

Workers Movement Must Mobilize to Defend Immigrants!

Racist Anti-Immigrant Frenzy in "Fortress Europe"

From the beer halls of western Germany to the city halls of northern Italy, violent anti-immigrant racism is on the rise. The capitalist rulers of West Europe, aided and abetted by their fascist stormtroopers, are waging a racist war of terror, repression and deportations against foreign-born workers.

Following months of officially inspired and tolerated racist terror and pogroms, the German Bundestag re-

cently revoked the constitutional right of political asylum. In France, the new right-wing government of Prime Minister Balladur has declared the goal of "zero immigration" and revives Vichy-era images of Jews being loaded into boxcars, while its police terrorize Arab and black African youth in the ghettos. In Italy, the newly elected mayor of Milano, a leader of the fascistic Northern League, threat-

ens to expel "illegal" immigrants from the country's financial capital.

The fascists are the shock troops of "ethnic cleansing," West European style. German Nazis "celebrated" Bonn's anti-asylum law with the arson murder of five Turkish women and young girls in the Ruhr industrial city of Solingen at the end of May. At almost the same moment, two dormitories

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Police attack Turks protesting Nazi firebomb attack which killed five women and children in Solingen, Germany.

French Rail Workers Protest Deportations

Background to the Balkans:

Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Nationalist Wars



Historic city of Dubrovnik being shelled during savage nationalist warfare between Serbs and Croats.

Der Spiegel

For the second time in this century, internecine Balkan wars are threatening to explode in a wider European conflagration drawing in the imperialist powers. Counterrevolution has unleashed an

Part One of Two

orgy of nationalist bloodletting. The Western capitalist media and governments launched a steady propaganda barrage denouncing Serbian "ethnic cleans-

ing" to prepare public opinion for military intervention. This has had considerable effect among liberals and social democrats, as many veterans of past "peace" movements have become enthusiastic champions of sending in the troops. Yet as the imperialists vacillate, hesitating to jump feet first into the Yugoslav quagmire, they now are admitting that unspeakable atrocities abound on all sides.

The nationalist wars unleashed by the destruction of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are now entering their third year. Beginning with the withdrawal of the federal army from northwestern Slovenia after a few days of skirmishes in July 1991, the drive to

cohere capitalist nation-states soon led to communal bloodbaths, as wide regions dominated by the Serbian minority sought to break away from the Croatian state proclaimed by fascist strongman Franjo Tudjman. After the fighting in Croatia reached a stalemate, a declaration of independence by the Muslim-dominated Bosnian government touched off a vicious three-sided communal war of Serbs, Croats and Muslims which has engulfed the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina for the past 15 months. Here as in Croatia, German imperialism was a key force pushing to dismember Yugoslavia.

For months, the United Nations was pushing the so-called "Vance-Owen

plan" for a "multi-ethnic" Bosnia divided into ethnic "cantons." But this diplomatic gambit shattered against Serbian military intransigence. On June 16, Croatia's Tudjman and Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic announced they had agreed to a partition of Bosnia into three nominally federated Serb, Croat and Muslim states. The plan was immediately rejected by Bosnia's hardline Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic, but the European powers, UN negotiators and U.S. president Clinton are pressing hard for its acceptance. Western rad-libs rail against "rewarding ethnic cleansing." But their solution of a "multi-ethnic" capitalist Bosnia is no more democratic,

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Mandela/De Klerk: Partners in Neo-Apartheid

The 4th of July in Philadelphia saw the spectacle of Nelson Mandela, South Africa's former leading black political prisoner, reunited with his jailer, F.W. De Klerk, the head of the apartheid regime. The two were joint recipients of the "Liberty Medal" in honor of the "founding fathers" of American "democracy." Also on the platform were Bill Clinton, the bomber of Baghdad and butcher of Waco, along with such local notables as Mayor Edward Rendell (former D.A. under Wilson Goode, who oversaw the bombing of MOVE) and Leon Sullivan (father of the long-forgotten "Sullivan Principles" of corporate "commitment" to end racism in South African subsidiaries of American companies).

Meanwhile, back in Johannesburg,

hundreds of armed Nazis stormed the "constitutional negotiations," driving an armored truck through the plate-glass door of the Jo'burg World Trade Center, pistol-whipping and punching terrified delegates, while riot police stood by. The African National Congress and its government negotiating partners hastened to agree that such ongoing state-supported terror would not derail the talks, nor the Mandela/De Klerk American tour, whose purpose is to line up World Bank, IMF and American capitalist investment, as well as campaign funds for next April's elections in the "post-apartheid state."

New York Times correspondent Bill Keller commented on this strange new "normalcy": "Mr. Mandela is hopping

Mandela, De Klerk, Clinton. Architects of neo-apartheid get blessing from imperialist chief, July 4, in Philadelphia.



WV Photo

from fund-raising dinner to fund-raising dinner, squeezing corporate fat cats for campaign contributions and touting his country's business climate." Some Americans still choke on "this spectacle of South Africa's liberation hero soliciting not their moral indignation, but their cash," he writes.

Kept well out of ear-and-photo shot from the notables were more than 600 demonstrators who marched on Independence Mall denouncing the Philly "black elected officials" for sharing the stage with De Klerk. "Mandela, yes! De Klerk, no!" they chanted. This is a cover-up for the ANC and South African Communist Party, the chief collaborators in neo-apartheid "power sharing," who have betrayed the revolutionary aspirations and struggle for freedom of 30 million black South Africans.

The impossibility of this position was captured by columnist Clark DeLeon, who wrote:

"Do I cheer for Mandela and jeer de Klerk? Do I applaud one and not the other? What exactly is the sound of one hand clapping? How can I stand for Jesus

and sit for Caesar if they link arms on the same stage....

"If Nelson Mandela thought it was inappropriate to accept the Liberty Medal alongside FW de Klerk, why didn't Mandela refuse the award the same way North Vietnamese government negotiator Le Duc Tho refused to accept the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 because the co-recipient was U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger?"

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 4 July

In fact, the Mandela/De Klerk award reflects the grotesque logic of the popular front, the "unity" of oppressed and oppressor parties, for the purpose of demoralizing the working masses and heading off the struggle to smash apartheid slavery through socialist revolution.

American blacks and workers must break with the racist Democratic Party, from the Clinton White House to the dwindling number of black mayors who act as overseers policing the inner-city ghettos and barrios. South Africa's powerful and combative black working class must break the ANC/SACP stranglehold which holds it in thrall. Forge an internationalist revolutionary party to lead the fight for workers power! ■



TROTSKY

From the French Revolution to the Paris Commune

Bastille Day, July 14, marks the anniversary of the French Revolution of 1789, whose promise of "liberty, equality, fraternity" shook the autocratic ruling classes of its day and marked the high point of the young bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class. However, the emancipatory goals of the French Revolution were constrained and ultimately frustrated by the continued existence of bourgeois private property. Basing himself



LENIN

on the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, Karl Marx emphasized that only by erecting such a proletarian state power could the basis be laid for a truly egalitarian society eliminating the exploitation and inequities inherent under capitalism.

The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.

The centralized state power, with its ubiquitous organs of standing army, police, bureaucracy, clergy, and judicature—organs wrought after the plan of a systematic and hierarchic division of labour—originates from the days of absolute monarchy, serving nascent middle-class society as a mighty weapon in its struggles against feudalism. Still, its development remained clogged by all manner of medieval rubbish, seigniorial rights, local privileges, municipal and guild monopolies and provincial constitutions. The gigantic broom of the French revolution of the eighteenth century swept away all these relics of bygone times, thus clearing simultaneously the social soil of its last hindrances to the superstructure of the modern state edifice raised under the First Empire, itself the offspring of the coalition wars of old semi-feudal Europe against modern France.... After every revolution marking a progressive phase in the class struggle, the purely repressive character of the state power stands out in bolder and bolder relief. The revolution of 1830, resulting in the transfer of government from the landlords to the capitalists, transferred it from the more remote to the more direct antagonists of the working men. The bourgeois republicans, who, in the name of the revolution of February [1848], took the state power, used it for the June massacres, in order to convince the working class that "social" republic meant the republic ensuring their social subjection, and in order to convince the royalist bulk of the bourgeois and landlord class that they might safely leave the cares and emoluments of government to the bourgeois "republicans"....

The cry of "social republic," with which the revolution of February was ushered in by the Paris proletariat, did but express a vague aspiration after a republic that was not only to supersede the monarchical form of class rule, but class rule itself. The Commune was the positive form of that republic....

The political rule of the producer cannot coexist with the perpetuation of his social slavery. The Commune was therefore to serve as a lever for uprooting the economical foundations upon which rests the existence of classes, and therefore of class rule. With labour emancipated, every man becomes a working man, and productive labour ceases to be a class attribute.

—Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France* (1871)

350 March in Philly: "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"



WV Photo

On July 3, over 350 people took to the streets of Philadelphia for a march and rally in support of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal is a former Black Panther and award-winning journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his crusading radio reporting.

The march and rally, sponsored by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Equal Justice, took place eleven years from the day that a nearly all-white jury eager to rush home for the July 4th holiday

sentenced Jamal to die. The Partisan Defense Committee joined the protest, raising its banner, "Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Speaking for the PDC, Ed Kartsen called on the multiracial union movement to rally to Jamal's defense.

It will take an international campaign of protest to stop the state's murder machine. Join the campaign to free Jamal and stop "legal" lynching! Contact the PDC at P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

WORKERS VANGUARD



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Hyundai Strike Jolts South Korea

TOKYO, July 11—After nearly a month of limited work actions, on July 7, 60,000 workers at the Hyundai monopoly staged a one-day general strike in Ulsan, South Korea, shutting down eight of the corporate giant's nine major divisions, including its heavy industry and auto companies.

This is the first big class battle by the combative South Korean proletariat since the election of President Kim Young Sam last December, which was touted as a triumph for "democracy" after decades of untrammled police-state rule. But despite Kim's credentials as a former "dissident" and the first president who did not emerge from the military, the new regime is proving that it is no less an enemy of the working class than its bonapartist predecessors. The government has ordered the arrest of the strike leaders, while unleashing its riot police against militant student protesters.

On the eve of President Clinton's visit to Seoul after the Tokyo summit of the Group of Seven imperialist powers, the Kim government flooded the streets and campuses of the capital with thousands of cops, putting the country's 140,000 police on full alert. On Friday, 500 anti-Clinton demonstrators were arrested in Seoul. Yesterday, riot police fired tear gas at a thousand protesters, wounding dozens, in the southern city of Kwangju, scene of the bloody 1980 massacre of anti-government protesters carried out with the complicity of U.S. occupation forces.

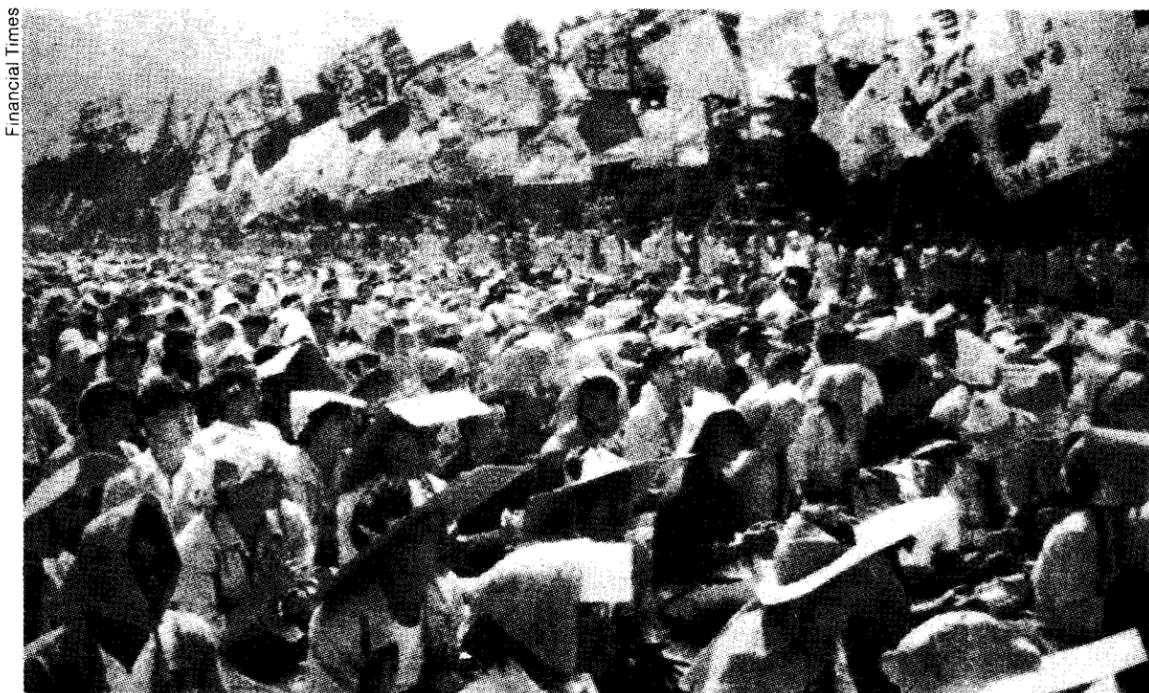


Clinton photo op, saber rattling at the North Korean border. U.S. imperialism out of Korea!

