

## Imperialist "Peacekeepers" Get Out and Stay Out!

# U.S./UN Troops Slaughter Somalis

JUNE 14—Some 70 unarmed Somalis, many of them women and children, were gunned down and 20 of them killed by United Nations troops in Mogadishu yesterday. Witnesses described a scene of dreadful carnage as Pakistani "peacekeepers," firing from sand-bagged bunkers, sprayed the peacefully protesting crowd with machine-gun fire, leaving scores of dead and wounded writhing in the streets.

The day before, Pakistani troops wearing UN blue helmets had fired on Somalis demonstrating in front of a military compound, killing at least four and wounding another 20. The demonstrators were marching on the former U.S. embassy to protest the pre-dawn attack by American AC-130H gunships and Cobra attack helicopters. A massive barrage of computer-guided artillery shells was unleashed, supposedly against local strongman General Aidid's "weapons storage centers" located in a heavily populated residential area.

To cover their racist crime, the imperialists lie shamelessly. Clinton's UN delegate Madeleine Albright said she "can understand" the reaction of the soldiers who were "not able to defend themselves"! The troops supposedly had itchy trigger fingers because the rules of engagement only allowed them to fire in self-defense. The *New York Times* (14 June) claimed that the Pakistanis are easy targets because they are "without armored personnel carriers or tanks," while printing on

*continued on page 9*



Somali demonstrators gunned down in the streets of Mogadishu by UN "peacekeepers."

AFP

# Balkanizing the Balkans

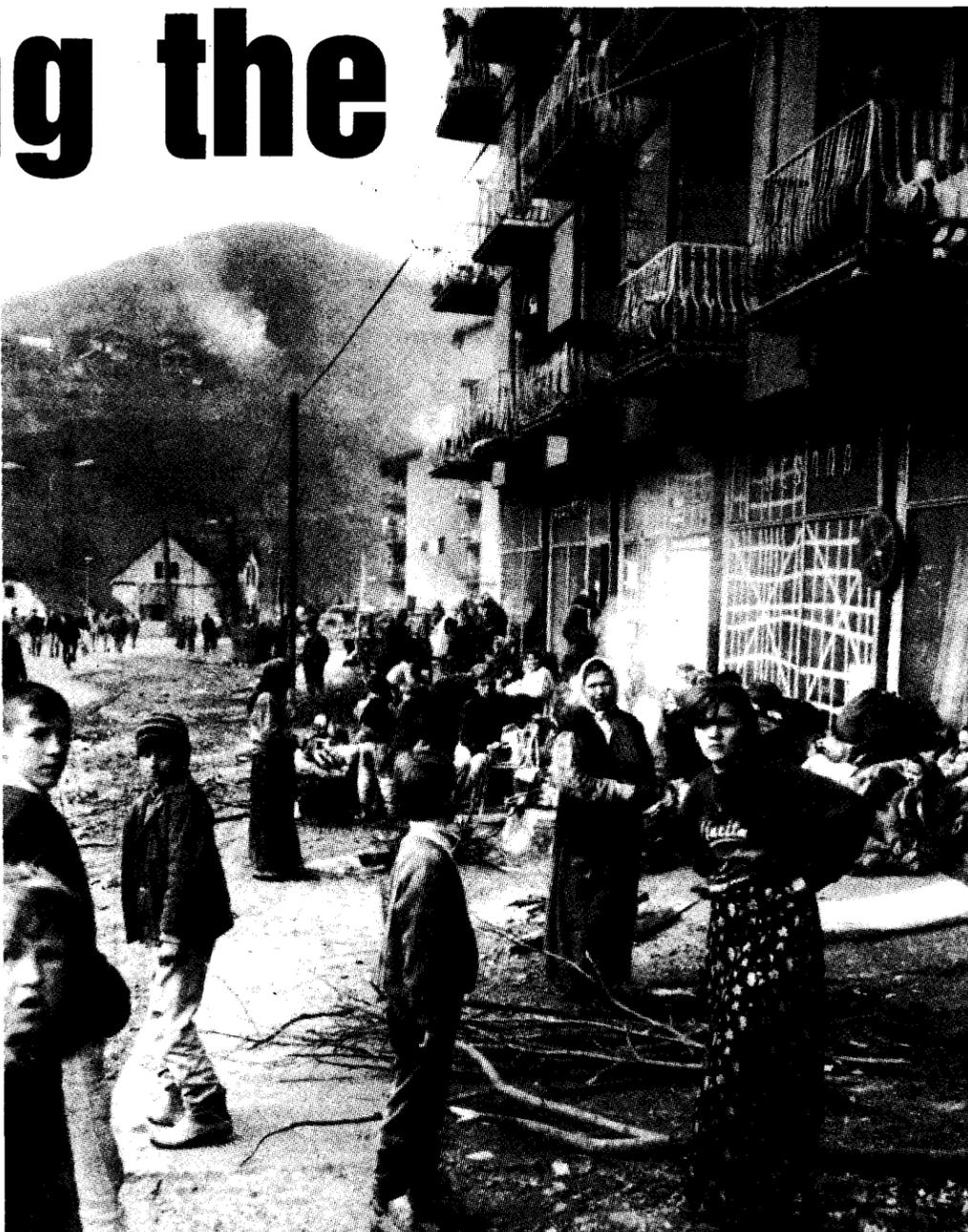
## Imperialism Keep Your Bloody Hands Off!

In early May, the White House threatened air strikes against Serbian positions in Bosnia, proclaiming the U.S. to be "the world's only superpower." A Pentagon spokesman announced plans to send 20,000 U.S. troops into the Balkans. But when America's NATO allies called Clinton's bluff by demanding U.S. ground troops, Washington quickly backed off. As a "show of force," they have offered to put 300 "peacekeeping" troops into Macedonia, where there is at present no fighting. Two weeks ago a UN Security Council resolution authorized air strikes against Serbian forces

to defend Muslim "safe havens." The Clinton administration "interpreted" this resolution to mean only the defense of the UN "peacekeeping" forces, not the Bosnian Muslim enclaves.

Now Washington's saber rattling over the Balkans has been followed...by attacks on African warlords in Somalia. The whole Somali military adventure in the guise of "humanitarian" aid was designed to demonstrate on the cheap that the U.S. was still the cops of the world. With classic Pentagon overkill, they brought in AC-130H Specter gunships—no doubt practicing for use against South-Central Los Angeles. Even the *New York Times* (13 June) commented acidly, "Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is

*continued on page 10*



Slavic Muslim refugees in Bosnian town of Srebrenica, victims of nationalist-communist bloodbath unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in Yugoslavia.

Von Recklinghausen/Gamma-Liaison



# On Counterrevolution in East Europe

April 21, 1993

Dear Comrades:

Don't you recognize the origins of the "nationalization fetish" you so vigorously denounce? (WV #573, 9 April). This is our old friend, the revisionist Deformed Workers' State theory of 1950, come back to disorient another generation of Trotskyists.

Trotsky used the famous Three Criteria (nationalized industry, centralized planning, monopoly of foreign trade) to indicate the point at which a degenerating workers' state should be considered as having reverted to its original bourgeois form. The revisionists argued that history could move backward as easily as forward, and that therefore these Three Criteria also defined the point at which a bourgeois state became a degenerated workers' state. But since degeneration cannot precede birth, they called these new creatures "Deformed" Workers' States.

They left out one small trifle: the proletarian revolution. For Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, the "sine qua non" of a workers state was the seizure of power by the working class, acting through its own organizations: proletarian party, soviets, Red Guards.

Of course, Trotsky never used his Three Criteria as a definition of a workers' state. That refinement was first used by the revisionists in connection with the eastern European countries. These small, underdeveloped bourgeois states proceeded, in the aftermath of World War II, to nationalize industries, initiate economic planning and control foreign trade. And magically became workers' states overnight. Without revolutions, without soviets, without Bolshevik parties, without the proletariat having to do anything but watch. Saying that they still needed a "political" revolution to achieve full workers' state status was a clever way of giving a revolutionary cover for a fun-

damentally reformist concept.

And since proletarian revolutions were no longer necessary to change the class basis of the state, the Trotskyist movement began looking for radical non-proletarian forces to tail after. Peasant-based guerrillas, national-liberationists, anti-war activists, students, all sorts of petty-bourgeois forces became the focus of its work. The slow, difficult, but absolutely essential work of establishing solid connections with the working class was set aside.

Part of the theory of Deformed Workers' States was the claim that these countries could not revert back to capitalism without a counterrevolutionary struggle. Well, the return to "market economies" in eastern Europe is far from complete, but so far there have been few visible signs of class-against-class conflict. Instead the fighting has been on a national, ethnic and religious basis.

So maybe it's time to reconsider the validity of this theoretical concept. Maybe these so-called Deformed Workers' States were simply new forms of bourgeois states, in which Stalinist regimes with communist rhetoric ran the government, much as labor parties sometimes do, with socialist rhetoric, in western Europe. And if a resident bourgeoisie was hard to find, it might be present in the role of western governments and bankers, who loaned millions to these countries in the 70s. In any event, a bourgeoisie can always be created from a thriving petty-bourgeoisie of well-to-do farmers, small traders, and thieving bureaucrats. In this basically bourgeois world, if you do not see the working class consciously taking power on its own behalf, you are looking at some form of bourgeois state.

Trotsky's Three Criteria are still valid and useful for their original purpose: to determine the progress of capitalist restoration in the former USSR. The thing to watch is not the speeches and maneuvers of bureaucrats like Yeltsin and his competitors, but whether or not major industrial plants are being privatized. When this happens, the bourgeois press will be sure to let us know. Until then, maybe it's a bit premature to hold funeral services over the first, and so far only, workers' state.

And finally, the "sine qua non" of a

paper that calls itself Workers Vanguard would seem to be to use language that workers use. I'm sure you could think of a perfectly good English equivalent for "sine qua non."

N'est-ce pas?

Marion Syrek  
Oakland, CA

*WV replies:* Marion Syrek is the victim of a hopelessly outlived "theory," used to explain a world that never existed in the first place. Surely the working masses of Eastern Europe whose countries are now being ravaged by mass unemployment, poverty, homelessness and bloody nationalist fratricide would be surprised to learn that nothing has changed—that they have always been living under capitalism! Ditto for the population of Russia and the other former Soviet republics who are to believe that they are still living under a workers state, albeit degenerated.

Syrek argues that in the absence of proletarian socialist revolutions led by Bolshevik parties, no social transformations did, or could have, taken place in Eastern Europe. Why stop here? The 1917 October Revolution did not embrace all the areas of the former tsarist empire. For example, the Sovietization of the Caucasus and Central Asia were accomplished not as the result of indigenous insurrections, but largely through the military intervention of the Red Army. By Syrek's criteria, the only parts of the former Soviet Union one could ever have genuinely considered to have been workers states are Russia and the Eastern Ukraine.

Similarly, the missing ingredient in Syrek's "analysis" of Eastern Europe is the intervention of the Red Army, whose military victory over Hitler's Nazis and their East European puppet regimes caused the former rulers to flee, leaving behind a power vacuum that was filled by the Soviet Army. Under the pressure of imperialist Cold War I, the Stalinists established deformed workers states in these countries as a "buffer zone," through cold social revolutions that were imposed from the top down.

The Soviet military forces held the decisive levers of power. Forty years later it was the Kremlin bureaucracy

*continued on page 8*

## Defend Immigrant Workers!

*One hundred years ago, in the summer of 1893, racist anti-Chinese pogroms swept California. Fomented by the passage of the anti-Asian Geary Act the previous year, and whipped up by anti-Chinese rhetoric from the capitalist press, racist white mobs burned out the camps of Chinese laborers in Fresno. From Napa to the San Joaquin Valley, Chinese workers were driven from the fields by the racist terror.*



TROTSKY



LENIN

*The labor movement had a despicable record of anti-Asian racism, which it carried into the 1900s and which was matched by the leadership of the Socialist Party. But the revolutionary syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies, fought for proletarian internationalism against the "yellow peril" socialists.*

*In May 1913, the Wobblies denounced an article in the Socialist Party's California newspaper for its scurrilous protectionist line that Japanese workmen in California undercut white American labor:*

It is not enough for this socialist writer to play into the hands of the capitalists by dividing the workers on an alleged "yellow peril," but she must do so in the name of internationalism.... Of course, it comes from the same source and is on a par with the actions of the Job Harriman brand of socialists, who clamor for working class solidarity and then vote in their dinky little craft unions to raise the initiation fee so as to get a tighter cinch on the jobs.

