

Down With Imperialist Sanctions Against Serbia!

Yugoslavia Ripped Apart in Nationalist Bloodbath

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

The blood-spattered, bombed-out city of Sarajevo is the true face of the "new free Europe" triumphantly proclaimed by imperialism after the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe. This city, in which a half million Muslim Slavs, Croats and Serbs worked and lived together harmoniously for more than four decades, has been turned into a battleground for competing gangs of murderous nationalists. From Central Europe to the Caucasus, capitalist counterrevolution has meant an ever-widening orgy of recrudescing chauvinism and outright pogromism.

Three months of bloody fighting in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has taken over 2,000 lives and driven hundreds of thousands from their homes, bringing the gruesome total in the nationalist civil wars which began last summer to some 13,000 dead and 1.5 million displaced. The multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state, forged by Josip Broz Tito and his Communist Partisans through heroic struggle against the Nazi occupiers and their domestic capitalist quislings, has been destroyed in a welter of fratricidal bloodletting that is engulfing the region and threatening a wider war.

The destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state was formalized in Belgrade's promulgation of a

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Soldier views destruction of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, after weeks of fratricidal slaughter.

AFP



Renato Rotolo

Ross Perot, beamed in to one of his "electronic Nuremberg" town meetings.

The "None of the Above" Elections

The Sinister Ross Perot

After 12 years of Reagan/Bush in the White House and a Democratic Party-controlled Congress, bourgeois politics in this presidential election year have been dominated by the theme of "throw the bums out." There is rampant popular disgruntlement amid the most drawn-out recession since before World War II, with everyone from ghetto youth in L.A. to suburban middle-class housewives agreeing that "the system doesn't work." Coming off a campaign season marked by one flash in the pan after another (Republican Buchanan, Democrats Tsongas and Jerry Brown), "Slick Willie" Clinton and George Herbert Walker Bush are set to be the respective presidential candidates of the Democrats and Republicans come

November. But exit polls in the June 2 California primaries showed that the billionaire H. Ross Perot would have won both party ballots and taken the "independent" vote.

Who is Ross Perot? This dark-horse candidate is a would-be "man on a white horse" whose silence on "issues" masks his program for corporatist rule. Behind his talk of an "electronic town hall" is a hidden agenda for a high-tech "strong state." Not that Perot has much chance to become president, much less put his fantasies into action. For all his media-bashing, he is the ultimate media creation. While Democrats and Republicans were mud-wrestling through the primaries, Perot was

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Class Struggle and the Fourth Reich

German Imperialism's New "Drive to the East"

The recent public workers strike (see "Strikes Rock Kohl's Germany," WV No. 552, 29 May, translated from our German comrades' special supplement to *Spartakist*) showed that the German bourgeoisie's drive to achieve neocolonial domination in East Europe entails a push to increase the rate of exploitation of the western German working class, organizationally the strongest proletariat of any major capitalist country. On the eve of the strike, a union leader noted: "Unions in Germany have never, in all these years, suffered a defeat of the nature that Kohl is trying to inflict." This particular battle ended not with a defeat for the unions, but with a stalemate that undercut Kohl's authority.

During the Cold War, West Germany's international role, despite its growing



Demonstration of Bosch-Siemens metal workers in Berlin last month. Union banner called for unity of German and immigrant workers. Spartakist

economic strength, was severely circumscribed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, American bourgeois commentators on the international scene

could still describe West Germany as an economic giant but a political midget. One consequence of this condition was that German foreign investment (e.g., the huge Volkswagen plant in Brazil) was governed by private corporate profitability, not neocolonial empire-building. Bonn was not spending money to establish and sustain foreign client states (with the possible exception of Turkey). At the same time, the German bourgeoisie could afford the highest real wages of any major capitalist country, motivated in part by their political competition with the DDR, which claimed to be a German socialist state of the working class.

The collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet bloc and the ensuing *Anschluss* (annexation) of the East German deformed workers state changed everything. Right after Gorbachev gave the green light for capitalist reunification, a top adviser to Kohl boasted: "Perhaps in time the United States will take care of places like Central America, and we will handle Eastern Europe" (*Newsweek*, 26 February 1990). But it will be neither cheap nor easy for the Fourth Reich to "handle" East Europe.

Washington's neocolonial domination of Latin America is based on over a century of political as well as economic investment—the training of military officers (e.g., "Tachito" Somoza of Nicaragua was a West Point graduate), the "AFL-CIA" network of anti-communist unions, the funding of right-wing parties. Renegade CIA agent Philip Agee's *Inside the Company* shows how pervasively the agencies of U.S. imperialism penetrate the governing apparatuses of Latin America.

For Germany to achieve a comparable domination in East Europe would require buying out and propping up the governing and military/police apparatuses in the region. Moreover, it will be years before there is any economic return on such neocolonial political investment. *Business Week* (11 May) recently pointed out that German industrialists are investing not in East Europe but in the low-wage Third World countries of East Asia and Latin America, showing a clear disparity between short-term economic interests and long-term geopolitical ambitions.

The kind of neocolonial political investment which the German bourgeoisie is projecting for East Europe is economically equivalent to a massive military buildup. Moreover, German imperialism is at this moment expanding the field of operations of the Bundeswehr. In time, a powerful military can be used to seize valuable economic resources and seal off foreign markets from imperialist rivals. But the initial outlay produces no surplus value. Hence it is necessary to increase the mass of

Last year, the Times Mirror Center of Washington conducted a major survey of European public opinion, putting 128 questions to 13,000 people in 13 countries. In reporting on the poll, Martin Linton (*London Guardian*, 4 October 1991) noted, "The poll seriously undermines any western illusion that eastern Europeans have fallen in love with privatization," and found worrying "the signs of cynicism and disillusionment already beginning to emerge" in East Europe. Notably, the survey showed that on a range of social and political/economic questions East Germans had more progressive attitudes than others.

The following percentages answered that they "never doubt the existence of God":

Belief in God

Poland	83
Italy	80
Spain	72
West Germany	59
Britain	58
Lithuania	57
Ukraine	53
Bulgaria	50
Hungary	49
France	47
Russia	46
Czechoslovakia	45
East Germany	27

And in response to the question of "what kind of marriage is more satisfying, one where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of house and children, or one where both have jobs and take care of house and children together," the following percentages preferred women staying at home:

Prefer Wife at Home

Lithuania	62
Hungary	59
Poland	56
Czechoslovakia	54
Ukraine	53
Russia	48
West Germany	41
Bulgaria	40
Italy	34
France	30
Spain	30
Britain	28
East Germany	18

surplus value from the productive sectors of the economy and/or from other capitalist economies.

The pressure to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class in western Germany is aggravated by the bourgeoisie's decision to dismantle industry in East Germany. This decision was based not so much on rational capitalist economic calculation as on the political aim of atomizing and demoralizing the proletariat of the former DDR, which had the highest level of socialist consciousness and culture in Europe. In this regard, an opinion poll taken last year shows that social attitudes (e.g., on religion, the status of women) in eastern Germany are far more progressive than anywhere else in Europe, West or East (see box on this page).

In the past, West Germany was able to finance its relatively small budget deficits out of private savings. But as the public debt has ballooned, it has gone up from 20 percent to 50 percent of personal savings. The German ruling class is now trying to attract money-capital from the rest of the world by offering high *real* (inflation-adjusted) interest rates. That's why the attention of all the European bourgeoisies was focused



TROTSKY

Fratricidal Nationalism and Imperialism in the Balkans

The Balkan wars in the early years of this century, resulting from the intersection of imperialist rivalries and the nationalist ambitions of the reactionary states in the region, were a prelude to the First World War. Today, the splintering of the Yugoslav bureaucratically deformed workers state has unleashed a many-sided nationalist bloodbath which could easily draw in both neighboring states and the Western imperialist powers.

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky recognized that only proletarian revolution, leading to a socialist federation, could save the Balkan peoples from fratricidal slaughter and imperialist subjugation.

Because of their geographical and economic position the Balkan and Danubian countries were drawn long ago into the sphere of interests of the imperialist Powers....

The bloody rivalry for the upper hand in the Balkans lasted for decades, but when these rivals out of sheer exhaustion ceased waging war the ruling classes of the Balkan countries who had become their agents and servants continued the war among themselves. The last imperialist war began in the Balkans; it had a prelude in the Balkan war of 1912-13 which ended without complete victory for any of the groups taking part and provided the occasion for the opening of the 1914 war among the imperialist great Powers, to settle finally the question who should rule the Balkan peninsula and control the main roads to Asia and the Mediterranean.

In order to draw the Balkan States into war against one another their imperialist patrons exploited the greed of the bourgeoisie for territorial conquest and enticed them with promises of a 'Great Bulgaria,' 'Great Serbia,' or 'Great Rumania.' They incited the different nationalities against each other, made loans for armaments, taking as pledge the mines and harbours, and in fact transforming these countries into their colonies....

Only the proletariat can avert a new catastrophe by its victory and free the working and peasant masses from economic and national oppression. Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship can unite the masses in a Balkan or Balkan and Danubian federal, socialist, Soviet republic, liberate them both from the feudal capitalist exploitation of their own and the foreign bourgeoisie as well as from colonial servitude and national dissensions. The communist party is called upon by circumstances to play an even greater part in the Balkan peninsula than in the capitalist countries where there are no nationality problems. All the efforts of the Balkan communist parties should be directed to fulfilling this great historical mission of communism in the Balkans.

—"Manifesto to the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Turkey" (March 1920)



LENIN

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Oakland Hospital Workers Unite Against Union-Busting

OAKLAND—On May 26, 1,700 hospital workers struck Summit Medical Center in defense of the most basic principle of union solidarity: Picket lines mean don't cross! A striker told *Workers Vanguard*, "This isn't about wages, it's not about health care. It's about strength and for unity. If they take that away they can take away anything."

Summit, the largest private hospital in Oakland, was created this year by the merger of Merritt-Peralta and Providence hospitals. As a result of the merger, the hospital made clear its intention to "rationalize" the workforce—in other words, cuts and firings. The unions knew this was a life-and-death threat and responded with a solid strike, combining their forces to demand a common contract expiration date and defending their right to honor each other's picket lines. Invoking the spirit of industrial unionism as their most solid defense, they are presenting a common front against management, overcoming the historic divisions between "professional" and "unskilled." Management is determined to break the strike. They have brought in scab nurses and other staff from around the country.

The workers are mostly women and represent the diverse West Coast working class—black, white, Latino and Asian. They come from five different union locals—SEIU, ILWU (technicians), OPEIU (office workers), HERE (food service), and the California Nurses Association. They are militant and determined to win. But they are in danger of being thwarted by the sellout union misleaders, who don't know how to win strikes, and



Summit hospital strikers from five unions in crucial labor battle. Bay Area unionists must turn out to build mass picket lines to stop scabs. Victory to the embattled Summit strikers!

work overtime to prevent class struggle. They are steering the strike down the path to defeat: an absurd consumer boycott of Clorox (whose chief financial officer sits on the hospital board) and election rallies for the Democratic Party. To assist them, they've brought in Jesse Jackson to run point. Jackson turns picket lines into prayer vigils, and counsels that "The dignity of workers and the profits of management are not inconsistent" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 8 June). The strikers know better.

In the first week of the strike, workers held rallies at the hospital on almost a daily basis. Picket lines swelled with other Bay Area workers, especially hospital workers who recognize the Summit battle as their own. On May 29, Jesse Jackson showed up: he wanted to turn the strikers into voting cattle for the Democratic Party. But he didn't bargain on the fact that Summit strikers are angry and determined to fight. Jackson's stroll to the entrance of the hospital turned into a charge, as workers said "Let's storm

it!" and marched past guards and into the lobby, with scared hospital bosses standing by. But Jesse Jackson saved their bacon, saying "This is not what we need—we don't want a riot," and telling strikers to get down on their knees and pray (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 May). After meeting with the bosses, Jackson came out to lecture the strikers that "the point is not storming the door."

From Jesse Jackson to "flat tax" Jerry Brown, the Democratic Party politicians have been all over the Summit strike—in order to bury it under electoral illusions. The Democrats, just like their Republican partners, have presided over years of layoffs, givebacks and plant closings. In cities from L.A. to New York, black Democratic Party front men administer the budget cuts, layoffs and racist cop terror of capitalism in decay.

