Memorial Church. Following Shilts' death, one Reverend Fred Phelps, a right-wing bigot from Topeka, Kansas, threatened to disrupt the memorial. But when Phelps and his clot of would-be anti-gay terrorists showed up, they were sent packing in about 30 seconds by hundreds of angry protesters.

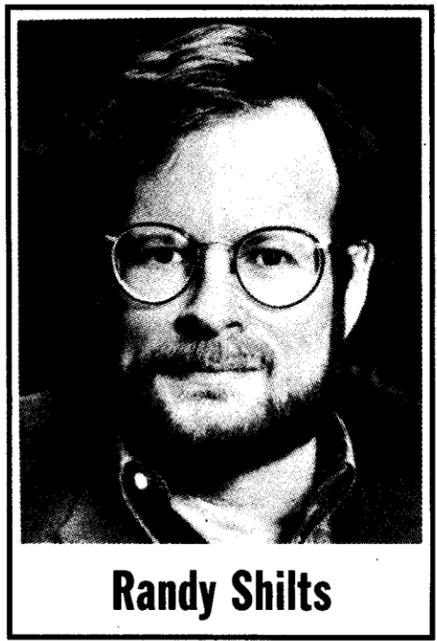
One of the speakers at the memorial was Dr. Selma Dritz, retired assistant director of the San Francisco Health Department, who figured prominently in Shilts' book as a dedicated early fighter against the lethal epidemic. Dritz noted that Shilts began writing about AIDS before it even had a name, and fewer would have died if more people had taken heed.

Despite our differing political outlooks, we respected Randy Shilts. Shortly after *And the Band Played On* appeared in 1987, we called it "the most compelling portrait of the utter devastation wrought by this disease and the accompanying epidemic of fear and bigotry." We added:

"Whatever its other failings, this powerful book lays bare the truth about medicine in capitalist America: the criminal negligence and outright obstructionism of the Reagan administration, the apathy of the media, and the complacency, glory mongering and money grubbing of the medical establishment. The U.S. has dealt with this epidemic about as badly as it was possible for an economically developed country to do."

—*Women and Revolution*  
No. 35, Summer 1988

Shilts' book also made us rethink and change our initial blanket opposition to closing down gay bathhouses in San Francisco in 1982. His exhaustive research revealed that their timely closing could indeed have slowed down the exponential spread of AIDS. At least it could have served as a fast way to get out the message to those gay-men who



Randy Shilts

WV Photo

Forden/L.A. Times

**Spartacist contingent outside SF's Glide Memorial Church joined in routing anti-gay bigots who tried to disrupt February 22 memorial for Randy Shilts.**

were most at risk, who remained largely uninformed or dismissive of the facts, that they were in danger of contracting a fatal disease. Shilts was widely condemned in the gay community for his position on closing the baths and called a gay "Uncle Tom" by many activists.

Although the book was written from the limited perspective of the gay movement, largely ignoring the grim realities of IV drug users (predominantly black and Hispanic), their sexual partners and babies, *And the Band Played On* broke new ground. Our disagreement with Shilts centered on his belief that the struggle for gay liberation was largely a question of achieving bourgeois respectability. The oppression of homosexuals is not due to rampant backward ideas but is rooted in the stultifying institution of the family in class society.

Shilts' conclusion was that anti-gay bigotry could be successfully countered by organizing the gay community within the framework of Democratic Party coalition politics—particularly in San Francisco, where petty-bourgeois gays have political clout in City Hall through the Democrats. But this is a dangerous dead end.

In the San Francisco "gay mecca," Democratic mayor Frank Jordan (roundly booed and jeered when he arrived at the funeral) has slashed public health

funding, forcing many AIDS patients along with the poor and uninsured to rely on overloaded San Francisco General Hospital, whose emergency room patients overflow into the street. Thousands of homeless and poor, among whom the AIDS epidemic is raging, are brutally harassed by Jordan's cops under his "Operation Matrix." Meanwhile, the Clinton White House is working to "reform" health care in the interests of big business and to "end welfare as we know it."

### Gay-Bashing Bigots Spiked

Outside Shilts' memorial on February 22 the crowd swelled to over a thousand, counting the overflow from the service and angry protesters itching to give Rev. Phelps a well-deserved "welcome." Right-wing bigot Fred Phelps has made a career of inciting gay-bashing as he travels across the country targeting memorial services of prominent gay activists. In San Francisco he put out a press release featuring a photo of Shilts under the headline, "filthy face of fag evil."