The person who thinks that the Japanese or Chinese are inferior in intellect or ability to the average Missourian or the Connecticut Yankee is a stranger to the facts. All workers can be organized, regardless of race or color, as soon as their minds are cleared of the patriotic notion that there is any reason for being proud of having been born of a certain shade of skin or in an arbitrarily fenced off portion of the earth....

This tendency to look down upon the workers of the "far-off" lands is foolish, for we venture to remark that the United States is just as far off from Japan as Japan is from the United States.

On this one point the I.W.W. is confident. There are but two nations—the exploiters and the exploited; but two races—the robbers and the robbed. We want to see the exploited organized solidly and we welcome the Japanese to membership, but when it comes to a fight we will wage just as relentless warfare against a Japanese employer as we will against a star-spangled American labor skinner.

If the workers need fear any "yellow peril," it is from yellow socialists of the Social-Democratic stripe.

—The Industrial Worker, 15 May 1913

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Joan Parker

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Karen Valdez

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stenberg

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

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7882 (Editorial), (212) 732-7881 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

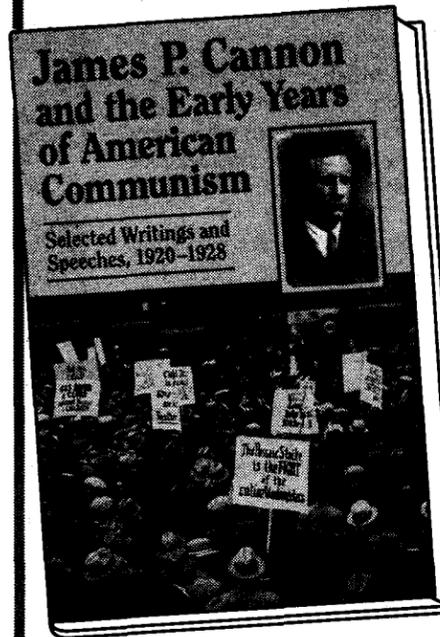
No. 578

18 June 1993

### Prometheus Research Library Book

## James P. Cannon and the Early Years of American Communism

### Selected Writings and Speeches, 1920-1928



The book includes:

- Extensively documented introduction
- Explanatory footnotes for Cannon's text
- 16 pages of rare historical photographs
- Glossary of names and terms with over 200 entries
- Bibliography of Cannon's works, 1912-1928
- Index

624 pages, Smyth-sewn binding

Paperback \$14.50 ISBN 0-9633828-1-0  
New York State residents add 8.25% sales tax.  
Shipping and handling: \$3.50

Order from/make checks payable to:  
Spartacist Publishing Company,  
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

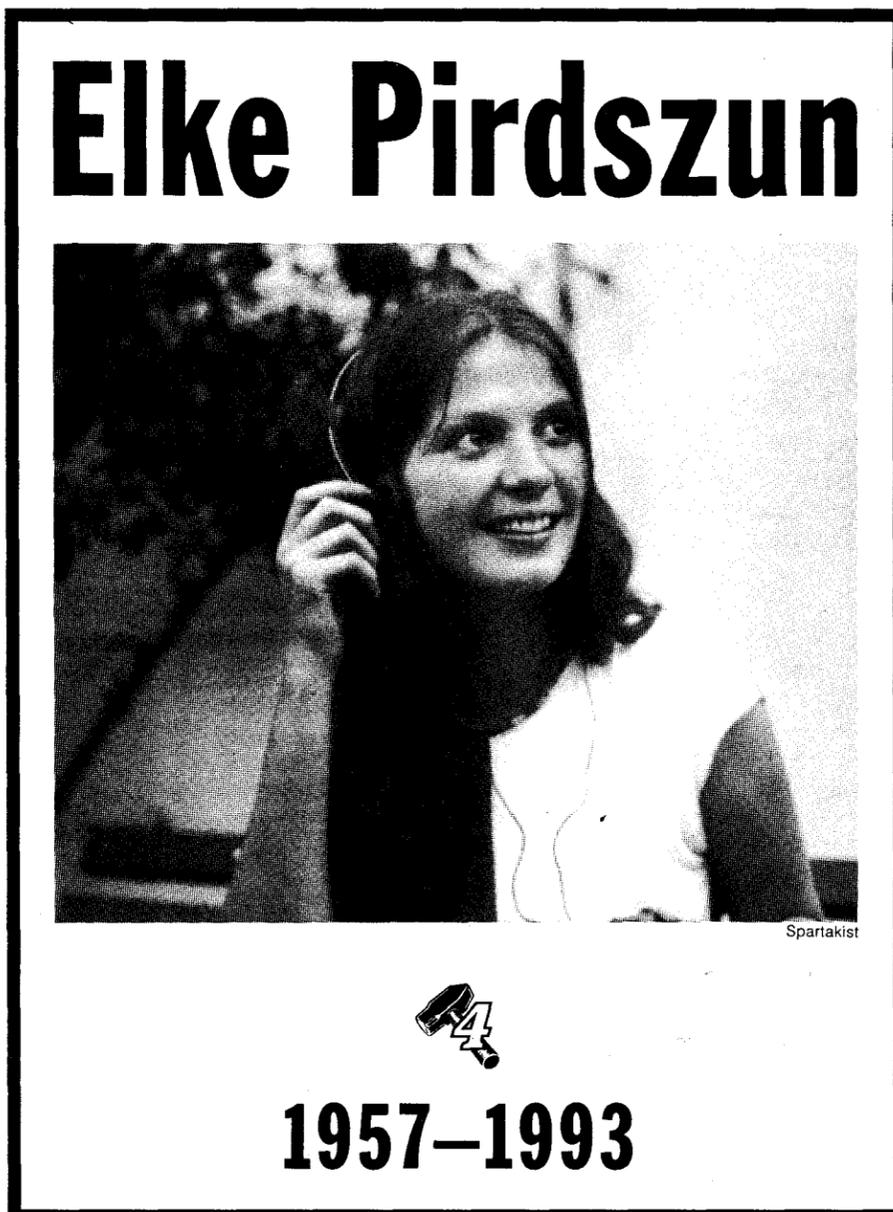
The following article is translated from Spartakist No. 104, June 1993, published by the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Our beloved comrade Elke Pirdszun died of cancer on May 19 in Duisburg, Germany. Elke was tragically only 36 years old, but she had fought in the ranks of our International for over half her life. When she died, Elke was a member of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD); earlier she had worked as a leading member of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) and the Spartacist League/Britain. Elke's death has left comrades in many countries around the world in personal grief and pain.

In 1975, when she was 17 years old, Elke became an active sympathizer of the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) and worked with our organizing committee in Cologne. She joined the party and moved to Berlin in October 1976. As she studied basic Marxism, Elke helped shape the other young comrades we recruited from the fairly lumpenized New Left and Pabloite milieus, showing through personal example that part of the seriousness of being a professional revolutionary is learning a trade, leading a disciplined, stable existence and reserving most of one's energy for the party.

Elke was a quiet, thoughtful comrade who preferred and advised thinking through questions before engaging in a fight, and her years in the TLD were indeed years of hard, painful fights to forge a German section. In 1979, as the treasurer of the Berlin branch, she was elected to the Berlin local executive; in January 1981 Elke moved to Frankfurt and began to play a more important role in the leadership and in editing the paper.

Elke's literary capacity was recognized by all comrades who worked with her. From the summer of 1981 Elke was a member of the editorial board of the German section's newspaper, *Spartakist*. She was dedicated to the German-language edition of *Spartacist*, theoretical and documentary journal of the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League. In the winter of 1981-82, as a member of the *Spartacist* editorial board she traveled to New York to assist in the final editing of its edition No. 10, centering on the Russian question, partic-



ularly on Poland and Afghanistan.

In 1981-82, when most of the ostensible left was enthusing over Solidarność, a fight took place in the TLD over Poland in the face of Solidarność counterrevolutionary bid for power. Elke was one of the comrades in this fight who, together with comrades of the International, helped reorient the section around the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution and the defense of the gains of the deformed workers states. She was elected to the Central Committee at the TLD conference in September 1981.

We recognized at the time, as Elke herself wrote in March 1982, that the failure to learn the lessons of the resurgence of German nationalism and Cold War II would "place a question mark over the existence of a German section" of our tendency. Social Democracy was the ideological spearhead of the increasingly strengthened German bourgeoisie. It was necessary to politically arm the section to combat resurgent German nationalism in rightist and "leftist" colors, particularly as the Social Democracy dominated the "peace movement." In this regard, in the summer of 1982

another serious struggle broke out in the TLD that culminated in an emergency national conference. "Left" nationalism had found its way into the organization and was grossly obvious in the person of one Ulrich Sandhaus, a proto-fascist punk who was expelled from the TLD. Elke was elected as one of the three members of the Central Committee at this conference. She worked closely with the comrades of the International to formulate sharply the polemic against "left" nationalism, and Elke made the public presentation on this topic for the German section at the Lutte Ouvrière fête in 1983. This work helped lay the basis for subsequent polemics against our opponents in Germany.

In July 1983, Elke moved to Milano and worked as a member of the LTd'I. When in 1985 the TLD abstained with the rest of the left from Jewish-organized protests against Reagan/Kohl's obscene salute to the SS at Bitburg, she immediately intervened in discussions in Germany, insisting that the comrades thoroughly assimilate the historical lessons of the rise of fascism and the Holocaust through extensive reading as well as internal debate. Her library included an extensive section on the Jewish question and the rise of fascism.

Elke was an excellent linguist. In Milano she learned Italian in a short time and was central to leading our Italian section. A talented organizer who knew the value of a functioning apparatus, in the LTd'I Elke helped reintroduce Leninist organizational norms and financial systems, as she had in Berlin.

During 1983, Elke was among the comrades from Italy and Germany who conducted programmatic discussions with a group of young comrades, a left faction in the otherwise thoroughly miserable Swiss United Secretariat; the best of this group was recruited to our International. From February 1986 Elke was a member of the Spartacist League/Britain, where she was co-opted to the Central Committee and also functioned as London organizer. Her political sharpness against centrist and reformist opponents left its impact on the section, as did her insistence on proper internal functioning. But as the result of a crisis precipitated by personal bitterness and disillusionment, Elke resigned with regret from the party in March 1988.

*continued on page 4*

## "We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution"

The following is a translation of Elke's statement on joining the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) and International Communist League (ICL).

Duisburg, 25 January 1993

Dear comrades,

Agreed, everything is to be changed the world and humanity above all the disorder of classes of people, because there are two sorts of people exploitation and lack of knowledge.

—Bertolt Brecht, *The Agreement*

The offer to rejoin the party as an honorary member has filled me with great joy. My illness has forced me to review my life, and above all I felt regret at no longer being in the party. I would be most happy to again place my experience and ability in the service of the fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution.

"We are the party of the Russian Revolution" was and is one of my favorite statements of Spartacism as it is embodied by the SpAD/ICL. The boastful lies about the "death of communism"

cannot erase October 1917 from history, the date of the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over tsarist despotism.

Despite the deadly noose of Stalinism, the "great organizer of defeats," despite imperialism's obscene pretensions of victory, celebrating its supposed triumph in the firelight of burning hostels of asylum seekers, accompanied by a crescendo of bullets in murderous nationalist slaughters—in spite of all this: the Russian Revolution was and remains alive for all fighters for world socialist revolution, having after all ripped a sixth of the globe from the capitalist order of exploitation and oppression, and thereby undertaken the proof of the superiority of socialized property and planned economy over capitalist private property and the anarchy of the market.

"We are the party of the Russian Revolution" means: we are the party of victory. The throttling of the Soviet workers state by Stalinism is a defeat of historic proportions for the international proletariat. Nevertheless, it fights and will continue to fight against the insatiable greed for profit of capitalism/imperialism; the battle over the alternative

of socialism or barbarism is not yet decided. Building the party which will wage and decide this battle with the internationalist program of Lenin and

Trotsky—to this I will contribute with all my power.