While Kim joined Clinton in saber rattling against the North Korean Stalinist regime's supposed nuclear weapons program, it is the South Korean proletariat which poses a real threat to the continued rule of the U.S.-sponsored capitalist state in the South. The South Korean "economic miracle" is based upon brutal and naked exploitation. Yet despite ruthless police-state measures and the outlawing of genuine unions, South Korea has been repeatedly racked by waves of militant workers' struggles. Today the bourgeoisie is upset that real wages in South Korea are higher than in the sweatshops of Singapore and Taiwan. Kim was put into office by the *chaebol* monopoly magnates with the aim of carrying out a vicious austerity program, obscenely lecturing the impoverished working class that "Money Is Sin, Poverty Is Pride!"

Earlier this year the employers association and the pro-government trade-union federation agreed to limit wage increases to under 9 percent so the South

Striking Hyundai workers mass in Ulsan on July 7. Combative South Korean proletariat can spark revolutionary struggle north and south of 38th parallel.



Korean bourgeoisie could enhance its "competitiveness" in the current international economic recession. Kim hoped that his reform credentials would lull the working class into accepting the government's "share the sacrifice" rhetoric, and for a few months it worked. During the first quarter of 1993, labor disputes were down 63 percent from last year. But a strike at the Apollo Industrial Company, a major auto parts supplier for Hyundai, exposed the lying "class peace" pabulum the Kim government was trying to spoon-feed the working class. In a predawn raid on May 6, 200 cops stormed the Apollo factory, arresting three union leaders.

This was a prelude to the major confrontation brewing over austerity cutbacks at Hyundai's Ulsan plants. Hyundai eagerly applied the government's single-digit pay raise target, offering a miserly 4.7 percent wage increase. While the company union accepted the deal, the independent Hyundai Federation of Affiliated Labor Unions (Hyunchongnyon) began a series of selective strikes and slowdowns on June 14 to demand a 16.4 percent raise and—openly defying government statutes—companywide collective bargaining. After a massive June 30 rally in Ulsan that drew 40,000 workers, the union returned to work as a gesture of goodwill.

As we go to press this new outburst of class struggle is at a standstill. The Kim government, posturing as a "civilian" alternative to police-state rule, has been reluctant to call out its repressive forces to crush the Hyundai workers, while chafing under criticism from the bourgeois press that it is soft on labor. The union leadership has also sought to avoid a major confrontation, employing selective strike tactics. The massive July 7 strike, however, is an indication of how solid the Hyundai workers are in their resolve to beat back austerity cutbacks.

Hyundai intends either to grind the workers into submission or to eventually have government troops and cops sent in to crush them. To win, the Hyundai workers must organize an all-out strike and extend it to other strategic sections of South Korean industry, like the Daewoo group, one of the other four major *chaebols*.

Opposition to the Kim Regime Grows

The honeymoon is over for the Kim Young Sam government. During its first 100 days in office it worked hard to cultivate a populist image, declaring war on corruption. Kim has appeared on TV eating a simple noodle lunch, in contrast to his predecessor Roh Tae Woo's lavish steak dinners. The parliament recently passed an assets disclosure bill for lawmakers, adding to the reform image of

the new president. But media manipulation could not suppress sharp class antagonisms for long. The Hyundai strike heralds a new wave of class struggle in South Korea. Already on June 28, 4,000 teachers marched through Seoul demanding recognition of their outlawed union and reinstatement of 1,500 fired union members.

Kim's reform image has also run afoul of student activists who have been demanding that Roh Tae Woo and former dictator Chun Doo Hwan, who ordered the 1980 Kwangju massacre, be brought to justice. The government tried to dissipate student anger by "retiring" five generals associated with the massacre and offering compensation to victims' families, as well as other cosmetic concessions. But fearful of alienating the army and police, Kim refused to authorize a government investigation of Chun and Roh, calling for "forgiveness" and reconciliation. The militant students rejected Kim's pleas, and embarked on a series of demonstrations on the eve of the annual commemoration of the 18 May 1980 massacre.

Six days after riot police attacked a May 11 protest, student demonstrators stormed a Kwangju police headquarters demanding the removal of the police chief who initiated the assault. That same day, 3,000 students marched in Seoul demanding an official investigation of the 1980 massacre. On May 31, one cop was killed as participants in the founding of a new national student organization, Hanchongryan, clashed with police who tried to stop them from marching to Panmunjom, where the 1953 "truce" with North Korea was signed. The protesters also demonstratively held a banned phone conversation with North Korean students in Beijing. The government responded by outlawing the new

organization and launching a manhunt to arrest five student leaders for violating the National Security Act.

The government's repression of these students for contact with North Korea together with Clinton's visit to Seoul serve to underscore that the Cold War is not over on the Korean peninsula. Arrogantly flaunting America's megadeath nuclear arsenal, the "New World Order" C-in-C trekked up to the 38th parallel DMZ to pontificate about the danger of "nuclear proliferation" and to threaten North Koreans with a nuclear holocaust which would be "the end of their country." Forty years after the end of the Korean War, in which three million Koreans were slaughtered by the U.S.-led invasion forces, 36,000 American troops remain in South Korea, a deadly threat to the deformed workers state in the North.

Imperialism wants to destroy North Korea as part of its drive to extend to Asia the counterrevolution that inundated East Europe and the USSR. The Korean proletariat must join hands across the 38th parallel to carry out a proletarian political revolution to oust the Kim Il Sung Stalinist dynasty, whose stifling grip on the working class and program of "socialism in half a country" undermines the defense of the North Korean workers state, coupled with socialist revolution in the South to defeat the *chaebol* capitalists and once and for all drive imperialism off the Korean peninsula. The key task facing the combative South Korean proletariat and militant student leftists today is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party.

Victory to the Hyundai workers! Free all arrested leftists and unionists! Defend North Korea—U.S. troops out of the South! For revolutionary reunification of Korea! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Workers League vs. the Unions

For more than five months, United Mine Workers members have been battling the coal bosses with one hand tied behind their backs, straitjacketed by UMW president Richard Trumka's "selective strike" scam. From the outset, *Workers Vanguard* has told miners the truth: to wage a militant strike "means a clean break from Trumka's Democratic Party 'friends' like Clinton, and a fight for a workers party.... You need a class-struggle leadership prepared to take on the Taft-Hartley 'slave labor' law, court injunctions and the cops, as well as the capitalist politicians from plutocrat Democrat Jay Rockefeller to 'right to work' Clinton" (WV No. 570, 26 February).

When WV teams traveled through the coal fields of southern Illinois and West Virginia, miners were receptive to our call for a solid strike to reverse the gutting of their union at the hands of the coal bosses and the UMW bureaucracy. But the *Bulletin* (5 March) of David North's Workers League (WL) vituperated against our article for "promoting syndicalist nostrums" and "bankrupt illusions in trade union reformism." In a piece entitled "Trumka's Accomplices," after a few swipes at the craven apologists for the UMW bureaucracy in the Communist Party (CP), Workers World and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Northites turn to their real target, the Spartacist League: "The February 26 edition of their weekly paper *Workers Vanguard* carried an article which presented the bureaucracy as waging a serious fight against the coal bosses."

And how, pray tell, do we do that—by our call, "Coal Miners: Fight for a National Strike!" (WV No. 569, 12 February)? According to the *Bulletin*, "The Spartacists issue their appeals not to the working class but to its corrupt bureaucratic leadership. They cover up the transformation of the UMWA under the grip of the bureaucracy into an appendage of the coal bosses and the government." Similarly, North's German followers recently denounced our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party as a "left fig leaf for the trade-union bureaucracy" (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, 14 May) for the *Spartakist* headline during the recent East German metal workers strike, "Metal, Steel, Coal: Full Strike Now, East and West!" (along with the kicker "Workers Must Fight for Power!").

Interestingly, the 21 June *Bulletin* headlines, "It Is Time for a Nationwide Strike," but they coyly put this in the mouth of a "West Virginia miner." Above all, for the WL there is no possibility of a fight for the union to wage a national strike. Equating the pro-capitalist bureaucracy with the union as a whole, the political bandits of the WL are currently claiming that the unions are in no sense working-class organizations.

This is pretty rich coming from North & Co., who for years have issued endless appeals to the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO traitors to do everything from call a general strike to form a labor party! As recently as the 1990-91 New York *Daily News* strike, when striking pressmen gave the WL some heat over the lack of a union bug on their rag, we were taken to task by the Northites: "Spartacist never makes any demands on the New York AFL-CIO" (*Bulletin*, 16 November 1990).

The one constant for the Northites is their identification of the unions with the pro-capitalist bureaucratic apparatus which chains them to the bosses' state. Thus the WL has never fought to unchain the unions. Quite the contrary, from Arnold Miller to the 1985-86 Hormel meatpackers strike, they have supported government intervention into the unions.

It is crucial that class-struggle mili-

tants recognize that the regime atop the UMW today is the continuation of the pro-Labor Department bureaucracy that was installed with the approval and assistance of the capitalist government—and to the applause of most of the left, from the reformist Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party to the Workers League. In our coverage of the miners' class battles, we have repeatedly pointed to the key question—fighting for the independence of the union from the capitalist state:

"From the Labor Department campaign of Arnold Miller, to Carter/Mondale's use of Taft-Hartley against the long, bitter 1977-78 strike, to Trumka's bowing before the injunctions of the coal company judges during the Pittston strike, the miners' historic militancy has been throttled in the service of the bosses' parties and the capitalist state."

—WV No. 569, 12 February

The Spartacist League stood virtually alone on the left 20 years ago in refusing

between the labor movement and the Democratic Party" (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972). This was at a time when the Meanyite bureaucracy stood to the right of significant sections of the ruling class on the burning question of the Vietnam War. North reprinted excerpts from a speech to the AFL-CIO convention in which Abel "broke" with Democratic "peace" candidate McGovern, meticulously editing out his endorsement of the right-wing Democratic "Senator for Boeing" Henry Jackson.

Has North come clean after two decades of tailing the racist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO lieutenants of capital? Hardly. Since parting ways with his lord and mentor Gerry Healy (when their "International Committee" spectacularly imploded after the blood money from Arab sheiks dried up), North has continued as a political bandit who, as we put it, "will show any flag to attack any target. For this, the CIA-inspired graduate depart-

Subsequent historical development has fully borne out Trotsky's warning. The anti-Communist trade-union bureaucracy installed in the Cold War is so beholden to the bourgeoisie that it has presided over the destruction of union gains and whole unions, like PATCO. Writing about the closing of the auto plants in Detroit, already a decade ago we denounced United Auto Workers leader "Doug Fraser: Company Cop" (WV No. 330, 20 May 1983). But the unions themselves remain the principal mass organizations of the working class, and the point Trotsky was underlining was the necessity for a communist struggle for leadership.