To win, you must hit Summit's profit-greedy bosses where it hurts, and stop the increasing number of scabs. Bay Area labor—Teamsters, longshoremen, transit workers—must come out in force to ring the hospital with mass pickets and shut Summit down! Strikers, who are fighting for decent health care as well as their unions, will win wide community support—especially if they champion the right of free abortion on demand against Summit's ban on all abortions at the insistence of Providence, which was a Catholic hospital.

At the same picket line rally where Jackson spoke, the labor bureaucrats of the hospital unions brought Oakland mayor Elihu Harris in to speechify that "the ability of people to withhold their labor for a just and fair wage is the only thing that separates our society from slavery." But as Marx said 125 years ago, "instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!'" the working class "ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system!'" That fight requires a revolutionary workers party to lead it. ■

L.A.: More Killer Cops Walk

LOS ANGELES—In a case that the local community of Pacific Islanders from Samoa is calling its own "Rodney King case," on June 3 an L.A. judge refused to order the retrial of a cop who last year gunned down two Samoan brothers in cold blood. So killer cop Albert Skiles, who pumped 19 bullets into his victims (13 in the back!) in this execution-style murder, will walk away, just like the racist cops who viciously beat Rodney King.

It was nearly midnight on 12 February 1991 when Skiles, responding to a report of a domestic dispute, saw the two Samoan brothers Pouvi and Italia Tualalelei, a warehouseman and college student respectively, in the driveway of Pouvi's Compton, California house. According to their younger brother, who watched in horror from a kitchen window, Pouvi and Italia had obeyed the order to kneel down,

when the killer cop fired ten shots. Skiles then calmly reloaded and fired nine times more as the unarmed brothers lay helplessly face down in their own blood.

These killings, which the cops incredibly claim were "self-defense," drew an immediate outcry from the community of more than 20,000 Samoans in Los Angeles County, concentrated in the cities of Compton, Carson and Long Beach. The trial at one point was suspended due to the days of outrage in the aftermath of the acquittal of the racist cops in the Rodney King case. On May 19, Judge John Reid declared a mistrial when there was a hung jury on two counts of voluntary manslaughter against cop Skiles (who is currently on medical leave for "stress").

In response to the judge's declaration of mistrial, L.A. and Compton police were ordered on tactical alert. The

Samoan community held several demonstrations, culminating with a march of 1,000 at Compton Civic Center on May 28. With police at every corner and helicopters hovering overhead, representatives of the Samoan Council of Chiefs pleaded for a "peaceful, dignified" response to coldblooded murder.

But this racist outrage has sparked a never-before-seen anger and activism among the usually clannish and insular Samoan community. As June Pouesi of the Samoan Affairs Council stated, "This mistrial sends a message to all law enforcement that they have the right to shoot to kill when they deal with any Samoan." Skiles' defense attorney, George Franscell, described the brothers as "beefy Samoans" in justifying the barrage of 19 bullets! So their "crime" was they had dark skin and were big.

Some demonstrators have also pointed to a 1989 raid by county sheriffs of a

bridal shower at the Cerritos home of Arthur Dole, a Samoan American, where a videotape by neighbors showed deputies dragging guests from the house and hitting them with clubs after they were made to lie face down on the ground. The family and most of the 40 guests in attendance have filed a \$40 million lawsuit against the county.

On June 3, Judge Reid decided that there would be no retrial of Skiles, shocking a packed courtroom of family and relatives. Chief Ietitaia Tualalelei, an uncle of the brothers, walked out as Judge Reid read his decision, saying, "you can't find justice in the American system, to put it bluntly. Someone can commit murder and get away with it."

Indeed, the racist cops and courts provide no "justice" for the working class and minorities in this country. It will take a fighting integrated revolutionary workers party to bring down this increasingly murderous ruling class and its cop assassins. A workers government will avenge the killings of Pouvi and Italia Tualalelei. ■

on the German public workers strike. Getting foreign capitalists to partially finance the integration of eastern Germany and neocolonial investment in East Europe can work only if it is accompanied by an increased rate of exploitation in Germany and, moreover, can only be sustained for a few years.

Here it's useful to consider the experience of the U.S. in the 1980s. In fact, a study on the effects of German reunification by the Pentagon's premier think tank, the Rand Corporation, predicted: "The cost of rebuilding the GDR [East Germany] and other Eastern bloc economies could well lead to a redirection of capital flows akin to those induced

by Reaganomics in the 1980s" (Ronald D. Asmus, *German Unification and Its Ramifications* [1991]).

Between 1980 and 1983, the total government deficit in the U.S. shot up from one-quarter of private savings to practically 100 percent. Reagan financed his big military buildup by borrowing massively from the rest of the world. Real interest rates in the U.S. and consequently in other financial markets were driven up to the highest level "since the birth of Christ," as Helmut Schmidt complained in 1981. This was achieved by combining a deflationary monetary policy, which produced a sharp recession in the early 1980s, with a union-busting

offensive. Reagan's breaking of the PATCO air controllers strike in 1981 was one of the preconditions for selling tens of billions of dollars in Treasury bills to the Japanese.

However, large-scale foreign borrowing for unproductive expenditure can only be sustained for a few years. After that, the increasing debt service leads to large balance-of-payments deficits, putting downward pressure on the borrower's currency in foreign-exchange markets. International financiers then pull their money out to preserve its (exchange) value. The Japanese have pulled out over \$100 billion from the U.S. since the 1987 Wall Street

crash, a major factor contributing to the recession of the past few years.

Therefore, it is most unlikely that in the middle run the Fourth Reich can achieve through economic means what the Third Reich failed to do by military means. The attempt to do so will intensify the class struggle in Germany itself, increase tension between the German and other European bourgeoisies, and perpetuate the chaos in East Europe. The bloody disaster in Yugoslavia exemplifies the inability of German imperialism to translate its economic strength and consequent diplomatic influence into political power on the ground in East Europe. ■

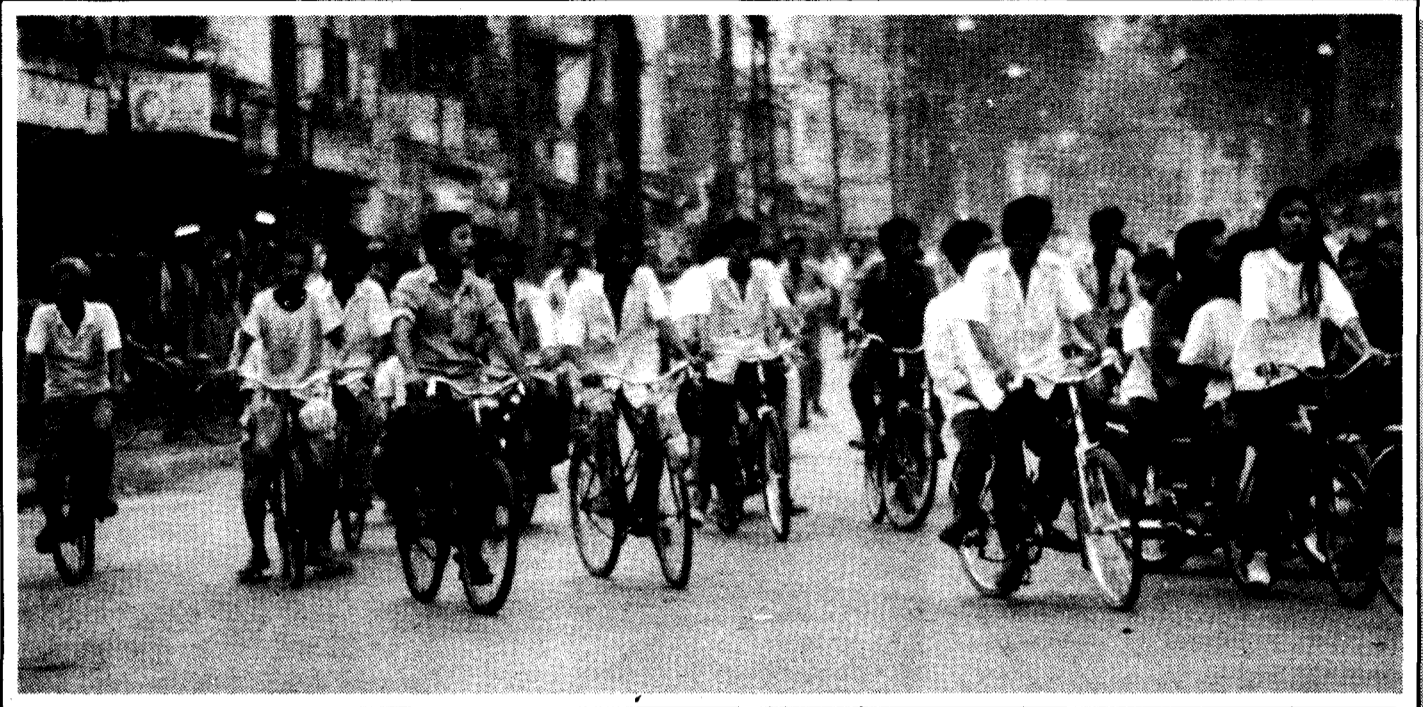
Report from Vietnam

We received the following eyewitness account from Inga, a sympathizer in Australia who is a nurse and traveled to Vietnam this past winter, in part to check on the delivery of medical supplies she had collected in Sydney as a contribution to a Vietnamese hospital. This was our correspondent's second visit to Vietnam, the first was a year ago. She arrived in Ho Chi Minh City (formerly Saigon) and traveled from there to Hanoi.

I was stunned by the difference in Ho Chi Minh City between last year and this. It's looking more what I imagine Saigon must have been before '75. Bright lights blink at you from shop fronts, hotels and a few bars (there were none of these last year). English signs abound—advertising all sorts of electronic, electrical and photographic goods. Some Vietnamese investment/business companies have sprung up and the banks are now clearly identified as such. Bars/cafes had names like "Suzie" or "Ma Chère" and one was even called "Apocalypse Now," named after that anti-Communist film, I was proudly told by a restaurant manager. "Apocalypse Now" is famous there for its rock music which blares out at night. Music tapes from the West are now readily available—at what price I don't know. All the old hotels have had facelifts and there seem to be quite a number of new ones—some of them now have names in English.

I saw more cripples on the streets compared to last year—mostly begging—young men victims of chemical warfare—deformed or missing limbs (clearly not the result of accidents). Also I saw people sleeping on the sidewalks and in empty building lots. I didn't see this last year—doesn't mean they weren't there—just that in a little bit of time I did more walking all over the central city area.

Two things really hit me as indicators of where the government is going. All the old billboards in Ho Chi Minh City celebrating the '75 victory and end of 30 years of struggle have gone. They have really cleaned up in readiness for capitalist investment. The past is being buried—no more daily reminders for the people or for the capitalists of that great victory for the workers and peasants/defeat for the imperialists. And secondly—the bookshops! All full of books in English on how to invest and set up businesses. Books on laws and regula-



Photos by Inga/Australasian Spartacist

In Ho Chi Minh City bicycles are still the main mode of transportation. Down with the vindictive imperialist embargo!

tions. I even saw a schoolbook in Hanoi on business regulations!

Once I'd done my organising I dumped my pack and took off to the Ben Thanh markets to find Ta Thu Thau Street (named for the leader of Vietnamese Trotskyism) before it got dark. Well, the street exists but is now called Luu Van Lang Street. Many streets have several names—from the time of the French occupation, the American war (Vietnam war) and post-'75. Most people know all the names.

I had hired an interpreter from one of the main tourist companies to go with me to Xuan Loc Hospital, about 80 kilometres north of Ho Chi Minh City. The next morning we met at the tourist office and each took a cycle to the bus station. We walked around looking for a "bus" going to Xuan Loc. Not your regular buses, but little covered pickup vans—some very old. All with two narrow benches down each side and another in the middle. So off we went jammed in knee to knee.

Xuan Loc Hospital

To recap what I was doing at Xuan Loc. Last year I visited the hospital, which is in Dong Nai Province. This was the area where the Australian troops did most of their dirty work during the war. It also has many rubber planta-

tions. I even saw a schoolbook in Hanoi on business regulations!

where thousands of Vietnamese perished through exhaustion and starvation during French rule. Today it is the area most heavily infested with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. The hills in this area are still completely denuded of vegetation from chemical defoliation.