With communist greetings,  
Elke



Elke carrying TLD banner calling for the rebirth of the Fourth International at 1980 Berlin May Day demonstration.

## RWL in Detroit Elections: Abortion Rights in the Closet

After the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) underwent a cleavage in 1991, separating into Peter Sollenberger's "Trotskyist League" and Leland Sanderson's RWL, the RWL proclaimed it was going to "place the revolution on its agenda again." Some young comrades in the RWL's Bay Area branch took this admonition to heart and discovered through reading Trotsky that putting "revolution" on the agenda meant a serious investigation of the politics of the Spartacist League—much to their horror, given that within the RWL the SL is considered the modern-day equivalent of Count Dracula. Their efforts at internal discussion were met by the RWL slapping on a virtual quarantine, to try to isolate these comrades' views from the rest of the members both locally and nationally. One young woman was even banned from attending the gay rights march in Washington, D.C. These comrades have since resigned from the RWL in solidarity with the SL.

In our article "RWL: Mitosis of a Cult" (WV No. 570, 26 February), we noted that the RWL's work is "a textbook example of how centrists are 'inclined to cringe before those who are more moderate,' as Trotsky put it." The RWL's particular brand of pressure politics ranges from trying to build coalitions in which they operate as the tame "left wing" in lash-ups with the bourgeois feminists of NOW, to demanding that Jesse Jackson build a more militant pressure group on the Democratic Party. Sectoralist opportunism is the *sine qua non* of the RWL's politics. But this is thrown into sharp

relief when the various sectors they are tailing get crossed.

Currently the RWL is running a "Fighting Worker Slate" in the Detroit city elections. What's most notable about their

missing. While taking up the case of Malice Green, an innocent black man brutally killed by Detroit cops, they make no mention of the need to fight against segregation, against attacks on

Documents available for \$1 (includes postage) from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

### Whither the RWL?

#### Documents of a Political Struggle in the Revolutionary Workers League

Beyond the Impasse of the Revolutionary Workers League—For Precision of Principles and Trotskyist Regroupment, by Keith H., 30 March 1993

Letter to the Political Committee, by Keith H., Maggie H., Anna B., 16 April 1993

Letter to the Political Committee, by Anna B., 22 April 1993

Resignation from the Revolutionary Workers League, by Keith H., Maggie H., Anna B., 12 May 1993

Appendix: Letter from a "Majority" Comrade, by Joyce, 17 March 1993

50¢

program is what isn't there. As racist "right to life" terrorists, with the backing of the Reagan/Bush White House, launched their deadly terror against abortion clinics across the country, the RWL attracted young militants who wanted to fight the anti-abortion bigots. But in black Detroit their platform contains nary a mention of abortion! The rapidity with which the RWL jettisons *any* defense of abortion rights should serve as a warning.

In fact, it's not just the "A" word that's

foreign-born workers (like the tens of thousands of Arab Americans who populate Detroit and Dearborn) or against the protectionism and American chauvinism promoted by the pro-imperialist United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy. Evidently considering political struggle against conservative "family values" to be "divisive," gay rights gets only a ritual mention. Pretty funny coming from a group that in its A<sup>2</sup> campus stomping ground makes flaunting gay lifestyle a matter of political principle.

The "Fighting Worker" program excludes anything that might turn off a liberal union bureaucrat. This means no workers party, no workers government, not even a simple, clear call for a break with the capitalist Democratic Party and for ousting its political agents in labor, the union bureaucrats. Instead, we're told that "Coleman Young and his cronies have refused to bargain in good faith with the City's unions" and that "the union bureaucrats have been too frightened to call" for a strike. Good faith? Frightened? Black Democratic Party mayors like Coleman Young were installed to *crush* labor/black struggle—and the labor traitors have been their conscious agents against the working class.

For that matter, look high and low, in more than six single-spaced pages of the RWL platform you won't find a single mention of socialism or revolution! Sounding like nothing so much as a bombastic British Labour Party Member of Parliament, the RWL's "maximum" program is reduced to the statement that the workers "will have to take political power into their own hands and take charge of all fundamental economic decision-making." Shades of Tony Benn, although even Labour MPs know how to throw around some phony rhetoric on nationalizations here and there.

For years the RWL sought to be some kind of centrist halfway house between the reformists and the Spartacist League, based on the Sollenberger/Sanderson interpretation of the "transitional method."

Well, the program of the "Fighting Worker" slate in Detroit is what the RWL leadership must mean by the "transitional method."

### The First Time Farce...

We saw another application of the RWL "method" at a recent meeting of the petty-bourgeois feminist (and

*continued on page 11*

## Elke Pirdszun...

(continued from page 3)

In August 1989 she returned to the Ruhr basin city of Duisburg where she had grown up, supporting the party from there. During the incipient political revolution in East Germany in 1989-90 Elke rendered considerable assistance to the party in our work in the Ruhr area, as well as participating in our regular public meetings in Berlin. When comrades of the SpAD traveled to the Ruhr area after the massive public workers strike in 1992, Elke intervened at our public meeting in Essen, speaking against the German Northites—with her customary sharpness and, as our own comrades noted, more powerfully than some of our own members could have. Thereafter Elke moved steadily into closer collaboration with the party.

Her last public intervention with us was on 30 August 1992, in the demonstration in Rostock against the racist pogrom only days before. The police, who had allowed fascist-led rioters to burn down a hostel for asylum seekers and Vietnamese workers, then unleashed massive repression against the leftist protesters. When Elke rejoined the German section as an honorary member at the beginning of 1993 she already knew she was fatally ill. She was miserable outside the party, and she and her loved ones repeatedly told our German comrades that in rejoining she had come home. In these past five months Elke gave the party all she could, because building her party was her main reason to live and fight.

Her terrible illness left her very little time, and she chose to undergo painful chemotherapy in the hope of gaining a

little more. During February, in the brief respites she eked out, she visited her friends and comrades in London and Berlin. Although it meant a strenuous exertion for her, she and her devoted companion Arno visited the Socialists' Memorial in East Berlin, where only a few days earlier comrades of the SpAD

delighted that a German translation of [the Spartacist pamphlet] *Lenin and the Vanguard Party* was in the final stages of editing; only her painful illness prevented her from finishing it herself.

Elke remained a hard communist to the last. The day before she died, comrades who had traveled to Duisburg told

of Polish extraction. Her mother Uschi was the rebellious, determined and gifted daughter of a conservative miner. Uschi had to defy her own father and give in to the church to go to secondary school at all; even for gifted proletarian children, only the convent school was free. Among the many lessons from this background that she imparted to Elke was a deep hatred of discrimination against women, and the woman question strongly motivated Elke as a communist.

Elke's father was a trained carpenter, but went to work in the higher-paying Mannesmann steel plant to raise their three children. He was devoted to Elke, the oldest, encouraging her to read, and he too worked to form her character. As an active social-democratic trade-unionist, Helmut Pirdszun won great respect and love among his immigrant coworkers at Mannesmann, who represented a good percentage of the workforce. He died of cancer when Elke was only ten years old, and the entire shift shut down the plant that day to mourn "our brother" together with his family.

Elke was fiercely independent and despised hypocrisy. But she never hid her compassion for the exploited and oppressed, nor her warm generosity toward her friends and all those she cared for. It is a comfort to her comrades and friends that to the last in her fight for life she received boundless love from Arno, Uschi and Horst and her two sisters. Our hearts are with them. Elke devoted her talents and her intelligence to the fight for a revolution which would open the path to the construction of a truly humane, socialist society. Let us go forward to that end, and build an international Leninist party that inscribes on its banner the struggle against all forms of social oppression. ■



Elke distributing Trotskyist literature at Frankfurt demonstration, 1981.

had laid wreaths for our fallen comrades Martha Phillips and Dirk Schubert in commemoration of the "Three L's," Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

In every way she could, Elke struggled in the few months that remained to her for the expansion of the party into the Ruhr industrial basin, placing her own home at the party's disposal as an organizing center for much of that time. In the last months of her life she was

her of successes in our work, and she was happy to learn of these: that our comrades had demonstrated that day in defense of DDR master spy Markus Wolf at his trial in Düsseldorf, that in Hamburg our comrades had been warmly received as they defended Roma and Sinti protesting mass deportations, and that our comrade Renate's European speaking tour had met with success.

Elke grew up in a proletarian family

# NYC: Spartacists Protest Mass Arrest of Chinese Immigrants

On June 6, nearly 300 Chinese immigrants made a desperate swim to shore as their freighter ran aground off Rockaway Peninsula. Six workers tragically lost their lives in the frigid tidal waters only yards from one of New York City's most popular beaches, Jacob Riis Park, named after the reformer whose book, *How the Other Half Lives*, exposed the harrowing misery of earlier immigrants to America.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) moved in to arrest the survivors, threatening to deport them back to China as "an example" to deter others. "Who's going to control the borders of the United States? The aliens have taken control," hysterically claimed INS New York director William S. Slattery (*New York Times*, 13 June). The New York mass media echoed the government's racist scapegoating and lurid warnings by "experts" of "a global crime network of unprecedented sophistication," with a burst of "exposés" of criminal influence and sinister Chinatown gangs, drugs and so on, summed up by the *New York Post's* editorial headline: "Send Them Back."

In New York on June 8, some 60 people joined the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League's demonstration in front of the INS offices at Federal Plaza in downtown Manhattan to say "Let Them Stay." The latest INS mass arrest follows on the heels of the government's arrest of some 200 Chinese immigrants who landed under the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco. The Bay Area PDC and Labor Black League for Social Defense held an emergency demonstration demanding the refugees' freedom in San Francisco on May 28. Both protests received wide press coverage, including local television reports and articles in Chinese-language newspapers on both coasts.

There has been a massive increase in the Asian population in the United States, up some 95 percent between 1980 and 1990. Immigration has always been used as a political weapon, but the Cold War policies allowing a mass influx of Vietnamese "boat people" and Chinese following Bush's post-Tiananmen Square promise to allow Chinese immigrants political refugee status are fading fast. Today the Clinton administration wants to shut that door, while leaving a window open for Cubans. As Spartacist spokesman Len Meyers pointed out at the demonstration, "Today we have the

## They Got Here, Let Them Stay Here



Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League protest at INS headquarters in Manhattan, June 8.

disgusting spectacle of every Cuban criminal and plane hijacker who gets into this country being treated as a hero, because they oppose the workers state in Cuba, while every black Haitian is treated as a criminal, and sent to concentration camps in Guantánamo and Krome Avenue."

Chinese authorities in Fujian Province have cynically denounced "money worship-ism" as leading workers to leave China—this from a leadership which has plunged millions into poverty as it encourages rapacious "private enterprise"! Meyers said at the protest, "As these Chinese immigrants point out, had they known what they could expect in this so-called land of honey, they would have never left China. They're leaving because of the introduction of so-called 'market reforms,' capitalist counterrevolution on the installment plan, by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Beijing. The so-called 'iron rice bowl'—which meant that, ever since the revolution of 1949, the Chinese working people had a right to a job, a right to social security, a right

to medical treatment and a right to security in their old age—is being broken by the regime in the pursuit of capitalist 'reforms'."

The Spartacist League and International Communist League, Meyers continued, "say what is necessary in China is a working-class political revolution which fights to defend the social gains achieved by the Chinese masses and overthrows the bureaucracy which is selling those gains out in the interests of creeping capitalism.... In 1989, in the aftermath of the bloody crackdown of Tiananmen, there was the possibility of such a political revolution in China, where the working class would take power in its own name to rule on the basis of authentic working-class democracy, for its interests and the interests of working people around the world."

### Racist Hypocrisy and Capitalist Exploitation

Coming from the ruling class of this country, all the talk about sinister "snake-head" gangsters and the sweatshops and dungeons of Chinatown is pure racist hypocrisy. The wealth of the United States was built through the toil of black slaves and white indentured servants, and then wave after wave of immigrant sweat-

shop labor. Certainly conditions on the "Golden Venture" were atrocious—but the "founding fathers," Yankee and British shipowners and slaveowners, treated their human cargo no better.