No sooner had Phelps and his filthy handful of followers surfaced than they were bombarded with eggs and rocks. The bigots ran for cover like cockroaches exposed to light. Within two minutes they were back in their van, hightailing it nonstop to the airport. Had

they delayed a moment longer, even the massive contingent of riot-clad cops sent to protect them probably would not have been able to help.

This vile provocation came in the context of a rising offensive by right-wing, bible-thumping bigots. That same weekend, a year after the assassination of Dr. David Gunn by an anti-abortion terrorist, Operation Rescue carried out two violent assaults on Bay Area abortion clinics and their clients (see article on page 3).

This is no parlor discussion crowd—these are terrorist shock troops seeking to drive women back into the home and to exterminate gays. The power of the working class must be mobilized to stop this offensive. A contingent of Spartacist League supporters who helped send Phelps packing carried placards declaring: "Labor Must Defend Democratic Rights for Gays!" and "Capitalist 'Medicine for Profit' Impedes AIDS Research! For International Socialist Revolution!"

As Trotskyists we seek to build the revolutionary workers party that will lead the fight for a socialist revolution to sweep away fascist terrorists like Phelps once and for all. Then we can build a socialist society that mobilizes massive resources in research and medical care to combat epidemics and disease with scientific knowledge and compassion. ■

spokesman Salah Jaber denounced the accord as "among the most unjust and humiliating in the history of capitulations." But Jaber simply echoes the laments of pseudo-Marxist nationalists like Hawatmeh's DFLP. So in the face of this historic test, these fake-Trotskyists are paralyzed, dividing between those who follow in the wake of left-Zionism and those tailing after Palestinian left nationalism, which in turn tails after the Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas.

Petty-bourgeois Palestinian nationalism—in all its stripes—has always been a dead end, today with bloodier consequences than ever. Meanwhile, Hamas offers a "future" of reactionary obscurantism, threatening secular Palestinian women with violence if they refuse to observe Islamic law.

What is needed is a binational Trotskyist party, seeking to lead the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking working people in *internationalist class struggle* alongside all the workers of the region. Particularly given the interpenetration of the Hebrew and Arab peoples—and the division of the Palestinian people between Israeli and Jordanian

rule (along with large concentrations in the refugee camps of Lebanon and Syria)—there can be no equitable democratic solution to the national question *without the overthrow of capitalism* throughout the region. This alone, a socialist federation of the Near East, could open the possibility of cooperative development of all the myriad peoples. Only workers revolution can avenge the horror of Hebron and the countless other atrocities which the Palestinian people have suffered. ■

## Birmingham...

(continued from page 2)

the social power of the workers—black and white. Last year, during the long and bitter Trinity Industries strike in Bessemer, the integrated Steelworkers Local 9226 faced down the scabberding cops. And in a months-long Steelworkers strike in Columbiana, just a few miles from Birmingham, a scab ran down and killed two strikers.

The workers in the steel mills, rail-

roads, rubber plants and mines of the Birmingham area—this "Pittsburgh of the South"—have a rich tradition of integrated class struggle. Led by black and white Communists, steel workers used sitdown strikes to win a dramatic CIO victory in Birmingham in 1936. But after championing cases like the Scottsboro Boys in the early '30s, the Communist Party derailed and betrayed the struggle for black freedom and working-class revolution through its support for the Democratic Party, which in the Deep South meant support for the Jim Crow Dixiecrats.

Today, the liberals and nationalists who echo Clinton's campaign on "black on black crime" and "community violence" are fueling the war on black America. As with the "war on drugs" and the bipartisan "crime" bill, the twin parties of capitalism are beefing up the police apparatus against blacks, while targeting workers' gains and seeking to gut the unions. This country desperately needs a multiracial revolutionary workers party which can lead all the oppressed in a fight against the capitalist system of racism and oppression. ■