A few details about the hospital at Xuan Loc might be interesting. Although it's a district hospital (the city hospitals would be a little better off), it's probably fairly representative. It serves a population of 300,000, has 400 beds and is staffed by 42 doctors, 150 nurses and 50 specialist technicians. Their main health problems are malaria and dengue fever. My guide's sister died from this a few years ago. Eighty percent of their equipment was left over from the U.S. occupation. The government finances 60 percent and the rest comes from the patients.

The doctors' average monthly salary was 70-80 thousand dong (at last year's rate this is US\$12). The nurses get 40-50 thousand dong, work a 48-hour week and often overtime up to another 48 hours! Last year this wasn't mentioned but this year they told me private medical practice is allowed. Given their lack of resources the patients appeared well looked after. There was no bed linen and some lay on newspaper on the beds. There was no running water to scrub for

operations—water is poured out of a bucket over their hands, as is soap. Operating linen is washed by hand and the suture cupboards were bare. The anaesthetic machine was primitive and they have no intra-operative monitoring equipment.

I was quite shocked to see how poor they were and what little equipment the hospital had. I had told them I'd see if I could do anything to help, and after returning to Sydney I managed to collect quite a lot of supplies, intravenous equipment, for example. I wanted to visit the hospital and see if the equipment I'd shipped on had arrived.

Spent some time talking to the deputy director who I'd met last year. He asked why I was so interested in the country so I told him that the American war was a crucial factor in my becoming a communist. He immediately wanted to know if I still was one. Along with two visiting Chinese doctors (malaria experts who have perfected a cure using traditional medicine) I was taken out once again for lunch. On introducing me at the table the deputy director announced I was a communist—at which the Chinese doctors applauded and cheered. (The other doctors just smiled.)

I talked about the International Communist League's position of military victory to the NLF during the war, our opposition to the seating of Pol Pot at the United Nations, and worldwide protests we launched against the 1979 invasion of Vietnam by Peking in collusion with U.S. imperialism. I likened the government to the old bureaucracy in the Soviet Union—bureaucratic, building socialism in one country. Now they're trying to deal with their economic problems by inviting capitalist investment—a strategy for defeat. The director was very sure that the government knew how to handle things.

I also talked about the counterrevolution going on in the USSR, the capitalist reunification of Germany and the withdrawal of Soviet aid to Vietnam. I made the point that the Soviet workers owed the Vietnamese workers a debt for staying the hand of U.S. imperialism with their great victory. The director was very astonished and appreciative—they began talking amongst themselves—then turned to me to say that this was a unique view and no one thought like that today. I don't think, though, my interpreter translated everything I said—I'd gone on to mention Ta Thu Thau and the Vietnamese Trotskyists—that's where he cut out, I think.

They insisted on driving me back



Streetcorners that used to sport revolutionary posters now have ads for Western capitalists. Left: Ho Chi Minh City, 1990; Right: Hanoi, 1992.



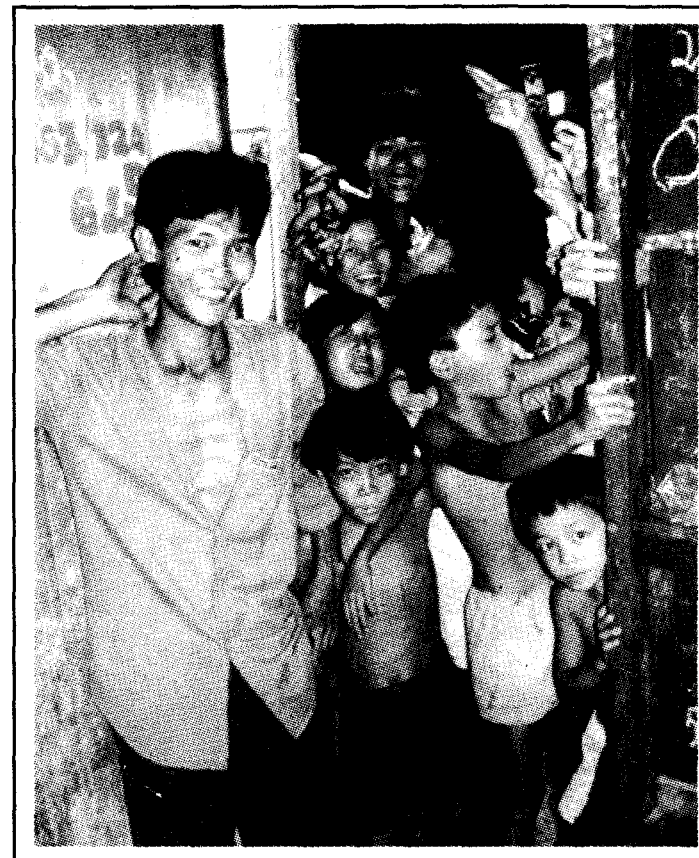
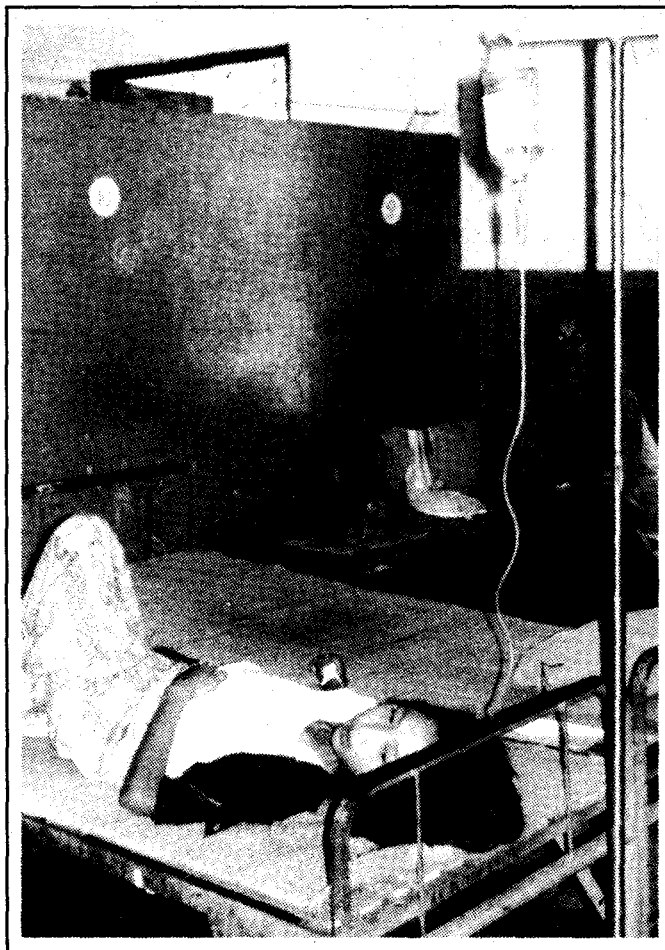
80 kilometres to Ho Chi Minh City in the brand-new hospital ambulance. Last year the ambulance was an old Australian army jeep which they'd said then belonged in a vehicle cemetery. My interpreter sat in the back seat and I sat in the front next to the driver and we continued to discuss politics all the way back to Ho Chi Minh City. It was a little difficult as the driver tooted the horn all the way home.

From Ho Chi Minh City to Hanoi

Last year I spent three weeks in Vietnam, traveling from Ho Chi Minh City down to Vinh Long in the Mekong Delta, then up to Dalat in the mountains. I went out to the coast and drove up past Cam Ranh Bay (empty) to Danang and Hue. From Danang I flew to Hanoi and was driven out through Haiphong to Halong Bay.

In Ho Chi Minh City there's a museum dedicated to the role of women in the anti-imperialist struggle. It's in a beautiful old converted mansion run by a young woman who clearly adores Uncle Ho. Was very impressive—photos from the turn of the century on—many of leaders whom I hadn't heard of. Quite a few photos of women in prison—hunger strikes and the awful conditions. Didn't get a chance to go back this time so don't know if it's still there.

I also went out to the tunnels at Cu Chi—30 kilometres west of Ho Chi Minh City. There is a building there and a guide to tell you how they lived and fought and used the tunnels (which were the main supply and transportation route for the NLF-North Vietnamese forces during the war). Also two maps—one of the actual tunnels and the other showing the U.S. army's approximation of them.



Patient in Xuan Loc Hospital (left). Cycle driver and family in doorway of their two-room "house" made of packing cases.

sea at China Beach just out of Danang—clear warm water and soft breakers. Had to borrow a bikini from a local woman as I'd left mine in the hotel.

The roads are generally very poor. Highway 1 between HCM City and Hanoi is in parts full of potholes—south of Danang we drove at 15 kilometres per hour to avoid hitting them—and you wouldn't want to drive at night. Road repairs are primitive—large rocks and

immediately obvious. Hang Ba Street has many shops jammed with stereo and video equipment—Sony, Sanyo, Sharp. Also in this street are several Honda motorbike shops. Other shops have such things as electric cookers made in the West. In Tran Tien Street there were more tourist shops than I remember, selling watches, cameras, (old) arts and crafts. Some young women in Hanoi were wearing makeup—didn't see that last year—also street stalls were selling eye shadow, lipstick and face creams.

Most of my time in Hanoi I spent going round the museums—history, military, revolutionary history, Ho Chi Minh museum and mausoleum. In one was a book, *Trotsky and Counterrevolution*. This was the only reference I saw to the genuine revolutionary traditions that once existed. Every time I came to photo displays of the 1945 Saigon events I asked my guide for translations. Of course it was all Stalinist banners, leaflets and demos.

Today there are something like ten and a half million people who require some form of health care as a result of the war, i.e., are limbless or known to be chemically affected. Many people still die or are maimed by stepping on unexploded mines. The metal is precious and can be sold, so people try to retrieve mines unaware of the danger. Of course the U.S. government has refused to hand over maps of the minefields.

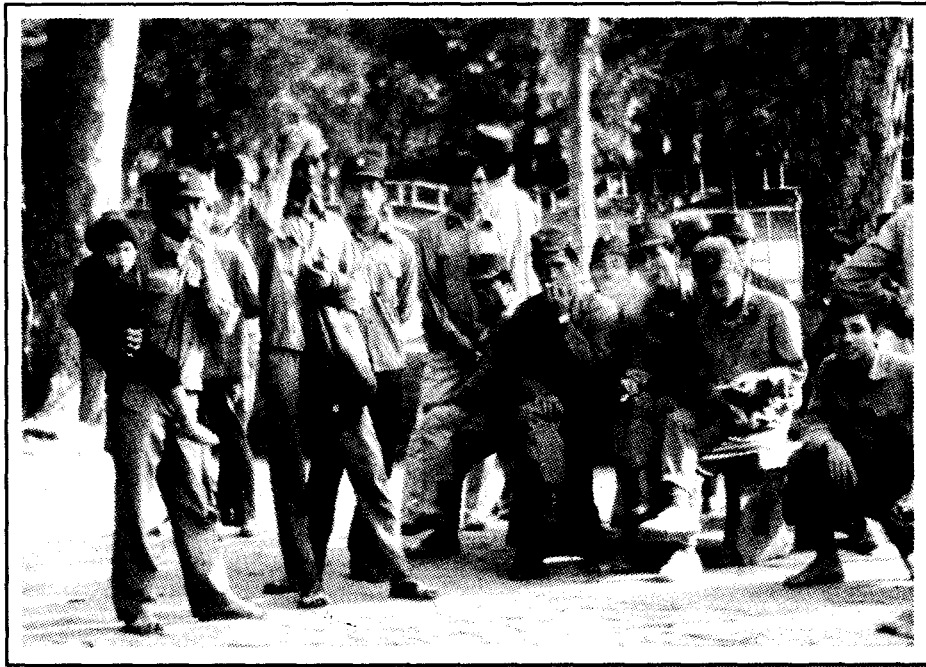
Dioxin is present in the food chain and thus in breast milk. Many young women have cervical cancer and are sterile. There is a high incidence of aborted fetuses and in the HCM City war crimes museum is a fetus with no brain, four arms and four legs. Soldiers

who fought in the south (VC/NLF and DRV) have a 17 times higher cancer rate than those who remained in the north. Some 27 percent of forests in the south were destroyed, affecting climate and crop yields.