The PDC pointed out in its NYC press release, "For over 100 years, Chinese immigrants have endured discrimination and exploitation; forced to work in sweltering New York laundries and sweatshops. They were forbidden to bring their wives and children to join them and denied citizenship rights even after serving in the U.S. army." This race prejudice was most extreme in California, where in San Francisco in the early 1900s an outbreak of plague led to proposals to raze Chinatown and incarcerate the inhabitants. Upon completion of the Union Pacific railroad—built largely with Chinese labor—Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 at the behest of the racist trade-union tops.

Today this "yellow peril" atmosphere is again being whipped up. Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Frank Hicks told WBAI radio at the demonstration: "The Clinton administration is scapegoating Asian workers and the American trade-union bureaucracy is scapegoating Asian workers for the crimes of capitalism. There's 60 percent unemployment among youth in New York City. That's not because of Asian workers, and that's not because of Haitian workers that this country refuses to admit."

The day after the NYC protest it was reported that a federal judge finally ordered the release of Haitians held at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base concentration camp, most of whom had been cruelly barred from entering the U.S., first by the Bush administration and then by Clinton, because of suspected infection with the HIV virus. Many had been imprisoned for almost 20 months, without adequate medical care or legal assistance.

From the chemical-drenched farmlands and orchards to the dangerous anti-union sweatshops and factories throughout the country, immigrants and "illegal aliens" have built this country. The answer to the horrendous conditions these workers labor and live under is not racist INS imprisonment or more corrupt cop patrols against "crime." We need a fighting labor movement that will launch massive campaigns to organize the unorganized workers. It will take revolutionary socialist leadership to break from the racist traitors in the labor movement and build an international workers movement that will be a powerhouse for social justice. ■

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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

<b>Atlanta</b> Box 4012 Atlanta, GA 30302	<b>Detroit</b> Box 441043 Detroit, MI 48244	<b>Norfolk</b> Box 1972, Main PO Norfolk, VA 23501
<b>Boston</b> Box 390840, Central Sta. Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-3928	<b>Los Angeles</b> Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta. Los Angeles, CA 90029 (213) 380-8239	<b>Oakland</b> Box 29497 Oakland, CA 94604 (510) 839-0851
<b>Chicago</b> Box 6441, Main PO Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 663-0715	<b>Madison</b> Box 1492 Madison, WI 53701	<b>San Francisco</b> Box 77494 San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 777-9367
<b>Cleveland</b> Box 91037 Cleveland, OH 44101	<b>New York</b> Box 444, Canal St. Sta. New York, NY 10013 (212) 267-1025	<b>Washington, D.C.</b> Box 75073 Washington, D.C. 20013 (202) 872-8240

### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

<b>Toronto</b> Box 7198, Station A Toronto, ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138	<b>Montréal</b> C.P. Les Atriums, B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5 (514) 849-6540	<b>Vancouver</b> Box 2717, Main P.O. Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353
--	--	--

— 9 June 1993



**民權團體等為大陸偷渡客請命**  
抗議移民局拘禁人蛇、關心是否享有基本權利

**世界日報**  
World Journal

Chinese-language press in San Francisco and New York covered PDC and SL protests. Right, NYC's World Journal of June 9.

# On Trial for "Treason" Against Heirs of Nazism

## Defend Markus Wolf!

The former head of the East German (DDR) intelligence service, Markus Wolf, is now being tried by the capitalist courts of reunified Germany. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany and the Committee for Social Defense held a demonstration protesting this witchhunt trial at the court session on May 18. We print below the article "Fourth Reich: Hands Off Markus Wolf!" from Spartakist No. 103 (May 1993).

Markus Wolf himself called it "the last campaign of the Cold War." On May 4, the trial began against the DDR spymaster in Düsseldorf, the site of numerous "Stasi" trials. In a 389-page indictment, Attorney General Alexander von Stahl, notorious for chasing Red Army Faction "terrorists," accuses the leader of the Central Administration for Intelligence (HVA) of the DDR Ministry for State Security of "treason" and "bribery" (of agents who spied in West Germany on behalf of the HVA). Wolf responded, in his speech to the court about his years as head of espionage and as a citizen of the DDR, asking: "What country did I supposedly betray?"

As for "treason," this can only refer to "betraying" the Third Reich, which was smashed by the victory of the Red Army over German fascism. The East German deformed workers state was built on the basis of this victory. Not only has the Federal Republic of Germany declared itself to be the legal successor state to the Third Reich, but it took over the entire spy network from Hitler's "Foreign Armies East" military espionage service, the Gehlen organization, which became the core of the later BND (Federal Information Service, West Germany's CIA). Hardly anyone went after the Federal Republic and its BND with more success than Markus Wolf, and now he's supposed to pay for that.

Concerning the revenge campaign, Wolf told the court that "while I am brought to trial as the former head of the intelligence agency of a German state, the former leader of the same service in the other German state represents united Germany as its foreign minister."

We Trotskyists demand immediate dismissal of the charges against Markus



Vario-press

Spartakist Workers Party of Germany protests outside anti-Communist show trial of East German spymaster Markus Wolf in Düsseldorf.

Wolf, as we earlier demanded in the case of Erich Honecker. Hands off Markus Wolf! Freedom for (former East German army chief) Heinz Kessler, (former security minister) Erich Mielke and all other representatives of the former DDR! Defense of the DDR was no crime—selling it out was! But we also defend those who sold it out, like Hans ("Germany One Fatherland") Modrow, against the imperialist campaign of revenge.

As we have written (see "Free Erich Honecker!" WV No. 565, 11 December 1992, and "The Show Trial of Erich Honecker," WV No. 568, 29 January): "In fighting for the freedom of former DDR leaders, we are doing our class duty in defending the victims of this capitalist class justice, just as we fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification of Germany, which gave rise to this anti-Communist witchhunt, racist terror, mass unemployment and other horrors."

What's going on here is not just a vendetta directed against Honecker or Wolf. The goal is to snuff out among the East German working class any consciousness and memory of the achievements of the DDR's planned economy, or, as Wolf put it, "to disappear whatever is left of 40 years of the DDR."

It is no accident that the German bourgeoisie is staging one anti-Communist show trial after the other, in order to



Spartakist

intimidate and demoralize the working class, at the same time as it throws half the working people of the former DDR out of their jobs and rips up the contracts of those who still have work. Even the SPD/DGB bureaucrats like Steinkühler have noticed that since the destruction of the USSR and the DDR the bosses are everywhere acting more brutally. At the same time, Steinkühler & Co. use this to split the German working class and to chain it. The struggle against the anti-Communist witchhunt must, like the fight against racist terror, be an integral part of the struggle against the bosses' offensive by the working class, begun by the metal and steel workers.

Even though the DDR named its Berlin guard regiment after Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the founder of the Soviet Cheka, nevertheless the HVA cannot be equated with the intelligence agency of the October Revolution. The limits of Wolf's secret service operation lay in the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one (or half a) country," which presumed "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist states. This was a bitter fallacy, as it turned out. Wolf sees the fall of Social Democrat "détente" chancellor Willy Brandt as one of his biggest defeats. But Brandt's *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy), which was then continued by Helmut Schmidt and Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl, and

even by arch-reactionary Franz Josef Strauss, undermined the DDR and aided the Fourth Reich in annexing the first workers state in Germany. Wolf is also sympathetic to Gorbachev's perestroika, which paved the way to Yeltsin's counterrevolution.

While Wolf sees "grounds for remorse" in "looking back on the whole history of 40 years up to the end of the DDR" (*Der Spiegel*, 3 May), we take the liberty of quoting Soviet spy Ignace Reiss, who broke from Stalin in 1937. Reiss did not "regret" his laudable work of supplying guns to the Spanish Republicans, but instead declared:

"The working class must defeat Stalin and Stalinism so that the U.S.S.R. and the international workers' movement do not succumb to fascism and counter-revolution. This mixture of the worst of opportunism, devoid of principles, and of lies and blood threatens to poison the world and the last forces of the working class."

Reiss did not scorn the defense of the USSR, but rather the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" which undermined that defense.

We hold in great esteem the work that Markus Wolf carried out for decades in defense of the DDR and the other deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialism. Now is the time to defend him. ■

## Chicago Protest Against "Populist Party" Fascists

CHICAGO—On May 22, nearly 100 anti-fascists demonstrated in front of the Marriott O'Hare Hotel, where David Duke's Populist Party was holding its national convention. A front for the racist terrorists of the KKK, the Populist Party denies the Nazi Holocaust ever happened while its supporters obscenely pledge to "make the Holocaust a reality." The demonstrators reportedly outnumbered the Hitlerites inside the hotel. Klan-in-a-suit Duke, who ran for president on the Populist ticket in 1988, didn't show.

The suburban-like setting of the Marriott O'Hare was the closest the so-called "Populists" dared to get to the working-class and heavily minority city of Chicago. These fascists have not set foot in downtown Chicago since March 1989, when a labor/black demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) protested a Populist Party gathering in the Bismarck Hotel (see "United-Front Protest Against Klansman Duke: 'No Hitlers in Chicago!'" WV No. 473,

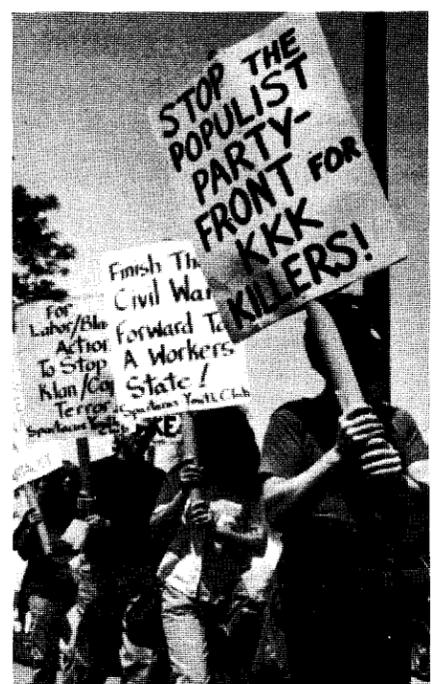
17 March 1989).

Organized on short notice, the demonstration at the Marriott united blacks, Latinos and whites—youth, leftists and trade unionists—in common action against the violent hate-mongers of the Populist Party. Participating organizations included Anti-Racist Action, the International Socialist Organization, and the Spartacus League with its fraternal organizations, the Spartacus Youth Club, the PDC and the Labor Black Struggle League.

The Spartacist contingent, the largest in the demonstration, led protesters in chanting: "No Hitlers in Chicago—Nazis off the streets!" and "Stop the skinheads, stop the Klan—Only workers defense guards can!" One Spartacist placard compared Democratic president Bill Clinton's massacre of the Branch Davidians in Waco to Hitler's infamous SS mass murder in the Czech town of Lidice during World War II. Another said: "From Moscow to Berlin—Capitalist Counterrevolution Breeds Fascism, War, Poverty."



Chanting "No Hitlers in Chicago—Nazis off the streets!" militants march in front of Marriott O'Hare Hotel.



WV Photos

# Mass Coal Strike Rocks the Ukraine

DONETSK, June 14—Some 50,000 miners and other workers rallied in the central square here today to push forward their strike against the Ukrainian regime of President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. Begun a week ago, the strike rapidly expanded to include almost all of the 250 pits in the Donets Basin (Donbass) as well as hundreds of other industrial enterprises throughout the Ukraine. Upwards of a million workers in mines, machinery, textile and defense plants are now on strike, and the government quickly started granting concessions to the workers in an attempt to stop the snowballing struggle.

This massive walkout was precipitated by astronomical price increases on basic goods announced two days earlier. The cost of some food items was raised as much as *sevenfold*. Under prodding from the World Bank, the regime has been loosening controls on prices while clamping down sharply on wage increases. When miners in Makeyevka arrived at work last Monday to find that the price of their sandwich lunches had been jacked up, they walked off the job. Many workers already went without lunch to leave their families a bit of food. One miner summed it up: "We must strike or starve, and the strike must spread!"