## Waco Verdict...

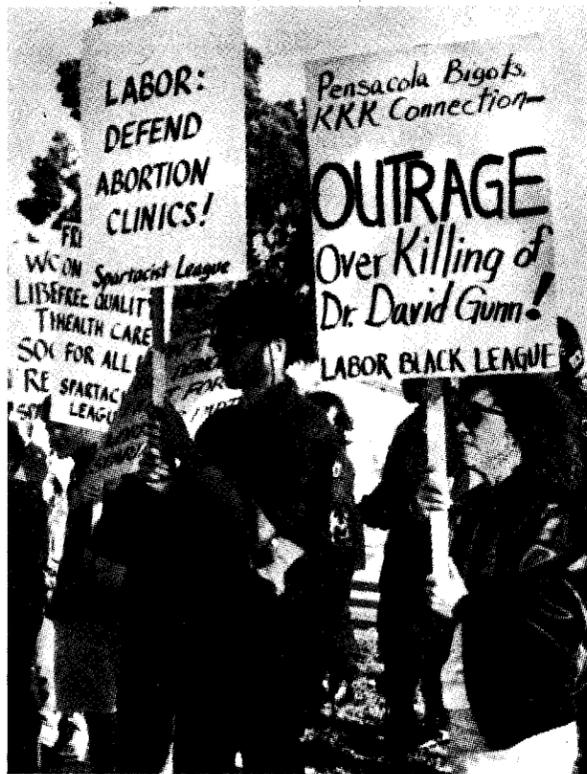
(continued from page 12)

League. We tell the truth, that this state, the deadly enemy of workers and the oppressed, is hell-bent on enforcing a monopoly of armed force in order to further oppress defenseless subjects. When the rulers call for "gun control" in the name of "stopping violence," just remember the flames leaping from the Mount Carmel commune.

Today, all that remains of the Davidians' Mount Carmel commune are some blackened foundations surrounded by barbed wire. In the Waco morgue, 40 charred bodies still remain to be claimed. The Waco holocaust is the bloody signature of the Clinton regime, as the 1985 MOVE massacre in Philadelphia was for Reagan. The immolation of the Branch Davidians, a quirky religious group that only sought to be left alone to practice their religion, and to exercise their right to bear arms, cries out for justice. We will not forget. ■

# WORKERS VANGUARD

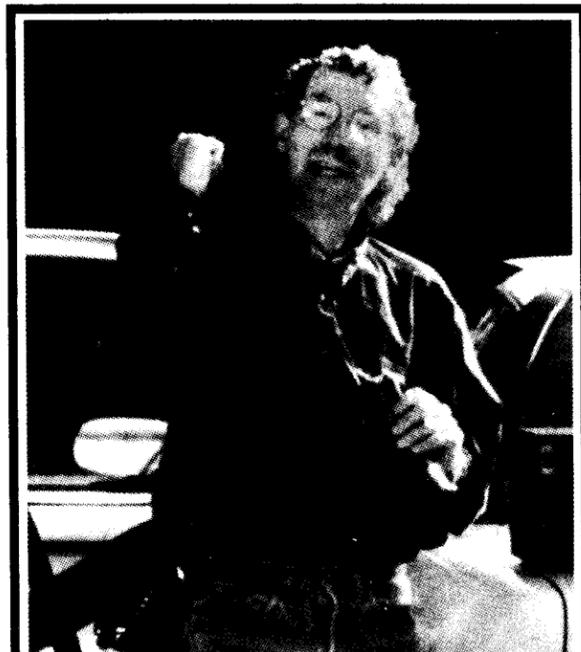
## How Reno, RICO and O.R. Bigots Threaten Women's Rights



WV Photo

# Defend Abortion Clinics!

Fremont, California—Spartacists and Labor Black League protest "Operation Rescue" meeting, 11 June 1993 (left).



## Honor Dr. David Gunn

Miller/Montgomery Advertiser

One year ago a heroic defender of women's rights, Dr. David Gunn, was murdered by an anti-abortion assassin in Florida. No isolated act, this shocking crime focused national attention on the escalating deadly terror by "pro-life" reactionaries. On 10 March 1993, Dr. Gunn arrived at the Pensacola Women's Medical Services Clinic, one of the stops on his 1,000-mile "circuit riding" weekly schedule performing abortions in places where no other doctor could be found. Outside the clinic, he was met by "Rescue America" anti-abortion bigots harassing staff and patients. As he stepped out of his car, one of the "right to life" thugs opened fire, drilling three bullets from a .38 into his back.

Now Dr. Gunn's cowardly killer, Michael Griffin, is on trial, charged with

first-degree murder. One of his likely defenses, according to the *New York Times* (22 February), is that Griffin was "compelled to act by John Burt, the regional director of the Operation Rescue anti-abortion crusade," who "inundated Mr. Griffin with hate literature and graphic videos." Burt's done a hell of a lot more than that. Burt is a "former" Ku Klux Klansman who was involved in lynch mob violence against school integration in St. Augustine in the 1960s. Burt has also admitted he was the "spiritual adviser" to two men arrested for 1984 Pensacola abortion clinic bombings, just as he "advised" Griffin.