The housing shortage is acute—young married couples often live with their parents. Marriage is often delayed because of poverty and lack of housing. My 30-year-old driver from last year said he was too poor to marry. While contraception is supposedly available, I bet it's too expensive (didn't find out), and is definitely unavailable in rural areas. You know most if not all these things anyway—like the rise in prostitution, massive unemployment and children growing up without education not only because it's too expensive but also because they must work to help support the family.

* * *

On her way to Vietnam, our supporter was in Moscow on November 7, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. *Pravda* (9 November) spoke with her there and in a sampling of opinions from the crowd they wrote: "An Australian woman from the International Communist League: 'The October Revolution was directed to the whole world. What is happening with you these days is a blow to communists in all countries.'" Not least of these is Vietnam. It's all the more necessary to struggle for Trotskyist parties to turn back the tide of counterrevolution. For workers political revolution from Moscow to Peking and Hanoi! Vietnam was a victory—Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism! ■



These unemployed, demobilized soldiers were among the many people lined up to visit Ho Chi Minh's house in Hanoi.

I crawled through about 50 metres (widened for tourists)—and it was quite terrifying. The guide had a little torch but when he turned a corner it became pitch black. It was hot, stuffy and smelled of urine, and my back kept bumping against the tunnel roof. I was very glad to get out but it was worth doing—you couldn't but be impressed at their courage and guts.

At Danang I went out to the Marble Mountains—a few little hills of rock in an otherwise flat landscape—and I wondered how on earth the U.S. military hadn't been able to blow to smithereens the women NLF guerrilla units who took potshots at the U.S. air base from there. I climbed up the top of one mountain—from the inside—wriggling and hauling myself up through shafts in the rock (almost impossible to descend that way if you suddenly took fright). The cave I started from had several plaques in memory of those killed by bombs being dropped on them. Now the bomb holes in the roof of the cave are almost overgrown with vegetation. I swam in the

stones are used to fill the holes—and they just sit there loosely. Between Hanoi and Haiphong I saw a truck full of rocks and stones and 4-5 people shoveling them into the holes. This work was done by both men and women in quite hot weather (last year it was an unseasonably hot winter). Many bridges have only been partly rebuilt, allowing only for one-way traffic, so you may have to wait up to one hour to get across.

Like the road repairs—the lack of mechanisation is also seen in the rice-threshing techniques. Bundles of rice stalks are placed on the roads so that vehicles driving over them separate out the grain, which then gets swept up.

Hanoi

The countryside around Hanoi's airport is dotted with little ponds—bomb craters in fact. Generally Hanoi is much poorer than Ho Chi Minh City—fewer cars and more people more shabbily dressed. At first I thought it looked the same as last year, but the same changes are taking place there—though not so

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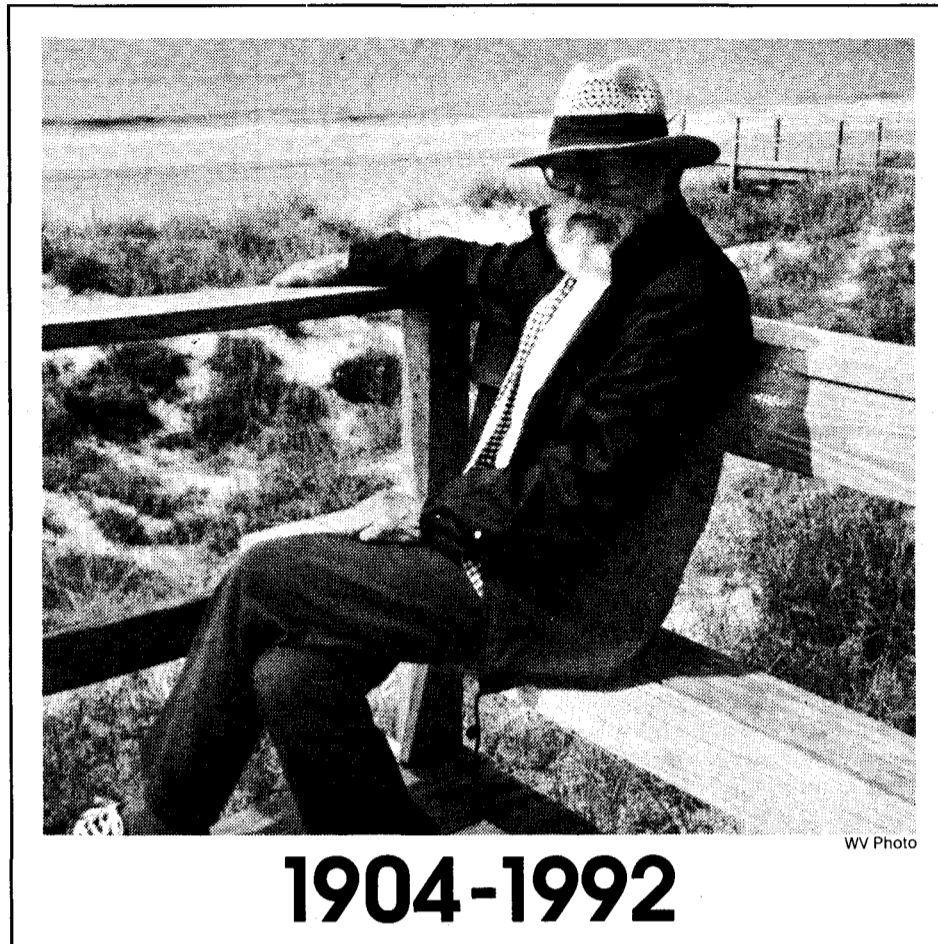
FRITZ BROSIUS

ARTIST AND FRIEND

Fritz Brosius, artist, friend of the Spartacist League and father of our comrade Helene, died on May 23 at the age of 87. An active witness of the 1918-19 German Spartacus Uprising and a lifelong admirer of Lenin, in his later years Fritz gave freely of his art and his time to the comrades of our movement. We mourn the loss of this talented man, also a wise and charming companion, and send our condolences to Helene, her brother Carl, Fritz's granddaughter Danna, and to Fritz's two surviving sisters, Maria and Helen.

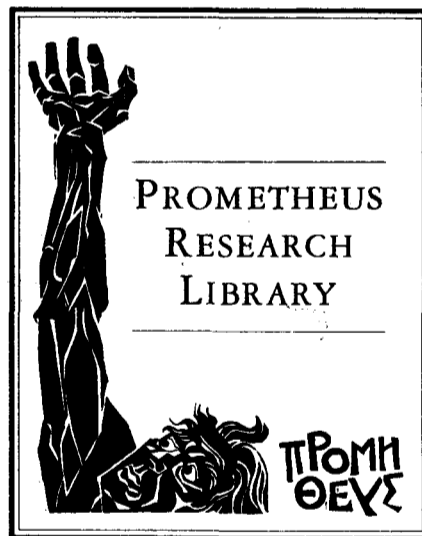
As a 14-year-old youth in Berlin, Fritz toured the barricades on his bicycle during the Spartacus Uprising, carrying messages, eagerly observing the mass political activity. He bought one of the rifles that many hungry soldiers sold on the street (his Prussian father made him turn it in after the defeat of the revolution). Fritz told of hearing Karl Liebknecht speak to a hushed and attentive crowd. Seeing how the German working masses supported the Spartacists, he was puzzled by the failure of the uprising. This firsthand experience of the revolutionary social struggle which wracked the Kaiser's disintegrating empire shaped Fritz's adult consciousness. He deeply believed in the need for a communist future for humanity.

In 1938 Fritz drew on his experiences in 1918-19 in painting a series of five tempera panels about the upris-



ing, which he donated to the Spartacist League in 1985. Fritz had attended our national conference that year, and he gave us the paintings after being asked

if he knew of an appropriate graphic for our membership cards. The comrade who spoke with him then movingly described the paintings in a letter



Fritz's two-color woodcut print of the mythical Greek hero Prometheus reaching for the fire of the gods was adapted as the logo for the Prometheus Research Library, whose bookplate is pictured above.

of condolence to Helene, "Looking at that series never fails to evoke the sense of heroism of those days. Fritz was a witness and participant in the uprising. I remember him explaining how he used the transition from red to grey, from ascent to decline, in the composition's progression. How familiar that pattern has become. Fritz captured the bitterness of the blows inflicted in 1918-19, and that we again taste today. But just as vividly, it is the heroism of Liebknecht, of Spartacist, that Fritz captured and preserved for all generations." The series now hangs in our New York local hall, a powerful display of the heritage that led us to choose the name Spartacist for our organization (see "The Spartacists," WV No. 389, 18 October 1985).

Fritz hated the cant and hypocrisy which permeate bourgeois society—especially organized religion. But he was also deeply shaped by the rigorous classical education that he received, as the son of a prosperous middle-class Berlin family, in the *Gymnasium*. An appreciation for history, literature and for Greek and Roman mythology infused Fritz's art and worldview; he often explained that Spartacus, leader of the slave revolt in ancient Rome, was the source of the name taken by German communists in 1918-19. Fritz saw Spartacus as the reference in the line of the *Internationale*, "Arise ye slaves no more in thrall."

Fritz's powerful woodcut of the Greek hero Prometheus was adapted as the logo for the Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, as well as for our party membership cards. According to ancient Greek myth, Prometheus challenged the gods by taking fire and giving it to man: remarking on the appropriateness of the name Prometheus for our library, Fritz noted simply, "Prometheus was the first Lenin."

The breadth of Fritz's cultural interests often astounded those who knew him. Schooled in the social mores of the pre-World War I European middle class, he combined his considerable erudition with an old-world charm which was often disarming. He could also be quite imperious, a demeanor he assumed when he directed comrades in the painting of a mural he designed for a party facility one fun evening in 1986. He was an avid hiker, bird watcher and boating enthusiast; over a glass of wine or Scotch he loved to describe the many things he had seen and painted in his world travels. But he was also a private and very modest man. We know only bits of his personal history.

Fritz studied art at the *Kunstgewerbeschule* and became a scenic artist and designer with Max Reinhardt at the Deutsche Theater in Berlin. He was greatly influenced by the German Expressionist movement. When his American mother returned to South Carolina in 1925, Fritz and his three sisters accompanied her. The American South under Prohibition must have been quite a shock to someone used to the heady cultural mix of Weimar Berlin. Fritz soon made his way to New



WV Photo

"Spartacus 1918" (tempera paint, 1938)

Fritz Brosius painted a series of five panels on the Spartacus Uprising in Berlin. His style was heavily influenced by the German Expressionist school. The panels capture the heroism and urgency of the masses; Fritz used the transition from ascending to descending lines and from red to grey to capture the pain of defeat. The second panel (left) portrays the arming of the workers. The paintings hang in the Spartacist New York local hall.

York City, where he found a home in the lively cultural milieu in Greenwich Village and around the Communist Party's John Reed Clubs. Fritz joined the party, was an active member of the Artists Union when it was organized by CP supporters in 1934, and spent a lot of time in Harlem where Communist circles overlapped those of the Harlem Renaissance. Fritz was a pioneer in the transformation of silk screen to an art medium. He designed sets for, and danced with, a party dance group; he also designed and built backdrops for party cultural events at Madison Square Garden.

Fritz also recalled being involved in other, "non-cultural" activities, such as an organizing drive of Harlem cooperative cafeteria workers in 1938. But he was discouraged by what he regarded as the lack of party backup for the campaign, and he was demoralized by the death of two of his friends who had gone to Spain to fight on the Republican side in the Civil War.

Fritz was never one to hew to orthodoxy, especially the increasingly venal, restrictive and mindless one of the Stalinist party in the era of the Moscow Purge Trials. In 1932, when the New York John Reed Clubs had been forced to admit their "grave error" in asking the Mexican muralist Diego Rivera—a supporter of Leon Trotsky—to speak, Fritz broke discipline by going to Rivera's New York studio as an act of protest against the party's campaign. In 1938 Fritz married Leonore Teller Kelter, an active member of the Socialist Party and teachers union organizer. He was devastated to discover that he was "excommunicated" by the party as a result of his marriage: he remembered with bitterness learning of his expulsion by reading the party press. Fritz and Leonore remained together until Leonore's death in 1979.