Every day since the strike began, the center of Donetsk has been filled with thousands of miners and other strikers in round-the-clock demonstrations. On June 11, a coordinating committee was formed here by representatives of 73 striking enterprises and immediately demanded buses from the city council to transport delegations to spread news of the strike in the face of a media black-out. A miner from Pavlograd, near Dnepropetrovsk, reports daily demonstrations there as well, with all eleven pits and a defense plant employing 15,000 workers shut down. Major enterprises in Dnepropetrovsk and Kharkov are also out, and there have been protest rallies at electronics enterprises in the capital of Kiev and the Byelorussian city of Minsk, with threats of a general strike being raised in both places. The strike has now spread to the western Ukraine, including Lvov and Volyn near the Polish border.

This is the first major proletarian challenge to the nascent capitalist states erected in the wake of the counter-revolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Comrades of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been distributing the Russian-language *Biuletin Spartakovtsev*. Over 2,400 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold at today's rally alone, including the article "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," stressing that Stalin and his heirs, with their lying theory of "socialism in one country," led the USSR to disaster. These bureaucratic usurpers, who atomized and demoralized the Soviet proletariat, betrayed the crucial opportunities for proletarian revolutions abroad which would have broken the power of world imperialism and laid the basis for developing an international socialist economy.

In discussions with miners, we have emphasized the need to form authentic workers councils (soviets) based on elected representatives from striking enterprises and drawing in other strata of the population like students, pensioners and soldiers. ICL comrades have also argued for delegations to be sent to the coal fields and industrial centers of Russia and other republics to expand the strike beyond the Ukraine. This would directly pose the possibility to sweep away Kravchuk, Yeltsin and all the new exploiters through class struggle. A *victorious workers revolution must forge a*

*genuinely egalitarian, voluntary Union of Soviet Socialist Republics based on soviet democracy and guided by proletarian internationalism!*

## "Nationalism Shall Not Pass!"

The economic situation in the Ukraine is even more calamitous than in Yeltsin's Russia. Having abandoned the Russian ruble after declaring independence 18 months ago, the Ukraine still has no real currency, substituting an ersatz "coupon" currency. The collapse of the indus-

regional autonomy in order to exercise control over profits from sales of coal. The newly appointed deputy prime minister, Yukhim Zvyagilsky, is the former director of a mine which was known for its strikebreaking and his chief political aide is a strike leader. Prime Minister Kuchma, who stands to benefit from Kravchuk's downfall, is a favorite of the World Bank.

Meanwhile, in nearby Lugansk a demonstration of several thousand "Communists" and "Socialists" reportedly called

recalling how Ukrainian nationalists collaborated with the Nazi genocide. Miners take pride in the fact that over 100 nationalities are represented in the workforce. As one miner said, "We have Jews, Tatars, Ukrainians, Russians, all working in the shaft together." Great Russian chauvinism is an enemy of the Russian workers. Only on the basis of Leninist internationalism, granting national self-determination and full democratic rights to all nationalities, can the Soviet Union be reformed on its original revolutionary foundations.

The Donbass was a key bastion of the mammoth 1989 miners strike against the effects of Gorbachev's perestroika "market reforms." That strike marked a high point in militant working-class struggle, as strike committees took control of distribution and organized defense guards to maintain order, directly posing the possibility of dual power and a proletarian political revolution to sweep away the entire bankrupt Stalinist apparatus which—from Stalin to Brezhnev and Gorbachev—had sapped and undermined the Soviet Union. Memories of the '89 strike are vivid among the Donetsk miners today. One young miner told us:

"In 1989 we had workers defense guards who patrolled the city. Crime stopped totally. All shops and state stores were checked against price rises. All shops could be checked against hoarding of goods. But even that is not enough. What we really need besides workers defense guards is a real workers party."

Already in this strike, workers have set up patrols, keeping the militia (police) at bay. Miners are not scared by rumors of troop movements.

But as strikers bitterly point out, this strike is tightly controlled from the top: "This is not the same as the '89 strike. Then we had a solid strike. Now they barely tell us anything." Many leaders who emerged from the ranks in '89 were bought off by the regime with government posts, or in some cases mysteriously killed in "accidents." The NPG was formed in the aftermath of that strike by a coterie of "AFL-CIA"-sponsored pro-Yeltsin "leaders," and joined with other "independent" unions to support Yeltsin in the April 25 Russian referendum. But when the pro-Yeltsin air traffic controllers union walked out last summer, Yeltsin and Rutskoi ruthlessly broke their strike. Likewise, the Ukrainian NPG leadership earlier looked to Kravchuk, the former Stalinist chief of the Ukraine who effortlessly and overnight converted to capitalism.

The factory managers are no less in fear of this combative struggle spreading beyond their narrow interests in the Donbass than are Kravchuk and Yeltsin. Volsky, the corporatist spokesman for Russia's factory managers and would-be owners, told a conference of international businessmen in Moscow that he was "more worried about these social tensions than about Ukraine's nuclear weapons or the Black Sea Fleet" (*Moscow Times*, 10 June). Miners must not allow their strike to become an instrument for maneuvering among different factions of the new exploiters, but must take control of the strike, demanding new elections to the strike committees.

Among the demands raised by the coordinating committee is the call to restore the workers' buying power to 1988 levels. Asked how this could be imposed, committee representatives reply: "Let the state worry their heads about that." But this *capitalist* state cannot restore the economic conditions that existed under the former workers state, even one deformed by Stalinist bureaucratic misrule. To bring the workers economic security, it is indeed necessary to revive

*continued on page 9*

## Sweep Away Kravchuk/Yeltsin Capitalist Regimes!



## For Workers Soviet Rule!

trial supply network after the breakup of the Soviet Union and the planned economy has had a disastrous effect on the Ukraine. Many factories, like Kharkov's giant Hammer and Sickle engine plant, have stopped production for lack of parts from Russia. The sharply rising prices in the Ukraine are largely the result of the spiraling cost of fuel imports.

Today the minimum wage and pension in the Ukraine is 6,900 coupons (\$2) a month, while a kilogram of sausage costs up to 29,000 and a bushel of potatoes is 15,000 coupons. Miners, who are an elite sector of the workforce and average monthly salaries from 60,000 to as high as 200,000 a month depending on productivity, can barely survive. As for teachers, who make 27,000, and other workers, even minimal subsistence is impossible without resorting to dealing in the black market. The recent food price rises have a particularly devastating effect in this heavily industrialized region of the eastern Ukraine, where workers cannot even fall back on growing their own crops in private garden plots.

Faced with this situation, the miners have demanded pension and wage increases indexed to inflation and a cut in food prices and taxes. But the strike committee, which is led by the Independent Union of Miners (NPG) and works closely with the mine directors, has increasingly manipulated the strike around its own political demands, calling for a referendum on Kravchuk and the government and for regional "self-administration." The mine directors want

for annexing the area to Russia. Seeking to whip up nationalist sentiment among the predominantly ethnic Russian population in the eastern Ukraine, the Socialist Party of the Ukraine (SPU), successor to the old Communist Party, also calls for making "Russian the official language of the Donetsk oblast [district]."

In Moscow, the Russian Communist Workers Party (RKRP) did not even give lip service support to the strike but instead joined with the fascistic Russian National Sobor in a small "red-brown" demonstration marked by vile anti-Semitic tirades outside the Ostankino TV center. While pushing Russian nationalism—under the guise of "Soviet patriotism"—the various Stalinist has-beens are in league with capitalist-corporatist forces like Arkady Volsky and Russian vice president Aleksandr Rutskoi. Thus the SPU distributed a leaflet calling "for the right of workers themselves to choose property and economic forms" and demanding "any radical change in property to be allowed only in the interests of toiler and workforce collectives." This is Volsky's program of privatization through the manager-controlled "work collectives."

The striking miners are overwhelmingly *anti-nationalist* and would strongly prefer to live in a reunited Soviet Union. A huge red banner at today's demonstration proclaimed: "Nationalism Shall Not Pass!" A spokesman from the nationalist Rukh movement was booed off the podium at an earlier demonstration with cries of "Murderers of our children,"

# Mass Murderer Bousquet Shot Dead

## France: Vichy War Criminal Brought to Justice

On July 16 and 17, 1942 nearly 13,000 Jews, including more than 4,000 children, were dragged off to the Velodrome d'Hiver bicycle-racing stadium in Paris. From there, they were taken to Drancy and other concentration camps in the vicinity of Paris to be loaded into cattle cars for their final destination: Auschwitz. The perpetrators of this massive deportation to death were not the Nazi SS, but French police led by one René Bousquet. Nearly 51 years later, this hideous mass murderer was finally brought to justice.

On June 8, Bousquet was shot four times at pointblank range in the entrance of his elegant 16th Arrondissement apartment in Paris. Grotesquely, the French government immediately arrested the avenger of Bousquet's crimes, 49-year-old writer Christian Didier, and charged him with murder. From the standpoint of the working class, of survivors of the Nazi Holocaust, of all decent people, in ridding the world of "that piece of garbage," as he called Bousquet, Christian Didier deserves to be honored, not prosecuted. Didier already served a four-month prison sentence for a 1987 attempt against Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie. Drop all charges against Christian Didier!

Obscenely, various self-styled representatives of the Jewish people in France rushed to defend the government and to condemn the war criminal's execution. Zionist Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld denounced the killing as "a deplorable event which interrupts the course of justice." We say: *Justice has been served!* The hypocritical claim that a trial would have helped to further expose the crimes of the Nazi-collaborationist regime based in Vichy is a whitewash of the government, pure and simple. As Didier said, "I've heard of the Bousquet case for years and nothing ever happened."

In the 48 years since the war ended, not one Vichy war criminal has ever been tried for their role in the Nazi Holocaust. The 1987 trial of Klaus Barbie, the SS butcher of Lyon, was turned into a legalistic charade in which Barbie was coddled while those of his victims who had survived were again tortured and tormented (see "Kill Nazi Barbie!" WV No. 429, 29 May 1987). For decades, one French government after another lied outright that all war crimes committed



German officers in 1943 with Vichy regime police chief René Bousquet (at right), who sent thousands of French Jews to Nazi death camps.

on French soil were perpetrated solely by the German occupation forces. Only after a growing uproar did the regime even begin to make any moves to try Bousquet and two other Vichy war criminals, Paul Touvier and Maurice Papon. But as Klarsfeld himself said earlier this year about the government's endless foot-dragging, "They seem to be waiting for Papon to die." And the 84-year-old Bousquet had not yet even been scheduled for trial.

If ever a war criminal deserved to die, Bousquet was it. Appointed secretary-general of the Interior Ministry's Police Nationale in May 1942 by his mentor, Prime Minister Pierre Laval, Bousquet quickly distinguished himself for his anti-Semitic and anti-Communist bloodlust. Bousquet personally appealed to Gestapo deputy chief Reinhard Heydrich to expand the deportations from occupied France to include Jews from Vichy territory as well, and insisted that children not be exempted. He vowed to carry out "the repression of all the enemies of the Reich" and ordered regional prefects to "crush all resistance you encounter" so as to "free your area totally of foreign Jews" (quoted in Michael Marrus and

Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* [Schocken, 1983]). Gestapo chief Himmler called Bousquet a "precious collaborator."

Only months before being dumped from his post in late 1943, Bousquet pledged to "pursue with a fierce energy the struggle against all the enemies of French internal security," singling out "terrorists, communists, Jews, Gaullists, and foreign agents." Yet this mass murderer never served a day in prison. Following a sham treason trial in 1949, his five-year sentence was suspended on the grounds that he secretly supported the Gaullist "resistance." He went on to influential posts in the Fourth Republic, including as a director of the Banque d'Indochine and later of the state-owned UTA airline and numerous other companies.

The Bousquet case is symptomatic of the postwar bourgeoisie's reaction to the war crimes carried out by the pro-Nazi World War II regime of Marshal Pétain. As secretary-general of the Gironde prefecture, Papon organized the roundup of 1,700 Jews to Drancy. He later served as Paris police prefect under De Gaulle—organizing the cop massacre of hun-

dreds of Algerian protesters on 17 October 1961—and budget minister under Giscard d'Estaing. Touvier's documented war crimes include the murder of seven hostages (six of them Jews), the bombing of a Lyon synagogue, and numerous instances of torture and murder. Despite two death sentences in absentia after the war, Touvier went about life undisturbed through the years, protected by leading officials of the French Catholic hierarchy like Archbishop of Lyon Cardinal Gerlier and Vatican secretary of state Cardinal Villot.

