

German Spartakists at 8 May 1945 Anniversary

Red Army Smashed Nazi Rule



Yevgeni Khaidei
Raising red flag over the Reichstag marked Soviet Army's liberation of Berlin from the Nazis.

On May 5, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Spartacist Group of Poland (SGP) held a forum on the subject: "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime! For Workers Mobilization Against Fascism, Chauvinism and Anti-Semitism!" The event, in celebration of the Red Army's victory in Germany on 8 May 1945, was held at the barracks club of a Soviet Army base south of Berlin. The Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) spoke there to 300 Soviet officers and non-coms. After the presentations of Renate Dahlhaus

of the SpAD and a comrade of the SGP, there was a discussion period.

Also attending the event were some Kurdish friends and a Vietnamese who fought as a soldier in Saigon against U.S. imperialism, and who together with fellow Vietnamese workers recently beat back a skinhead attack on their Berlin dormitory. On April 20 (Hitler's birthday), the SpAD joined with the Vietnamese and coworkers in standing guard at the dormitory in case of another fascist assault. There have also been a series of Nazi attacks on Poles traveling to Germany.

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Yugoslavia Splintering

A New Balkans War in the Making?

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was forged through the victory during World War II of the Communist partisan movement of Josip Broz Tito over the Nazi German army of occupation, the Nazi-backed Croatian Ustashi fascists and the Serbian royalist Chetniks. But today Yugoslavia is threatened by inter-ethnic slaughter as competing nationalisms tear the country apart in the obscene scramble to rejoin the capitalist world market. Last week, there was a bloody clash in the town of Borovo Selo between Serbian militias and Croatian police that left a dozen dead and a score wounded. As civil strife spread, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman thundered, "the war has begun."

Tensions have been at a maximum for weeks as the richer northern republics of Croatia and Slovenia—more Westernized, traditionally Roman Catholic regions where anti-Communist nationalists were installed in last year's elections—have been arming their own militias and declaring virtual independence from the federal government. Opposing them is Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, head of the remnants of the Communist (now Socialist) party who has managed to hold sway in that republic by whipping up Serbian nationalism. In recent weeks the federal army—direct descendant of Tito's partisans—has repeatedly intervened to quell murderous gunbattles in Croatia between police and rebellious Serbian militias demanding unity with "the mother republic."

Further inflaming the situation is the collapse of the grotesque and primitive Stalinist rule in neighboring Albania, which likewise could explode into full-scale civil war at any time. Added to this is the continuing political turmoil in Bulgaria and Romania, and the spread of nationalist conflicts in the wake of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the escalating crisis in the Soviet Union.

Some right-wing forces in the West are licking
continued on page 8



Weeco



WV Map

Yugoslav Army holds government building in Slovenian capital of Ljubljana. "Market socialism" heightened antagonisms between more prosperous and poorer republics. As capitalist-restorationist forces wave nationalist banners, Yugoslavia is ripping apart.

Hispanic Community Explodes Over Racist Cop Shooting

Washington, D.C.

In response to the wanton police shooting of a Hispanic man on May 5, several Washington neighborhoods have exploded in outrage. Phalanxes of heavily armed police fired tear gas at protesters as helicopters swooped overhead and more cops with attack dogs waited on the sidelines. Operation "Desert Storm" has come home with a vengeance to the nation's capital, as gas-masked attack squads storm areas heavily populated with refugees from Central America, many of them Salvadorans. But the invading army of police was met by crowds of over 1,000 and over a dozen cop cars and vans were torched on two nights running by crowds chanting "queremos justicia" (we want justice). In the face of this brutal police invasion, the

Spartacist League demands: Get the cops out! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

D.C. police had been harassing people celebrating the Mexican holiday of Cinco de Mayo in the mostly Hispanic neighborhood of Mount Pleasant. Cops regularly go after the Central American and Mexican immigrants, demanding to see their papers. A policewoman arrested a Salvadoran, Daniel Gomez, 30, for the "crime" of drinking beer in public, and then shot him in the chest at pointblank range. The cops claim Gomez brandished a knife, but numerous eyewitnesses saw no knife and said that Gomez was handcuffed at the time. He lay there bleeding for over half an hour before an ambulance arrived, and is still in critical condition two days later. A swelling crowd of hundreds of outraged residents surged into the streets, heaving bottles and bricks at motorcycle cops and squad cars, driving out the police as



Perkins/Washington Post

Squad car burns as cops move against protesters, Washington, D.C., May 6.

throng on the sidewalks cheered.

The next day police vowed that they were going to keep things quiet in the area just two miles north of the White House. But the opposite happened. Hispanic community leaders angrily left a meeting with city officials early on the 6th that was boycotted by black Democratic mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon. In the early evening, Dixon tried to walk through Mount Pleasant but was met with a mixture of boos and cries of "we need jobs." Meanwhile the cops soaked the area in tear gas. "Dozens of officers in riot gear confronted several hundred youths, some with bandanas covering their faces, marching south on Mount Pleasant Street" (*Washington Post*, 7 May). The elemental explosion of rage spread to the Adams-Morgan area as youths—Hispanic, black and white—shut down 16th Street and kept police at bay for several hours. Scores were brutally beaten, hundreds burned by the gas and 50 arrested.

At midnight a state of emergency was declared and police prepared for mass arrests. The call "cops out" was on everybody's lips. There is widespread outrage at these thugs in blue uniforms who ride herd on the ghettos and barrios. Two weeks ago, police brutally beat a black man, dragging him out from under a car where he had hidden and mercilessly clubbing him to the horror of onlookers. Salvadoran immigrants compare the cops here to the jackbooted National Guard of the U.S.-backed death squad regime at home. One man told the mayor, "We won't take it anymore. We came to this country in search of justice, and still there is no justice." The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have demanded that all charges be dropped against the arrested protesters.

The curfew was clamped on as official Washington was as jumpy as President Bush's heartbeat (and quaking at the prospect of Dan Quayle III at the helm). The White House has long feared a repeat of the explosion of black anger when the city burned following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. The imperialist rulers of this country

have nightmares about the fact that 70 percent of the population of their capital is black, and now another 10-plus percent is Hispanic, many fresh from the guerrilla war zones of Chalatenango. As Salvadoran youth with bandanas over their faces run through the streets, both they and the government see Mount Pleasant as the Guazapa Volcano of Washington, D.C.

Yuppie black Democrat Sharon Pratt Dixon is the darling of the racist ruling class. She was brought into office after the FBI sting (entrapment) of Mayor Marion Barry in their "war on drugs" which is really a war on the black community. Dixon has vowed to be a more effective overseer of the D.C. plantation for Bush and the Dixiecrats in Congress. Since her inauguration last January, she has been chomping at the bit to close homeless shelters, lay off municipal workers, cut welfare programs. She has publicly called for corporal punishment (beatings) in the schools. There is also a strong anti-Hispanic racist component, as she calls to "bring discipline" to the Latino community. One of her boosters, black columnist Courtland Milloy, wrote a vile racist diatribe against Hispanics saying (*Washington Post*, 7 May), "They make me feel like white people must have felt" about "sharecropping blacks" bringing their ways to the northern cities!

The American imperialist ruling class wanted to strut its stuff after its murderous "victory" in "Desert Storm." But the videotaped cop beating of a defenseless black motorist in Los Angeles which flashed around the world caused an uproar over racist cop terror at home. Now the attempt to impose "discipline" in the streets of the capital has produced a racially integrated explosion of anger against rulers who would ride roughshod over the people who serve their food, wash their dishes, clean their houses and take care of their children. But the new immigrants have brought a new militant component to the heavily black D.C. labor movement, which must take up their cause. It's time to organize that anger in a powerful revolutionary struggle. ■



TROTSKY

For Revolutionary Unity of the Balkan Peoples

In the period leading up to World War I, Leon Trotsky explained how the Balkan peoples were being murderously set against each other by the contending imperialist powers and local monarchies. He called for a revolutionary struggle to forge a Balkan federal republic. It took a social revolution in Yugoslavia, albeit one deformed by Stalinism, to achieve a limited south Slavic federation. Today, as Western bankers and reactionary

nationalists are driving Yugoslavia toward civil war, the working class must raise as its banner: For a socialist federation of the Balkans in a United Soviet States of Europe.

The frontiers between the dwarf states of the Balkan Peninsula were drawn not in accordance with national conditions or national demands, but as a result of wars, diplomatic intrigues, and dynastic interests. The Great Powers—in the first place, Russian and Austria—have always had a direct interest in setting the Balkan peoples and states against each other and then, when they have weakened one another, subjecting them to their economic and political influence. The petty dynasties ruling in these "broken pieces" of the Balkan Peninsula have served and continue to serve as levers for European diplomatic intrigues. And this entire mechanism, founded on violence and perfidy, constitutes a huge burden weighing upon the Balkan peoples, holding back their economic and cultural development....

The only way out of the national and state chaos and the bloody confusion of Balkan life is a union of all the peoples of the peninsula in a single economic and political entity, on the basis of national autonomy of the constituent parts. Only within the framework of a single Balkan state can the Serbs of Macedonia, the [Turkish-ruled] sanjak, Serbia, and Montenegro be united in a single national-cultural community, enjoying at the same time the advantages of a Balkan common market. Only the united Balkan peoples can give a real rebuff to the shameless pretensions of tsarism and European imperialism.

State unity of the Balkan Peninsula can be achieved in two ways: either from above, by expanding one Balkan state, whichever proves strongest, at the expense of the weaker ones—this is the road of wars of extermination and oppression of weak nations, a road that consolidates monarchism and militarism; or from below, through the peoples themselves coming together—this is the road of revolution, the road that means overthrowing the Balkan dynasties and unfurling the banner of a Balkan federal republic.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Balkan Question and Social Democracy" (August 1910)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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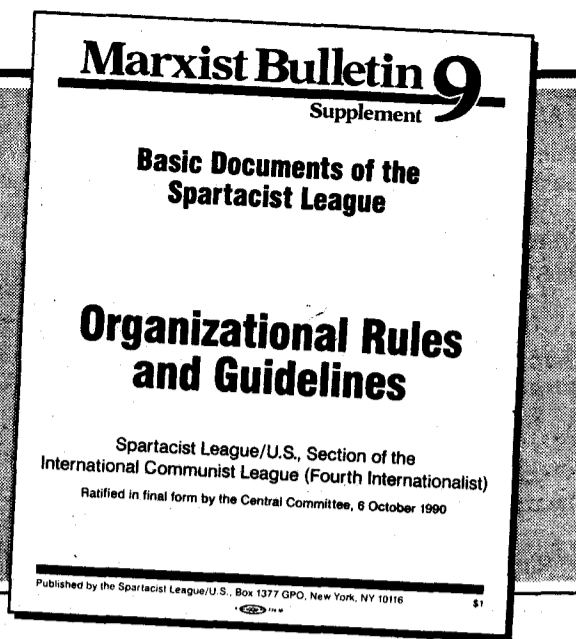
The Massacre of MOVE

May 13 marks the sixth anniversary of the police bombing of the radical MOVE commune in West Philadelphia. Eleven black people, including five children, were devoured in the fiery inferno, and a black neighborhood turned to ash. Democratic mayor Wilson Goode gave the order, the FBI supplied the C-4 explosives, Philly cops dropped the bomb on the house, then opened up with 10,000 rounds of machine-gun and rifle fire to drive back into the flames those who sought to escape. Reagan's top cop Ed Meese cited this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow.