Beginning in the late 1940s until his retirement in 1962, Fritz supported his family by working as art director

of the Promotion Department of *Time* magazine. Throughout that period, he pressed forward with his own artwork away from the stifling atmosphere at *Time*, experimenting with a wealth of media. It was then that he seriously

took up the art of woodcut print making. In the early 1960s he exhibited some of his woodcuts and a series of paper and paste masks depicting traditional and mythical representations of the planets, and he had various watercolor shows. But for the most part Fritz made little effort to exhibit or sell his work. He made some wonderful illustrated calligraphy books which he gave to friends in later years; in the late 1970s and early 1980s he was a popular teacher of calligraphy classes.

Those who attended the open house

organized after his death, even friends of Fritz's who had known him for years, were in awe of the work displayed there, much of it for the first time. An impressive body of work, spanning a 60-year period, included a wealth of pen and ink drawings, watercolors, collages, tile mosaics, as well as the woodcut prints, planet masks and calligraphy books. Unfortunately we can display only a few pieces on these pages, but they evoke his memory far better than anything we write here. ■



Murasaki no Shikibu, the world's first novelist, led as a woman a precarious existence at the imperial court of Japan. Around 1000

*Swift as before
my thoughts
fly back to thee,
though now
from unknown shore
to stranger and more
distant shores I flee.*

MURASAKI



В.И. ЛЕНИН

But it will be unintelligible only to one who has not reflected on the fact that democracy is also a state and that consequently, democracy will also disappear when the state disappears. Only a revolution can destroy the capitalist state.

The state in general, that is, most complete democracy, can only wither away. LENIN

Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov, Lenin shook the capitalist world and is still vilified sixty years after his death as the very image of communism. Our time.

Two of the panels from Fritz's illustrated calligraphy book, *Some of My Heroes*.

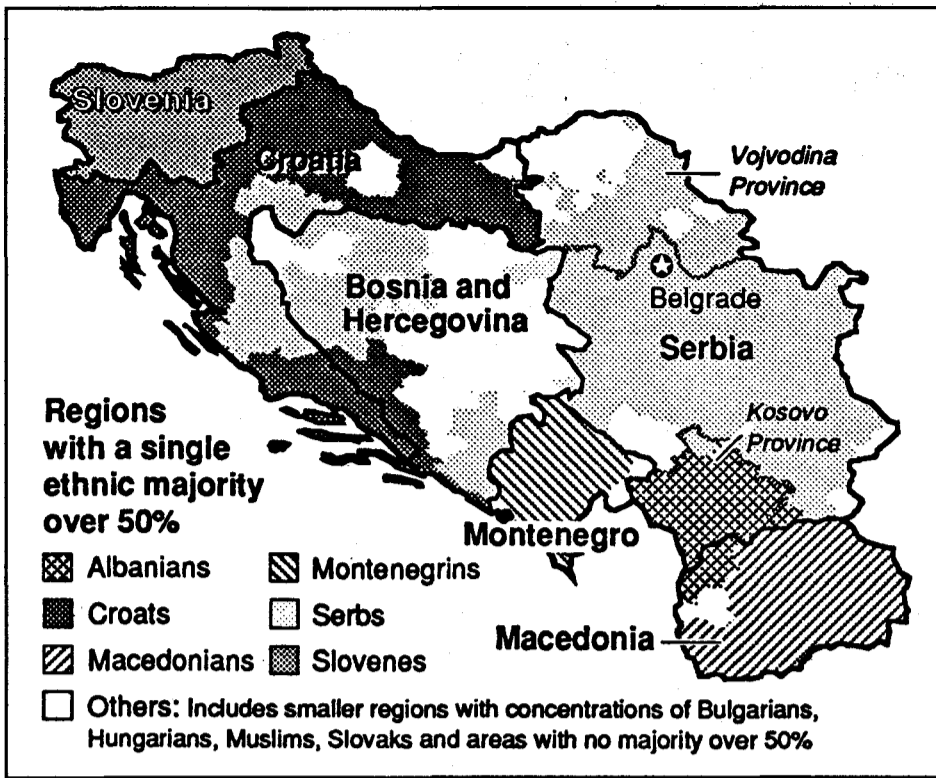
Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 1)

new constitution on April 27. Accepting the secession of the counterrevolutionary Slovene and Croatian regimes, it defined the new Yugoslavia as consisting of Serbia and ethnically Serbian Montenegro, and removed the word "socialist" from the state's former name, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Days later, Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic carried out a sweeping purge of the Yugoslav military, dumping the acting defense minister and 39 other senior generals, having already purged the federal army of all non-Serbs in the course of the war with Croatia.

Having for years bled Yugoslavia and fueled the forces of local nationalism in order to promote social counterrevolution, the NATO powers now seek to impose imperialist "law and order" on the war-torn country. With the reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism running point, reasserting hegemony over its traditional vassals of Croatia and Slovenia, they are out to humble and bring to heel the Milosevic regime. After initially opposing the German drive for dismemberment of Yugoslavia, the U.S. weighed in with a push for anti-Serbian sanctions in a crude attempt to drive home who was top dog in the "New World Order." On May 30, the United Nations Security Council ordered an embargo against the rump Yugoslav state.

Various Western spokesmen have also



AP Graphic

donia with its mainly ethnic Bulgarian population; Greece, which has massed troops on the Macedonian border, claims it as "Greece's stolen jewels" and raves that the name "Macedonia" is an exclusive Greek trademark. Turkey, which is seeking to reassert the claims of the Ottoman Caliphate, has threatened to send troops in to protect the Muslim Slavs of Bosnia while contemplating another front against Armenia and engaging in an ongoing genocidal war

independent of U.S.-dominated NATO and centered on the power of German imperialism. France threatened to scuttle the embargo proposal altogether and reportedly braintrustered a conciliatory letter by Milosevic to the UN aimed at averting the sanctions.

Restoring imperialist "stability" in Yugoslavia is now seen as a test of the "New World Order" proclaimed by Bush over the corpses of 100,000 Iraqi dead. As we noted at the time, this "new order" is beginning to look very much like the imperialist disorder which preceded World War I. The Bolshevik Revolution pointed the only way out of fratricidal slaughter and the certainty of future interimperialist wars.

Squalid Nationalism on All Sides

Much of the Western press has sought to portray Serbian nationalist strongman Milosevic as the main villain of the piece. On the eve of the UN sanctions, German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel put it succinctly: "It must be said clearly who is responsible. The Serbs are responsible." This comes from the mouth of one of the architects of the bloody dismemberment of Yugoslavia! If the Serbian nationalists have been more successful than their Croat counterparts in pursuing their respective chauvinist projects, it is only because they have greater numbers and firepower. In the dog-eat-dog competition of returning capitalism, it is only "natural" that each gang of bourgeois nationalists seeks to carve out as big a piece of the pie as it can.

Milosevic is certainly a nationalist bastard, while Croatian leader Franjo

Tudjman is an open admirer of the clerical-fascist Ustasha, which under the Nazi occupation massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (Gypsies). And the leader of the stillborn "independent" Bosnian state, Alija Izetbegovic, is known for having authored a 1990 "Islamic Declaration" which begins: "Our goal is the islamization of Muslims. Our motto is: believe and fight" (*International Weekly* [Belgrade], 23 May). Meanwhile, this nationalist agitation has brought to the fore uncontrolled gangs of criminal terrorists who are carrying out murderous pogromist atrocities on all sides. Even a UN report conceded that Milosevic has little control over the Serbian militias in Bosnia.

In Croatia as well as in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatian militias that model themselves on the Ustasha, and army-backed Serb militias that call themselves "Chetniks," after the wartime royalists who collaborated with British imperialism (and blocked with the German and Italian fascists against the Communists), are pursuing genocidal forced population transfers in the name of "ethnic cleansing." This has been particularly savage in ethnically intermingled Bosnia, where 43 percent of the population is Muslim, 31 percent Serbian and 17 percent Croatian, but more than one-third of all families are the product of mixed marriages.

While imperialist attention has focused on the Croats and other Yugoslav minorities fleeing Serbian militias, more than 140,000 Serbian refugees have been forced to flee neo-Ustasha terror in Croatia and Bosnia. One of the largest forced population transfers in the yearlong fighting came when thousands of Serbian refugees were recently driven out of northern Bosnia by Muslim and Croatian militias.

Even as they slaughter each other, the Serbian and Croatian nationalists are more than willing to cut a deal over the body of the Muslim Slavs. As *Der Spiegel* (25 May) reported: "The Croatian and Serbian presidents, Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic, already last summer agreed in principle over the partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Serbia would get northern and southeastern Bosnia, Croatia would get the better part of Hercegovina." In a well-advertised "secret" meeting in the Austrian town of Graz in early May, Bosnian Serb and Croat militia representatives showed up with maps in hand to work out the details of the carve-up...where they agree. Where they don't, they fight.

Western liberals moan about the nationalist "excesses" accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia and counterrevolution in East Europe. But this deadly eruption of national chauvinism is a necessary concomitant of capitalist restora-



Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Leadership of Communist Partisans in World War II was drawn from the many nationalities making up Yugoslavia. Kardelj (left) was Slovene, Tito (second from left) was Croatian, Rankovic (third from left) was Serb, Djilas (far right) was Montenegrin.

been screaming for a full-scale military intervention against Serbia, and a *New York Times* (28 May) editorial ominously cheered that the UN Chapter 7 provision mandating the embargo was the same used last year to legitimate the U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq. As we wrote earlier this year, "If the UN is idiotic enough to intervene militarily, then revolutionaries would side with the Yugoslav army and Serbia against the imperialist-backed forces, whether they sport blue helmets or not" (*WV* No. 543, 24 January). Without extending an iota of political support to the reactionary nationalist Milosevic regime, we demand: Down with the imperialist embargo! NATO/UN hands off Serbia/Montenegro!

Military intervention into the byzantine Yugoslav bloodbath would certainly be a measure of imperialist idiocy. Calling it a "nightmare scenario," David Fairhall wrote in the *London Guardian* (2 June): "When the military hears calls for intervention in Sarajevo, their minds flash back not to the triumphs of Kuwait, but to the humiliation of Beirut." Under the headline "Operation Balkan Storm?" the conservative British *Economist* (30 May) warned that "military intervention could end in a bloodbath, enlarging the war it was designed to end."

Hungary's right-wing nationalist president claims to be the protector of Yugoslavia's 400,000 ethnic Magyars. Albania takes a similar stance toward the 1.4 million ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Macedonia. Bulgaria claims Mace-

against its Kurdish population (including most recently on its Armenian border).

While hypocritically and one-sidedly denouncing Serbian atrocities, Germany and its Common Market allies have responded to the largest movement of refugees in Europe since World War II by inciting racist attacks on immigrants and pulling up the drawbridges of "Fortress Europe." On May 22, German interior minister Seitzers announced that restrictive visa regulations would remain in place for Bosnians despite the civil war. A two-day West European conference on the Balkan refugee problem "generously" voted to send 100,000 tents to Croatia, holding up the UN concentration camps for Kurds in northern Iraq as a model.

Social counterrevolution has once again made the Balkans the flash point of ancient nationalist hatreds and inter-imperialist rivalries. It was in Sarajevo, after all, that the opening shot of World War I was fired, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand (whose presence there on June 28, the Serbian national holiday of Vidovdan, was a provocation on the order of the British monarch making an appearance in Dublin on the anniversary of the Easter Uprising). Secretary of State James Baker's attack on the Europeans' failure to subjugate Milosevic came hours after France and Germany announced plans to form their 35,000-man joint "Eurocorps," the nucleus of a future European army

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Croatian Fascism, Then and Now

We reprint with permission an article which appeared in *Private Eye* (13 May 1992), the London satirical magazine.

With Friends Like This...

By their friends will you know them...and the adage applies equally to Croatia's president Franjo Tudjman as to his statesman chums in Europe.

In his last book, *Wastelands*, Tudjman wrote that the Jews were a genocidal people who may themselves have murdered most of the Serbs and gypsies who disappeared in the extermination camp of Jasenovac during the second world war. Now the David Irving think-alike is busy renaming the streets and schools of his republic in honour of racially and ideologically pure Croats.