Last year Mitterrand created an uproar when he refused to offer even a symbolic gesture acknowledging French complicity in the Holocaust, denying any connection between the Pétain regime and the postwar Fourth and Fifth Republics. No wonder. Mitterrand is the embodiment of that continuity. He was information officer for the General Commissariat of Prisons, and in 1943 was awarded one of Vichy's highest honors, the Order of the Francisque, for service to the Pétainist "national revolution." After the war, Mitterrand was interior minister in charge of police repression during France's colonial war in Algeria. The "solidarity" of the Vichy old boys' club continued as Mitterrand endorsed Bousquet in the 1958 parliamentary elections, and Bousquet returned the favor when Mitterrand ran in the '65 presidential elections.

As we wrote at the time of the Barbie trial: "Since the bourgeoisie and its state was up to its neck in Nazi atrocities, nothing short of an overthrow of the bourgeois state by a workers revolution could have inflicted on the auxiliaries of Nazi barbarism the punishment they deserved" ("French Fascism and the Holocaust," WV No. 431, 26 June 1987). And this is true not only for the French bourgeoisie—Vichy or Gaullist—but for all the imperialist powers. The British bourgeoisie has for years covered up local collaboration with the German occupying forces on the Channel Islands, where thousands died in slave labor camps. The Churchill government deported German Jewish refugees to concentration camps in the Australian desert, while Roosevelt slammed the door on refugees from the Holocaust and threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps.

Under the "socialist" Mitterrand the racist crimes of French imperialism have continued. Last October, when over 1,200 CRS riot cops rounded up hundreds of African immigrants in Vincennes, bystanders cried out, recalling the 1942 mass deportation from the Velodrome, "It's the raid of Vel d'Hiv!" To sweep away the system which spawns fascist terror, it will take not the act of a lone avenging angel, however courageous, but the revolutionary mobilization of the international proletariat. In the meantime, every opponent of fascism should be heartened by the long-overdue fate meted out to René Bousquet. Hands off Christian Didier! ■

## Letter...

(continued from page 2)

which gave the green light to the undoing of the regimes in Eastern Europe. Impelled by their own internal problems and in a desperate bid to appease imperialism, the Soviet Stalinists under Gorbachev ditched their backing for the countries of the "Soviet bloc," and the Stalinist regimes there collapsed. In the absence of the mobilization of the working class—which had been atomized and politically demoralized through decades of Stalinist misrule—to take power in their own hands through proletarian political revolution, the void was filled with the forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

Syrek's "theory" that the states in Eastern Europe, as well as China, Cuba

and Vietnam, were capitalist is derived from the position of the French organization, Lutte Ouvrière (formerly Voix Ouvrière). At its best, this was a sterile "revolutionary" response to Pabloite revisionism, which took the fact of the social transformations in Eastern Europe as evidence that the Stalinists could be pressured to play an "objectively revolutionary role." This was the first step down a long slippery slope, with the Pabloists looking to any and every force—other than the working class led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party—to serve as the "vanguard."

Yet, for all his "anti-revisionist" rhetoric, Syrek ends up investing the bourgeoisie with the capacity of playing a "progressive" role in the epoch of imperialist decay. By his own criteria the states that existed in Eastern Europe mirrored what existed in the Soviet

degenerated workers state. In short, we are to believe that "small, underdeveloped bourgeois states" were able to institute a collectivized economy, centralized planning and a state monopoly of foreign trade. If this were so, what need would there be for proletarian socialist revolution? Despite his emphasis on this, Syrek's indifference to which class rules is demonstrated in his appreciation of the forces of capitalist restoration which now hold sway in the former Soviet Union. Although arguing that the "nationalization fetish" was the root of all revisionism, he applies the same yardstick to argue that the ex-USSR remains a workers state, i.e., nationalized property.

As for Syrek's patronizing plaint that we don't use language the "woikers" can understand: surely "sine qua non" is more accessible to the proletariat than

the idea that nothing fundamental has changed in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. N'est-ce pas? ■

### Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

#### Bay Area

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

#### Chicago

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

#### New York City

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

# Outrage! Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) Denied Parole—Again!

On May 21 America's foremost class-war prisoner, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) was denied parole for the *eleventh* time by the California Board of Prison Terms. As before, the board deliberately closed its eyes to the massive evidence of Geronimo's innocence and ignored the outpouring of support for Geronimo's freedom. Adjoa Aiyetoro, Geronimo's attorney at the hearing, announced she plans to appeal.

This year's four-hour parole hearing focused on Geronimo's Panther background as leader of the Los Angeles branch. It focused on Geronimo's military expertise, which he learned while serving two tours in Vietnam. In December 1969, L.A. Panther headquarters came under a massive cop siege, in which, thanks to Geronimo's military training, none of his Panther comrades were hurt. This came just days after Chicago BPP leaders Mark Clark and Fred Hampton were gunned down in their beds by the Chicago cops. What angered the board

was that Geronimo survived.

Year after year, the parole board concocts some specious justification to keep Geronimo behind bars. In 1989 Commissioner David Brown slandered Geronimo as a heroin user to counter the growing support for his freedom. This year they cited Geronimo's Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as grounds for denying him parole—despite the fact that prison officials have persistently denied that Geronimo suffers from PTSD and therefore refused him treatment. (This is one of the glaring instances of prison harassment challenged by Geronimo in an ongoing lawsuit filed by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West in 1989.) The only time they ever told the truth was in 1987 when the D.A.'s representative, Dianne Vezzani, opposed parole on the grounds that Geronimo is "still a revolutionary."

The parole board received over 500 letters calling for Geronimo's freedom, while only one letter opposed parole—from black L.A. police chief Willie Wil-

liams. Williams calls for "community policing"—lining up some Uncle Toms to keep things cool in the 'hood as an auxiliary to a massive show of cop force. His model is the police mobilization during the recent federal civil rights trial of the racist cops who beat Rodney King. One of Williams' most prominent "community policers" is one Julius Butler, *the FBI/LAPD fink that put Geronimo behind bars 22 years ago.*

Shortly after his appointment was announced in April 1992, Williams attended a welcome gathering at the First AME Church in L.A. "to establish liaison to further sensitize [Williams] to our immediate needs," said Rev. Chip Murray. It was at about that time that AME church member Julius Butler began to gain increasing prominence in the capitalist press. A *New York Times* (12 November 1992) "Special Report" described Butler as a lawyer active in church affairs and youth counseling, and quoted him bemoaning that "we've been saying for years to the younger generation, 'Hold on, there's

hope.' What do we tell them now?"

What they're certainly not telling them is the story of how Butler was an FBI/cop fink who pistol-whipped a young Panther member (which was stopped by Geronimo) and machine-gunned the apartment of a leader of Ron Karenga's "US" organization; who at Geronimo's trial repeatedly lied to the jury about his relations with the cops and feds; and who framed Geronimo for a 1968 murder in Santa Monica the government knows he did not commit. They know because wiretap logs (which the feds claim are "lost") prove Geronimo was 400 miles away in Oakland at the time of the shooting. Today, while Butler obscenely postures as an advocate of the black community, the activist Butler helped frame is still behind bars, fighting for his freedom.

Geronimo has spent over 22 years behind bars, the victim of a racist frame-up under the FBI's notorious Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) which targeted the Black Panther Party and other militant groups for "elimination." Numerous California and government officials, including Reagan's top cop Ed Meese, built their careers on the war against the Panthers and the frame-up of Geronimo. So court after court (and parole board after parole board) has refused to allow any exposure of the FBI's role in concocting the case. It will take mass protest to smash the frame-up. *Free Geronimo Now!*

## Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

the same page a picture of a Pakistani APC behind one of the Somali dead.

The whole U.S./UN intervention has been cloaked in the rhetoric of humanitarian aid. "Operation Restore Hope" has instead turned Somalia once again into a UN "trusteeship," with imperialist gendarmes acting on orders from the Pentagon. The American expeditionary force went in when the famine was already dissipating. The real purposes were to allow the U.S. to act as global cops, and let President Bush look tough in the waning days of his presidency. Now with his poll ratings down, Democrat Clinton wants to do the same.

While much of the left fell for the "humanitarian" cover, the Spartacist League warned from the outset that "American military intervention in Africa can only result in increased oppression and exploitation of the African people" (WV No. 565, 11 December 1992). Spartacist supporters are joining in protests around the country with signs proclaiming "U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia," "100,000 Iraqis Slaughtered—U.S. Imperialism=World's Biggest Terrorist" and "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order'!" ■

## Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

when the same employee asked if eggs which had been overcooked could be taken back, he was told by the manager to "take it to the niggers and if they have a complaint, tell them to come see me."

This March, in the face of an impending lawsuit by the U.S. Justice Department charging Denny's with a "pattern or practice" of discrimination against blacks, the restaurant's management signed a decree agreeing to racial "sensitivity" training and tests for its employees, as well as television ads featuring blacks and a written pledge on its menus welcoming "customers of all races." At the same time, Denny's, central office issued a statement arrogantly denying "allegations that customer concerns, received more than a year ago in a few California restaurants, demonstrate a pattern of racial discrimination." The

next month, six black Secret Service agents who were part of the security team for Clinton's speech at the U.S. Naval Academy were made to wait an hour before they were served at a Denny's restaurant in Annapolis, Maryland. Of the 21 Secret Service agents in the restaurant (with one exception, the others were white and notably self-segregated at a different table), the black government agents were the only ones who were made to wait for their order.

Then in late May, 125 black children in the Martin Luther King Children's Choir were refused entry at two Denny's restaurants in Virginia. The manager of the first Denny's told them he had no room and told them to go to a bigger Denny's 40 miles away. When the buses arrived there, the manager met them in the parking lot to tell them there was no room inside. "It was as if he didn't even want us inside his restaurant," said the choir leader, Anita High.

A nationwide chain, with some 1,300 restaurants, Denny's is a relatively affordable place and it's open 24 hours a day. It's supposed to be open to the public. In short, it's a place which many people—especially working people—come to, or otherwise stop by in their travels, for a meal. But what Georgia's former governor Maddox did by waving an ax handle, Denny's does with its racist "prepay" policies, insults, discriminatory service and lousy food for blacks. We intend to see to it that Denny's is a place whose doors are open to *everybody!*

On the July 4th weekend, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League plan to picket Denny's restaurants from California to Virginia demanding "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For Equal Treatment, Good Service and Food for All!" And they intend to make Denny's provide just that. Following these integrated protests, the demonstrators are going in to eat, taking no "ifs, and's or but's" as a condition.

Denny's is based in Spartanburg, South Carolina—the hardcore racist state of the Confederacy, which was settled by the original British slave owners of Barbados. In protesting this outfit on the holiday weekend meant to celebrate the foundation of the "United States of America," the LBL will recall the words of Frederick Douglass in his 1852 speech on "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro":

"What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the

year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to Him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages."

What are the Jim Crow racist policies of Denny's except a reminder that—more than 100 years after the Civil War which smashed the chains of chattel slavery—there is no equality for black people in America? As the father of one young black man, who was told he had to pay before he could eat at Denny's, said bitterly, "Almost 30 years ago, I was arrested for trying to eat at a McCrory's five-and-dime store in Ocala, Florida. And my kids still can't eat in Denny's."

The civil rights movement fought against the legal segregation and discrimination against blacks in the American South. But that movement shattered when it came up against the social reality of the segregation and discrimination against blacks in the North, who for years had lived with "equality under the law." Our fight against Denny's Jim Crow policies is part of our fight for integrated class struggle by black and white workers against the racist rulers of America—whether represented by the Republicans or by yuppie Arkansas executioner Bill Clinton and his Democrats. We look to guarantee that blacks not only have the

right to eat anywhere they want, but that they can afford to. Genuine equality and freedom for blacks requires a revolutionary leadership of the working class waging a fight for a third American revolution to finish the Civil War through the establishment of proletarian state power. ■

## Ukraine...

(continued from page 7)

the economy, to restore central planning and collective ownership over the means of production and to reforge the economic links among the different regions of the former Soviet Union. This now will require a *socialist revolution* which sweeps away all the counterrevolutionary regimes, centrally the dominant Russian state, and places the workers in power through their own democratically elected soviets.