The Mother's Day 1985 siege of Osage Avenue began as a cop bullhorn delivered the message: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Racist capitalist America, where mass murder of black people is officially sanctioned. Today, the criminals who carried out this state murder are free while Ramona Africa remains behind bars for the "crime" of surviving the massacre, as do more than a dozen other members of the Africa family jailed earlier. Free the MOVE prisoners! The American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs!

13 May 1985

Spartacist League Organizational Rules— Bolshevik Heritage



We are pleased to announce the publication of the *Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S.* as a supplement to *Marxist Bulletin No. 9, the Basic Documents of the Spartacist League*. The *Marxist Bulletin* series contains the historical and theoretical material that we deemed most important in the unfolding of the international Spartacist tendency, now the *International Communist League*. The *Marxist Bulletins* reveal, through our practical political work and development, that there is nothing exotic or esoteric in the SL as a Trotskyist organization. We simply refused to succumb to the numerous programmatic departures that ultimately led the balance of the post-World War II Trotskyist movement to destruction as an agency of internationalist and revolutionary politics within the working class. We print below the introduction to the SL *Organizational Rules and Guidelines*.

The *Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S.*, section of the *International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)*,... were accepted in draft form by the Eighth National Conference of the SL/U.S. on 20 September 1987. Additions and editorial changes were ratified by the Central Committee on 6 October 1990. Minor corrections and changes were made through 17 March 1991 under the supervision of the Political Bureau.

These *Organizational Rules and Guidelines* are revised from the "Provisional *Organizational Rules and Guidelines*" adopted at the Second National Conference of the SL/U.S. on 31 August 1969 and extended at the Fifth National Conference on 25 June 1977 (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II).

Prior to the Second National Conference, the Spartacist League did not have its own written organizational guidelines. From our inception as an independent organization following the expulsion of our predecessor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), from the Socialist Workers

Party (SWP) in December 1963 and continuing through the Founding Conference of the Spartacist League in September 1966, we simply stated that we were guided by the best standard practice and historical precedents, qualified to the extent of their particular relevance, of the Communist (Leninist) and Trotskyist movements.

Following the adoption of our provisional rules, various points of unclarity arose, as did the need for certain amplifications. Those which have come to light are addressed in these new *Organizational Rules and Guidelines*. Such rules always reflect the living reality of an organization with new demands and new problems. Therefore, given the flux of the revolutionary Marxist movement, one can hardly believe that the statutes printed here can be the last word.

The *Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the SL/U.S.* are in accordance with the thrust of the 21 Conditions of Adherence adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International and stand on the foundation of the "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

In "The Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League," adopted at our Founding Conference (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part I), we spell out the guiding criteria of our organizational practice:

"The organizational principle of the Spartacist League is *democratic centralism*, a balance between internal democracy and functional discipline. As a combat organization, the revolutionary vanguard must be capable of unified and decisive action at all times in the class struggle. All members must be mobilized to carry out the decisions of the majority; authority must be centralized in its selected leadership which interprets tactically the organization's program. Internal democracy permits the collective determination of the party's line in accord with the needs felt by the party's ranks who are closest to the class as a whole. The right to

factional democracy is absolutely vital to a living movement. The very existence of this right helps to channel differences into less absorbing means of resolution."

One of the striking features of the SL from its inception has been the explicit recognition of the right of factional division within the organization. The underlying principle is that intraparty struggle is both necessary and permitted among members, subject to reasonable regulation. However, one can struggle inside the organization or outside of it, but not both; those who wish to propagandize their differences or mobilize outside the organization cannot be members at the same time.

Much of our practice in this regard comes by way of the negative example of the SWP in the years that the RT, as a minority within that party, sought to combat the degeneration of the once-revolutionary SWP into centrism (and rapidly thereafter into reformism). In abiding by the formal organizational rules of the party, the RT impelled the revisionist Majority to bring the SWP rules into line with its rightward-moving political practices. Thus the RT was expelled under the following syllogism: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP; (2) factionalists are disloyal people; (3) disloyal people are expelled. (The SWP's 1965 resolution, "The Organiza-

tional Character of the Socialist Workers Party," authorized in the same motion as the RT's expulsion and written as an explicit justification for it, provided the basis for the subsequent elimination of all factions—see "The SWP: A Strangled Party," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 38-39, Summer 1986.)

In the course of the fight to exercise our factional rights as members of the SWP, comrades in the RT wrote "For the Right of Organized Tendencies to Exist Within the Party" as a rebuttal to an SWP Political Committee motion seeking to victimize the Minority. The document, printed in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 4, Part I, is a historical example of the mechanisms with which a loyal tendency tried to coalesce and struggle within an ostensibly revolutionary organization. Additional material on the exclusion of the RT supporters from the SWP in 1963 is contained in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 4, "Expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party," Parts I and II.

18 March 1991

To obtain a copy of *MB* No. 9 (\$3) and the just published Supplement (\$1) containing the *Organizational Rules*, make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA.

Letter

MLP and Stalinist "Mistakes"

Detroit, Michigan
April 19, 1991

Dear WV,

When last April 12 I read your write-up on the MLP, it quickly brought to mind a lecture I had gone to (here in Detroit) about a decade back. By an RCP speaker.

The lecture, on the Spanish Civil War, was all about Stalin's "mistakes" of the mid-1930s, how he held back on full aid for the Loyalists, how he encouraged and supported a pop-front ("progressive" bourgeois) regime, and so forth.

The lecture was actually *amusing*, what with the guy belaboring the obvious. More than once I felt like shouting things like "Really?" "Honest?" "Ya don't say!"

"How long did it take ya to find that out!"

Of course he never got back to 1924, when the Stalinist "mistakes" first emerged. And of course he never brought up Trotsky.

Yeah, like a 90-minute lecture on 2 plus 2 are 4! And though it was RCP rather than MLP, it was the same difference, same blind spot toward the *root* of the Stalinist "mistakes." (Likewise amusing is the Maoist habit of calling Khrushchev's swing to the right as back to capitalism, while Stalin's swings as no more than "mistakes.")

S. Colman,
author of "Had Trotsky Not Lost Power; a One-Act In Alternative History"

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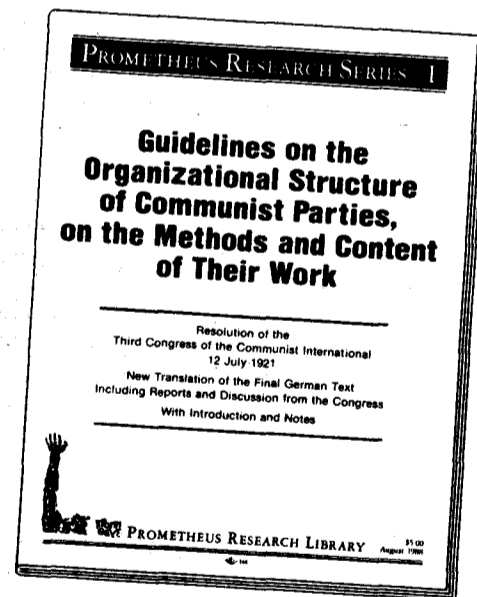
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Red Army...

(continued from page 1)

On May Day in Berlin, the Spartakists distributed a letter calling upon the German trade unions and mass organizations of the working class, together with other anti-fascists, to mobilize in united-front actions to stop the Nazi scum.

At the conclusion of the event, several Soviet officers joined with Polish, German, American, Kurdish and Vietnamese comrades in laying a wreath in honor of the Red Army men and women who gave their lives in crushing the scourge of Nazism. We print below a translation of the speech by the SpAD and excerpts from the Polish comrade's presentation to the Soviet Army men.

Renate Dahlhaus for the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

Dear comrades and friends,

We greet you comrades who for years and years stood at your posts against NATO imperialism. May 8, 1945 was a decisive day for humanity. The Red Army smashed the Nazi regime and thus ended hell on earth for millions of people. This was a truly proletarian internationalist act. Without the struggles of your fathers, mothers and grandparents we would not be here today. When the Red Army withdrew from the Soviet memorial at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, an experienced comrade from our American section thought perhaps we should say to you: "Red Army, *Aufwiedersehen* [until we meet again], we may need you back soon."

Our party is proud of having initiated the Treptow demonstration of 3 January 1990. It was the largest anti-fascist demonstration against the desecration of the Soviet memorial, at which over 250,000 people honored the Red Army. It must not be that 20 million Soviet citizens died in vain fighting Nazi barbarism. But comrades, for nearly two years now that is precisely what is being called into question.

We saluted the Red Army in Afghanistan and after the Red Army withdrew, we said it would have been better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than to be fighting it today in the Soviet Union. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan at the beginning of 1989 tremendously encouraged Western imperialism and prepared the subsequent collapse of Soviet power in East Europe, which led to the founding of a powerful Fourth Reich which dominates Europe.

Ultimately, "peaceful coexistence" means support for the imperialist war in the Gulf. Yet it was Soviet pilots who on February 8th said "nyet" and thus prevented German Roland missiles from being sent to southeastern Turkey. Their courageous action was a concrete step in defense of the Soviet Union as well as Iraq against imperialism and thus an inspiration for the international working class. The imperialist victory over Iraq means genocide of the Kurds and strengthening the imperialist bourgeoisies, who are attempting to undermine the Soviet Union economically. The fight against a new imperialist world order, whether it be in the guise of American, German or Japanese imperialism, is on the agenda today. So we have tremendous tasks facing us and perhaps not very much time.

We Trotskyists call ourselves the party of the Russian Revolution, because we want to defend and extend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution. The fate of the German working class has always been linked to the Soviet Union. From the very beginning of the October Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky fought to spread the revolution and to get aid from the German Revolution.

Stalinism is a product of the unresolved tasks of the international workers revolution, beginning with the German Revolution in 1923. This enabled the Stalinists to conquer the Soviet Union by destroying workers democracy and insti-

tuting the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Ten years later, this led to capitulation by the Stalin/Thälmann-led KPD to the German fascists. This was followed by Stalin's popular-front policy, in which the proletarian struggle for power was abandoned in favor of diplomatic alliances with the imperialists.