As always with the shameless opportunists of the WL, even as they deny that the unions are any longer workers organizations, this doesn't stop them from appealing to the wretched bureaucracy in North's vile campaign of helping to railroad Mark Curtis, a member of the

WORKERS VANGUARD
March 1973

Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election

WORKERS VANGUARD
17 February 1978

Angry Ranks Surround UMWA Headquarters, Denounce Sellout

Miners to Miller: Shove It!

17 February 1978

Bulletin
11 December 1972

Big Vote Seen For MFD As Miners Polling Starts



Too long. We need a change.
The Workers League urges all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate, and to fight for this leadership to carry through a real struggle to defend the miners against the mining companies and the government.

Spartacist League told miners the truth: Arnold Miller and "Miners for Democracy" subordinated union to the capitalist state. Workers League backed these Labor Department "reformers."

to capitulate to the Labor Department-run Miners for Democracy "rank and file" opposition in the UMW. Though many miners only came to recognize Miller as the class traitor he was during the coal strike of 1977-78, we told the truth from the beginning:

"For communists, whose fundamental aim in the labor movement is to transform the unions into a tool of the revolutionary will of the proletariat, no reform can increase the power of the working class if it is won by placing the unions under the trusteeship of the capitalist state, thus destroying the first precondition for their mobilization in the struggle to smash that state."

—"Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," WV No. 17, 17 March 1973

In recent years, the WL pretends they always opposed Miller et al., whom they now term "'reform' candidates backed by the capitalist state. In the 1970s, the Labor Department put Arnold Miller in as head of the Miners for Democracy movement to suppress the powerful rebellion against the gangster leadership of UMWA President Tony Boyle" (*Bulletin*, 2 November 1990). But in the 1970s, when North was "Labor Editor," the *Bulletin* (11 December 1972) hailed the MFD as "a real alternative to the Boyle leadership" and called on "all miners to vote for the Miners for Democracy slate, and to fight for this leadership to carry through a real struggle to defend the miners against the mining companies and the government!"

A few months before that, North himself held an "exclusive interview" with hidebound anti-Communist Steelworkers president I.W. Abel—in his Miami Beach hotel room, no less—where North enthused about the "developing break

ments of elite universities attended by those among North and his crew were a good classroom. It, at the least, taught them how to write on every side of the question, like the position papers of the State Department" ("Why Should Anyone Believe David North?" WV No. 487, 13 October 1989).

Take the "Russian question." Trotsky argued, against those who wrote off the Soviet Union, that just as militant workers defend a trade union under bureaucratic leadership against the employers' attacks, so must they defend against imperialism the bureaucratically degenerated workers state. For decades—whether under Healy or without him—North tailed every anti-Soviet force from the "AFL-CIA" to Polish Solidarność, the CIA-sponsored Afghan *mujahedin* and the Lithuanian Sajudis. When Yeltsin formally dissolved the USSR in December 1991, North rushed to announce the death of the Soviet workers state. And in a grotesque inversion of Trotsky's argument, North wrote off the unions as well, saying that "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" ("The End of the USSR," *Bulletin*, 10 January 1992).

Over 50 years ago, Trotsky wrote of "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay" (August 1940):

"They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

SWP, into a 25-year prison term on frame-up charges of burglary and sexual abuse. Thus the 13 September 1991 *Bulletin* ran an article headlined "Iowa AFL-CIO Denounces Mark Curtis Campaign," complete with photo of Iowa AFL-CIO South Central Federation of Labor president Perry Chapin! The WL reprinted the bureaucrats' entire resolution, including a call on the national convention of the AFL-CIO to "refuse any support to the Mark Curtis defense campaign."

And today, the Northites will in one and the same issue of the *Bulletin* (12 February) compare the UMW to a "company union"—which the workers must seek to smash—while trumpeting headlines from the coal fields calling for (that "syndicalist nostrum"?) a national UMW strike! Writing off the unions' potential to act in pursuit of the class struggle and kowtowing to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy are flip sides of the same coin. Both variants exclude a communist political struggle within the unions. But though the WL's two postures may be symmetrical, they imply rather different appetites, and one thing we know about the WL is that it determines its "political" positions by their utility in pursuit of egregiously corrupt (often financial) self-interest.

What new appetite does the WL's anti-union incarnation serve? We don't know, but we notice the *Bulletin's* recent makeover into a yuppified, expensive-looking weekly done up in modish earth tones. The great prevaricator Stalin once boasted that "paper will take anything written on it," and the WL evidently intends to prove that fancy paper will, too. ■

Anti-Immigrant Frenzy...

(continued from page 1)

housing North Africans in Rome were burned down. Even immigrants who have supposedly made it up the ladder of capitalist society are targets of racist terror: a Turkish-owned factory was torched in Grenoble, France and a swastika scrawled on the charred walls.

But from Rostock to Rome, the escalating barrage of anti-immigrant attacks has impelled a whole layer of newly radicalized youth to take to the streets, not just in hypocritical "love-thy-neighbor" "chains of light" sponsored by bourgeois and reformist politicians, but in mass, militant anti-racist mobilizations.

On June 19, tens of thousands marched through Paris to protest the new "Nationality Code" of right-wing interior minister Charles Pasqua. Last fall in Italy, 200,000 marched against racist attacks, and outraged Jewish youth in Rome responded to anti-Semitic desecrations by sacking a fascist headquarters. Germany, east and west, has witnessed repeated demonstrations by anti-racist and immigrant youth, including sons and daughters of the nearly two million Turks, who form a strategic component of the workforce in key industries.

Sections of the International Communist League have actively intervened in the struggle against racist attacks, calling for mobilizing the social power of the proletariat to fight fascist terror and government attacks on immigrants. Today in France, outrage among wide sectors of the organized labor movement over the government's plans to load "illegal" immigrants onto trains for deportation creates an opportunity for carrying out mass labor-centered struggle against the bourgeoisie's racist immigration policies.

Following a call by the CGT trade-union federation for a June 12 protest against the deportations, our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) mass-distributed a leaflet headlined: "Down with Mitterrand-Balladur's Racist War! No Expulsions! Railroad Workers Have the Power: Stop the Expulsion/Deportation Trains!" Some 400 people turned out to the protest at the Gare de Lyon train station in Paris.

While many of the left and anti-racist groups contented themselves with empty declarations against the "trains of shame," a number of Turkish and second-generation North African youth raised our signs and chanted with us, "No to the deportation trains—Rail workers must stop them!" and "Full citizenship rights for immigrants!"

Post-Cold War Europe: Ugly and Violent

The bourgeois politicians and media seek to blame the upsurge of anti-immigrant racism on working-class fears of losing their jobs to foreigners and popular resentment over high taxes going into welfare payments for asylum seekers from Third World countries and East Europe.

"Only if we control and limit immigration more effectively," states German Christian Democratic parliamentary leader Wolfgang Schäuble, "can we ensure peaceful and amicable co-existence." Likewise, Pasqua, architect of France's new "zero immigration" policy, argues: "If we don't hold this line firmly, public opinion will harden and the country will drift to the extreme right." The implication is that "distasteful" measures are being forced upon these "respectable" mainstream politicians by racist mobs in the streets.

In reality, the fascists are taking their cue from the bourgeoisie. Underlying the current upsurge of anti-immigrant racism is the combined effect of counterrevolu-



Top: "Yesterday Jews, Today Turks." Banner protesting wave of Nazi terror in Germany, fostered by government campaign against immigrants. Bottom: Paris plainclothes cops attack minority youth during protests over police murder of African youth in April.



Grégoire Korganov

tion in East Europe and capitalist economic crisis in the West. During the Cold War, Western imperialism found it opportune to strike a liberal democratic pose vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc. West Germany pointed to its constitutional right of asylum as a way of dissociating itself from the racist totalitarianism of the Nazi Third Reich. To subvert the bureaucratically ruled workers states, the West made a show of welcoming "refugees" from "Communist" countries.

But with the victory of bourgeois counterrevolution in East Europe, the West European rulers have cynically scrapped their liberal posture on immigration. Italian gunships now patrol the Adriatic to stop Albanian boat people from coming ashore.

Meanwhile, the imperialist bourgeoisies seek to use their neocolonial neighbors as gendarmes against and dumping grounds for unwanted immigrants. Germany recently closed a deal with Walesa to turn Poland into a heavily policed holding pen for asylum seekers from other countries, while Washington browbeats Mexico to accept hundreds of Chinese immigrants headed for the U.S. who were intercepted by the Coast Guard on the high seas.

Yet the economic immiseration and fratricidal nationalism resulting from capitalist counterrevolution have produced a flood of desperate refugees from East Europe. A majority of the over 100,000 people seeking asylum in Germany the first part of this year were Roma (Gypsies) fleeing murderous repression in Romania, and Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims driven from their homes in the communalist wars unleashed by the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Now the Western imperialists aim to imprison the peoples of East Europe in the hellish conditions created in the cause of anti-Communism. The pro-Yeltsin *Moscow News* remarked caustically: "An

Iron Curtain has dropped before the majority of those wanting to enter [West] Europe."

The immigrant communities in West Europe have become the target of triumphalist nationalism heightened by NATO imperialism's victory in the Cold War. This is especially apparent in the German Fourth Reich, where the growth of Nazi skinhead gangs is a byproduct of the capitalist reunification which swallowed up and laid waste to the former German Democratic Republic (DDR). Over 7,500 violent attacks on foreigners have taken place since the Deutsche Bank bought out the DDR in 1990, including at least 30 racist murders in 1992 alone!

The expansion of the postwar West European economy was vitally dependent on the large-scale importation of cheap foreign labor. Over the past decade, West European capitalism lost ground in the world market to Japan and its East Asian satellites. The relative economic decline has been punctuated by a major and prolonged downturn. There are now 20 million unemployed—over 10 percent of the labor force—in the European Community.

Mired in a deepening recession, European capital no longer needs cheap imported labor on the previous scale. To save the costs of unemployment insurance, socialized medicine and other social programs, the bosses want to ship "surplus" workers back to the hideous poverty of their Third World neocolonies.

At the same time, anti-immigrant racism is being used to divert working-class anger, as the immigrant community is scapegoated for the deteriorating economic conditions. The bankruptcy of François Mitterrand's social-democratic regime—which for a decade presided over 10 percent unemployment—gave rise to the largest fascist party in West

Europe, Le Pen's National Front.

Last spring the right-wing bourgeois parties (a coalition of Gaullists and Giscardians) regained power mainly by co-opting the Front's anti-immigrant program and racist demagoguery. French police greeted the rightist victory with a racist killing spree which left two North Africans and a Zairian youth dead.

Defeat Anti-Immigrant Racism Through Class Struggle!

However, the immigrant communities are not helpless in the face of fascist terror or government attacks. Despite the recession, foreign workers retain strategically powerful positions in the West European economies—Turks in Germany's heavy industry, North Africans in France's auto plants. Thus the struggle against anti-immigrant racism in all its manifestations—from the fascist firebombing of hostels to government deportations—is necessarily centered on the struggle to mobilize the working class against the decaying capitalist system.

The question of anti-immigrant racism has become the main battleground between left and right in West Europe, between the workers movement and the forces of bourgeois reaction. Throughout Europe, the ICL has intervened with a proletarian perspective into the developing movements of radical anti-racist youth, seeking to bring the big battalions of the industrial proletariat into battle against the forces of anti-immigrant racism.

Last January, in the face of expected Nazi rampages on the 60th anniversary of Hitler's taking power, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) issued an urgent appeal, "Workers, Immigrants, Anti-Fascists: Defend the Hostels!", that was endorsed by an array of union organizations, socialist groups and immigrants. On the night of January 30, the SpAD organized an exemplary united-front action in defense of a large immigrant hostel in Berlin.

While sabotage by the Social Democratic bureaucracy prevented a full-fledged workers defense with organized trade-union participation, that possibility now exists in France, where the historically militant railroad workers union, part of the Communist-led CGT federation, has challenged the new right-wing government's move to expel over 50,000 "illegal" immigrants.

The deportations were thwarted initially when airline pilots refused to fly deportees out of the country. The plan is now to place them in special trains bound for the port of Marseilles, from where they will be shipped to North Africa.