In Split, for example, Nikola Tesla Street, named after the scientist, has been renamed Ante Starcevic Street—after the intellectual father of Croatian fascism. Tesla invented improvements to bulbs and transformers, as well as the high-frequency coil which bears his name. Unfortunately for the regime in Zagreb, Tesla was born at Smiljan, Croatia, into a Serb (i.e., Orthodox Christian) family and until the end of his life in exile in the United States described himself as “a Yugoslav first, a Serb second and Croat third.”

Ante Starcevic, on the other hand, was a half-baked 19th century racial theorist who claimed that the Croats were rightful lords of all the South Slav peoples in Bosnia-Herzegovina and even in Serbia proper. Charming, Starcevic claimed that the Serbs, who differ from Croats only in their religion, were a “race of slaves, the most

loathsome of beasts...a breed fit only for the slaughterhouse.” And he popularized the slogan of “Serbs to the willows!”—meaning string 'em up on a willow tree. His Party of Croatian Rights inspired the wartime Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic and has now reappeared in Zagreb, its black-uniformed storm troopers, of HOS, sporting Ustasha insignia.

There used to be a school in Zagreb named after Miloj Pavlovic, the headmaster of a school at Kragujevac in Serbia. As a reprisal for a guerilla attack on 20 October 1941 the Germans shot 7,000 males in Kragujevac, including Pavlovic and all the boys in his school.

The Miloj Pavlovic School has now been renamed after Mile Budak, a pious Catholic novelist who was minister for education and cults (i.e., religion) in the Ustasha government of the Independent State of Croatia, then allied to the Germans who shot down Serb schoolboys. It was Budak who first proclaimed, in a speech at Gospic in June 1941, the Ustasha policy towards the Serbs in the independent state: “Convert a third, expel a third and kill a third.” On another occasion, Budak said: “For the minorities—Serbs, Jews and Gypsies, we have three million bullets.” The citizens of Dubrovnik have also renamed a street after the pious Budak.

There is mounting speculation that Tudjman may soon name other streets and schools after the foreign statesmen who have helped him win recognition for Croatia. The most fancied candidates are:

- Kurt Waldheim of Austria. As a



Der Spiegel
Nazi Führer Adolf Hitler greets Croatian fascist puppet leader Ante Pavelic (second from right) in June 1941.

Wehrmacht officer Waldheim fought to preserve the Independent State of Croatia, winning particular commendation from some of the Ustasha leaders. Like many fellow Austrians, such as the late A. Hitler, Waldheim combines friendly feelings towards the Croats with detestation of the Serbs who defied the Teutons in 1914 and again in 1941. Austria's generous help in money and clandestine arms enabled Tudjman to make his bid for independence last June. German and Austrian diplomatic backing helped ensure recognition early this year.

• French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen. Way back in 1963 Le Pen's publishing house brought out a book, *Martyred Croatia*, adorned

with the red-and-white chessboard flag which was Ante Pavelic's symbol during the war and has now reappeared, striking dread in Serbs, like Hitler's swastika did with the Jews. The jovial Le Pen, who shares Tudjman's view that the Holocaust was grossly exaggerated, has visited Zagreb and plugged the cause of Croatia in his publications.

• Margaret Thatcher, the former Conservative prime minister of Great Britain. She met Tudjman in London last spring and egged him on to declare independence. He returned home saying the “Iron Lady” was on his side. Later Mrs. Thatcher called not only for British recognition but arms supplies to Croatia, which, she fondly imagines, is run on sound Thatcherite principles.

tion. The bourgeois state is based on the dominant position of one nation and the subjugation and oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. And that is precisely what is happening in Yugoslavia today, as competing nationalist gangs scramble to construct bourgeois states on contested territory and over the corpse of Tito's Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

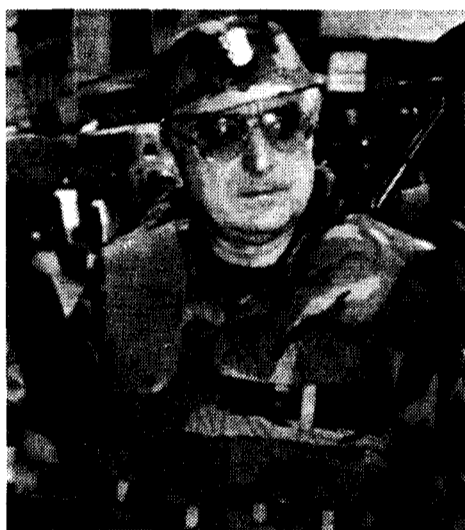
While various pseudo-leftists like Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat fell into line behind NATO's support for Croatia's “national liberation” last year, we insisted that revolutionaries had no side in the fratricidal civil war. Pointing out that the secessionist regimes in Croatia and Slovenia were clearly counter-revolutionary, we also noted that the “army/Milosevic campaign is not to preserve the Yugoslav workers state but, in fact, is speeding its demise through an explosion of nationalist rancor and bloodletting” (WV No. 540, 6 December 1991). And that has now come to pass, with the new constitution formalizing the decomposition of the Yugoslav deformed workers state into competing counterrevolutionary nationalist regimes.

The recent military purges cap the transformation of the federal army into an instrument of Greater Serbian nationalism. As Belgrade journalist Branislav Milosevic noted:

“The purge does not mean that Milosevic's strategic aims will change; only that the policy will be carried out by different people. Once, Milosevic had to disguise his followers as socialists. Now, in place of indoctrinated Titoist generals, he relies on more educated Serbian nationalists among the younger senior army officers.”

—Guardian [London], 15 May

A dispatch from the official Tanjug news agency reported: “In regard to changes in the army [air force] General Stevanovic said that this army is in fact a completely new one and added that the new generation of young highly trained officers has gotten rid of all the ideolog-



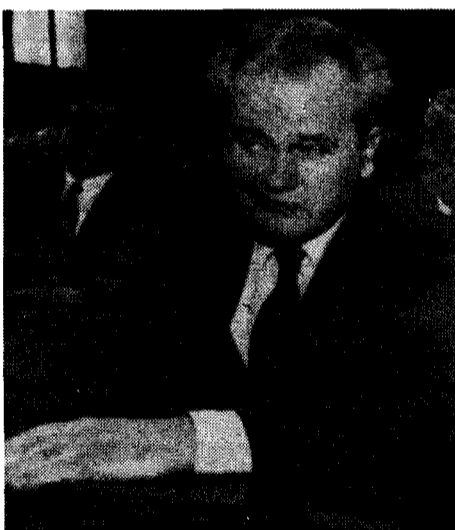
Der Spiegel

Croatian president Franjo Tudjman, apologist for genocidal Ustashi fascists (left); Serbian strongman and nationalist demagogue Slobodan Milosevic (right).

ical principles which had burdened the former Yugoslav People's Army.”

While Milosevic now stands at the helm of a nascent capitalist state, shorn of “burdensome ideological principles” which proclaimed at least a verbal connection to socialism and internationalism, his position is hardly secure. Even without the imperialist sanctions, the Serbian economy is a shambles, as vast resources have been funneled into the war. Inflation is out of control, with prices almost doubling every day. Many factories have been disabled as a result of mass conscription or because they relied on goods from the other Yugoslav republics. For example, the Zastava auto factory in Kragujevac has been shut down because since the beginning of the year it has no longer been able to get needed parts from Croatia and Slovenia.

Politically, Milosevic is buffeted by ultranationalist forces on one side and pro-imperialist elements on the other. May 31 elections called to legitimize the new constitution were boycotted by all but Milosevic's Socialist Party, the extreme nationalist Serbian Radical



Financial Times

Party of Vojeslav Seselj and a handful of other tiny formations. Seselj and Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic denounce Milosevic for being “too moderate” in pursuit of a “Greater Serbia.” At the same time, Crown Prince Alexander, the Serbian Orthodox church and opposition parties like Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Movement for Renewal have been seeking to accommodate imperialist pressure and attacking Milosevic as a closet Communist. The day after the UN sanctions vote, these types organized a middle-class “antiwar” demonstration in Belgrade with chants of “Slobo, Saddam.” Meanwhile the crown prince—a shill for British imperialism who was born in London—is being fêted by both London and Washington.

The opposition is no less committed to Greater Serbian nationalism than Milosevic. Draskovic, for example, is a hard-bitten chauvinist who idolizes Chetnik leader Draza Mihailovic, executed in 1946 by the victorious Partisans. Unveiling a monument to Mihailovic in May, Draskovic rhapsodized to his dead mentor: “The Serbian people are

experiencing the same tragedy as half a century ago, when you came to Mt. Ravna Gora, raising our banner from the dust, showing us the way of salvation and healing the broken wings of the nation.”

Communist Partisans Defeated Nationalist Pogromists

That Serbian monarchists and Croatian fascists who were Nazi collaborators are today being honored (see box) speaks vividly to the reactionary transformation which has overwhelmed Yugoslavia. Tito's tortured version of federalism looks pretty good in hindsight. The social revolution carried out under Tito's leadership laid the basis for economic and national equality for all the Yugoslav peoples, Serbs and Croats as well as Bosnian Muslims, Voj Magyars and Kosovo Albanians. As we noted in “The National Question in Yugoslavia” (WV No. 106, 23 April 1976):

“With such a conglomeration of nations compressed in a restricted area, the interpenetration of peoples frequent in border regions becomes far more than an incidental factor. In this case, a democratic solution to the national question would be found only in the context of proletarian, collectivist property relations which provide the basis for a federative solution free from national oppression.”

Particularly in polemicalizing against leftist apologists for Arab nationalism and Irish Republicanism in the early 1970s, the Spartacist tendency insisted that in the case of interpenetrated peoples—as in Israel/Palestine, Sri Lanka, Ireland or Cyprus—there could be no just solution to the national question on the basis of bourgeois democracy. Such conflicts of different peoples claiming the same territory could only be resolved in a reactionary manner through genocidal forced population transfers, or in an equitable, democratic way through the creation of a workers

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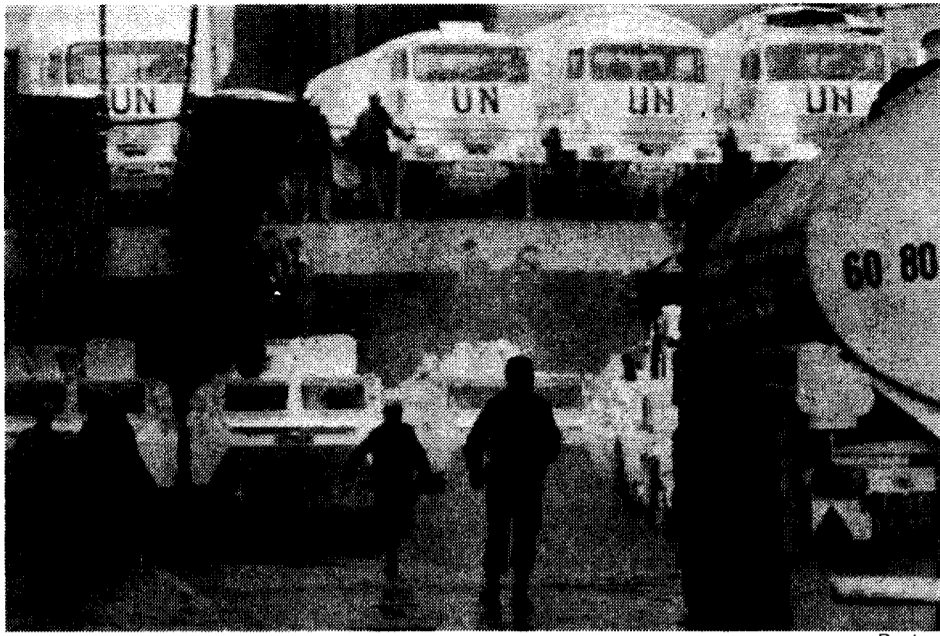
Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 9)

state. Yugoslavia has demonstrated the truth of that statement, first positively and now negatively.