Leipzig, April 8—Workers protest massive unemployment stemming from capitalist unification. Spartakist banner reads, "Sweep Away the Trusteeship Agency/Kohl Regime! Factories to the Workers!"

For us, drawing the lessons of the capitalist reunification of Germany means not allowing capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. You can see daily, just as we do, what the so-called "gains" of the market economy are. Recently fascist attacks on Soviet citizens have become more frequent, an officer in Rathenow and a young soldier in Wittstock were brutally murdered. Soviet citizens have told us about Nazi graffiti on your houses and the destruction of your cars.

Today in Germany five million are unemployed, abortions are outlawed, children's nurseries and hospital clinics are being closed. The nationalist frenzy over "Germany, One Fatherland" turns into racist terror against workers from Poland, Mozambique and Vietnam. Roma and Sinti [gypsies] are driven away and Soviet Jews are supposed to be shunted off to Israel.

We of the Spartakist Workers Party fought for political revolution to over-



8 May 1990—Spartakist comrades lay wreath at Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin. Ribbon says: "Honor Red Army which smashed Nazi regime."

throw the Stalinist bureaucracy in the DDR and against the capitalist unification of Germany. This battle was lost, but the decisive battleground will be in the Soviet Union. Today we are trying to mobilize workers in eastern and western Germany to fight against the catastrophic consequences of capitalist restoration. And there have in fact been workers' demonstrations in Leipzig and now strikes in the west. We hope that an echo of these struggles will be heard in the USSR. Today friends tell us that Soviet workers are more interested in bread than in talk of political revolution. But the only way to ensure enough bread and to

achieve prosperity for the masses is workers political revolution. The capitalist "market economy" brings with it soup kitchens in Poland and unemployment lines in Germany.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, with Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the lead, prepared the path for capitalist restoration in Ger-

Trotsky up to 1924. The SpAD, as the German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights here to mobilize workers against the Fourth Reich, against its racism and anti-Semitism.

For a red Germany of workers councils which has unconditionally committed itself to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counter-revolution! For the revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet working class! For workers mobilizations against chauvinism, Pamyat and anti-Semitism! For a government like that of Lenin-Sverdlov based on workers democracy! What we need in the Soviet Union is a party in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky which fights for a truly socialist Union of Soviet Republics! Forward to the Fourth International!

A comrade of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski

I came here from Poland. Two days ago we visited Soviet officers in a little town. They will move back to the Soviet Union soon. Now they are called "occupiers." Later their empty flats will be shown on TV to intensify anti-Sovietism. All this is happening while Solidarność governs.

In the fall of 1981 the ICL, formerly the international Spartacist tendency, correctly called to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" At that time the majority of the Polish working class supported the reactionary nationalistic and clerical movement, heading in the direction of restoring capitalism. It was the biggest crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy that the Polish proletariat, historically committed to the struggle for socialism, after some tens of years of bureaucratic rule were lined up behind the slogans of American imperialism's Cold War against the USSR. During the time of its rule, the bureaucracy killed political activity of the proletariat and pushed it into the arms of clerical reaction and the imperialists.

We Spartacists honor the 600,000 soldiers of the Red Army who died liberating Poland from the Nazis. Polish Trotskyists seek to reclaim the best traditions of the Polish workers movement, forged in the struggle against national chauvinism. This is exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewish communist and leader of the revolutionary German proletariat.

Today in the Soviet Union the Kremlin bureaucracy is dissolving and polarizing. As was written in *Workers Vanguard*, "On one side are the pampered children of Stalin's apparatchiks who want to live like American or German yuppies. These 'free marketeers' want to sell off the factories, mines and oil fields—built by the sweat and blood of the workers—to Wall Street and the Frankfurt banks, and pocket the proceeds. They call themselves democrats.

"On the other side are conservative Stalinist apparatchiks, military men and KGB operatives who want to return to the days when they gave the orders and everyone kowtowed, when no one questioned their right to a dacha, ZIL limousine and the other privileges of the ruling caste (the *nomenklatura*). They now appeal to Great Russian nationalism and even vile anti-Semitic demagoguery. They call themselves 'patriots'."

What is missing in the present ideological division is the Soviet working class. While the October Revolution has been eclipsed in the political consciousness of the masses, working people take for granted the tangible gains of October: the right to a job, cheap food, subsidized housing, free medical care and schools for their children. And these gains are under attack by all wings of the bureaucracy.

It is possible that both wings will unite in the struggle against the workers. Both are enemies and oppressors of the working class in the interests of world capitalism. The working class must take political power into its own hands and reconstruct society in its own interests. ■

Furore Over Gorbachev's Tokyo Visit

Oppose Japan's Designs on Soviet Kuril Islands!

The following is condensed and adapted from Spartacist offprint No. 9, published by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan.

TOKYO, April 20—Soviet president Gorbachev, hat in hand, spent four days in Japan trying to pry loose about ¥3 trillion (over US\$20 billion) in economic aid for the disintegrating Soviet economy. But he left empty-handed. The Japanese bourgeoisie, sensing political instability in Moscow and a slowing down of perestroika, hardlined it on the Kuril Islands dispute, closed their pocket-books and decided to wait and see. At the beginning of April, Gaisha Hiraiwa, chairman of the powerful Keidanren business association, told the press, "Particularly after the '500-day plan' for economic reform was dropped last October, I had the feeling that economic assistance by Japan to the Soviet Union would become difficult." So prime minister Kaifu had his marching orders and tied, as a precondition to all economic aid and a peace treaty, recognition of Japanese sovereignty over all four of the southern Kurils (generally referred to in Japan as the "Northern Territories").

Japanese bankers, like their Western counterparts, are worried about the reduced pace of capitalist restoration in the USSR on the one hand, and the real catastrophic existing economic conditions on the other. Japanese capital is certainly interested in the development of natural resources in Siberia, especially oil, but they're uncertain over the profitability of such ventures right now. The Keidanren is insisting upon a free-market system, decentralized economic decision-making and ownership of natural resources, and the ruble becoming an internationally traded currency with the USSR joining the IMF. A Japanese trading house spokesman summarized this problem when he said, "There is no business where there is no money." Economically Japan holds all the cards.

The Kurils are hardly central to Japan's economy and many business interests would not want this remote real estate to stand in the way of profit. But the Japanese government, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, seeks title to the southern Kurils to reverse some of its losses in the Pacific War (World War II) and reassert its imperialist appetites. The fact that they hold the upper hand economically has

By Spartacist Group Japan

been consciously used, as a Liberal Democratic (LDP—the ruling party) member of the Diet (parliament), Yukio Hatoyama, said after returning from Moscow in October 1988: "I was considering the problem [Kurils] as something separate from the bilateral economic issue at first,

southern Kurils today, and probably the capitalist reunification of Korea tomorrow, as its price for extended economic aid to the USSR.

Japan's revanchist drive to take back the Kurils has the rest of Asia pretty worried; they remember well the last



Japanese prime minister Kaifu (right) tells Gorbachev: give us Kuril Islands (boxed area in map shows islands demanded by Japan). Imperialists want to bottle up Soviet fleet in Vladivostok and Sea of Okhotsk.

but now I have changed my mind because Japan can take advantage of its economic strength and use it as a lever to pry some concessions from the Soviet Union on the issue" (*Japan Times*, 19 December 1988).

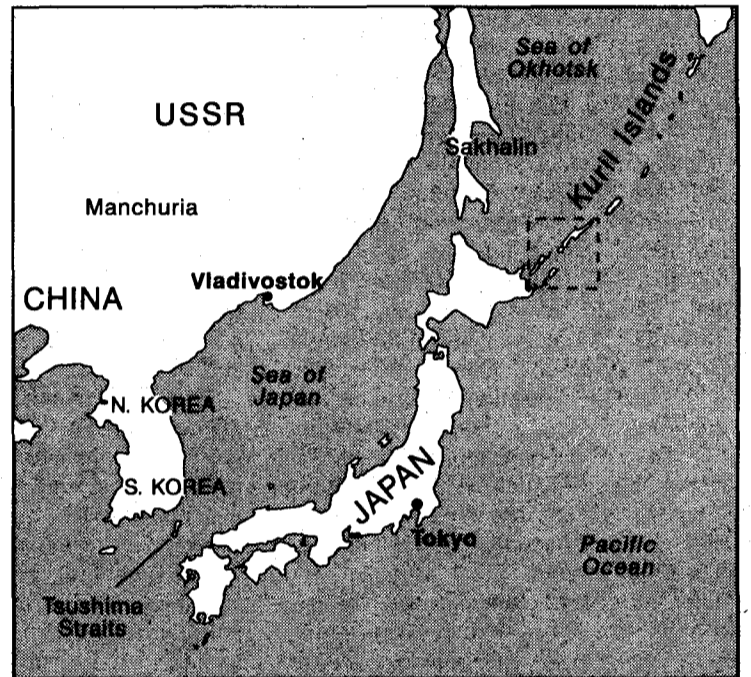
The Japanese bourgeoisie has been trying to get the southern Kurils back since the end of World War II. Tokyo has refused to sign a peace treaty with the USSR formally ending the war precisely because of this territorial "dispute." And the demand "Return the Northern Territories" is a main battle cry of the Japanese fascists. The Japanese bourgeoisie has been miffed that while Gorbachev's "new thinking" has led to the withdrawal from Afghanistan, the capitalist reunification of Germany, dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, they haven't reaped any benefits in Asia yet. Japanese imperialism wants similar concessions and troop withdrawals in the Far East and is demanding the

time Japan set out to expand its territory. Even China, which for years supported Japan's territorial claims to pursue its border dispute with the USSR, backed off to a more neutral stance when there was a likelihood of a deal.

In the wake of the U.S. destruction of Iraq in the Persian Gulf War, the Soviet military has taken a harder line against further concessions to world imperialism, especially the ceding of strategically important Soviet territory. Nonetheless, Gorbachev certainly tried to appease Japanese imperialism while he was in town. He offered phased troop withdrawals from the Kurils and reductions in Soviet Far East forces. In a speech before the Keidanren, Gorbachev offered an economic free trade zone in the port city Nakhodka, promised to make the ruble convertible into hard currency and proposed a "Soviet-Japan development bank" to help finance a plethora of proj-

ects for Siberia and the Soviet Far East. The Japanese reply was always: yes, we are interested in these proposals—but give us the islands first!