An open letter (28 June) from the leadership of the CGT railroad workers to the head of the state-owned rail system recalled: "In other times in our history, human beings deemed unwelcome were forcibly transported by train. These are painful memories." Everyone in France is reminded of the special trains which, under the Vichy regime, carried 70,000 Jews and 50,000 Communists and other resistance fighters to Nazi death camps in Germany and East Europe.

The open letter concluded: "Our federation, like the CGT as a whole, will aim to bring together the broadest range of forces to prevent these barbaric practices." It is urgently necessary to translate words into effective action. The LTF has agitated for "massive demonstrations to support the railroad workers" and to "call for working-class demonstrations at every scheduled departure, to stop the trains."

The LTF call to action said: "Through these mobilizations against racist/fascist terror and against the bourgeoisie's anti-working-class offensive, the working people must build a leadership armed with the revolutionary program to lead them to victory." ■

"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 1)

denying the right of self-determination for Croats and Serbs who have amply demonstrated they don't want to live in the same state as the Muslims, or each other.

For months, the Western media have focused on Serbian war crimes and closed their eyes to atrocities committed by the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims. Belgrade's nationalist leader Milosevic, whose drive for a Greater Serbia sparked the breakup of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, is portrayed as a new Hitler. (They seldom mention that the Serbian opposition led by Vuk Draskovic is no less nationalist, identifying with the Serb "Chetnik" cutthroats in World War II.) But as the U.S. backed away from sending troops into Bosnia, suddenly the press discovered Croat "death squads" wiping out Muslim villages, and belatedly printed reports of Muslim forces torturing their Croat prisoners to death last spring and now driving thousands of Croat villagers from their homes in central Bosnia.

And then, just as they report the Bosnian partition plan, the *New York Times* (17 June) finds fit to print that *this very same plan* was adopted in Lisbon on 18 March 1992, when leaders of the Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats "agreed to partition the republic into three ethnically based cantons." However, the plan was *torn up* by the Bosnian Muslim



Prentice/Hall
Palestinian Arabs flee Haifa in April 1948 during Zionist terror campaign "Operation Passover Cleansing."

of generalized war as it inexorably spreads. When Clinton took office, he presented Bosnia as a test case of the ability of the U.S. to impose its will in the "New World Order." Washington's hesitation to commit ground troops reflects the fact that throwing their weight around in this powder keg of explosive communal tensions is not likely to be as easy as blowing away a warlord's compound in Somalia, or rolling tanks across a desert in Kuwait.

draw in Albania, which claims to be the protector of the Albanian majority in Kosovo, and Bulgaria and Greece, which both have claims on Macedonia. Meanwhile, Greece is expelling tens of thousands of Albanian workers, as Greeks in southern Albania are threatening secession. Military engagement by U.S. and/or European troops would further inflame national hatreds among the Balkan peoples, intensify their exploitation by imperialism, and risk igniting a war in which interimperialist conflicts would come to the fore. We oppose all imperialist intervention, including the embargo (modeled on that of the Persian Gulf War) aimed at starving the Serbs into submission. In the event of war with the UN/NATO expeditionary force, an ever-growing threat, we would defend the Serbs, while calling on the working class throughout the former Yugoslavia to overthrow their bourgeois-nationalist leaders in an internationalist struggle for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

Imperialist Hypocrisy and "Ethnic Cleansing"

A recent special supplement to the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (21 May), the house organ of the Swiss bankers, on "Nationalism Today" begins: "A spectre is haunting Europe: its name is 'nationalism'." The imperialist financiers, convinced that the collapse of Stalinism signals the death of communism, see nationalist wars as the immediate obstacle to their "peaceful" conquest of the East European markets. An essay on "East European tensions" elaborates:

"The age of nationalism lies behind us. And it also may lie before us. Europe is on the verge of successfully clearing away the consequences of the Second World War, only to once again founder on the fateful legacy of the First World War. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, two states whose birth certificates were issued in the Paris peace treaties, have already split apart. The Trianon Pact has increasingly come into the line of fire of the Hungarian nationalists.... Every day, Turkey increasingly harks back to its Ottoman past."

From Lenin on, Marxists have characterized imperialism as the epoch of capitalist decay. Recognizing, if only empirically, that the course of historical development is going backwards, the *NZZ* essayist ends on a pessimistic quote from the 19th century Austrian Romantic dramatist Franz Grillparzer: "The path of contemporary education goes from humanity—via nationality—to bestiality."

The ever-widening orgy of national chauvinism and communal slaughter from Central Europe to the Caucasus is an integral component of capitalist restoration. As we wrote in our two-part series "East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution" (*WV* Nos. 547 and

548, 20 March and 3 April 1992): "Without the social base of a genuine bourgeoisie...aggressive nationalism has been both the driving force for capitalist restoration in East Europe and the Soviet Union, and a product of the counterrevolutionary drive." Friedrich Engels noted in his essay on "The Role of Force in History" (1887-88): "Since the end of the Middle Ages, history has been working towards the formation of large national states in Europe. Only such states are the normal political structure of the ruling European bourgeoisie...."

The bourgeois state is based on securing the dominant position for one nation and the oppression of all other nationalities within its borders. Moreover, in a country like Yugoslavia *where the various peoples are heavily interpenetrated*, the drive to consolidate homogeneous "national states" can only be carried out through savage persecution of rival nationalities competing for contested territory. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and augmenting national claims.

What is being called "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia—communal massacres and forced population transfers—has provoked a chorus of indignant condemnation by the world's capitalist powers, who, posing as pious defenders of humanity against the barbaric Serbs, compare "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia to the Nazi Holocaust.

• A January U.S. government report declared that "so-called ethnic cleansing was practiced by Serbian forces in Bosnia on a scale that dwarfs anything seen in Europe since Nazi times."

• German Christian Democratic foreign minister Klaus Kinkel snarled about "bringing Serbia to its knees" as punishment for "ethnic cleansing," while the opposition Social Democrats' spokesman on Yugoslavia, Freimut Duve (who spearheaded the push to recognize Croatia which set off the breakup of Yugoslavia) compared it to "images of Hitler and Auschwitz." What *chutzpah* from the Fourth Reich!

• Israel, in a declaration before the UN last August, denounced "'ethnic cleansing' and detention centers in Bosnia and Herzegovina" as "abhorrent and despicable," also comparing them to Hitler's genocide of the Jews.

The grisly communal warfare in Croatia and Bosnia has killed tens of thousands and produced several million homeless and refugees. But to equate this with the horrors of Hitler's cold-blooded and calculated extermination of six million Jews along with hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, millions of Slavs and others deemed to be *Untermenschen* (subhumans), amounts to whitewashing the Nazi Holocaust. What the Third Reich carried out was real *genocide*, an attempt to literally exterminate whole peoples. What is going on in the Balkans are nationalist wars for territory, whose goal is to push out ("cleanse") other nationalities rather than to annihilate them. The grisly mass murders, in this



UPI
During 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Zionists unleashed their allies in right-wing Christian militia to carry out massacre of hundreds of Palestinian men, women and children in Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

leaders on the urging of the Western powers:

"On returning to Sarajevo, Mr. Izetbegovic was encouraged by United States and European Community diplomats to choose instead a sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina under his presidency, saying that was justified by the referendum on March 1 on independence. The problem with that referendum was that although the Bosnian Muslims and Croats overwhelmingly endorsed it, the Bosnian Serbs boycotted it, warning that it was a prelude to civil war.

"After the European Community and the United States recognized the Izetbegovic Government, on April 6 and 7, 1992, the Bosnian Serbs attacked."

That these basic facts have gone unmentioned for the past year and a quarter is a prime example of how the "free but responsible" press is manipulated by the imperialists for their bellicose aims.

Social counterrevolution has again turned the Balkans into the flash point of nationalist hatreds, and communal warfare in the former Yugoslavia could be the spark that touches off the tinder

But just because imperialist military intervention would likely backfire does not mean that the nuclear-armed madmen who rule this irrational system won't do it.

Marxists take no sides in the hideous nationalist/communal slaughter that is both a product and motor force of counterrevolution in the former Yugoslav (South Slav) federation. But imperialist military action against the Serbs would fundamentally change the character of the war. Already there are more than 25,000 "peacekeeping" troops under UN auspices stationed in Croatia and Bosnia, the Security Council has authorized air strikes on Serbian positions, and now the U.S. has dispatched some 300 troops to Macedonia on Serbia's southern frontier. This is an unmistakable threat of war, a trip wire to trigger intervention by far larger American forces: how would Clinton like it if hostile "UN" troops were stationed along the Mexican border?

Should the fighting in Bosnia now spread to Kosovo or Macedonia, it could

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case, are intended to terrorize the population into fleeing. And this is hardly unique, but has been a common occurrence throughout this century, often on a scale far surpassing the gruesome events in Bosnia.

Despite their talk of genocide, the European powers have responded to the wave of refugees by tightening up their borders while fascists sow anti-immigrant terror. This, too, is not unprecedented. In the 1930s and 1940s the U.S. and European imperialists used quotas to throttle immigration by Eastern European Jews—and prominent U.S. Jewish leaders *opposed* opening America's doors to refugees fleeing the Nazi Holocaust. Meanwhile, German imperialism was massively "ethnically cleansing" what it saw as its *Hinterland* with a technology far beyond the reach of the mutually hostile populations of southern Europe. And the U.S. dropped the atomic bomb on Japan, obliterating hundreds of thousands of people in the blink of an eye.

At the heart of imperialist hypocrisy over "ethnic cleansing" is the fact that what is happening in Bosnia is a recurrent phenomenon in this epoch of capitalist decay, as imperialist barbarism intersects the barbarity of backward capitalist and pre-capitalist societies. The formation of the classic nation-states in West Europe of the 17th and 18th centuries was also a bloody, protracted process. But it was linked to the extension of trade, the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. However, under imperialism, in relatively backward capitalist countries the development of the national economy and the emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie are stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination. Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities.

Legacy of Imperialist "Divide and Rule"

A recent article by George Kennan ("The Balkan Crisis: 1913 and 1993," *New York Review of Books*, 15 July) notes "the many and depressing evidences of similarity between what was occurring in the Balkans in 1913 and what is going on there today." The Balkan Wars of 1912-13, which were the prelude to World War I, were waged with unspeakable atrocities on all sides. As Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro drove the Ottoman Empire out of Europe, they also drove out more than one hundred thousand Turks. Then, as they fell out over the allotment of Macedonia, the main prize of the victory over the Ottomans, tens of thousands more were forced from their homes as Bulgarians were driven from Macedonia by the Greeks, Greeks from Macedonia by the Serbs, etc. An article on "Racial Migrations in the Balkans" in the *Geographical Journal* of 1925 lists seven cases of forced population transfers during 1912-14.

Meanwhile, as the dying Ottoman Empire lost its European lands, the "Young Turks" in power in Constantinople consolidated on a program of Turkish nationalism, which meant ridding themselves of national minorities and turning the empire into a homogeneous Turkish state. In 1915, the Young Turks ordered the deportation of the Armenian population, which was thoroughly interpenetrated with the Turkish population of East Anatolia. In practice, the deportations turned into an orgy of killing in which hundreds of thousands, perhaps as many as a million and a half Armenians died. Previously, the Armenians, led by the nationalist Dashnak Party, had launched an abortive drive for a "greater Armenia." It was, as historian Bernard Lewis put it, "a struggle between two nations for the possession of a single homeland, that ended with the terrible holocaust



Christian Armenians drove Muslim Azeri population from Nagorno-Karabakh enclave in Azerbaijan in five-year communal bloodbath. Above, Azeris being evacuated from homeland this spring.

of 1915" (*The Emergence of Modern Turkey* [1968]).

The Young Turks, led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Atatürk), then turned on their Greek population, burning down the coastal city of Smyrna in 1919 and massacring tens of thousands (after the Greeks had earlier militarily occupied the city and driven out the Turkish population through a wave of atrocities). At this point, the victorious imperialists stepped in and *sponsored* a program of massive population transfers among Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria. More than two million people were "exchanged" among Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey in the course of the 1920s, ripped from their homes, deprived of their property and brutally expelled—under the auspices of the League of Nations. In this way, Bulgaria got rid of its entire Greek population, Greece got rid of half its Bulgarians and almost all its Turks, and Turkey got rid of its Greeks (leaving the Kurds, who remain the victims of incessant warfare on the part of the Turkish government).