From the very outset, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was the only political formation in the country which embraced all of that country's diverse mosaic of nationalities. Forced underground almost immediately after its formation, the CPY attracted cadre on the basis of its opposition to all variants of national oppression in the Serb-dominated Yugoslav monarchy of the interwar years. This continued even after its Stalinization, which led it to attempt (unsuccessfully) to bloc in the prewar period with the Croatian Ustasha and at the beginning of the war with the Serbian Chetniks. If for no other reason than its multinational composition—Tito had a Croat father and Slovene mother, his chief lieutenants included the Slovene Edvard Kardelj, the Serb Alexander Rankovic, the Montenegrin Milovan Djilas and the Jew Moshe Pijade—the CPY was seen as an enemy by Croatian and Serbian nationalists alike.

As we have written, during the genocide of World War II “workers and peasants came to know they were safe when the partisans with the red star on their caps arrived in town” (WV No. 429, 29 May 1987). Fighting against both the Ustasha and Chetnik pogromists as well as the Nazi and Italian fascist invaders, Tito's victorious Communist Partisans emerged from the war with widespread authority as the sole unifying force among Yugoslavia's nationalities. The 1946 constitution proclaimed “a community of peoples with equal rights” and stated: “Every legal act, which would give privileges to citizens or limit their rights on the basis of their belonging to a different nationality, race, or religion, as well as any preaching of national,



UN imperialist “peacekeepers” (arriving in Croatia) are supposed to bring the “New World Order” to this bloody Lebanon in the Balkans.

racial, or religious hatred and disunity, is unconstitutional and punishable by law.”

But while Tito's CPY enshrined the equality of nations within Yugoslavia—to the point that latter-day Chetniks claim the predominant Serbs were “oppressed”—the national question in the Balkans could not be resolved within the borders of the Yugoslav state. No less than Stalin, Tito was intent on pursuing construction of his own “socialism in one country.” Early postwar talk of reviving the call for a Balkan federation, albeit on bureaucratic lines, was scuttled in pursuit of competing nationalist interests. The Yugoslavs dropped their demand for Macedonian unification after Stalin ordered the Greek Communists to abandon their guerrilla struggle against the British occupying forces. Finally, following the break with Stalin in 1948, Tito notified the Stalin-loyal Dimitrov regime in Bulgaria that he now opposed the goal of a socialist federation of the Balkans.

As a result, the Macedonians, Albanians and others remained divided by state boundaries.

Moreover, in pioneering “market socialism” in the guise of “workers self-management,” the Tito regime allowed vast regional economic disparities held over from capitalism to continue—disparities which would subsequently fuel the rise of nationalist forces within the Stalinist bureaucracies of the different republics. Where the Soviet Union—even under the Great Russifier Stalin—channeled resources and investments into more backward regions like Central Asia, promoting relative equality, in Yugoslavia “self-management” and regional economic autonomy increasingly meant that the better-off republics benefited from investment in comparison to their neighbors, despite efforts by the central government to overcome such differences. Thus in the 30 years after 1953, the per capita gross social product in Kosovo (the poorest region) relative to that in Slovenia (the richest) actually declined, from 28 to 14 percent.

Economic decentralization gave many Croatian and Slovenian bureaucrats appetites for “market socialism in one province,” leading to the rise of openly nationalist elements like Tudjman, and their counterparts in Serbia like Milosevic. A Yugoslav journalist observed: “The electoral victory of the nationalist parties, under Milosevic in Serbia and Tudjman in Croatia presaged the beginning of the end for Tito's Yugoslavia.” Tudjman, a former general and university professor, asserted his counterrevolutionary appetites through his open apotheosis for the Ustasha. Milosevic, a former head of the state bank, proclaimed his support for a “market economy” and linked the Yugoslav dinar to the deutschmark. The Serbian regime also had its ties to the U.S., notably through Deputy Secretary of State Eagle-

burger, who had been on the board of directors of the Yugo car manufacturer's American subsidiary.

Shortly after Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987, we warned against “an ominous rise in Great Serbian nationalist agitation fomented by the new strongman of the Serbian bureaucracy, Slobodan Milosevic, who comes off sounding like a full-blown fascist” (WV No. 463, 21 October 1988). Milosevic became the spokesman for a 1986 manifesto issued by nationalist academics at the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science, and rose to power through a vicious chauvinist campaign against the Kosovo Albanian autonomous region. A wave of strikes and workers protests against the ravages of IMF-dictated austerity was deflected and subverted through deliberate nationalist agitation. As we wrote then:

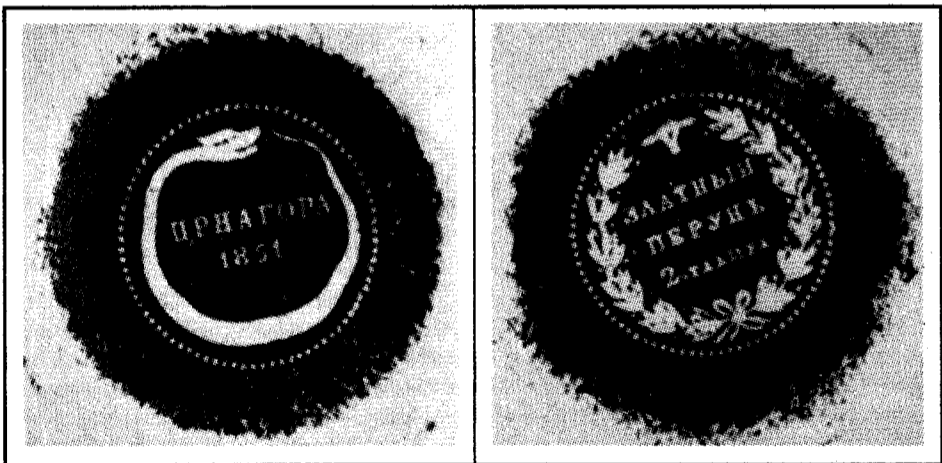
“Clearly the massive nationwide strike movement presents a crucial opportunity for a genuinely communist vanguard to reforge the fraternal links among the Yugoslav working people so badly eroded by decades of ‘market socialism.’ As Trotskyists we stand for equality among peoples on the basis of increased material well-being. This can only be achieved through a proletarian political revolution to establish workers democracy, soviet power, central planning and a rational allocation of investment resources. Above all this requires a definitive break from the Stalinist dogma of ‘socialism in one country,’ and its replacement with the program of proletarian internationalism.”

In the absence of an internationalist vanguard party, and in the context of a rising counterrevolutionary wave unleashed by Gorbachev's perestroika, the Yugoslav proletariat was overwhelmed by capitalist restoration and fratricidal nationalism.

Now with Yeltsin pushing forward capitalist counterrevolution in the prostrate Soviet Union, developments there threaten to unfold as in the Balkans. If the murderous internecine slaughter which already consumes the Soviet Caucasus is not to engulf all of the former Soviet republics, what is urgently necessary is to forge a multinational vanguard nucleus in the Soviet Union committed to the program of Lenin and Trotsky's October. Proletarian political revolution must sweep away Yeltsin's starvation regime before it is too late.

Amid the horror of the nationalist slaughter, a new generation of internationalist Yugoslav proletarian militants will have to be cohered. The only program to halt the counterrevolutionary drive remains the construction of Trotskyist parties, to preserve and extend the gains of the October Revolution. As Trotsky stated in the early 1930s:

“A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into a federation of the United Soviet States of Europe.” ■



Numismatist

Impressions of the dies of gold coin, acclaimed one of most beautiful of the modern era, designed by Montenegrin Serb Prince-Bishop Petar Njegos. The dies disappeared during Austrian occupation of Montenegro in World War I. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, German imperialists are once again fishing in the troubled waters of the Balkan peninsula.

Haitian Refugees...

(continued from page 12)

These desperately oppressed people have suffered enough—both at the hands of the murderous Haitian army “panzouistes” and “Macoutes,” and from the racist U.S. government. We demand: Asylum now for Haitian refugees!

Meanwhile, the army is cracking down ever harder, as a wave of resistance, including demonstrations and strikes, has swept the country in the last month. People are being “disappeared,” demonstrators beaten, and death squad executions—like that last week of Georges Izméry, brother of prominent Aristide backer Antoine Izméry—are on the rise. The high schools, a hotbed of resistance, were closed down by the National Educational Ministry for the last week in May, in hopes of quelling the daily protests of students. When that

failed, the end of the school year was moved up two weeks. Numerous students have been severely beaten and some murdered by the increasingly frenzied troops. Now there are reports of soldiers and lower-level officers turning against army commander Raoul Cedras.

Ominously, the U.S. is now threatening military intervention to “restore order” in Haiti. Although Washington's official line has been to seek the reinstatement of Aristide, who won a landslide election victory in 1990, this is conditioned on his accepting the imperialists' terms. Aristide has been more than accommodating—in February, he agreed at an OAS conference to accept the U.S.' choice for prime minister (the ultra-“moderate” Haitian Communist Party leader René Théodore), and to retreat from his stated intention to diplomatically recognize Cuba. But that wouldn't satisfy the army (who broke into Théodore's headquarters and killed his bodyguard). So now they're telling Aristide he will have to accept former

World Bank official Marc Bazin as the head of government. Bazin is widely hated in the Haitian slums (he is fluent in English but can't speak Creole), where he is nicknamed “Mr. America.”

A *New York Times* (6 June) article, “U.S. Is Discussing an Outside Force to Stabilize Haiti,” laid out the terms: for letting Aristide return, “the army would be included in the selection by consensus of a prime minister.... Simultaneously, an international force would be sent...under the authority of the Organization of American States or the United Nations, and the O.A.S. embargo against Haiti would be lifted.” If Aristide doesn't agree, the *Times* warned, “there is a growing view that the Bush Administration may be getting ready to back away” from him. In that case, “more than a blockade may have to be considered.” Quoting “several policy analysts,” the officially inspired article notes that in the “New World Order,” “American or O.A.S. armed intervention in Haiti might cause less of a storm in the hemisphere

than it would have several years ago.”

Behind this exercise as imperialist gendarme, Washington has thinly disguised ulterior motives. The government of Cuba, whose territory is forcibly occupied by the U.S. at Guantánamo, reports that under the guise of housing Haitian refugees, Washington has been sending in military units such as the 10th Division of Light Mountain Infantry, which has undertaken exercises to familiarize itself with the terrain of the Sierra Maestra, and the 10th Artillery Regiment, which has been practicing by firing hundreds of rounds of 155mm shells. As the Cuban paper *Granma Internacional* (17 May) asked, “What Is the U.S. Planning in Guantánamo?” We have noted before that Cuba is an obvious target of any American invasion of Haiti, and defense of that important revolutionary gain is crucial in opposing the U.S. imperialists' despicable plans. Defend Cuba against U.S. imperialism! No to U.S./OAS invasion of Haiti! Asylum for all refugees of Macoute terror! ■

Sinister Ross Perot...

(continued from page 1)

doing the talkshow circuit with Larry King, Barbara Walters and Phil Donahue. Meanwhile, President Bush couldn't even get the networks to carry his press conference on prime time. But for all the hoopla about Perot's "petition campaign," he has few committed followers and his appeal is superficial and passive. The "mass base" of this ex-IBM salesman turned computer software entrepreneur consists of his \$3 billion in paper assets. As a *Newsday* (7 June) editorial noted, the popular fascination with Perot is a big "political primal scream." The "two-party system" is so discredited they're worried that even this Texas snake-oil salesman could walk away with it. The Democrat/Republican establishment looks so incompetent that this big-time wheeler-dealer, whose connections go back to Nixon and the Rockefellers, can pose as a challenge to Washington "insiders." But Ross Perot is more an embarrassment to the ruling class than he is someone who would change the way in which capitalist America is governed. If he did get a lot of votes, "responsible" sectors of the ruling class would find myriad ways to seek to pull the plug on this quirky fast-buck artist.

Attila the Hun in the Corporate Boardroom

While poll takers keep pronouncing the gaining popularity of H.R. Perot, everybody, including many of his own volunteers, is wondering what the billionaire stands for. After last month's eruption of outrage in Los Angeles, when Bush looked like he was fiddling while L.A. burned, Perot said he would have flown there immediately. To do what? He didn't say. While he sidesteps the race question, Perot has called for the cutoff of Social Security and Medicare "for people who don't need it." In the late '80s when Perot ran point for the Dallas cops in trying to defeat a civilian review board proposal, he pushed a plan for cordoning off black and Hispanic neighborhoods and subjecting the residents to mandatory searches for drugs and guns. "It won't be pretty," he said.