Gorbachev engaged in a series of marathon negotiation sessions with the Kaifu government to trade "interpretations" of who really has "rights" to the Kurils. Prior to Gorbachev's arrival the bourgeois press launched a media blitz rewriting history to suit Japanese imperialism's revanchist claims and preparing



WV Map

public opinion to blame Gorbachev if a deal wasn't cut. But for communists the Kurils have nothing to do with the national question, historical "claims," or interpretation of the fine print in imperialist documents. The Kurils are part of the USSR's Pacific defense and while Gorbachev & Co. are willing to undermine this to curry favor with imperialism, the proletariat's interests are quite the opposite.

The "Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan," between the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) and the Recken group (now the Spartacist Group Japan), signed on 26 October 1986, says:

"The main enemy is at home! In Japan it is therefore the elementary duty of revolutionaries to oppose Japanese imperialism's revanchist and chauvinist claims to the four so-called Northern Islands, now part of the USSR. For the right of unrestricted passage of all Soviet ships through the Tsushima, Soya and Tsugaru Straits and all other passages connecting the Sea of Japan to the Pacific!"

—see *Spartacist* No. 41-42 (Winter 1987-88)

Japanese Imperialism and the Kurils

The Kurils are a subarctic archipelago, consisting of more than 30 islands strung in a 1,200-kilometer arc between the Kamchatka Peninsula in Siberia and Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan. The mid-17th century brought explorers from Russia, Japan and West Europe, but permanent colonies, although attempted, were never successful. The history of the Russo-Japanese Kuril boundary, which for nearly two centuries was a relatively unexplored and vague frontier, had nothing to do with

continued on page 11

Kondakov/Moscow News



Soviet border guard on Kunashiri in the Kurils (above). Ultrarightist demonstrators in Tokyo (right) demand that Japanese imperialism take back the Kurils and southern Sakhalin.

Okura Kengo



Young Spartacus

An Exchange with Jailed Black Panther

On Integrated Education and Black Liberation

For nearly 20 years Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice) has been in jail, the victim of a frame-up under the notorious FBI COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party and its supporters. Mondo was a leader of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism and of the Omaha Panthers. Despite five volumes of COINTELPRO papers documenting the government's vendetta against this freedom fighter and a letter of regret from the "witness" on whose perjured testimony Mondo was falsely convicted of killing a cop, a recent petition for habeas corpus was denied. Despite this latest setback, Mondo remains unbroken and unwilling to cut a deal for anything less than a declaration of innocence on the charges which have robbed him of nearly half his life. We demand freedom for Mondo and his co-defendant Ed Poindexter—now!

Behind bars, Mondo, an award-winning writer, is a frequent contributor to the *Lincoln Journal* and *Milwaukee Courier* newspapers. The Partisan Defense Committee received a letter from Mondo in response to our *Young Spartacus* article "For Quality, Integrated Education for All!" (WV No. 517, 4 January). Excerpts from Mondo's letter and our reply are printed below.

* * *

7 January 1991

I just got through reading "For Quality, Integrated Education for All" in the latest *Workers Vanguard*. The article attacks/is critical of the idea of African folks having schools for African people and schools that teach African males and African females separately. Without going to specific words and phrases in the article, I will say that the tone of the article is one which smacks of arrogance,

racist at worst and ethnocentric at best.

African people are a minority in *this country*, a subjugated minority. What integration has typically meant for us is a losing of ourselves in the predominant caucasian culture. When one is a member of the majority group, the group whose members hold power, it is quite an easy thing for him or her to speak favorably of integration, unless that person is a blatant and extreme racist, he or she has nothing to lose. African folks have something to lose however, and many of us have lost it in these various integration schemes—namely, a sense of the African self.

Essentially, American culture is caucasian culture. This is meaningful because there are things about caucasian culture that are dangerous for caucasian people and much more dangerous for African people. Caucasian culture is marked by a philosophy of expedience, materialism, individualism, competitiveness, both an obsession with and fear of sex, and racism.

Traditional African societies were/are communal, spiritualistic, and were neither afraid of nor obsessed with sex. European colonialism in Africa altered seriously the characteristics of our societies and European enslavement of African people in America altered our ways and ways of looking at things. When you add to that the impacts upon African people of the commercial media, schools, churches, etc., you wind up with a whole bunch of African-people who are African physiologically but European or Euro-American psychologically and intellectually. Let me give an example—Colin Powell. He appears to be an African, but he sees things through the eyes of the caucasian power structure. He is quite willing to subvert the interest of his own people for sake of the furtherance of the aims of his bosses.

Since the *Vanguard* article speaks of integration, let me take us back to *Brown v. Board of Education*. You may recall that, at the trial, an experiment was conducted in which African children were presented with brown dolls and white dolls and asked to pick dolls they associated with certain favorable traits and to pick dolls they associated with certain unfavorable traits. The results were clear—the African children associated the white dolls with the favorable traits and the brown dolls with the unfavorable. The results were replicated in two separate studies just a few years ago—one here in the States and the other in the Caribbean, I believe.

The major institutions of this society have either the designed or latent function of programming people to believe in the supremacy of caucasians. Integration is not going to change this. Some African people—myself included—believe that we ought to be establishing our own institutions and wresting control over

others so that we can bring our people back to an African consciousness. That is our business. We have a right to want to protect our people from further debilitating effects of a majority society's sickness.

Look at what's going on around us—Bush threatening thousands of lives, not only because of U.S. corporate interests, but because of his threatened

out being attacked as being backward or "reverse racists," and other such madness. When caucasians who are progressive can successfully treat caucasian institutions, then it might make some sense for Africans to speak of integration.

America has done terrible damage to African people. We would be foolish to depend on others to repair that damage.



AP

Spartacists fought for labor/black defense of busing and its extension to the suburbs. While racist mobs attacked blacks in the streets, liberals in city hall and Congress killed school integration.



Forman/Boston Herald American

"manhood"; thousands of teenage girls getting plastic surgery to get "ideal" bodies and faces and men getting breast and calf implants in order to look more muscular; a whole bunch of folks suffering from sexual identity crises; parents neglecting their children while they hustle for economic status; corporations poisoning our foods for profits; audiences that applaud all kinds of dumb entertainment because they are directed to by applause signs; etc.

I am not saying that there is only sickness in caucasian society or that caucasians have cornered the market on sickness. I am saying that African folks have a right to want to remove ourselves from a culture that is killing us and that we ought to be able to do so with-

The *Vanguard* article I'm speaking of is but one of many in which it has been suggested that African people are unqualified to make our own decisions, when those decisions are not in agreement with the Spartacist League's "correct line." Caucasians who claim to be progressive must learn to expunge arrogance from themselves, to expunge from themselves dogmatism. I'm going to cut this short to mention a couple of other things. By the way, if you wish to print the above, you are welcome to....

Mondo

Young Spartacus replies: Mondo argues that black survival necessitates a withdrawal from "caucasian culture" and
continued on page 8



Nat Weinstein

Jailed Black Panther Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice).

Defend Gays Against Fascist Attacks!

Gay students at the University of Chicago are being terrorized by an ominous gang of fascists called the "Brotherhood of the Iron Fist."

- In February, Andrew Ross, president of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance (GALA), and several other students began receiving death threats by mail. Posters appeared on campus threatening "Death to Fags and Fag-Lovers."

- On March 17, graduate student Chris Bauer was attacked in a campus building by two self-proclaimed members of the "Brotherhood" wearing ski masks and screaming anti-gay epithets. Bauer, who walks with a cane, was knocked to the ground and kicked in the head, legs and kidneys. The attackers then brandished a syringe and threatened to inject air into his bloodstream and kill him.

- On April 15, Ross, Bauer and another student received death threat letters that were no idle threat. The letters were laced with the lethal neurotoxin acrylimide which can be absorbed through the skin.

These cowardly fascist scum want to kill gays and they had better be stopped now! Hundreds of students have rallied on campus to protest the anti-gay attacks. But the liberal organizers of the protests are wasting time by calling on

University of Chicago



May 3—U of C students rally to demand an end to anti-gay attacks.

the administration, cops and FBI to take action against the fascists. The allies the students need are not the administration, cops and G-men, who have proven they will shield these masked

would-be murderers, but the campus workers, city labor and the surrounding black community.

In 1987 when campus brownshirt Russell Miller and his "Great White

Brotherhood" targeted gays, leftists and liberal professors with death threats, the administration collaborated with Miller in a McCarthyite "investigation" of gays and leftists who Miller claimed were harassing him. The administration's dirty work included a 2 a.m. raid on the offices of the campus newspaper led by Assistant Dean Andrew Turkington during which staffers were interrogated about being "gay or communists." Last week, the same Dean Turkington unilaterally canceled an "open" forum scheduled to discuss the recent attacks because newspaper reporters were to be present!

Providing safe haven for bush-league Nazis is small potatoes for a university that counts among its crimes the development of the A-bombs that obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and headquartered the "Chicago Boys" Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman who brain-trusted the starvation economic policies of Chilean dictator Pinochet.

Speaking at a May Day rally on campus, a Spartacus Youth Club member explained:

"It's crucial that you not hold any illusions in the administration or the cops. Their job is to run this university as a training ground for the leaders of this decaying capitalist system, that just
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CUNY...

(continued from page 12)

CUNY students turned out in support of the unionists and for common action against Cuomo's killer cuts. But for the bureaucrats who control the unions, talk of "solidarity" with the student strikers was a cruel hoax.

CUNY chancellor Ann Reynolds was brought in to get rid of open admissions. If the cuts go through, tens of thousands of predominantly minority, poor and working-class students will lose their chance at a college education. When City College students—with their backs to the wall and the cops breathing down their necks—asked Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera for help, this reputed "militant" offered nothing and instead told them to give up their building occupations to "educate the community"! Rivera, a vice chairman of the state Democratic Party, said in an interview (*New York Newsday*, 6 May): "I have not lost faith that we can get the governor to come back to traditional Democratic values"! And on May 1, when campus workers at Hunter College were ordered to show up in street clothes and take the doors off the occupied East Building, union leaders went along with this grotesque Operation Storm!

Also to blame are the self-isolating tactics of student government junior bureaucrats, who appointed themselves "delegates" elected at secret meetings, and deliberately narrowed support, excluding both "outside agitators" and interested students from joining the take-overs. This left the building occupiers alone on the campuses, so that when they were ejected from Hunter all they could do was throw stale bagels at the administration's cameramen (for which CUNY charged them with assault). At an April 26 Barnard College forum, New York Spartacus Youth Club member and CCNY student Leticia Candia described what followed:

"In a predawn raid this morning, 200 riot-equipped cops stormed into Bronx Community College and arrested 19 students. At BMCC students are separated from their communities, isolated in yuppie lower Manhattan. There the dirty work was done by several hundred nursing students (we called them the 'candy-strippers from hell') who smashed the glass and took back the building. Chan-

cellor Ann Reynolds was at the scene of the crime, crowing about how it made her proud to be a woman. It made me sick. These are serious setbacks to our fight."