The terrorist bombers of women's abortion clinics, like the racist night-riders of the KKK, are stepping up their deadly attacks. In most of the country,

clinics are increasingly few and far between. Beleaguered abortion doctors, who now routinely wear bulletproof vests, are becoming an endangered species. Six months after Dr. Gunn was murdered, Dr. George Tiller was wounded in the arm by an anti-abortion fanatic outside his clinic in Wichita, Kansas. Because he is one of the few doctors who will perform late-term abortions, Dr. Tiller was one of the main targets of the 1991 "Operation Rescue" summer offensive. For six weeks, the O.R. fanatics blockaded his Wichita clinic; over 2,000 were arrested. A survey of 281 clinics by the Feminist Majority Foundation reported that in the first seven months of 1993 half were attacked by vandalism, death threats, stalking, assault and battery, and attempted murder.

The bloody terror against women continues, even as mainstream feminists hail the ascension of the "Billary" Democratic White House. After three terms of Reagan/Bush reaction, bourgeois feminists saw their chance to get some clout, and looked to the Democrats to reverse a decade of anti-woman, anti-abortion assaults. But "power feminist" Hillary, imperialist commander in chief Bill and their super-macho attorney general Janet Reno, the butcher of Waco, are no friends of working women.

When Dr. Gunn was murdered last year, we noted that some feminists were pushing for a federal law against blocking clinic access. We warned, "It is obvious that such 'no blocking' laws will be used against strikers who try to shut down

*continued on page 4*

## Waco Verdict

# Jury Didn't Buy Feds' Conspiracy Frame-Up

Almost one year after launching the deadly raid on the Branch Davidian religious commune near Waco, Texas which ultimately produced the fiery inferno in which some 86 people were incinerated, the U.S. government of mass murderers Bill Clinton and Janet Reno failed in its vindictive attempt to convict the survivors of the massacre on murder and conspiracy charges.

On February 26, all eleven surviving Branch Davidians on trial were acquitted by a San Antonio jury of murder and murder conspiracy, and four were acquitted of all charges. As in the Randy Weaver case, of an Idaho right-wing "survivalist" accused of murder after the FBI killed his wife and son, the jury didn't buy the feds' frame-up. However, five survivors convicted of voluntary manslaughter and two others convicted on trumped-up weapons charges could face up to ten years in jail. "We're free, but we're not free," said 63-year-old Woodrow Kendrick sadly; he lost his daughter, son-in-law and three grandchildren in the blaze.

## Clinton, Reno, FBI/BATF Are Mass Murderers!

There was a conspiracy to commit murder in Waco, and the blood is all on the hands of Clinton, Reno and their agents, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and FBI, who planned and executed the mass murder of the racially integrated group for the "crime" of self-defense against an armed invasion of their home. After the verdict, Attorney General Reno made it clear what it was all about. No more talk about "child abuse" (she killed the kids in order to "save" them): four government agents died in the raid, and the victims had to pay.

The government's lies about being "ambushed" are exposed on their own tape, which records the Davidians' frantic call to the police 911 emergency number during the February 28 BATF raid: "There's 75 men around our building and they're shooting at us! Tell 'em there's women and children in here and to call it off!" At least 25 times on the recordings, the Davidians' pleas to the BATF to stop firing are heard.

Debunking the government's claim that the raid was necessary, a defense witness testified that eight months before the raid BATF agents refused a chance

to talk to David Koresh, the Davidians' leader, when he invited them to inspect the compound's weapons. Clearly the BATF, fending off attempts by the FBI to absorb it, sought to pull off a dramatic raid to justify its existence; any innocent lives snuffed out in the process were simply "collateral damage."

Within hours of the April 19 massacre, the Spartacist League initiated an emergency protest at the Federal Building in New York, raising a cry of outrage against the bloodthirsty U.S. rulers. Two days later, we picketed FBI headquarters in Washington, with placards denouncing "FBI Baby Killers" and demanding the immediate release of the survivors of Clinton's holocaust. We seek to sear the memory of this horrendous slaughter into the consciousness of the international working class.

While the bourgeois press sought to blame the Waco inferno on the victims, they were echoed by liberals and leftists from the *Nation* to the Communist Party to the misnamed Revolutionary Workers

*continued on page 11*

## Free All the Survivors!