Ronald Reagan got elected governor of California after the 1965 Watts riots by running a "get tough on crime" campaign. The preppie patrician Bush pushed the same buttons with his down-and-dirty racist "Willie Horton" TV campaign ads in '88. Telling the Los Angeles city fathers, "screw you, I'll retire when I want to," LAPD chief Daryl Gates is hoping to make a bid for mayor on the same appeal. But this pro-cop bonapartism isn't so popular right now. Following the L.A. upheaval, both Republican and Democratic candidates who ran on "law and order" platforms in the California primaries got trounced.

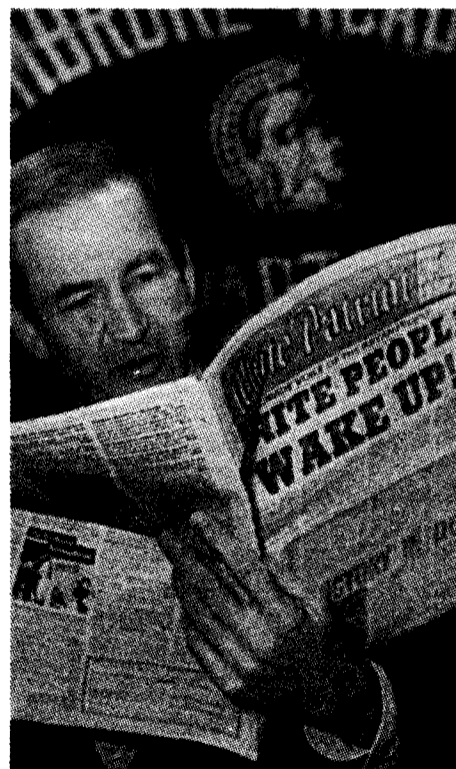
Perot's social program was summed up in his statements that he would not let adulterers or gays into high government positions. In his businesses, Perot imposes a dress code requiring knee-length socks with garters for men, banning "backcombed" hair for women—and no bearded males need apply. He terrorizes his employees with



June 1937 UAW rally against anti-Semitic union-hater Henry Ford (right). Popular-front slogans like "Fordism Is Fascism—Unionism Is Americanism" expressed union tops' and fake-socialists' support for FDR, "progressive" chief of U.S. imperialism.

his army of private investigators who spy on their churchgoing habits and family debts. When Perot's Electronic Data Systems (EDS) took over the processing of California's Medicaid and Medicare claims, it carried out a racist purge, firing or demoting black employees. His "management style" is something like IBM corporate totalitarianism watched over by Big Brother. During his short stint on the GM board, he tried to distribute 500 copies of a book called *Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun* at a company dinner!

Perot campaign stickers read "Ross for Boss" and "Too Rich to Steal." He openly crows about "buying" the presidency, and claims to be the billionaire



The medium is the message: Pat Buchanan, on campaign trail, with KKK paper *White Patriot*.

of the people. But journalists have noted that those attending rallies for Perot seem to be mainly older white Republicans or New Age yuppies. A Perot supporter in West Simi Valley says, "Get rid of the unions. Throw 'em in the toilet. They've outlived their usefulness." Perot cultivates the image of a gung-ho, can-do capitalist. At EDS, he hired lots

of former intelligence agents, who he used on a (failed) commando mission to free imprisoned employees in Teheran. (He then paid novelist Ken Follett to write *On Wings of Eagles* exalting his "exploits.") Perot also appeals to old Vietnam hawks by posing as the champion of POW/MIAs, playing on the "stab in the back" rhetoric that harks back to Hitler. He once funded another mission flop, headed by Bo Gritz, formerly KKK fascist David Duke's vice presidential running mate, to rescue phantom MIAs from Indochina.

From Henry Ford to Henry Ross Perot

Perot's bid for the presidency is reviving comparisons to former "third party" runs for the White House, such as racist demagogue Dixiecrat George Wallace's 1968 campaign. A better analogy was suggested in a letter to the *New York Times* (31 May) that recalled the abortive candidacy of Henry Ford in the summer of 1923. Like Perot, Ford was an immensely wealthy, egomaniacal industrialist with snappy answers and a "folksy" delivery. Ford was pitched as a financial wizard who "could run the United States Government on a sound-paying basis," as the *Brooklyn Eagle* editorialized at the time.

Henry Ford was a vicious, union-busting, anti-Semitic Nazi sympathizer. He was one of the few people singled out for praise in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. In 1919 Ford gained notoriety for claiming "international financiers are behind all war. They are what is called the international Jew." Charles Higham, in his exposé of Nazi connections to major American capitalists, *Trading with the Enemy* (1983), wrote how "Visitors to Hitler's headquarters at the Brown House in Munich noticed a large photograph of Henry Ford hanging in his office." Referring to Ford's campaign for president, Hitler told the *Chicago Tribune* in 1923, "I wish that I could send some of my shock troops to Chicago and other big American cities to help." Ford's campaign abruptly ended when he decided to support Calvin Coolidge ("The business of America is business") after President Harding's death.

While his pitch fits in with other demagogic rightist campaigns, Ross Perot's particular gimmick is his call for "electronic town hall meetings." This is just an electronic age version of the plebiscitary "democracy" favored by bonapartist dictators from Napoleon III to Hitler and Pinochet. Perot proposes to make the "voice of the people" heard by using interactive devices attached to your home TV set, where after a one-hour televised "pro and con" discussion by "experts" on an administration policy proposal, viewers would get to "vote" by pushing a button. We can see it now: "Are you in favor of concentration camps for immigrants? If you have a touchtone phone, press 1 for yes, press 2 for no."

Ross Perot is running a right-wing

corporatist campaign with bonapartist appeals for "decisive government." Fascistic attitudes are not uncommon among prominent businessmen, military leaders and Republican and Democratic politicians. For example, the journalists who wrote the book (and later movie) *Seven Days in May* about an attempted military coup originally got the idea from a conversation with the right-wing chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Arleigh Burke. Orson Welles' film *Citizen Kane* was based on the career of rightist newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst. But to transform such appetites into reality would encounter massive opposition from American working people, who don't want to live under some kind of totalitarian dictatorship, and certainly not under this pint-sized wannabe Texas Ranger.

The American population is clearly fed up with the vapidness of the electoral farce, which in the absence of any real policy difference between Democrats and Republicans has increasingly focused on the "character issue"—which seems to be that a candidate shouldn't have one. Less than half the electorate voted in the last presidential elections, and barely a quarter bothered to go to the polls in the recent primaries. The country is beset by a lingering recession. There is widespread concern over the lack of health care and social services, the appalling state of education and housing, and the desperate condition of inner-city minority poor, crystallized in mass consciousness by the L.A. upheaval. And the two capitalist parties offer doublespeak, more cops, and more doublespeak.

It is this depoliticized "democracy" which makes a phenomenon like the Perot candidacy possible. If there were some serious hard-fought strikes and organized efforts to mobilize the ghetto masses, nobody would be talking about an H. Ross Perot. But the key is leadership. The labor bureaucracy and self-styled black leaders are so tied to the Democratic Party losers that they fear and sabotage any social struggle. It'll take a fighting workers party to throw all the bums out. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Asylum Now for Haitian Refugees!

The unimaginable misery and terror faced by Haiti's impoverished population in the months since the military coup which overthrew President Aristide last September have driven tens of thousands to risk their lives aboard rickety, overcrowded sailboats in the hope of escaping this tropical hell. No one knows how many have drowned in the treacherous waters of the Windward Passage. But for most of those who didn't, their dreams have ended behind the barbed wire of the U.S.-held Guantánamo naval base in eastern Cuba, where they have been held incommunicado for months beneath the scorching sun, while they are "screened" to evaluate if they are "really" refugees. The "lucky" ones are sent to the Krome Avenue concentration camp in Miami. The rest get sent back to Haiti where the bloody army and Tonton Macoute thugs wait for them on the docks.

Held hostage by the racist U.S. government, which regards only people from "Communist" countries as deserving of refugee status, over 12,500 Haitians, including hundreds of children separated from their parents, had been warehoused at Guantánamo. The numbers of those seeking to flee Haiti have been escalating dramatically: some 24,000 were picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard from 1981 to 1991; another 27,000 set to sea in the seven months after last year's coup; and now more than 10,000 have been picked up in the last month alone. As the leaky imperialist "sanctions" decreed by Washington have made life intolerable for the Haitian masses, a veritable exodus of starving people has begun. Reporters flying along the coast observed boats being built in every cove and bay.

Haitian refugee being dragged off the gangplank of U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Decisive* for forcible return to Port-au-Prince.



The Bush administration has been twisting and turning with its anti-Haitian refugee policies as it plays to its racist electorate in the South and elsewhere. Rather than see Haitians showing up on the Florida beaches, they had Coast Guard cutters seize them at sea under the cover of a treaty signed with the Duvalier dictatorship. After protracted skirmishing in the courts, in late May Washington announced it would no longer pick up Haitians on the leaky refugee boats, noting the dubious legal basis for the earlier seizures. And then two days later, Bush, fearing a massive

influx of black people during an election year, announced an even more draconian policy: Haitians picked up by the Coast Guard outside Haiti's waters would be forcibly returned without even having a chance to apply for asylum.

With colossal arrogance, government flacks suggested that for Haitians living under the OAS trade embargo, Guantánamo was some sort of luxury resort. Howard French, the Haiti "expert" at the *New York Times*, quoted "some Haitians" as saying that making the perilous voyage was akin to "going to Disney World," cynically suggesting that poor

people are risking their necks for the \$15 disbursement given to forcibly returned refugees by the Red Cross! Yet many of the refugees have to be dragged down the gangplank in Port-au-Prince, and those who "make it" to Miami's Krome Avenue stockade are subjected to racist abuse from guards who force them to wash toilets with their bare hands, saying that the refugees "are all H.I.V.-positive anyway." Last week fires broke out at Krome after a Haitian detainee collapsed and died—the officials claimed he was "shirking" work.

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Anti-Abortion Terrorism in Toronto

Morgentaler Clinic Bombed

TORONTO—At 3:24 a.m. on May 18 a bomb ripped through Dr. Henry Morgentaler's downtown abortion clinic, reducing it to rubble. Surveillance videotape showed two people carrying gasoline cans near the rear entrance just before the explosion. Dr. Morgentaler and his staff are now working overtime in another location to keep providing their essential service to women.

Nine years ago this was the first independent abortion clinic to open in Canada. Always a special target for "born again" bigots, last January it was firebombed, causing \$5,000 damage and forcing three people to flee for their lives. Now it is the first Canadian clinic to be destroyed by the anti-abortion

terrorists, after more than 100 bombing and arson attacks on U.S. clinics in the last 15 years.

On May 20, Dr. Morgentaler told a news conference he suspects anti-abortion activists from the U.S., "who are much more expert at bombing clinics," may have been involved. Last month the right-wing fanatics of Operation Rescue sought to shut down clinics in Buffalo, just across the border in New York State. But O.R. was forced to leave town after only ten days when thousands came out to defend the clinics.

Henry Morgentaler is a courageous and compassionate man who has risked his freedom, his security and even his life in the fight for abortion rights in



Dr. Henry Morgentaler, speaking at 1983 abortion rights rally.

Canada. A survivor of the Nazi concentration camps, he has been subjected to vile anti-Semitic abuse by "pro-life" scum. In the 1970s he spent ten months in prison (suffering a heart attack when thrown into solitary confinement) and later underwent six years of trials,

despite three jury acquittals, on charges of performing illegal abortions. In 1988, his heroic 20-year fight resulted in a Supreme Court ruling that Canada's highly restrictive abortion law was unconstitutional.

The day after the bombing 1,000 protesters rallied in front of the bombed-out clinic chanting "Pray by day, bomb by night—that's the tactic of the 'right-to-life'." Various feminist and reformist organizations look to Ontario's provincial New Democratic Party government to hold the line against the anti-abortion terrorists. But while claiming to be "pro-choice," the NDP social democrats have been busy slashing health spending, and it was an NDP government in Manitoba which staged police raids on Morgentaler's Winnipeg clinic in 1983. What's needed are mass labor mobilizations and workers defense guards to defend the clinics and stop the anti-abortion fanatics, as part of a fight for free abortion on demand!