Now kangaroo courts have been set up, and student protesters face expulsions, suspensions or the possibility of "probation" for the rest of their college careers.



April 27—Students from Lehman College in the Bronx forced out of occupied building by the cops.

The Spartacus Youth Club demands: No reprisals! Drop all charges against CUNY student protesters!

Cuomo's vicious budget cuts target not only students, but all working people. Mayor David ("They'll take it from me") Dinkins has just announced 27,000 planned layoffs of city workers, as well as closings of clinics, schools, libraries, swimming pools and even the zoos! The angry director of the Staten Island Zoo threatened "to loose his homeless snakes, crocodiles and parakeets on City Hall," warning that "We'll have to put our stock up for sale or on the steps of City Hall, and a rattlesnake wouldn't look very appropriate there" (*Newsday*, 30 April). The only city employees who won't be cut, of course, are the racist police, who routinely murder black and Hispanic youth.

Faced with the anger of the union ranks, New York's labor leaders—Rivera, Stanley Hill of AFSCME District 37, Teamsters head Barry Feinstein, and Sandra Feldman of the UFT—called a demonstration for April 30 (explicitly not May Day, the international workers holi-

day). Some tens of thousands of black and Hispanic workers marched from the Battery to the World Trade Center, filling the streets of the financial district protesting Cuomo and the cuts. Yet four days later, Hill, Feldman and Feinstein (sporting a "Desert Storm" cap) were munching on chicken tarragon and aspar-

angry students burned a flag on a pile of anti-Cuomo posters, they were jumped by nightstick-wielding cops, and two were arrested. These students face felony charges of "assaulting an officer." The SYC demands all the charges be dropped!

Throughout the CUNY protests, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fought to link the students with class-struggle militants in the unions. Transit workers fought in their union meeting for strike action against the TA's new cutback contract, putting up a motion concluding, "we resolve to strike to defend our jobs, safety and livelihoods and we recognize that our struggle is part of the struggle of all of NYC labor and the CUNY students." The response of the TWU bureaucracy was to immediately rule the motion out of order—and to boot out a contingent of CUNY students, who had come in hope of labor support, from the union hall!

To prove their loyalty to Dinkins, Cuomo and Wall Street, the misleaders of labor who hide behind the no-strike Taylor Law again seek to lead the workers like sheep to the slaughter. Stanley Hill intones, "We must all share the pain." To hell with that—we're for inflicting pain on Wall Street, through canceling the debt and expropriating the banks! We need a workers party to ally the militant students and oppressed minorities with the working class in struggle to sweep away this decrepit capitalist system which is today throwing students out of school and workers out of their jobs. ■

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

their chops at the prospect of regaining full control of the Balkans. "Yugoslavia: Breaking Up Is Good to Do," proclaims a column in the *Wall Street Journal* (8 March). The *U.S. News & World Report* (1 April) notes that "the renewed turmoil in the Balkans could even serve as a pilot for demolition of the Soviet Union, where the crisis of the republics resembles Yugoslavia's on a grander scale." But others are worried. "The Balkans, Once Again the Powder Keg of Europe," headlined the Italian daily *La Repubblica* (4 May).

The violent breakup of Yugoslavia could ignite a new Balkan war and even draw in the major powers. For example, both Bulgaria and Greece have territorial

claims on Macedonia. Croatia's anti-Communist leader Tudjman has openly appealed to Bush and British prime minister John Major to support his secession bid against the Yugoslav federal army. U.S. imperialism, puffed up by its victory in the Persian Gulf War and believing the Soviet Union is now prostrate, could move to extend the "new world order" to the Balkans. Every European schoolchild knows it was a wild act of terrorism by a Serbian nationalist in Bosnia in 1914 which triggered the mass slaughter of the First World War.

Titoist Yugoslavia Unravels

Yugoslavia in its original form was the direct outcome of that war. It was established in 1918 as part of the Wilsonian imperialist reconstruction of Europe. Headed by a Serbian king,

Yugoslavia was quickly consumed by the conflict between the Roman Catholic Croats, who had been part of the Habsburg Empire, and the Eastern Orthodox Serbians, who had earlier broken from the Ottoman Empire. Croatian nationalists formed the Ustasha, which ran a puppet government for the Nazis in World War II, murdering hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (gypsies).

The Communist partisans under Tito (whose father was a Croat and mother a Slovene) were able to mobilize the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia against both the Nazi German forces and home-grown genocidal nationalists of all sides. After the war, capitalism was thus overthrown in Yugoslavia through an indigenous social revolution, unlike the rest of East Europe where the bourgeois order was smashed by the Soviet Red Army as

it drove back the Nazi German Wehrmacht. This gave the Tito regime the enormous popular authority to break with Stalin in 1948 and proclaim its own independent "Yugoslav road to socialism." Nonetheless Yugoslavia, like the East European "People's Democracies," was from the outset a workers state deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic rule. And herein lay the seeds of its present disintegration.

Within the nationalist framework of Stalinism, the Tito regime went about as far as it could to establish a genuinely multinational federation. But national divisions could not be overcome on the basis of building "socialism" in one relatively backward Balkan country. In fact, the economic decentralization and "market socialism" which Tito made his trademark enormously intensified the inequalities between republics and

Integrated Education...

(continued from page 6)

rediscovering "traditional African values" through nationalist separatism. Fighting the internalized race-hatred which poisons the minds of black youth into believing that they and not society are to blame is an essential part of combatting oppression. But our aim is not merely to change perceptions of race and class but to change reality. The fight for freedom is not ultimately a psychological struggle but a political one.

The root cause of the desperate conditions of black America—entrenched poverty, homelessness, unemployment, poor schools, racist cop terror—is the capitalist economic system which keeps blacks isolated at the bottom as a race-color caste, the better to keep the multi-ethnic working class from uniting against the exploiters. America is one nation with a rigid color line—with white on top of black. The educational system and bourgeois "culture" necessarily perpetuate this racist status quo, but the mechanism of white domination and black oppression in the U.S. is not forced assimilation but segregation.

There is no separate black nation in the U.S.; no separate economy, language, or land. Since the promise of equality was betrayed in the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, black people have suffered Jim Crow discrimination in all spheres of life and have been manipulated as a reserve army of labor for the capitalist class—the last hired and first fired. At the same time, blacks were integrated into strategic sectors of the economy. As the most militant sector of those who produce the wealth in this society, black workers have tremendous potential social power and can lead the ghetto masses and even backward, racist white workers in struggle against the owners. But with the decay of American capitalism, blacks are increasingly pushed out of industry and other areas of potential power. And the call for separate black education, no matter what the motivation, necessarily feeds into the racists' campaign to drive blacks even further back into a powerless and precarious existence.

The defeat of busing for school integration, the enforced ghettoization of blacks in poverty, the military and prisons, fuel a nationalist mood today. Against black nationalists and the "Uncle Tom" black Democrats, we fight to build a multiracial communist vanguard party to lead all the working people and oppressed. Racial oppression is so deeply built into the American class structure that only the destruction of existing class relations and the change in class rule—the passing of power into the hands of the working class—will strike at the heart of racism and bring about equality through revolutionary integration into a socialist society.

The separatism that Mondo espouses does echo today among a layer of alienated black youth who rightly hate this racist society and bitterly resent the betrayals of black freedom struggles by leaders preaching accommodation to the status quo. The danger in this is that it's not a program for struggle but a utopian and reactionary withdrawal from the fight at the very moment the ruling class is carrying out genocide against the black ghetto!

Historically, the ideas of black separatism have found an echo in periods of defeat when united struggle seemed impossible. Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement peaked in the 1920s when the Klan had millions of members nationwide. But black workers swept aside this reactionary escapism as soon as the possibility for successful struggle

to wreck the entire public education system.

This attack cries out for a massive fight back on behalf of all working-class youth! Instead, what we're getting from middle-class black elected officials and black nationalists is an accommodation to the rollback of black rights dressed up as proposals for "Afrocentric" schools exclusively for black males. This not only lets the racist white ruling class off the hook, it's a proposal to ghettoize the teaching of some of the most important history that all fighters for social justice must learn. White schoolchildren as well as black schoolchildren need to learn about Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, and Karl Marx. But we're Marxists, not idealists, and understand that education is a class question. True quality education for the masses

European colonialism destroyed the traditional African communities, but African peoples were not then integrated into Western culture. The colonial regimes utilized tribal chiefs as overseers in exploiting their own people.

This is especially clear in South Africa. The bantustan system was an attempt at the enforced retribalization of South African blacks. Those seeking to implement "Afrocentric" education are the Buthelezi's, the black front men for racist rule. Whereas the overwhelming demand of blacks fighting for freedom from apartheid slavery has been for full access to the best, most comprehensive education possible.

It is not clear just what Mondo considers to be "caucasian culture." The musician Wynton Marsalis has made enormous contributions to world culture, drawing not only on the black jazz tradition but a rigorous study and mastery of classical music. Marsalis could not achieve the greatness that he has if his education was self-limiting "Afrocentric." The natural sciences are also part of the universal culture of mankind. It was the Nazis who dismissed Einstein's theory of relativity and quantum mechanics as a Jewish invention and promoted their own "theory" of "Aryan physics." As the term algebra indicates, much of the math taught in American schools was developed by the Arabs. And during the European Middle Ages, it was Arab scholars who preserved the heritage of classical Greek philosophy.

Not only General Colin Powell but the whole panoply of black politicians who serve as mayors and police chiefs of this country's major cities (and whose election to office is presented by black nationalists as a step toward "black empowerment") are betrayers of the black masses. Mondo presents Powell as some kind of victim of the "caucasian" educational process. No!—he and his kind are conscious servants of the bourgeois power; they have signed on as overseers on the capitalist plantation.

As Richard Fraser emphasized in a 1953 lecture on "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution": "The concept of race has now been overthrown in biological science. But race as the keystone of exploitation remains. Race is a social relation and has only a social reality." There's no necessary correlation between ethnicity and human behavior. People are not fundamentally different from one another because of their skin color, hair texture, or other physical variations. Race has significance in the U.S. because it is the basis for injustice, a means to order the relations between people based on the needs of a capitalist economy. There is no separate road to black freedom in this country. What's required is building an integrated party to finish the Civil War by smashing the capitalist mode of production. Then discrimination, segregation, and racist cop terror will go the way of the slave auction block—relics for a museum of the history of a particularly barbarous society. ■



Struggle for freedom requires smashing racist segregation. Civil rights activists in 1960s demonstrate against Jim Crow education.

was felt, and joined the fights to organize the CIO in the '30s. In New York City today, CUNY students (overwhelmingly black and Hispanic) are fighting a racist economic purge of minority youth from the university. They know that separate necessarily means inferior and unequal in a racist society.