The vast bulk of strikers, while militant and frustrated, see no alternative to the current leadership. But if their aspirations are to be met, the key is building a revolutionary party forged in intransigent opposition to all variants of nationalism and all wings of the would-be exploiters. One older strike leader commented after reading our article, "This is absolutely right. The party was a real party of the workers and a revolutionary party before Lenin's death. Afterward it really did become a party of scumbags." It is necessary to begin now to build anew a party of Lenin and Trotsky, which can place Soviet workers again in the vanguard of the struggle for world socialist revolution. ■

## Corrections

In the article "ADL's Massive Spy Operation" (WV No. 577, 4 June), we referred to one of the ADL's targets as "political scientist Yigal Arens, the liberal Zionist son of the former Israeli war minister." Yigal Arens has brought to our attention that he is not a political scientist, but rather works at a computer science research institute, and that he is not a liberal Zionist but a socialist and anti-Zionist. We have expressed to Arens our apology for these unfortunate errors.

A sentence in "U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans!" (WV No. 575, 7

May) called for "reforging a genuinely internationalist socialist federation of the Balkans, from the Danube to the Aegean Sea." It should have called for "forging" such a federation. While the possibility of a genuinely socialist federation was posed in the victory of Tito's Communist partisan forces at the end of World War II, Stalin and Tito's respective nationalist policies sabotaged this internationalist perspective, whose implementation would have required a proletarian political revolution in East Europe to sweep away the Stalinist bureaucrats, and a socialist revolution in Greece. ■

# Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid's militia, and that Washington and its allies will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?"

Clinton's rapid backtracking over Bosnia has reinforced the image of a weak, vacillating and inept presidency. But Clinton's uncanny ability to shoot himself first in one foot and then the other is not just a matter of personal incompetence. Behind all the zigzags and inconsistencies of U.S. policy in the Balkans lie the weakness and contradictions of American imperialism. America's arrogant rulers long to punish the Serbian nationalists for flouting the dictates of the Western powers. The self-proclaimed sole superpower looks feeble if it cannot restore order in the Balkans. But neither Washington nor its imperialist allies/rivals know what kind of order they want to restore—or can possibly restore—in that region, a tinderbox of murderous nationalist passions and lust for historic vengeance.

For months we've been deluged with go-to-war propaganda against Serbia. The forced population transfers, called "ethnic cleansing," arising from the territorial conflict between three South Slavic peoples in Bosnia is being compared to the Nazi Holocaust. Belgrade strongman Slobodan Milosevic is portrayed as the Adolf Hitler of the Balkans. To gain popular support at home for a renewed Western imperialist overlordship in the Balkans, the media played up the plight of the Bosnian Muslims. But as the U.S. got cold feet about going in, suddenly they discovered that the Croats were doing their own "cleansing" in Mostar, and now it's reported that Bosnian Muslim forces are driving thousands of Croat refugees out of Travnik into the arms of Serbian troops!

While the American imperialists are clearly reluctant to rush into the Balkan quicksand, the liberal and rad-lib milieu has taken up "poor little Bosnia" as its latest cause, and various pseudo-leftists are falling over themselves trying to think up arguments for direct or indirect imperialist intervention against the Serbs. As Marxists and proletarian internationalists, we take no side in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped up the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. But we oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycott of Serbia to "peacekeeping" troops, whether or not they wear UN blue helmets.

## U.S. Imperialism and the Balkan Quagmire

Washington is not opposed to a Greater Serbia as such provided it sets the terms for it. It was, after all, the Western imperialist powers—Britain and France—which, following World War I, established a far greater Serbia than anything Milosevic is aiming at. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles created Yugoslavia by attaching the South Slav regions (Slovenia and Croatia) of the defunct Habsburg Empire to the Kingdom of Serbia. The Yugoslavia of the Serbian monarchy was destroyed by the Nazi German invasion in 1940. The Germans then set up a puppet government in Croatia and Bosnia under the clerical-fascist Ustasha, who massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, as well as Jews and Gypsies.

In this cauldron of war and inter-communalist slaughter, Tito's Communist Partisans fought and defeated the Croatian Ustasha, Serbian royalist Chetniks and Nazi German occupiers, thereby laying the basis for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, postwar Yugoslavia was from the outset a bureaucratically deformed workers state. Especially after Tito's



Der Spiegel

Croatian National Guardsmen, armed thugs of fascist Tudjman regime.

death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy fissured along national lines. That fissuring was personified by Milosevic, who took over the Serbian League of Communists in the late 1980s, and Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman, a former general in the Yugoslav Federal Army who became a notorious apologist for the Ustasha.

With capitalist counterrevolution sweeping East Europe and then the Soviet Union in 1989-91, Tudjman asked for and received Western, especially German, imperialist backing in creating a Croatian client state. In the eyes of the U.S. rulers, Milosevic's only crime is that he has tried to redraw the boundaries of the Balkans without getting Washington's approval first. Current imperialist strategy—to the extent that there is one—is to starve the Serbian people in order to pressure Milosevic into reining in the Bosnian Serbian militias. But the Bosnian Serbs have defied Milosevic, who himself has come under heavy political attack from even more fanatical Serbian nationalists.

Direct U.S./NATO military intervention risks igniting an ever-widening Balkan war, potentially involving both Russia, historically the protector of its Balkan "Slavic little brothers," and Turkey, in support of the Bosnian Muslims and Albanians. The Balkan conflagration could prove a decisive obstacle in the already difficult project of transforming Russia into an American neocolony through Washington's agent, Boris Yel-

tsin. U.S./NATO attacks on Serbian forces would give Yeltsin's Russian nationalist opponents an emotionally powerful issue. And while Russian diplomats have voted for all the anti-Serbian sanctions in the UN, they've lobbied for a softer line. However, Washington's other major ally in the region, Turkey, is pushing a hawkish line against Serbia.

Today the imperialists are held back from intervening more massively in the Balkans by their own competing interests and the daunting prospect of untangling the interpenetrated peoples of the former Yugoslavia. But the region is a powder keg and the fuse is burning. The world situation today resembles the pre-1914 period of mounting imperialist rivalries. It is widely known that World War I was triggered by national disputes in the South Slav region. But it was more than just some Serb nationalist shooting an Austrian archduke. The first imperialist world war, with its horrendous carnage, was prefigured by a succession of Balkan Wars manipulated by the Great Powers, fueled by rival local nationalisms and marked by constant shifts in alliances.

The direct origins go back to the Russo-Turkish War of 1875. With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia, while Serbia and Bulgaria became independent monarchies under Russian protectorship. In the first Balkan War of 1912, Serbia and Bulgaria seized Macedonia and the Albanian-populated province of Kosovo

from the Turks. The next year the two South Slav monarchies went to war with one another over division of the spoils, with the Serbs coming out on top. A year later the whole world was in flames.

While the imperialist powers and their various factions debate what to do about the Balkan crisis, we have insisted that in the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea.

## Liberals, Leftists Spearhead Anti-Serbian Warmongering

The response in the U.S. to the new outbreak of Balkan wars is something of a reversal of the usual political lineup. The right wing of the bourgeoisie has generally advised against military intervention, while the screechiest anti-Serbian hawks have been liberals and self-styled radicals. In the U.S. Senate, the warmongering has been led by Democrats such as Biden and DeConcini, who demanded "Bomb the Serbs. Now" on the op-ed page of the *New York Times* (18 May). Echoing this line is Paul Hockenkos, East European correspondent for the social-democratic *In These Times* (28 October 1992): "A quick, decisive invasion of Bosnia-Herzegovina—on the scale of Operation Desert Storm—is an option that the left should rally around as forcefully as any issue since opposition to the Vietnam War."

Such outright calls to "send in the Marines" are still a bit much for most anti-Serb warmongers of the "left." They prefer the Clinton line of providing tanks, artillery and other heavy weaponry to the Bosnian Muslim forces. This is the main program of the self-styled Campaign for Peace and Democracy, a group of rad-lib academics who more accurately should have called it the "Campaign for War and Imperialist Domination in the Balkans." Last week, this group rallied at the UN around the slogans: "Lift the Arms Embargo on Bosnia! Allow the Democratic, Multi-Ethnic Bosnian Republic to Defend Itself Against Aggression."

The same line is put forward by Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) in its February resolution, titled "For a Multi-Ethnic and Sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina," which states: "The demand to lift the embargo on sending arms to the Bosnian forces is an answer to the main Greater Serbian aggression...." This is nothing but a call on Yankee imperialism, the Fourth Reich and Belgian merchants of death to arm the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim leadership.

Western liberals, social democrats and leftists may sell the line that the Bosnian Muslim forces are fighting for a "democratic, multi-ethnic state," but no one in the Balkans buys it. Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic came to prominence in the late 1980s as the author of a tract in favor of an "Islamic state." The Bosnian Muslim population was in fact largely secular, cosmopolitan and urbanized, and had little interest in an Islamic state. A veiled woman was and is a rare sight in Sarajevo. Izetbegovic's rise to power, along with Milosevic and Tudjman, indicated the ascendancy of reactionary nationalisms, each reinforcing the other, with the disintegration of the Titoist order in Yugoslavia.

The 1974 Titoist constitution, recognizing the *multinational* character of the Bosnian republic, gave the Bosnian Serbs as well as the Bosnian Croats the right to veto its secession from Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic and the Muslim leaders simply violated the Serbs' constitutional rights when they organized a plebiscite on independence in early 1992 (which the Serbs boycotted). After this plebiscite, the Bosnian Serbian and Croatian leaders agreed to an independent Bosnian state, provided it was constituted



Independent Map

Defending UN-declared "safe havens" for Bosnian Muslims may be pretext for Western imperialist military intervention against Serbia. Numbered areas are "safe havens" as of May 26.

on ethnically based cantons. But this was rejected by the Muslim leaders. Milovan Djilas, a one-time leading figure in the Tito regime who became a world-famous social-democratic "dissident," noted:

"The Serbs bear the largest share of responsibility for what has happened to Yugoslavia, but the Croats also have an authoritarian and chauvinist Government, and the Bosnian Muslims wanted dominance in an independent and unitary state."

—New York Times, 5 March

While the Muslims constituted roughly 45 percent of the total population of Bosnia, they were heavily urbanized, while the countryside was dominated mainly by Serbian peasants (who owned 64 percent of the land), with some Croatian areas. Consequently once the fighting broke out, the Serbian and Croatian militias quickly took over much of the country and besieged the cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

Naive liberals and radicals may support the imperialist arming of the Bosnian Muslim forces on the grounds of self-defense and ensuring a "fair fight." But the Muslim leaders are not simply interested in defending their present territorial positions, which they consider intolerable in any case, nor do they want a fair fight with the Serbs. A few months

ago the Bosnian Muslim foreign minister reasserted his government's intent to take back *all* of the territory of this former Yugoslav republic. The actual program of the "arm Bosnia" leftists—witting or unwitting—is to create a Muslim-dominated, U.S. puppet state in the Balkans, driving out the Serbs and Croats or reducing them to subjugated minorities.

Even on its own terms, the demand for "democratic, multi-ethnic Bosnia" is *undemocratic* since the Serbs (a third of the population) and the Croats (almost a fifth) do not want to live in the same state as the Muslims or with one another. The ostensibly Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League, which opposes imperialist intervention on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, nonetheless states: "The working class must fight for the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multi-ethnic state—but this is impossible under the leadership of Alia Isbegovic's strongly pro-imperialist government" (*Fighting Worker*, March 1993).