But the Balkans and vicinity are hardly the only place where such "ethnic cleansing" has taken place. At the close of World War II, the partition of India by the British imperialists in 1947—culminating 350 years of colonial "divide and rule"—unleashed one of the ghastliest communalist slaughters and perhaps the most massive forced population transfer in history. Slicing across provinces where Muslims, Hindus and other religious groups were thoroughly interpenetrated (Punjab and Bengal), the partition into an 80 percent Hindu-dominated India and an Islamic confessional Pakistan provoked the slaughter of between one and two million Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, and the forced migration of over eleven million people. Gigantic columns of hundreds of thousands of anguished refugees, fleeing the bloodletting, flowed across the new border in both directions.

A history of the period described the slaughter: "In India, Sikhs and Hindus prowled the cars of ambushed trains slaughtering every circumcised male they found. In Pakistan, Moslems raced along the trains they had stopped, murdering every male who was not circumcised" (Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, *Freedom at Midnight* [1975]).

Or consider the case of South Africa. The white-supremacist rulers did not seek to exterminate or drive out the blacks, because it was the merciless superexploitation of black workers which created the superprofits of the gold and diamond magnates. But Afrikaner

nationalism was nourished by the guilty fear of seeing the black majority reverse the terms of oppression. The National Party came to power in 1948 on a program of *apartheid* ("separateness"), or forced segregation, which promised to "guarantee a national home for the Afrikaner nation," by driving all blacks into several ethnically grouped regions (to include the territory of the then British protectorates of Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland), pushing "coloureds" into a separate "coloured nation," and deporting the entire Indian population to India.

The ideologues of apartheid, largely educated in German universities of the 1930s and deeply influenced by the Nazis' racist rantings, were grouped in the Broederbond, the nucleus of the

vast population transfers of the black population, setting up the wretched bantustans in order to limit and regulate the presence of blacks in the cities and white regions. They deepened and hardened the existing system of strict racial separation through a vast panoply of racist laws designed to totally regiment the black workforce in order to squeeze out increased profits. South African blacks were turned into migrant laborers, uprooted from their homes, stripped of their birthright and declared foreigners in their own country. "Unproductive" blacks—the elderly, women, children, disabled and unemployed—were dumped into the barren bantustans. Since 1948, from four to eight million blacks have been forcibly transferred—evicted from urban areas, thrown off the land or driven from one wretched township to another (Elaine Unterhalter, *Forced Removal* [1987]).

Elsewhere in Africa, the entire Asian (largely Indian) population of Uganda, some 50,000 people, was forcibly expelled in the fall of 1972 by the bloody dictator Idi Amin. The British imperialists had originally brought the Indians to East Africa in the 1890s to build the East African Railroad. The Indians evolved into the dominant force in the country's retail trade—for which Amin attacked them as the "brown Jews of East Africa." The expulsion of the Asians triggered an orgy of plundering of their stores, homes and property by an aspiring black petty bourgeoisie composed of army officers and their cronies. As we wrote of Amin's expulsion of Asians and massacres of rival tribes: "Nationalism in power, even the nationalism of a formerly oppressed people, strives to compact a racially homogeneous state through the brutal methods of bourgeois nation-state building: forced assimilation, expulsion or genocide of racial and national minorities" (*WV* No. 118, 16 July 1976).

When various African and other Third World nationalists attempt "nation-building" in this epoch, they are blocked by the legacy and continued domination of imperialism. Leon Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revo-



Fascist Croatian Ustasha massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs during World War II.

Afrikaner nationalist movement. They dreamed of ripping South Africa apart along racial lines and restructuring it as a diversity of separate "nations" in which white Afrikanerdom would be assured of its own separate nationhood with its own distinctive culture. But after coming to power, Nationalist leader D.F. Malan had to face the fact that "our whole economic structure is to a large extent based upon non-White labour" and that "territorial separation" would "have the result that the Europeans will have to perform all their labour themselves" (Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* [1986]).

The Nationalists in power instituted

lution explained that in the colonial and neocolonial countries, the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, including the just and democratic resolution of the national question, can only be accomplished under the dictatorship of the proletariat, led by a Bolshevik party.

Racism and "Ethnic Cleansing"

To read the imperialist press, one would get the impression that "ethnic cleansing" is only carried out by backward tribal peoples motivated by "ancient feuds" and national rivalries. Actually, the rise of nationalism

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"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 7)

accompanies the spread of capitalism, and forced population transfers are carried out by some of the most "civilized" nations. Recently, as the Soviet Union was breaking up, the capitalist West was seized with sympathy for the cause of the Christian Armenians fighting with the Muslim Azeris over control of the mountainous region of Nagorno-Karabakh in the Caucasus, one of the most nationally diverse and interpenetrated areas of the world. There was plenty of publicity for the grisly pogrom against Armenians in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, but almost nothing about the systematic "ethnic cleansing" by the Armenians.

This war broke out in 1988 as Gorbachev's perestroika fueled national conflicts across the borderlands of the Soviet Union, with the more economically advanced areas following the logic of the capitalist market in seeking to gain advantage at the expense of their less-developed neighbors. (Similarly, the breakup of Yugoslavia was spearheaded by the economically more prosperous Slovenia and Croatia.) One quarter of the population of the mainly Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in Azerbaijan, was Azeri, but they have now been entirely driven out as both sides have waged a gruesome war of burned villages, mutilations and massacres. In the five years of fighting, more than half a million people have been driven from their homes throughout Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The fighting is by no means limited to the disputed enclave. Last April, the Armenians seized a wide swath of territory, driving tens of thousands of Azeri villagers from their homes as they established a northern corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh, in effect annexing it. But the Armenians' fire is not directed solely against the Azeris. In May 1992, Armenian forces opened a southern corridor to Nagorno-Karabakh by taking the village of Lachin. When Lachin was burned to the ground by Armenian troops, buried in the press reports was a scant mention of the fact that this town was the center of the *Kurdish* population in the region. Jonathan Steele reported in the *London Guardian* (25 May 1992) that the Armenian foreign minister had issued "an extraordinary statement... claiming that Lachin's 'Kurdish population' agreed to open the corridor to Armenia." If this were true, observed Steele, "local Kurds might have been expected to welcome the Armenian liberators. There were none in sight."

It's not so extraordinary as all that, however. This echoes the Israeli Zionists' claim that in 1948 the Palestinian Arabs abandoned their homes of their own volition. In reality, this was a classic case of "ethnic cleansing" on a massive scale. Through a campaign of massacres and atrocities designed to terrorize the Palestinian Arabs and drive them off the land, the Zionists depopulated some 350 Arab towns and drove out 700,000 Pal-

estinian refugees. Zionist leader Ben-Gurion called it "the cleaning up of the Arab settlements" (Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* [1987]).



Imperial War Museum, London

Communist-led Yugoslav Partisans, May 1944. Tito's anti-Nazi struggle which overthrew capitalism laid basis for unity of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

estinian refugees. Zionist leader Ben-Gurion called it "the cleaning up of the Arab settlements" (Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* [1987]).

The UN partition resolution of 29 November 1947, which envisaged dividing Palestine into a Jewish and a Palestinian Arab state (in which the Zionists, who owned only 6 percent of the land in Palestine, were supposed to get about 55 percent of the country), touched off a communal war between the Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples for control of the same territory. In May 1948, as the British withdrew from Palestine, a second war, overlapping with the communal conflict, broke out between Israel and the Arab states. The war between the Zionists and the Arab states was prepared by a series of meetings between the Zionists and the Hashemite monarchy of Trans-Jordan, ensuring that the most substantial Arab force, Trans-Jordan's Arab Legion, would not infringe on the lands allotted by the UN for the Zionists.

In the communal war, the Zionists had from the start an overwhelming military advantage over the Palestinian Arabs. The British had tolerated the existence of the "official" Zionist units

began to withdraw, was a green light for field commanders to carry out "ethnic cleansing" on a massive scale. Here are some key provisions:

"Destruction of villages (setting fire to, blowing up, and planting mines in the debris), especially those population centers which are difficult to control continuously.

"Mounting combing and control operations according to the following guidelines: encirclement of the village and conducting a search inside it. In the event of resistance, the armed force must be wiped out and the population must be expelled outside the borders of the state."

—*Journal of Palestine Studies* (Autumn 1988)

Zionist attacks on Arab villages were carefully coordinated with "psychological warfare" tactics designed to sow terror among the Arab population. Hagannah loudspeaker vans were invariably used during attacks, broadcasting what one Israeli officer described as "horror sounds"—shrieks, wails, sirens and anguished moans of Arab women—interrupted with cries in Arabic of "Flee for your lives! The Jews are using poison gas." Free Hebrew Radio broadcasts contained threats in Arabic that cholera, typhus and other diseases "will break out heavily in April and May among Arabs" (Erskine Childers, "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees," in Ibrahim Abu-Lughod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* [1971]).

"Operation Passover Cleansing" (*Bi'ur Hametz*) was the name the Hagannah gave to its April 1948 drive to expel the 70,000-strong Arab population from the mixed city of Haifa. This name refers to the Jewish tradition of burning all leaven (*hametz*) found in the house on the night before the Passover festival. The orders given to the 22nd Battalion (Carmeli Brigade) were "to kill every [adult male] Arab encountered" and to burn "all objectives that can be set alight." In a scene reminiscent of today's Sarajevo, Zionist artillery and sniper fire rained down from Mt. Carmel and Haifa's heights onto the terrified Arab residents. While loudspeakers shrieked their "horror sounds" and buildings were bombarded around them, the panicked population raced toward the port area as countless old men, women and children were trampled in the panic or caught in the hail of Zionist gunfire.

An article by Guy Erlich in the Tel Aviv paper *Ha'ir* (6 May 1992) cites the former director of the Israeli army archives, Ariyeh Yitzhaki, who, based on his unique access to government docu-

ments, estimates that in the 1948 war the Israelis committed "at least 20 large massacres" of more than 50 people and about one hundred "small massacres." Yitzhaki goes on: "For many Israelis it was easy to cling to the false claim that the Arabs left the country because that was what their leaders ordered. That is a total lie. The fundamental cause for the flight of the Arabs was their fear of the Israelis' violence, and that fear had a basis in reality. From almost every report which appears in the army's archives about the occupation of Arab villages during May-July 1948, the height of confrontations with the Arab villagers, there comes the smell of a massacre."

For Proletarian Internationalism!

"Ethnic cleansing" is simply the implementation of the program inherent in all nationalism. As Marxists, we oppose all forms of nationalism and fight for proletarian *internationalism*. With regard to the Arab-Israel war of 1948, the Trotskyist program is for revolutionary defeatism in the fighting between the Arab and Zionist armies, and for self-defense of villages and settlements under attack. In the ethnic-nationalist wars wracking the former Yugoslavia, we likewise take no side. But the victory of Tito's Partisans after World War II showed that, despite centuries of ethnic conflict and the vivid memories of the recent history of communalist massacres by Croatian Ustasha and Serbian Chetniks, unity of the South Slav peoples and other inhabitants of Yugoslavia was possible, *on the basis of proletarian state power*.

However, Tito's regime was a bureaucratically deformed workers state, and the Stalinist bureaucracy's nationalist perspective of "socialism in one country" prevented the national question from being fully resolved. Tito's "market socialism" reinforced glaring regional disparities, such as between backward Kosovo and relatively developed Slovenia, fueling the rise of nationalist forces within the bureaucracy. As we wrote in the conclusion of our two-part series on "The National Question in Yugoslavia" (*WV* Nos. 106 and 110, 23 April and 21 May 1976):

"The bankruptcy of Titoism and its failure to resolve the national questions only serve to demonstrate that even in those exceptional circumstances where they have overthrown the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists—of all stripes—are incapable of fully solving even democratic revolutionary tasks. Tito's acquiescence in Stalin's sabotage of the Greek revolution has left a quarter million or more Macedonians under capitalist oppression. Moreover, the inability to wage any but an isolated *nationalist* struggle against Kremlin overlordship meant that the 1948 break with Moscow effectively shelved all hopes for a Balkan federation. The divided Albanian and Macedonian populations are today pawns in the inter-bureaucratic squabbling of Moscow, Peking and Belgrade.

"Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering (largely against its own will) of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."

With the bloody demise of the Yugoslav deformed workers state, genuine communists must fight for socialist revolution against all the capitalist regimes, on the basis of an internationalist program for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

"No Confidence in Capitalist Courts—For Mass Labor/Black Action to Defeat Racist Attacks!" Organizers recalled the sit-ins against segregated lunch counters at Woolworth's in 1960-61. Cars driving past honked their horns in support. As the rallies concluded, protesters sang Civil War anthems of the struggle for black freedom.

"Fight This Racist Open Shop—Unionize Denny's!"

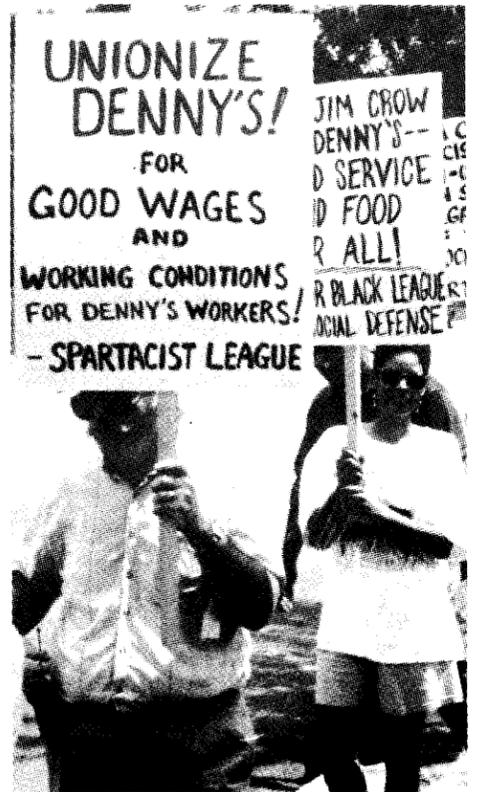
Significant support for the protests came from integrated unions. The Bay Area protest of over 150 picketers at the Denny's in Emeryville, California included members from more than a dozen local unions, including a group of BART transit workers from SEIU Local 790 (whose BART chapter endorsed the protest) and ATU Local 1555. Utility workers from AFSCME Local 444, another endorser, brought a union banner. Others included bus drivers, phone workers and postal workers. Alameda Central Labor Council delegate Willie Lee Bell came down, as did Daniel Farrell, president of the Oakland Black Firefighters.

Protesters' signs and chants underlined the close connection between the fight for minority rights and the struggles of labor—a tie which clearly struck a chord among blacks and workers. The bulk of the more than 26,000 leaflets that got out in the Bay Area were distributed by trade unionists, minorities and anti-racist students. Transit workers from MUNI and BART, SEIU hospital and city/county workers, postal workers, AFSCME utility workers and ILWU longshoremen as well as other unionists passed out thousands of leaflets.

Students distributed stacks of leaflets on their own at Laney College, Merritt College, Cal State Hayward and Diablo Valley College. Seven UC Berkeley stu-



Lexington, Massachusetts (above), Atlanta (right): Protesters across the country denounce attempts to turn back the clock on civil rights, stress link between black rights and class struggle.



dents joined the protest, brought out by the Spartacus Youth Club. In Vallejo, a young black woman xeroxed copies of the LBL leaflet her husband had picked up in San Francisco and together with some transit worker friends distributed in the area, including at the local Denny's. In several cases, blacks joined the demonstration on the spot.

In Chicago, where former Negro National Baseball League players "Smokin' Joe" Barnes and Bobby Robinson endorsed, 50 picketed outside the Denny's in suburban Oak Lawn on July 3. ACTWU local president Katie Jordan told the protesters: "If Rosa Parks had sat back and waited for someone else to do it, we'd still be at the back of the bus." She added, "The labor movement cannot very well say that it is for working people unless it is involved in the whole idea of what happens to minorities who are outside of the union movement. The labor movement

needs to put on a nationwide campaign to organize Denny's."

Denny's-NAACP Backroom Deal for Black Capitalism

Denny's management flew in spokesmen from their headquarters in Spartanburg, South Carolina who distributed statements publicizing their "historic" agreement with the NAACP for minority franchises, purchasing, marketing and managers. Spartacist spokesman Alison Spencer was quoted in the *Washington Afro-American* (3 July): "They signed an agreement with the Justice Department in April and there are still complaints against Denny's. A few token faces in high places and additional Black-owned franchises won't mean anything to the customers who are being discriminated against."

At the Chicago rally, Johnnie Jackson of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) commented tersely, "That little concession that they made with the NAACP yesterday doesn't mean a hill of beans. If we are treated inferior when we go into Denny's, how do you think the workers in there are treated? They need to be unionized." Jeffrey Raffo, a staff organizer for 1199 hospital workers in Kentucky, who spoke at the demonstration, ended his remarks with the call, "Workers of the world unite!"

The fight to end Jim Crow at Denny's was also a fight for *revolutionary integrationism* vs. the NAACP's accommodation to the racist rulers. The restaurant chain ran a full-page ad in the *Amsterdam News* heralding "A New Partnership" and "A New Day at Denny's." More revealing was its question, "What's in it for Denny's?" Just who will this settlement benefit? Denny's claims it will spend over a billion dollars in the next seven years to promote black managers, develop minority franchisers, place ads in black-centered media, purchase supplies from black-owned companies, and hire black consultants. But for the workers at Denny's, who are still working at minimum wage without a union—not a red cent! This is a graphic illustration of the program of black capitalism, aimed at creating a narrow layer of black entrepreneurs while the vast majority of the oppressed are driven further into devastation.

Racist Treatment of Customers and Employees

In a statement read at the Emeryville demonstration, Leon Harris, ILWU International Secretary-Treasurer, declared that "The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union deplores and denounces Denny's Restaurants for

continued on page 10

The Law Is Not on "Our Side"

To date the Oakland Tribune hasn't seen fit to print this letter to the editor.

29 June 1993

Oakland Tribune
Dear Editor:

Brenda Payton's June 24 column ("Denny's—It's Not 1963") accurately summarizes the rising tide of racist treatment of blacks and other minorities at restaurants across the country, especially the notorious Denny's chain. The parallels with the infamous Jim Crow era are obvious to all. Yet Ms. Payton seems to be living in some fantasyland when she asserts that 1993 is qualitatively different from 1963 simply because "this time, the law is on our side."

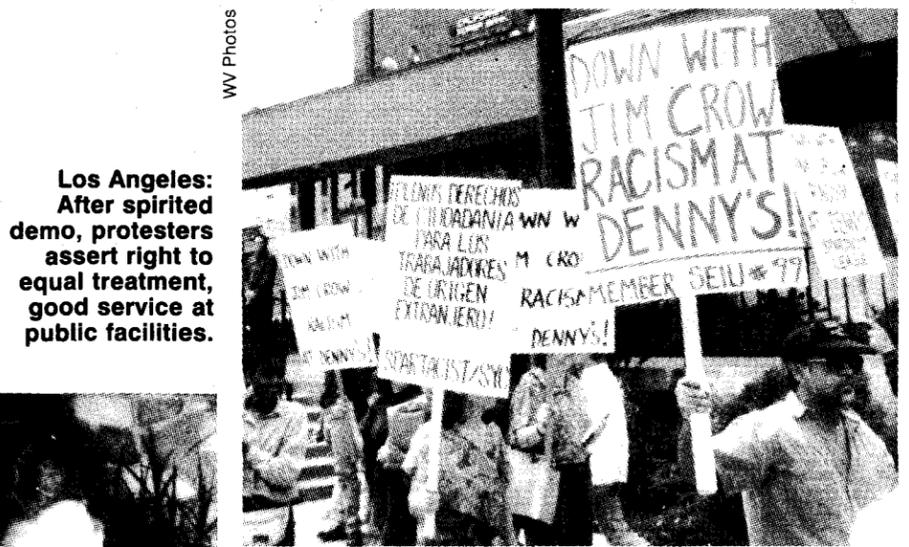
The Supreme Court supposedly outlawed "separate but equal" segregationist schools in 1954, but it took years of mass action in the streets to put some teeth into that paper decree. As a former participant in the 1960s civil rights struggles, I'll always remember Freedom Rider John Lewis trying to cite a Supreme Court decision barring segregation to a white mob at a South Carolina Greyhound bus station in May 1961—and getting a punch in the mouth as an answer. Later that same month Freedom Riders were viciously beaten up at a Trailways station in Birmingham by a Klan mob led by FBI "informant" Gary Thomas Rowe under the Democratic Kennedy administration, whom many naively believed was "on our side." The civil rights movement collapsed when it was confronted with the *de facto* segregation of blacks in

the North, who had been living under the "equality of the law" for years. As for the idea that the law is "on our side" this time, try telling that to Rodney King or any of the other countless victims of racist police terror.

Payton's column ends by noting her personal boycott of Denny's. Boycotting such restaurants is *exactly what the racists want*—they want to keep you out, get it? Black progress in this country has always been associated with the fight for *integration*, for *demanding* equality of treatment in public services, employment and so on.

Denny's is based in Spartanburg, South Carolina—the hardcore racist state of the Confederacy—and we do not believe the owners are simply uninformed about the law, as Ms. Payton implies. On Saturday, July 3, at noon the Labor Black League for Social Defense and the Spartacist League will be picketing Denny's in Emeryville at 1776 Powell St. (at I-80) to demand: "DOWN WITH JIM CROW AT DENNY'S! FOR EQUAL TREATMENT, GOOD SERVICE AND FOOD FOR ALL!" Afterwards, we are going in to eat, taking no ifs, ands or buts. This action has been endorsed by the ILWU International, SEIU Local 250, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 28, Congressman Ron Dellums, and many others. And this is the way to defend civil rights.

Sincerely,
Mark Kellerman
for the Labor Black League
for Social Defense

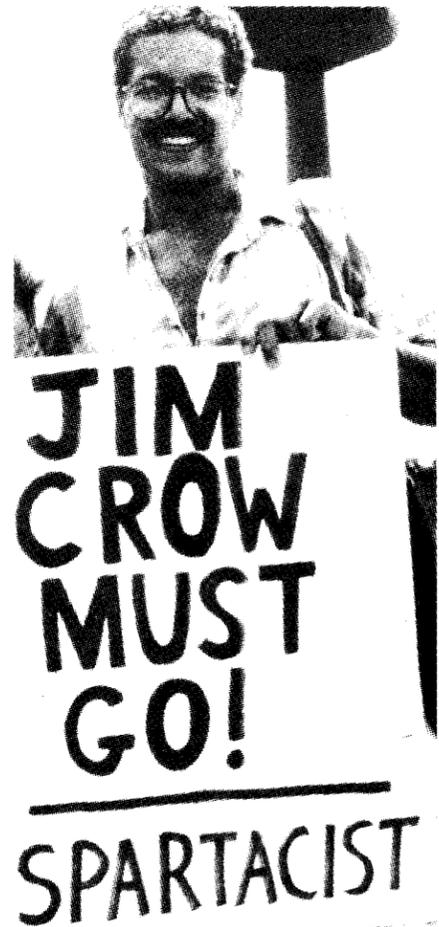


On Jazz 90's "Crosstalk"

We print below excerpts from an interview and replies to questions from callers by Spartacist spokesman Brian Manning on the Washington, D.C. radio station WDCU's call-in "Jazz 90's Crosstalk" show hosted by Ernest White, on June 29. Two questions that callers raised were "Why not just boycott Denny's?" and "black capitalism."

WDCU: Welcome to our show. First, let's talk about the Spartacist League, if you would give us some background on it.

Manning: We're a labor-socialist group, we've been active in this country since the mid-'60s, and we fight to mobilize black people and working people to fight for what's rightfully ours. You know, blacks and workers have built up



Brian Manning

WV Photo

the tremendous wealth in this country, but we have been denied the fruits of our labor.