The American ruling class no longer needs or wants educated black youth—they're considered an "expendable" surplus population. The White House is now scheming to liquidate public education into the "free market." Rich white people already send their children to well-financed private schools or suburban "public" country clubs that the black population has no access to, while the poor clock time in urban holding pens where little education can take place because there's no money for teachers, books or equipment—and little in the way of jobs promising a future for minority youth as a motivation for study. Now Bush wants to make it official: let public funds "follow the students" to private schools—which will duplicate on a national scale the "white flight" to racist "academies" in the South following the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. This is a program

will be possible only with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of working-class rule.

The real purpose of segregating young black males—already stigmatized as the "problem element" in society—has nothing to do with education, but repression. If compulsory segregation used to be the means by which a Jim Crow society deprived blacks of attaining any economic or social power, it is now increasingly the means for social control. Black sociologist Kenneth Clark hit the nail on the head in denouncing schools for black males as "prep schools for correctional institutions" (*New York Times*, 10 January).

There is a basic reality that Mondo does not want to face: blacks in America are not Africans, but black Americans. But Mondo also argues an idealized conception of race and culture and traditional African societies. The whole history of humankind has been a bloody saga of the domination of one group by another, and Africa is no exception. Some pretty gruesome practices—including war, slavery, sexual mutilation of young girls (clitorectomies)—were present in African societies even before the continent was raped by white coloni-

regions. Per capita income in Slovenia is ten times that of Albanian-populated Kosovo! In addition to "market socialism," Yugoslavia pioneered mortgaging its collectivized economy to Western bankers, who are now squeezing the country dry with a savage austerity program. In the month of February alone 7,000 state-owned enterprises were forced to declare bankruptcy.

While seeking to overcome national antagonisms within Yugoslavia, the Tito regime adopted a nationalist stance toward its Balkan neighbors. Tito and his colleagues were committed to preserving the state borders established by the 1918 Versailles Treaty of the victorious imperialist powers. Thus the Belgrade Stalinists quarreled with Bulgaria over Macedonia and did not recognize the right of self-determination for Yugoslavia's Albanians. Nonetheless, for three and a half decades the Tito regime, based on the organization and authority of the partisan victory, held together Yugoslavia as a multinational state based on collectivized property. But with the passing of the partisan generation, signaled by Tito's death in 1980, all of the old nationalist crap has returned with a vengeance.

"Slobo" and the Rise of Serbian Nationalism

Today, the pro-Western Croat and Slovene nationalists are in the vanguard of the forces seeking to break up Yugoslavia. But the current disintegration was set into motion by the rise of Serbian nationalism with the ascendancy of Slobodan Milosevic (known as "Slobo" to his followers). The Milosevic regime in Serbia is usually depicted and denounced in the Western bourgeois media as the last Stalinist holdout in East Europe. Yet Milosevic in his own way decisively broke with and attacked the Titoist system.

Tito sought to overcome traditional



Horvat/Picture Group
Steel workers strike in Montenegro in 1988. United working class under genuine communist leadership can stop intercommunalist slaughter and breakup of Yugoslavia.

vincial, and as Communism has declined that cast of mind has grown more powerful, promoting an angry Serbian nationalism."

—New Yorker, 18 March

Beginning in the early 1980s, Albanians—who constitute the third largest national group in Yugoslavia—demanded that Kosovo be granted full republican status equivalent to Serbia or Croatia. Albanian agitation was met with massive repression, and in 1989 Milosevic eliminated what little remained of the region's autonomy in his drive to create a Greater Serbia. The present crisis of Stalinist rule next door in Albania can only inflame the Kosovo question. In the more fluid

three months late at state-owned companies, and when they do arrive the checks are only a fraction of what's owed the workers. A young machine operator in a Belgrade engine plant exclaimed: "Before the elections everything was fine. We got our money. After that they forgot about us" (London Guardian, 22 March).

The economic desperation has boosted the right-wing opposition to Milosevic, led by Vuc Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Party. Draskovic identifies himself with the royalist Chetniks, suppressed by Tito's partisans, and is demanding a referendum on restoring the monarchy! In mid-March Draskovic's boys staged violent protests in central Belgrade to which Milosevic responded with a mixture of repression and concessions. It is by no means unthinkable that Milosevic and Draskovic can come to terms on a program of Greater Serbian nationalism.

Showdown in Croatia

While Draskovic seeks to resurrect the Serbian royalist Chetniks, the new leaders in Croatia hark back to the Ustashi fascists. Croatian president Franjo Tudjman is a former general and university professor who in his writings apologized for the Ustashi government, describing it as "the expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian nation for its independent state." Under Tudjman, a newly formed "special security unit" is sporting the resurrected Ustashi red-and-white checkered crest on their caps. One of his first acts after being elected last year was to rename the Square for the Victims of Fascism in the capital of Zagreb...now it's the Square of the Croatian Giants.

All this has naturally alarmed the Serbian communities in Croatia—15 percent of the republic's population—for whom the genocidal atrocities of the

Ustashi are still a living memory. A 50-year-old schoolteacher in Petrinja recalls that as a child, "I watched my house burn down, and I'd like to save my son from enduring the same thing" (San Francisco Chronicle, 12 April). It was from such Serbian villages in Croatia that Tito recruited many fighters for the Communist partisans. And now that anti-Communist Croat nationalists are back in power in Zagreb, the Serbian communities are in open rebellion.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

The only force still holding Yugoslavia together is the federal army, whose officer corps is 70 percent Serbian. As a last-ditch defense, early this year army generals formed the Communist League—Movement for Yugoslavia, dubbed the "generals' party." A document issued by the army's Central Political Commissariat vowed:

"Neither in Yugoslavia is socialism finished and brought to its knees. Though paying a high price, it has managed to overcome the first strike of the anti-communist hysteria wave. A real possibility has been kept to preserve the country as a federal and socialist society."
 —London Guardian, 2 February

At the present time, proletarian internationalists would give military support to the Yugoslav federal army against the counterrevolutionary Croatian regime. But the Stalinist military cadre cannot preserve Yugoslavia, especially since the army command is susceptible to Serbian nationalism represented by the vile demagogue Milosevic. At most the army can hold off the forces of intercommunalist slaughter for a while and buy time for the emergence of a proletarian pole, which alone can stop the headlong drive toward a new Balkan war.

That the potential for common class struggle exists was demonstrated a few weeks ago when 700,000 Serbian textile, metal and leather workers staged a one-day protest strike against the austerity program ordered by Western bankers. They were joined by 10,000 coal miners in Bosnia. This was the biggest labor protest since World War II. What is desperately needed in Yugoslavia is a genuine communist party which can channel the workers' economic resistance against the forces of murderous nationalism and their imperialist godfathers in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

But socialism cannot be built in isolation in the relatively backward Balkan lands. Indeed, the powerful and unrelenting pressure of the world capitalist market is a prime cause for the present disintegration of Yugoslavia and also the nationalist fissuring of the Soviet Union. Clearly the fate of Yugoslavia is tied to that of the Soviet Union, as well as to class struggle in Western Europe. As Trotsky wrote in a discussion with his Greek supporters in the early 1930s: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into the federation of the United Soviet States of Europe." ■



Federal Committee for Information, Belgrade

Victims of Nazi-backed Croatian Ustashi fascists during World War II.

national loyalties and enmities by promoting a higher pan-Yugoslav nationalism. He attempted to cut back the predominance of the Serbian republic by granting autonomy to the Albanian-populated region of Kosovo and also to Vojvodina with its large Hungarian population. By contrast, Milosevic rose to power by exploiting and fomenting anti-Albanian Serbian chauvinism. He has openly allied himself with the Serbian Orthodox church while downgrading Tito's memory.

The roots of the enmity between Serbs and Albanians go back to the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century. The Albanians converted to Islam and acted as Ottoman loyalists against the Serbs, who preserved their own national church as focus of resistance to Turkish domination. An Albanian historian in Kosovo told an American journalist:

"The Serbian Orthodox Church boasts of Serbia's role in stopping the advance of 'the dark culture,' by which it means Islam. Its outlook is narrow and pro-

situation, the question of unification of the Albanian people is directly posed. As proletarian internationalists, we have called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian people within the framework of a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Unlike the nationalist leaders in Croatia and Slovenia, Milosevic has not declared his intention to restore capitalism immediately. For this reason, he is branded as "still a Communist" in the Western press. But this former head of the Yugoslav state bank has long proclaimed that he favors the transition to a "market economy," and for the past few years he has served as the agent of Wall Street and Frankfurt financiers in imposing a harsh austerity on Serbia's working people.

In order to win the elections last December, Milosevic adopted a more "populist" economic posture and pumped millions of dinars into faltering state enterprises. But since then the money has run out. Paychecks are arriving two to

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California...

(continued from page 12)

demanding that Wilson and the legislature under black liberal Democratic Assembly Speaker Willy Brown fork over the funds! In the meantime, let the labor movement impose a few draconian austerity measures of their own—there's a drought, after all, so cut off water to the state capitol buildings! And power blackouts—let the legislators and the governor make do with candles until they "see the light."

Right-Wing California Dreamin'

It's not only an attack on the working class as a whole—there's a racist edge as well. The Richmond school district has apparently been chosen as a test case because it's 70 percent minority, and faces a fiscal crisis as a result of a deficit run up by the former superintendent Walter Marks, "who attempted to integrate the district" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 April). The ruling class not only does not want to pay for educating the masses anymore, but wants to put an end to "race mixing."

Wilson's 1990 gubernatorial platform was indistinguishable from that of his Democratic opponent Dianne Feinstein. Both spelled out their racist ideologies in wholehearted support for the death penalty (no idle question in the state with over 300 on death row). The eight-year reign of Wilson's predecessor, George Deukmejian, was a Reaganite orgy, with the building of 15 new prisons and a 250 percent increase in the state's prison population (which now exceeds that of Britain, Germany or Italy).

Wilson's campaign appealed to law-and-order racism, calling for longer prison terms and ever more severity in the "war on drugs." In an election marked by the lowest voter turnout in at least 48 years, conservative white Californians voted in Wilson, the former San Diego mayor and U.S. Senator who has all the charisma of a slice of Wonder Bread.

Upon his inauguration in January, Wilson unveiled his early proposals to address the budget deficit, including an increase in taxes on alcohol—a measure which had been resoundingly voted down two months earlier in the state elections! He announced a plan to cut welfare payments for single mothers by 9 percent. In case you didn't catch the malice in it, Wilson commented, "I am confident they will be able to pay the rent, but they will have less for a six-pack of beer." The cuts would mean a mother with two kids would get a monthly check of \$633.