But *why* should the working class aim to establish an independent state encompassing all the territory of this former Yugoslav republic? The region called Bosnia originated as a province in the Ottoman Empire. Over the centuries

three very closely related South Slav peoples intermingled in its territory. There has never been a Bosnian nation, nor any sense of common national identity among its inhabitants. The journalist Misha Glenny observed that Bosnia's "internal stability was invariably guaranteed by an external power which mediated between the three communities (the Sublime Porte, Vienna, the inter-war royal dictatorship or Titoism)" (*The Fall of Yugoslavia* [Penguin, 1992]). Izetbegovic's campaign for Western imperialist overlordship is the *logical conclusion* of his aim to create a state encompassing the historic boundaries of Bosnia *against the will* of over half its inhabitants.

The democratic and national rights of *all* peoples in the region can be secured only by proletarian political power within a socialist federation of the Balkans. In such a federation the present state and provincial boundaries could and in many cases would be redrawn in a democratic and equitable way according to national affiliation. For example, the oppressed Albanians of Kosovo, who make up 85 percent of what is now a Serbian province, would certainly want to and have the right to unite with Albania.

In response to Clinton's saber rat-

ting over Bosnia early last month, a number of left groups, mainly pseudo-Trotskyists, got together in a Committee Against U.S. Intervention in the Balkans, which called a "Hands Off Yugoslavia!" rally in Oakland in mid-May. Yet among the prime movers of this committee is Socialist Action, American supporters of Ernest Mandel's USec, which is simultaneously agitating for the Western imperialists to arm the Bosnian Muslims against the Serbs! Furthermore, this committee has nothing to say about the U.S./European Community *economic warfare* against Serbia. The economic embargo against Serbia is just as deadly, if not more so, than air strikes against Serbian forces in Bosnia. The main victims are old people, young children and the poorest sections of the population.

It takes no great political courage or radicalism to oppose direct U.S. military intervention in the Balkans at the present time. Opinion polls show a solid majority against such action, as well as influential sections of the Republican Party, the U.S. Joint Chiefs et al. Right now, economic warfare is the cutting edge of U.S. imperialist aggression in the Balkans. We Spartacists say: Break the Blockade of Serbia! U.S./NATO Hands Off the Balkans! ■

## Harvard...

(continued from page 12)

conformity, refusing to join a protest in which NAMBLA participated, while eagerly waving the stars and stripes of U.S. imperialism for enlistment of gays in the military. Addressing the protesters, Bill Andriette, editor of *NAMBLA Bulletin*, denounced the reactionary "family values" crusade and spoke of Reno's satanic bullying and imprisonment of children in the "child abuse" witchhunt against day-care centers.

The focal point of outrage and protest against Reno was her central responsibility for the horrendous massacre of 86 men, women and children in the Branch Davidian compound outside Waco, Texas. As they shuffled into Memorial Hall, every smug preppie and their rich daddy were confronted with a Spartacist banner reading, "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murderers!" Family members of Floyd Houtman, Sr., a black man from New Bedford, Massachusetts who was murdered in the Waco holocaust, wrote a poem which was read at the demonstration:

"Thank you Mr. President, Janet Reno too.  
We mustn't forget the BATF, the FBI,  
all the men in blue.

How well did you sleep last night?  
Did you toss and turn?  
I myself didn't get much sleep.  
Do you know, I saw my father burned?"

We don't know how you did it.

You really must have been brave.  
You sat through all their screaming  
without emotions as they entered their  
fiery grave.

Save the children  
Well not this time  
For patience we have none  
Enough time has been wasted  
We were ordered to get this over get this  
done.

Patience is a virtue.  
Good things come to those who wait.  
It took only 51 days  
For you to decide their fiery fate.

Deep down inside your heart you know  
the truth you cannot hide.  
Christians who believe in God don't  
contemplate suicide.

The day will come, we'll all be judged as  
we stand before the Lord.  
Koresh may have thought himself as Christ.  
But you thought yourself as God.

Family of Floyd Houtman  
We love you, Dad"

Local television news coverage of Reno's appearance at Harvard began with footage of our demonstration and clips from the attorney general's murderous Waco inferno. As Julie Lavin of the Spartacus Youth Club said, "Just as the hideous MOVE bombing was the signature of the Reagan years, so is the Waco massacre the signature of the Clinton/Reno years. We must sear the memory of this into the consciousness of the working people and oppressed in this country."

The next day, demonstrators set up a picket line at Harvard's Holyoke Center to protest Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell's appearance as the university's commencement speaker. Chanting, "Down with anti-gay bigotry! Lift the ban in the military!" and "Not one penny, not one man for Colin Powell's imperialist plans!" the militant picket was in stark contrast to the limp, patriotic, officially sanctioned "protest" which consisted of releasing a lot of hot air—pink balloons festooned with the slogan, "lift the ban." In contrast, Spartacist spokesmen pointed to the history of revolutionary Marxist opposition to discrimination in the military—from the Dreyfus affair in France to Jim Crow segregation in the American military to fighting discrimination against women and gays today—while we implacably oppose the war aims of the capitalist class.

Demonstrators seized on the news that U.S. gunships had been dispatched to Mogadishu and debunked the hypocritical and racist "white man's burden" justification for U.S. intervention in Somalia. "First the imperialists starved Africa, now they say, 'Let 'em eat bullets,'" said SL spokesman Tom Downing. "We say, 'U.S. hands off Africa! Troops out now!'" Demonstrators made the link between U.S. imperialism's war-making abroad and strikebreaking at home by championing the case of Darryl Hicks, an outspoken black union steward

who was recently fired by Harvard for fighting the university's discriminatory policies. Darryl Hicks spoke at the demonstration and noted that as a man who had probably encountered discrimination in his own life, Colin Powell "should not be speaking up against gays being in the military—that's totally wrong."

Some ostensible socialists were paralyzed by their own political confusion, sectarianism and outright bigotry. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) said they could not endorse the demonstration because they oppose lifting the ban on gays in the military. They lurked on the fringes of our anti-Powell protest near an upside-down American flag and wore buttons reading, "Extend the ban on gays to everybody." It doesn't wash for the RCP to cloak their reactionary position as opposition to imperialism—these homophobes from the Stalin-Mao mold can't hide their anti-gay bigotry. More laughable still was the International Socialist Organization (ISO) which said "yes" they would endorse, then phoned back and said "no" they couldn't, then showed up and picketed for two minutes bleating, "Clinton and Powell go hand in hand—ask them why they don't lift the ban!" but exited when protesters chanted back, "Break with the Democrats! Build a workers party!"

*The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Down with the racist U.S. war machine! End the ban on gays!* ■

## RWL...

(continued from page 4)

anti-communist exclusionist) New York Women's Action Coalition. In "Mitosis of a Cult" we noted that "Typically, the RWL will tack on a radical-sounding slogan and march as the left tail of some liberal mobilization aimed at pressuring Democratic Party politicians." Now the RWL, through their National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), has hitched their wagon to Coretta Scott King's star.

At the New York WAC meeting, the Gloria Steinem wannabes were consumed with the fate of their "sister" Lani Guinier, Clinton's nominee for the job of "civil rights" deputy to Waco baby-killer Janet Reno. After sitting silent while a Spartacist spokesman angrily denounced the Reno fans in WAC, NWROC presented a motion that "WAC will help build the anti-police brutality contingent in the August 28th March on Washington called by Coretta Scott King to commemorate the

1963 March led by Martin Luther King, Jr."

Thirty years ago, Malcolm X aptly denounced the "farce on Washington" for what it was—another attempt to keep black struggle within the confines of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. Now the RWL begs WAC to join the RWL/NWROC as the best builders of another Democratic Party crawl. The NWROC leaflet to WAC politely criticizes the Democrats—the party of the Vietnam War and the Bay of Pigs—for refusing "to commit themselves to the elimination of poverty and racism!"

Unlike the centrists of the RWL, genuine Marxists utilize bourgeois elections as platforms to advance the revolutionary program. In 1981, the Spartacist League ran candidates in the Detroit city elections, calling for "Labor/Black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror" and "Abolish gun control!—For the right of armed self-defense!" We opposed segregated schools and housing, and demanded: "Free abortion on demand! Keep the state out of the bed-

room!—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Abolish all laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution!"

The SL candidates opposed the U.S. government's anti-Soviet war drive, supported military victory to leftist insur-

gents in the Salvadoran civil war and called for smashing apartheid in South Africa. And we called for honoring picket lines. Funny, we didn't notice that either in the platform of the "Fighting Worker" slate. ■

## WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League

- \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)  
 New  Renewal  
international rates:  
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail
- \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

578  
Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Protests Called Coast to Coast

# Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!



Rachel Thompson wanted her family to celebrate her 13th birthday at the Denny's restaurant in Vallejo, California. "Your birthday, our treat" advertises the Denny's menu, offering a free meal as its "way of saying 'Happy Birthday'." But despite having the requisite legal proof that it was her birthday, Rachel Thompson didn't qualify. Why? Because Rachel Thompson is black. Instead of a birthday celebration, she and her family were, in the words of her mother, "violated, humiliated and embarrassed" by Denny's management.

This was no aberration. Over 30 years after the lunch counter sit-ins that swept the South in protest of the exclusion of blacks, Jim Crow racism is the unstated company policy at Denny's nationwide restaurant chain. A lawsuit filed against the restaurant by 32 customers in California cites a former Denny's manager in Northern California who "acknowledged that during weekly district meetings the term 'blackout' was used to describe situations where a significant number of the customers in a particular

restaurant were African-American. District managers instructed store managers to 'start cracking down and get rid of some of those blackouts'."

The word from the top was carried out with vigor. Here are just some examples of how they kept blacks out:

• San Jose: In December 1991, 18 black members of an NAACP youth group were told they would have to pay a two-dollar cover charge and pay for their food in advance if they wanted to be served. The same month an East Indian woman was eating with three

black friends in a San Jose Denny's when their table was surrounded by cops. The manager ordered the police to remove them, saying "there are too many of you here." The cops forced the women to pay for their food, although they were not allowed to eat it. When they went to another local Denny's, the East Indian woman was ordered out by the manager after he saw her talking to her black friends. A year later, black 12-year-old Louis McNair was refused a free birthday meal. When his mother returned with his birth certificate as

proof, the manager called the cops.

• San Diego: In November 1991, a black cop from San Francisco and his family were made to wait for an hour before being seated at Denny's. When they finally got a table, they were told that they would have to pay for their meals in advance. A year earlier, Denny's L.A.-area district manager had sent out orders that blacks should not be allowed to receive separate checks.

• Sacramento: On four separate occasions a black woman and her friends were refused service at Denny's unless they prepaid for their order. Two who refused were not served.

In every case where blacks were denied service, ordered to prepay or thrown out of the restaurant on claims that it was closing time, whites continued to be welcomed in and served with no restrictions. An affidavit by a former Denny's employee testifies that whenever he told the manager of a customer complaint, the manager "would ask me what color they were." In one instance,

*continued on page 9*

## July 2-4

Atlanta  
(404) 659-0251

New York  
(212) 267-1025

Boston  
(617) 492-3928

For More Information

Washington, D.C.  
(202) 872-8240

Chicago  
(312) 663-0715

Los Angeles  
(213) 380-8239

Bay Area  
(510) 839-0851

Young Spartacus

# "Mass Murderer Reno, War Criminal Powell!"



Spartacus Youth Club demonstration at Harvard, June 9, protests Clinton's top cop Janet Reno.

## Protests at Harvard Commencement

BOSTON—All the unctuous pomp of the Harvard elite couldn't cover the circumstance of spirited protests organized by the Spartacus Youth Club against U.S. top cop Janet Reno and top gun Colin Powell at Harvard's commencement ceremonies. On June 9, some 40 militants representing a broad united front of gay rights activists, unionists, Trotskyists, the Communist Party, black and Latino organizers and others picketed Harvard Law School ceremonies at Memorial Hall, where the attorney general addressed her alma mater.

Haitian activists joined the picket to demand an end to the imprisonment of HIV-positive Haitian refugees in the barbed wire concentration camp on the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba. Demonstrators chanted, "Free Haitians at Guantánamo! Guantánamo belongs to Cuba!" Representatives of NAMBLA (North American Man-Boy Love Association) were early endorsers of the united-front protest, and the participation of this organization became a litmus test for others. Gay rights groups like ACT UP and Harvard's "Pride Committee" flunked and capitulated to social

*continued on page 11*