We're known for our work against the fascists, the Klan and Nazis. For example, in 1982 we organized a demonstration here in D.C. that stopped the KKK from marching. We organized another one up in Philly in 1988 that stopped the Klan and the skinheads from marching. Just a few months ago, in the wake of the murder of Dr. Gunn in Pensacola, Florida, the doctor who performed abortions, we organized a series of protests against the anti-abortion terrorists. More recently, a couple of weeks ago, along with a group of Somalis we protested the massacre of the Somali people by U.S. and UN troops in Mogadishu.

WDCU: I said before our break that if you don't know what's been going on with the Denny's restaurants, you must have been living under a rock. Maybe somebody was under a rock or out of the country or asleep for several months. Why don't you give them an update on why this demonstration is necessary.

Manning: In this area, Denny's hit the headlines when the six black Secret Service men were denied service out in Annapolis. Shortly after that, a black choir from North Carolina was denied service at the Denny's restaurant in Woodbridge, the one we're going to demonstrate at.

WDCU: A lady called me after the first incident with the Secret Service and said there ought to be a boycott and not go

into Denny's anymore. I know, when you're on the road traveling you sometimes have to deal with whatever's available, but with a case as highly profiled, why would you go to a Denny's anyway?

Manning: Well, simply to enforce our right to equal access to public facilities. That was what a lot of people fought and died for during the civil rights movement around 30 years ago. And 30 years later it's still going on.

Caller: As black people it's so hard for us to make money. Why should we spend our time demonstrating to go into Denny's to buy food? Why don't we just pool our resources together? I have been in too many restaurants and there's only white people working in these restaurants, and it's mainly black people that's spending their money. We're begging them and being disrespected by them—it doesn't make sense.

Manning: What we look to do is to guarantee that blacks not only have the right to eat anywhere they want in this country, but also that they can afford to do so. You know that this is a fundamentally racist society. And it's racist not only in outright Jim Crow like Denny's, but also economically. The gap between blacks and whites is getting wider and wider. To achieve genuine freedom and equality is going to take a fight for a revolution in this country. Because racial oppression is integral to capitalism.

You've got a thin layer of the so-called "black leaders," mostly black Democrats who are up there saying, "you've got to believe in the system, everything takes time." You've got somebody like Doug Wilder, the governor of Virginia, right where these Denny's are. He's sitting in the statehouse surrounded by all these monuments to the Confederacy.

WDCU: Being from Virginia and having grown up in Richmond...you're exactly right! When Doug Wilder was inaugurated, one of the most telling things about the inauguration was to see young black boys swinging on the statues of Andrew Jackson.

Caller: We need to build a black-owned restaurant where every Denny's is. Therefore we drive them out of business. We have the Michael Jacksons, Jordans, we have the money.

Manning: By saying that all you've got to do is build your own restaurant—well, how many black-owned corporations are on the Fortune 500? Not a whole lot. But it's black work that created that wealth that built the Fortune 500. And what we're saying is that it's ours, black people and working people have built the wealth of this country with the fruits of our labor. We built it—let's take it. And that's the essence of what our organization is about. You know, we're for organizing the workforce in Denny's, for organizing the whole South, because traditionally "open shop" anti-unionism goes hand in hand with race-terror.

Caller: Let me make a little comment about a Denny's that I was denied service at, in Frederick, Maryland. My wife, myself, two children and a friend, we went there. We were seated. Three other groups of people came in. All were served, and we still had not been served, right? So finally they brought our food. My wife's food was ice cold. The steak that I ordered was about the size of a quarter and burnt. So I demanded to see the manager. The manager came out, and this is the way they get rid of you: 'Well, sir, if your wife doesn't like the service, you don't have to pay for it, you can leave.' So we left. I wrote the Chamber of Commerce and they didn't even have the decency to write me back. So I just felt I really wanted to say that you've got to stand for something or you'll fall for anything. ■



WV Photo



McLaughlin/East Bay Express

Emeryville, California: Workers from more than a dozen unions came out on July 3. Jeff Higgins, Bay Area Labor Black League, addresses the crowd.

Denny's...

(continued from page 9)

its racist policies towards African Americans. The ILWU firmly believes that "An injury to one is an injury to all." Other endorsers included SEIU Local 250, covering hospital workers throughout California; Hotel & Restaurant (HERE) Local 28; and SEIU Local 1877, Justice for Janitors, whose statement was also read at the demonstration. Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums endorsed the Bay Area protest.

A woman going in to eat at Denny's in Lexington, Massachusetts told reporters about her own experience with the restaurant chain's pattern of racism nationally. At a Denny's in Florida, she said, "they didn't want to serve us our food, they made us wait an hour." A spokesman for the protesters commented, "You never saw faster, better service at Denny's than the day we ringed it with picket lines." When management tried to co-opt demonstrators in Atlanta with offers of free lemonade, demonstrators spurned this pathetic ruse and chanted "Free food for the homeless!"

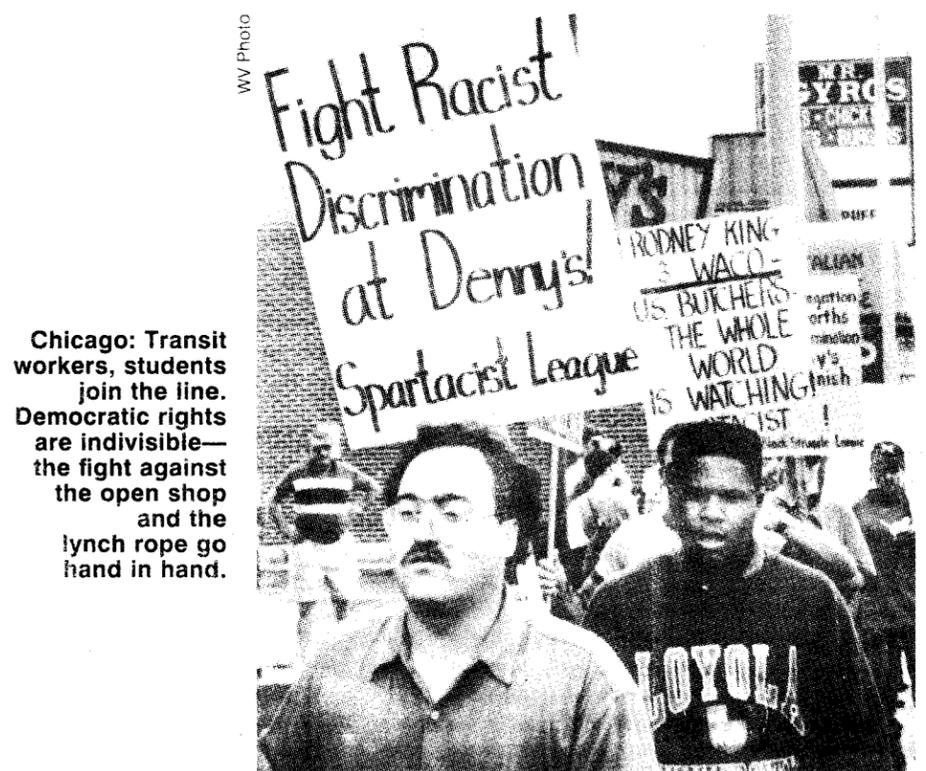
At the Emeryville, California protest, one of the speakers was Aretha McCullum, who suffered discrimination at the same Denny's when they demanded she "pre-pay" before being served. "It's a crying shame that my parents and grandparents were walking

the same lines 30 years ago for civil rights," she told the crowd. Another of the rally speakers was from the "Santa Cruz Six," arrested for sitting in at Denny's in Santa Cruz in 1989 to protest discrimination against the homeless.

Steven Payne, a young black man who happened to be passing on his bicycle, talked with demonstrators and told his own story: "I came here to eat breakfast. When they brought the food they also brought the bill. I looked around and no one else had a bill on their table." At Woodbridge, Virginia, where 125 black members of the Martin Luther King Children's Choir had been refused service in May, Denny's brought in managers to wait on tables, perhaps wary of exposing their employees to calls for unionization.

Finish the Civil War!

"We chose the July 4th weekend to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called 'Liberty Weekend,'" said Bernard Branche, spokesman for the Chicago Labor Black Struggle League. "What July 4th really means is racism and capitalist exploitation." In Los Angeles a sign said, "Rodney King Beating and Whitewash Trial, Waco Holocaust—There Is No Justice in Capitalist America!" There was a speaker from the committee for the outspoken barber who was wantonly killed by police in Pasadena. At Emeryville, speakers recalled another victim of racist police



Chicago: Transit workers, students join the line. Democratic rights are indivisible—the fight against the open shop and the lynch rope go hand in hand.

WV Photo

murder—Jerrold Hall, shot in the back by a BART cop who is still on the job, while Hall's companion Henry Owens is jailed on frame-up charges.

Denny's would like to portray its deal with the NAACP as supposedly wiping out racism at the restaurant chain, making all further protests and victims' complaints irrelevant. But even the government's own people weren't buying it—on July 8, the black Secret Service men who had been denied service at the Denny's in Annapolis, Maryland announced they were expanding their legal complaint into a class action suit, because of the flood of victims' complaints which have poured in since their case drew wide attention.

Democratic rights are indivisible. Racism at Denny's is just the tip of the iceberg of the racist reality of America today. This campaign got its power from the intersection of blacks, reds and organized labor. With the established black "leadership" under the sway of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party, along with the ossified, racist union bureaucracy, it is the communists—armed with a program of class struggle that can mobilize the power of labor—who defend elementary rights of the oppressed.

The protests got a lot of coverage from some of the capitalist media, which reflected both the depth of outrage over Denny's racist policies and their concern over this combination. Many ignored the union participation and downplayed the integrated character of the demonstrations. Most extreme was a hostile, red-baiting piece broadcast by KTVU-TV Channel 2 in the Bay Area which openly sought to alibi Denny's.

Most of the self-proclaimed "socialist" groups which hover in the shadow of the Democratic Party proved indifferent or downright hostile to this basic act of political opposition to racism. Particularly telling was the response of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League, which refused to endorse or even attend the demonstration in the Bay Area on the grounds that it was called by the LBL, which is fraternally allied with the Spartacist League.

Another centrist group, the Revolutionary Trotskyist League, acting out a laborite parody, came with two leaflets: one for "the masses," which turned the political struggle against racism into an appendage of a purely economist struggle to "organize Denny's"; and another for the "sectarian" Spartacists, accusing us of making abstract "noises about the socialist revolution" while supposedly ignoring labor. With a protest built by labor support and including scores of unionists, the RTL felt compelled to endorse on the spot, so they could address the crowd.

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

Brandywine Valley clinic in North Wilmington, Delaware later that day.

In Philly, Spartacists engaged in lively discussion with supporters of NWROC, in particular over the Detroit election platform of their sponsor, the Revolutionary Workers League, which never mentions the word "abortion," never mind socialism. And the lead article on the Detroit campaign in the RWL's current *Fighting Worker* (July-August 1993) doesn't mention the "A" word, much less the call for free abortion on demand.

Unlike NWROC, which acts like a typical Stalinist front group, the Spartacus Youth Clubs openly assert our revolutionary Trotskyist politics and proudly sail under our own colors.

San Jose: Hundreds Mobilize to Block O.R.

Integrated and heavily working-class San Jose proved to be no refuge for the shock troops of Operation Rescue. O.R.

New York Times 5 July 1993

After Denny's Protest, Pickets Decide to Eat

EMERYVILLE, Calif., July 4 (AP) — Instead of urging a boycott, scores of picketers protesting alleged racial discrimination at the Denny's restaurant chain spent their money over the weekend at a Denny's here.

"We don't support a boycott," said Linda Thurston, a spokeswoman for the event's organizer, the Labor Black League for Social Defense. "We want equal service for all."

About 100 people took part in the protest on Saturday, and more than half went inside later and demanded "food for all," Ms. Thurston said.

The restaurant manager, who identified himself only as George, said there had been no incidents. He said the amount of business "seemed the same as usual for a Saturday."