Both capitalist parties find it expedient to denounce welfare programs as "habit-forming crutches" that discourage pulling

oneself up by the bootstraps. Urban blacks correctly see this bipartisan attack as a policy of slow genocide. A study released by the Food Research & Action Center in Washington, D.C. shows hunger among children in California above the national average of 12.7 percent—and this in the state that produces more food than any other in the U.S.

Education Down the Sinkhole

Wilson's attack is part of a White House scheme to liquidate the public school system, a historic gain of the working class. Under Bush's plan for "freedom of choice," rich kids get to go to exclusive (racially and otherwise) private "academies" and everybody else



Empty reservoir in Los Padres National Forest. If governor wants to turn the tap off the schools, workers should shut off water to state capitol.

can fend for themselves. It is a sign of the decay of capitalism that conditions are being rolled back to the 19th century, when public education was a vital demand aimed at breaking the old aristocratic private school system and the hold of the church. Indeed, the tenth demand of Marx and Engels' famous Communist Manifesto of 1848 called for "Free education for all children in public schools." This was also aimed at undermining the child labor system in industry. Public schools fueled the growth of dynamic American capitalism as wave after wave of immigrants arrived and went to school, hoping to improve their lot. Now the "American dream" is targeted for destruction in the twilight of capitalism.

The Richmond schools debacle has attracted nationwide attention because across the country public education is being gutted by the ruling class. Pete Wilson, his eye on the White House, is doing what every bourgeois politician does: going after unions and minorities with venom. "As for the kids [of Rich-

mond school district], who cares? They're mostly not white and not rich," writes Rob Morse in the *San Francisco Examiner* (1 May). "Wilson...has attempted to nail the doorway shut, put the schools up for a yard sale and reduce teachers and students alike to careers at McDonald's." Besides Richmond, at least 25 other school districts in the state are about to go belly up, and some 500 districts are scrambling to find funds. Virtually all, including Oakland and San Francisco, are being cut to the bone. Ten thousand notices of possible layoff have been sent out so far statewide.

The education ax in California will cut particularly viciously at minorities, now composing an estimated 43 percent of the

simply shuffle the bureaucracies that dole out the misery. Public health programs, already a cruel joke in the ghettos as well as among the rural poor, will be further decimated, and more and more people will die, on the street and in public hospital corridors.

Yet so far there's virtually no resistance—the unions are whimpering helplessly and filing lawsuits. They're tied to the bosses' Democratic Party and politically disarmed. Having bought the Reaganite anti-Communist lies about the wonders of "free enterprise" (with the help of that leading Cold Warrior, Albert Shanker), the teachers unions and the intelligentsia in general have no answer when Bush calls for the wonders of the "free market" to be applied to public education. Public education has supposedly been "discredited"—essentially sabotaged via a starvation of funding combined with the lumpenization of the working class and its children, particularly blacks.

A labor movement that fights strikes to win rather than engaging in useless consumer boycotts and lobbying campaigns could make short shrift of Wilson's killer cuts—and win hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers, including many undocumented immigrant workers, to its ranks. A small taste of the power of the working class was in the 1989 Los Angeles teachers strike, when 23,000 teachers drew in thousands of students and community sympathizers angry at the school board's attacks. High school students staged "jumpouts" to get out of the locked buildings and join the picket lines.

To really mobilize it's necessary to clear out the craven, corrupt bureaucratic misleaders who exist to channel the anger of the working people into votes for the Democrats. The urgent need all over racist, capitalist America is for a workers party—black, Hispanic, Asian and white—and a victorious socialist revolution.

It is tempting to simply revive the slogans of the 1848 Communist Manifesto, as the issues have suddenly come alive (another demand was "a heavy progressive or graduated income tax," now undermined by numerous so-called "reforms"). But that was written before Marx and Engels had completed their understanding of the bourgeois state. "Tax the rich" schemes are a cruel hoax, for in the end it all comes out of the workers' hides. After the Paris Commune was drowned in blood in 1871, Marxists realized that it was necessary to smash the old state apparatus and establish the rule of the workers in order to make progress. That remains true today. ■

state population. Hispanics now make up about 25 percent, blacks over 7 percent, and Asians almost 10 percent—and those proportions are even higher among school-age children. The Asian population alone has increased 127 percent over the last ten years. Of more than 200,000 students entering the public schools each year, about 20 percent speak little or no English. The proposed cuts will mean virtually wiping out bilingual education. So hundreds of thousands of immigrant children will receive virtually no instruction they can comprehend. Wilson openly scapegoats immigrants for the state's financial plight, declaring that California "has more than its share" of refugees from Mexico, Central America and Asia. Of these, however, many are not even eligible under immigration laws for most of the welfare programs, such as food stamps, that Wilson so deplures.

Fight or Starve

The wrangling in Sacramento provoked by the budget crisis is a predictable bourgeois response. On April 3, Jesse Jackson led a rally of teachers, parents and students at the state capitol, pushing tax-the-rich schemes and pleading for "some mercy in leadership," while hinting of his own presidential aspirations for 1992. In March Jackson addressed teachers and parents in the Richmond school district, blaming Republicans for the mess and calling to "change the priorities." What cynical hype! The priorities of capitalism are, in order: profit, profit, and profit. S&Ls get bailed out, not schools.

In 1978, Democratic California governor Jerry Brown hopped on the petty-bourgeois "tax-revolt" bandwagon, as Prop 13 (the Jarvis-Gann amendment) cut local property taxes, shifting the burden of funding schools away from local governments onto the state. Prop 13 rode in on a wave of racist reaction against "big government" including funding for social programs. Despite providing some tax relief for older homeowners, the real gains fell to holders of big property—big-time landlords and capitalists.

In the current crisis, both Democrats and Republicans are hatching schemes that call for transferring some state health and welfare programs to local governments and raising local taxes to pay for them. That will provide neither jobs nor increased social programs but

Chicago...

(continued from page 7)

murdered 100,000 Iraqis and stamps out anyone who opposes the way things are run. The cops you call on are the same ones who harass black students and black youth in Hyde Park."

The real role of the cops, to defend the capitalist order and terrorize black people, was brought home graphically to the millions who saw the videotaped LAPD beating of Rodney King. As for the FBI, these are the criminals who murdered Black Panthers like Chicago's Fred Hampton under the deadly COINTELPRO program. And if there was one group of people J. Edgar Hoover loathed as much as communists and blacks, it was homosexuals.

The fascists think gays are a "soft target" whom nobody will defend. They need to be taught otherwise in a "school" of hard knocks. On 27 June 1982 the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization that brought out some 3,000 unionists, blacks, leftists, Holocaust survivors, gays and students to stop the genocidal Nazis from staging an attack on the annual Gay Pride march in Chicago's Lincoln Park. It's those hard-core forces that must be mobilized again today to drive the fascist "Brotherhood" off campus and into Lake Michigan! ■

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Kuril Islands...

(continued from page 5)

resident Russian and Japanese populations and everything to do with the growing rivalry between tsarist Russia and imperial Japan over which power would dominate the region stretching from eastern Siberia through Manchuria into Korea and northern China.

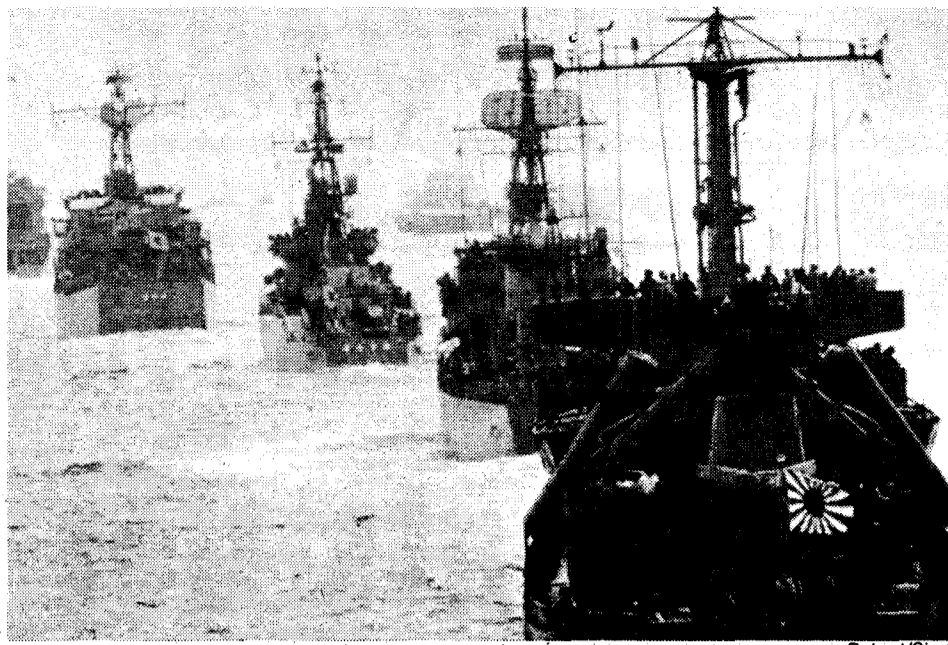
The 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg gave Russia exclusive right to the mineral-rich Sakhalin island off Siberia, and in exchange Japan got the Kurils. Today the Japanese bourgeoisie proclaims this deal as further proof of their "inalienable" right to the Kurils. But this "historic" 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg was bitterly opposed by sections of the Meiji ruling class who thought the exchange of Sakhalin for the frozen Kurils was a rotten deal for Japan.

Japanese imperialism launched its first war for territorial expansion in 1894 against China in which Formosa (Taiwan) was seized along with economic control of Korea and other concessions. Japan resolved its Russian border "dispute" during the 1904-05 war in which Port Arthur and the southern part of Sakhalin were seized. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea. In an attempt to block the extension of Bolshevik rule to the Soviet Far East, Japanese imperialism occupied Vladivostok in 1918 and maintained a strong military presence in the Soviet maritime district until 1922. Japanese imperialism only withdrew to southern Sakhalin in 1925 when relations between Japan and the Soviet Union were normalized.

The interwar period in the Far East was marked not only by Japanese expansion into Manchuria and China, but also by a fervent hostility, especially on the part of the Japanese officer corps, toward the Soviet Union. The Soviets, however, defeated Japan's Kwantung Army at Nomonhan (on the Mongolian border) in 1939 and subsequent Japanese expansion in Asia was directed at their Western imperialist rivals.

The 20th century, with its tremendous expansion of naval and air power, now casts the Kurils as a strategic military outpost. While the Japanese expanded their fishing and developed summer cannery operations in the 1920s and 1930s, the only year-round expansion achieved in the Kurils was the fortification and garrisoning of Japanese military units prior to World War II. The attack on Pearl Harbor was dispatched from the Kurils, and during the war one of the reasons the U.S. decided not to attempt bombing raids on Japan from the Soviet maritime district was the understood inability of the American navy to resupply, through the Kurils, any bases in the Soviet Far East.

At Yalta, Roosevelt and Churchill sought Soviet military intervention against Japan and offered no objection to their then ally taking control of the



Robert/Sipa

Japanese navy on maneuvers. Resurgent Japanese militarism is deadly threat to Asian and Soviet peoples.

Kurils. So at the end of WW II the Red Army not only liberated Manchuria and North Korea from Japanese domination, but also seized this strategic island chain in an important act of self-defense to ensure access of the Red Navy to the Pacific:

"Japan's ownership of the Kurils in the years prior to 1945 prevented the full development of Vladivostok and other Soviet Far Eastern ports. But for occupation of the Kurils, Soviet vessels would have to exit to the Pacific through the Tsushima straits between Japan and Korea. This strategic waterway is today closely controlled by the US, Japanese and South Korean navies."

—David Rees, *The Soviet Seizure of the Kurils*

The Kurils are today an integral part of the Soviet Union. Property was nationalized in February 1946 and cannery operations have been extended, processing a third of the USSR's Pacific catch. Nearly 30,000 Soviet citizens now reside permanently on these islands. Most significant has been the expansion and construction of aerial and naval military facilities. The Kurils are a strategic component of the USSR's Pacific defense perimeter and the Japanese working class must block any imperialist attempts to undermine this. Japan's revanchist claim to the "Northern Territories" is an attempt to reverse its defeat in the Pacific War and reassert its imperialist ambitions. To support Japanese imperialism's revanchist claims is to undermine the defense of the USSR and once again bottle up the Soviet Pacific fleet in the Sea of Okhotsk.

The Kurils and the Japanese Left

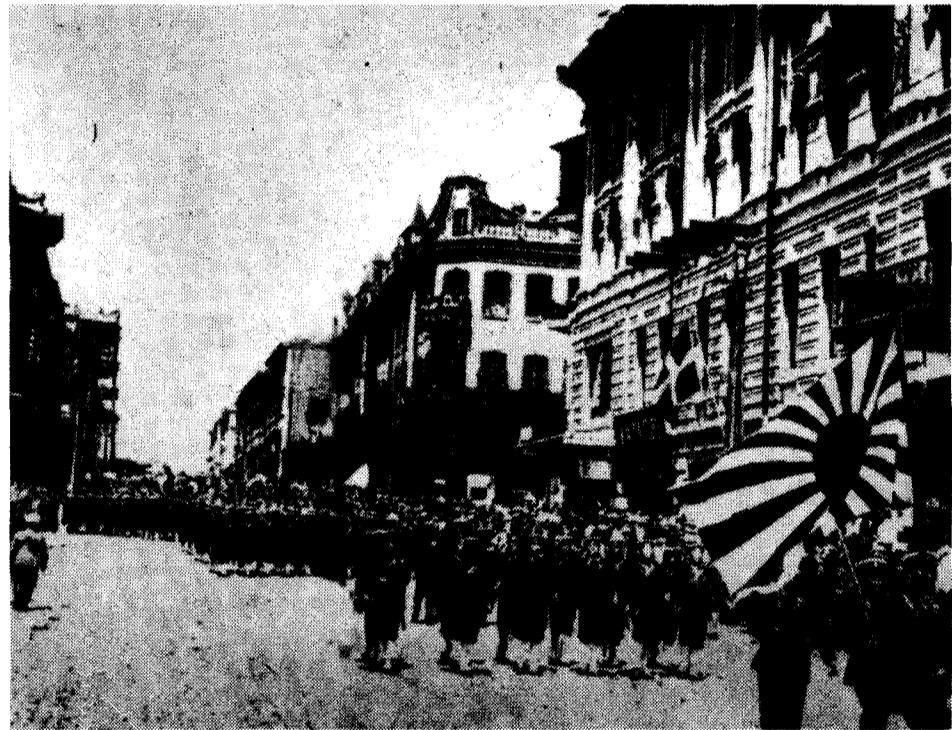
To no one's surprise all wings of social democracy support the bourgeoisie's claims to the "Northern Territories." But the position of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), which has long since broken with Moscow and seeks to demonstrate its loyalty to the bosses of the Keidanren, rivals that of the revanchist right. In his

March 22 public statement, JCP honcho Tetsuzo Fuwa declared:

"The JCP now puts forward the following proposal to achieve the return of the 'two islands,' Habomai and Shikotan, as an intermediate step, whilst looking forward to the return of the Chishima [Kuril] islands to Japan. We are convinced that if these 'two islands' are returned, it will benefit Japan's national sovereignty and the just interests of the Japanese people."

—*Japan Press Weekly*, 30 March

Some "far left" groups are also calling for the Soviets to vacate the Kurils, how-



Mainichi Shinbun

Japanese navy invasion forces march in Vladivostok during Russian Civil War, August 1918.

ever, in the name of establishing there a homeland for the Ainu, the aboriginal peoples of northern Japan. The Japanese section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat devoted a pamphlet to this proposition in the 1970s. That pamphlet included a few references to defense of the USSR, but today, echoing the bourgeoisie's claims that the Cold War is

over and "Communism is dead," the USec has dropped Soviet defensism, proclaiming the national question to be the quintessential Marxist principle. At the time of the first Russian and Japanese colonization attempts in the 17th century, less than a thousand Ainu lived in the frozen, desolate Kurils. Toward the end of World War II, nearly all of the indigenous Ainu were removed by the Japanese authorities and resettled in Hokkaido. When the Soviet Red Army drove Japanese imperialism out of the Kurils, only three Ainu were found in the entire archipelago!

The demand for self-determination for the Ainu is a cruel hoax. Not only does it undermine the military defense of the Soviet Union but it accepts the forced segregation of and discrimination against the Ainu by the racist Japanese ruling class. The sad but true fact is that the dwindling Ainu population (in 1980 numbering only about 30,000) is incapable of creating any independent existence. It could be said that anthropologists are more concerned with the question of extinction than nationhood.

The barbarous samurai feudal ruling class is responsible for the genocidal suppression of the hardy and fierce Ainu people, and the proletariat today can do nothing to reverse this history. A Leninist party in Japan, as a tribune of the people, must fight against the second-class citizenship status and segregation of the Ainu. Communists must demand unrestricted integration of the Ainu into

the mainstream of Japanese society, while militantly fighting against any forced assimilation schemes. Ainu people should have the right to live anywhere they want to in Japan, with full civil rights and equal access to jobs, education and housing—and the right to maintain every vestige of their culture. The Spartacist Group Japan fights for a workers republic which will tear the enormously productive Japanese industrial base out of the hands of the racist ruling class, laying the material basis to end the segregation and discrimination against the Ainu, grant full citizenship and civil rights to Koreans, Chinese and immigrant workers, and end the caste discrimination against burakumin ("untouchables") and the stultifying oppression of women.

The Kuril Islands are an integral part of the Russian question in Japan. Those "leftists" who abandon the October Revolution now, at the hour of its greatest peril, are political cowards who will never lead a revolutionary struggle against their "own" bourgeoisie. Only the Spartacist Group Japan fights for the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states to defend the gains of October, and the urgent defense and extension of those gains through international workers revolution. ■

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Young Spartacus

Labor Misleaders Fiddle As

CUNY Students Get Burned



After three weeks of occupying campuses, student strikers march in April 30 New York city workers rally.

**No Reprisals!
For Free Tuition!**

The students of the City University of New York (CUNY) system were in the front lines of the fight against Governor Cuomo's proposed cutbacks and tuition hikes. They occupied buildings on over a dozen campuses for three weeks in a valiant struggle for the future of all working people and minorities. Despite pledges of support from city labor leaders, the students were hung out to dry, while the union tops try to cut a deal with the bloodsucking bankers holding the city hostage. Now, in the face of cop attacks, threats of expulsion and suspension, the students have been forced to retreat.

In the first week of the protests, students from City College built support in the surrounding community by marching through Harlem chanting "You over there—We need you over here!" to the cheers of onlookers. Speakers at campus rallies frequently appealed to city labor for joint action. When the home health care workers of Local 1199 had a one-day strike April 17, hundreds of

continued on page 7

For a Statewide Teachers Strike to Save California Schools!

California's new governor Pete Wilson has thrown down the gauntlet to unions, minorities and the entire working class. The opening wedge is his assault on the public school system. At first they were talking "merely" about massive statewide funding cuts of \$2 billion. But when the Richmond school district comprising 31,000 students in the Bay Area faced bankruptcy last month, Wilson announced that the condition for a bailout loan was tearing up union contracts for teachers and other school workers, and suspending collective bargaining for at least three years! Otherwise, he would force the district to close the schools for the remainder of the term.

This almost happened, but a Contra Costa County judge intervened at the last minute to force the state to fund the schools temporarily. Wilson countered by imposing a state administrator with virtually dictatorial powers to set teachers' salaries and conditions. If the unions don't agree by June 30 to commit suicide, the administrator would impose his plan, including slashing Richmond schools' budget by over 35 percent, possibly laying off over 500 people and

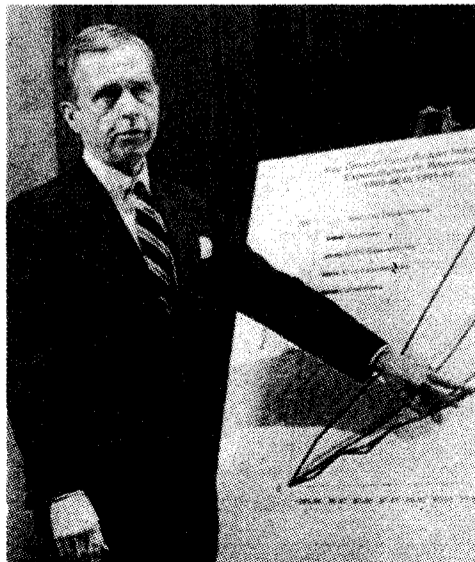
imposing 15-20 percent pay cuts. Many teachers are calling this Wilson's PATCO. Just as the defeat of the air traffic controllers union by Reagan set the reactionary pattern for the '80s, a defeat here could open the door to a

whole new wave of attacks.

There must be a *statewide teachers strike to save the California schools!* Wilson wants to target the Richmond school district using the excuse of a "fiscal crisis"? OK, so shut down the entire

state school system, from grade school to college, and organize a massive cavalcade of teachers and other school workers, students, parents, unionists, minorities to descend on Sacramento

continued on page 10



AP Governor Pete Wilson charts war on California schools and unions, as San Francisco high-schoolers protest threatened closings.



Ward/SF Chronicle