League supporters were also in San Jose on Friday when Judge James Ware of Federal District Court denied a motion to dismiss a lawsuit by 32 Denny's patrons in California; the suit accuses the chain of intentionally discriminating against blacks.

Denny's had sought to dismiss the suit, saying it might duplicate an agreement reached in April with the United States Justice Department. As part of that agreement, Denny's will conduct in-house tests to make sure that employees do not discriminate against black patrons.

Washington Afro-American 3 July 1993



Denny's Part II: Protest set for July 3

your Grand Slam breakfast in place, yet another group has planned a demonstration against Denny's racism. The League and employees backed a sign of color when the NAACP refused to endorse the protest. The sign reads: "Denny's racism is a stain on the NAACP's honor." (Continued on page A8)

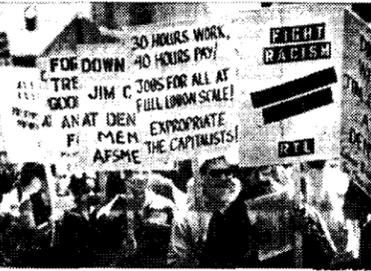
La Opinión 5 July 1993

Acusan a la cadena Denny's

Por Paula Rosales
El día de mañana en nuestro país, la cadena de restaurantes Denny's se vio involucrada en un caso de discriminación racial. En un momento de gran actividad económica, el restaurante de Emeryville, California, fue el escenario de una protesta organizada por el grupo de la Liga Obrera y la Spartacist League, con el propósito de denunciar el racismo que se practica en este negocio. El día de mañana, el restaurante Denny's se vio involucrado en un caso de discriminación racial. En un momento de gran actividad económica, el restaurante de Emeryville, California, fue el escenario de una protesta organizada por el grupo de la Liga Obrera y la Spartacist League, con el propósito de denunciar el racismo que se practica en este negocio.

San Jose Mercury News 4 July 1993

Protesters with lots on their minds



Protesters march in front of Denny's Restaurant on Powell Street, Emeryville.

Denny's pickets combine issues

Protesters gathered in front of the Denny's restaurant in Emeryville on Saturday to demand equal service for all. The protesters, who included members of the Labor Black League for Social Defense, the Spartacist League, and the United States Justice Department, held signs that read "30 HOURS WORK, 40 HOURS PAY!" and "RIGHT PAPERS!"



Protesters held the signs outside the Emeryville Denny's to protest the restaurant's alleged racism. (Continued on page A8)

Lexington Minute-man 8 July 1993

Protest at Denny's aimed at racism

An estimated 30 demonstrators gathered at the Denny's restaurant on Bedford Street Saturday to protest what they called the restaurant chain's "policy of racism."

The protest, in which some demonstrators carried signs that read "SERVIR EL SOUTHERN STYLE" and "FREE AFRICAN PEOPLE," was part of a nationwide campaign of demonstrations organized by the New York-based Spartacist League. The demonstrators held a sign that read "Denny's racism is a stain on the NAACP's honor."

Oakland Tribune 4 July 1993

Pickets charge bias at Denny's protest



Protesters march in front of Denny's Restaurant on Powell Street, Emeryville.

Restaurant targeted in federal suit

EMERYVILLE, Calif. (AP) — A federal judge on Saturday ordered Denny's Restaurant to pay \$100,000 in damages to a group of black patrons who filed a lawsuit against the chain. The suit, filed in federal court in San Francisco, alleges that Denny's discriminated against black patrons by refusing to serve them. The judge's decision is the first time a federal court has ruled against a restaurant chain for racial discrimination.

Chicago Defender 6 July 1993



Protest against Denny's

Chicagoans join in picket lines at 5217 S. Cicero Ave. on Oak Lawn, over the weekend to protest alleged discrimination in service at Denny's restaurants. The demonstrations, which were coordinated with protests across the nation, were initiated by the Spartacist League and Labor Black League.

San Gabriel Valley News 4 July 1993



Jackson Advocate 1-7 July 1993

Advocate News Service
NEW YORK — Spartacist League and Labor Black League in

Nationwide protests planned against Denny's during holiday weekend

notorious "Sambor" chain, many of whose restaurants Denny's bought up, she added.

The bottom line is there can be no liberation of black people, or Latinos and other oppressed minorities, without socialist revolution. Today a whole generation of ghetto youth are facing a future without jobs or decent education. But while suffering pervasive de facto segregation as an oppressed race-color caste, blacks are integrated into American capitalism at the bottom, with black workers occupying a strategic position in the organized labor movement.

As Don Alexander of the Spartacist League summed up: "We in the Sparta-

dist League have fought and are fighting to smash this viciously racist capitalist system that breeds racial oppression like spoiled meat produces maggots, and in which the working class is brutally exploited.... Why do black people have to continually fight for the most elementary democratic rights in the U.S.? Why are blacks outcasts in the so-called 'free world' of savage racial and class oppression? It is because we live under a democracy for the rich; and the Civil War of 1861-1865 was never finished.... It will take a third

American revolution—a workers revolution—to finish the Civil War by smashing capitalist rule and building a revolutionary workers state that will destroy racism and class exploitation root and branch."

A demonstration organizer noted, "Today's protests are a small example of how real gains are won in this racist society: through militant struggle, not backroom deals with corporation lawyers." In the Bay Area, by the end of the rally four people had joined the Labor Black League for Social Defense. ■

mobilized only about 70 of the 1,000 goons that it had vowed would lay siege to the city on Saturday, and these met the stubborn resistance of at least 600 clinic defenders at several facilities in the San Jose area.

The SL and SYC organized a contingent of more than 30 to join in the clinic defense early Saturday morning. At midnight, in response to a report from the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) that O.R. planned a pre-dawn attack on a clinic in Sunnyvale, we mobilized to be on site at 4 a.m. Upon arrival, the SL contingent joined in securing an entrance to the clinic, forming defense lines around the doorway.

As more clinic defenders arrived, along with a score of riot cops, Planned Parenthood announced that nobody would be allowed on clinic property who did not sign a "non-violence" pledge, the equivalent of the old "yellow dog" contracts whereby workers were required to sign away their union rights as a condition of employment. But when the SL, along with BACORR supporters, refused to abdicate the right to self-defense, the bourgeois feminists didn't

hesitate to use the violence of the state—the cops—against clinic defenders.

As a phalanx of police advanced on the crowd, militants, including an elderly woman with a walker, linked arms in solidarity with the SL contingent. The cops backed down and let the militants stay. Planned Parenthood's violence-baiting attempt to remove militant clinic defenders was doing O.R.'s dirty work. The cops have repeatedly protected O.R., enabling it to shut down and terrorize the clinics.

Across the street from Planned Parenthood's main headquarters in San Jose, a few dozen O.R. prayed and wailed for TV cameras. When one fascist (complete with Hitler mustache) arrived with a sign calling to ban abortion and homosexuals and to stop the "White holocaust," the SL contingent led a crowd of activists in chanting "Operation Rescue and KKK: labor and blacks will sweep you away!" The coward slunk off.

On Monday morning at the Women's Community Center, two SYC members were part of a team of escorts defending clients, many of them poor Hispanic women, from intimidation and harassment by a pack of more than 50 bigots.

Abortion rights defenders picked up our contingent's chants of "Defend the clinics, take a stand—Free abortion on demand!" and "Operation Rescue—Hitler would have loved you!"

"Pro-choice" Democratic mayor Susan Hammer used the outrage against "right to life" terrorists to push through restrictions on the right to protest in San Jose. The so-called "bubble law" prohibits anyone from demonstrating within 100 feet of a health care facility, or coming within eight feet of a client. Another law that narrowly failed in the San Jose City Council would have allowed fines against arrested protesters of up to \$10,000 per violation (dropped to \$1,000 in a last-minute attempt to garner the necessary two-thirds majority vote).

Ostensibly to protect the rights of women, such laws will be used to bust strikes and quash political protest by leftists, workers and minorities. Along with 15 members of O.R., at least three clinic defenders were arrested Saturday for an alleged violation of the "bubble law." The racist Democratic Party of war and poverty won't fight anti-abortion terror! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Coast-to-Coast Demonstrations Against Denny's Racism



From Virginia (left) to California, Labor Black Leagues and Spartacist League initiated demonstrations which brought out hundreds to protest Jim Crow discrimination at Denny's. WV Photos

On July 3, several hundred people joined picket lines at Denny's restaurants across America, demanding "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's! For equal treatment, good service and food for *all!*" The demonstrations were initiated by the Labor Black League for Social Defense in the San Francisco Bay Area and called by the Spartacist League and Labor Black Leagues at six locations around the country. In Los Angeles and the Bay Area, Chicago, Atlanta, the Washington,

July 3 Labor/Black Protests

D.C. area and Boston, integrated protests were held at selected Denny's restaurants: after noontime rallies, demonstrators went in to eat, to insist on equal treatment for all.

Three decades after the civil rights movement supposedly ended institution-

alized Jim Crow racism, a national policy of old-style segregation at Denny's non-union chain of some 1,400 restaurants aims to drive blacks out. Among Denny's outrageous racist tricks: charging blacks-only "cover charges," demanding blacks and Hispanics "pre-pay"

before getting their food, seating whites first, lousy service or no service for minorities, even closing down to avoid "blackouts" (management's racist term for too many blacks in the place).

"Denny's: Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, Anti-Gay," read one of the demonstrators' signs. Another declared, "Jim Crow Racism, Anti-Union Open Shop—Legacy of the Slavocracy." The Partisan Defense Committee carried signs saying,

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Battle Over Abortion Clinic Defense

On July 9, the anti-abortion terrorists of "Operation Rescue" opened their ten-day campaign to shut down abortion clinics in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Dallas/Fort Worth, as well as San Jose, California, Jackson, Mississippi and Melbourne, Florida. The latter is the site of the clinic blockaders' 12-week "boot camp," where O.R. führer Randall Terry made his infamous "the doctor is the weak link" speech one week before the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola.

In the main, the bigots' brigades failed in their objective to shut down the clinics, but the NOW/NARAL bourgeois feminists' bloc with the cops against leftists undercut protests. Mass clinic defense mobilizations were successful in keeping O.R. out in San Jose (see below). In Minneapolis, militant young activists have repeatedly battled the god squads in heated protests and faced police attacks. We publish below two on-the-spot reports of Spartacist interventions.



In Philadelphia, July 10, bourgeois feminists joined with cops to keep Spartacists and other militant clinic defenders (above) from confronting anti-abortion blockaders. WV Photo

Philadelphia: Pro-Clinton Feminists Sabotage Clinic Defense

On the East Coast, Operation Rescue's target was Philadelphia, where a NOW/NARAL/Planned Parenthood coalition in league with Democratic mayor Rendell had passed an ordinance against clinic blockades. On July 9, O.R. made no attempt to shut down the three well-defended Center City clinics, and instead blockaded the Crozer Chester clinic in suburban Upland. But the feminist coalition grotesquely told clinic defenders to stay out of Chester, citing legalistic arguments like "the clinic is

part of a hospital, so we're not allowed to defend it." NOW/NARAL would rather see a clinic shut down than see militant protest keep it open.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs mobilized to join clinic defenders in front of the Elizabeth Blackwell clinic at 12th and Walnut in Philadelphia on July 10. Here was a good opportunity to sweep away the O.R. parading ominously across the street, but instead the bourgeois feminists were acting as ladies' auxiliaries for the cops, doing everything they could to prevent militant action against O.R.

Before O.R.'s offensive, a coalition leader had traveled to New York to actively discourage abortion-rights ac-

tivists from coming to Philly. Those who refused to be fobbed off and came down to defend the clinics had to face a checkpoint of junior McCarthys demanding: "Do you agree with working with the police to keep the clinics open?"

When Spartacists, members of the Marxist-Leninist Party and others refused this loyalty oath, the cops stepped in to toss them out. Green-aproned monitors patrolled the crowd, fingering

known leftists. A member of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) was threatened with arrest for loudly criticizing NOW's refusal to defend the Crozer Chester clinic.

Thanks to the feminists' attempts to throw out leftists and quash any attempt at mass action, the O.R. squads were not given the lesson they deserve, and were able to sneak away and overrun the *continued on page 11*