

U.S. Sneak Attack on Baghdad

Baby-Killer Clinton Strikes Again

Okay, let's see if we can get this straight. A bunch of Iraqis get picked up in Kuwait by the emir's morality police and a couple of them are tortured into confessing that they were out to bomb the ex-president of the U.S., a man responsible for murdering more than 100,000 Iraqis. Despite the fact that they were picked up before war criminal Bush ever arrived, and that they took back their coerced confessions in court, this makes Iraq...an "outlaw state." In Washingtonspeak, an "outlaw state" is a country that hasn't got the bomb but wants to buy one cheap from the Ukraine.

Now Bill Clinton, without any warning, after playing golf on Saturday (like George Shultz when he launched the invasion of Grenada), sends 23 Tomahawk missiles streaking off in the dead of night toward the Iraqi

capital where they smash into the downtown area, killing eight civilians, including a baby as well as celebrated painter Layla al-Attar and her husband. Pentagon chief Colin Powell tells CNN how great aircraft carriers are because you can launch outside territorial waters and you don't have to worry about niceties like "sovereignty." It's called "international law," got it?

Meanwhile, back on the home front, Janet Reno's boys, fresh from mass murder at Waco, announce that they have foiled an "Arab plot" to blow up the United Nations, the FBI's Manhattan headquarters, the Lincoln Tunnel, Holland Tunnel, Senator "Mad Dog" D'Amato and frothing Zionist NY assemblyman Dov Hikind. How did they know? The feds' inside man

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San Francisco, June 27: Spartacists protest U.S. imperialist bombing of Iraq.

Occupied Territories Sealed Off

Israel Starves Palestinians

Mohammed Faris al-Kurdi was 18 months old when he was shot dead by Israeli soldiers in Gaza's Jabalya refugee camp. The same day, May 16, Israeli troops also shot down eleven-year-old Ahmed Hassan Kurdi in the Shati camp, where a seven-year-old child died several days earlier from Israeli bullets. They were among the 30 Palestinians murdered in May alone by the Zionist state's stormtroopers in the Occupied Territories. While the Western press plays up the sham negotiations between Israel and representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the "peace" government of "Labor" Party prime minister Yitzhak Rabin escalates its war against the Palestinian people.

On March 29, after a spate of revenge killings of Israeli soldiers and civilians, Rabin sealed off the Occupied Territories completely, consigning its nearly two million Arab residents to a starvation regime. Using a Hebrew verb that applies to insects, he ranted: "We must see to it that Palestinians do not swarm among us." This is the longest closure of Gaza and the West Bank since Israel seized the territories in 1967. The families of some 120,000 Palestinian day laborers have been deprived of any means of livelihood, forced to subsist on United Nations relief handouts and meager savings. In villages which border on East Jerusalem, roadblocks have cut people off from schools, shops and health clinics—and even from other villages of the West Bank.

While the Occupied Territories have been turned into a "massive collective prison," as Palestinian representative Hanan Ashrawi puts it, droves of extra Israeli troops pour in to terrorize the population, with orders to shoot any Palestinian deemed to be carrying a weapon. Rockets and helicopters are regularly deployed



Gaza family left homeless after Israeli missiles destroyed their house.

to blow up the homes and villages of suspected "terrorists." Soldiers standing on Gaza rooftops randomly fire into crowds of "stone-throwing" children. In the first five months of the year, 34 Palestinian youth under the age of 17 were gunned down, the highest rate since the start of the Intifada uprising more than five years ago.

The indiscriminate slaughter has taken on such awesome proportions that even the International Red Cross has denounced Israeli troops for "shooting too

much." They are so trigger-happy, indeed, that they have been shooting each other. In late May, four soldiers stationed in southern Lebanon died after an exchange of fire between two Israeli units, while at least three others killed

themselves around the same time playing Russian roulette.

The evident failure to "pacify" the Occupied Territories, after five and a half years of brutal repression, has led to a crisis of sorts within the Zionist ruling class. Rabin's coalition government nearly fell apart in May when his coalition parties, the "leftist" Meretz (associated with "Peace Now") and the Sephardic religious Shas, almost came to blows. Despicably, the Israeli Communist Party's Hadash parliamentary bloc provided the votes to keep Rabin in power.

Meanwhile, prominent voices, notably including Likud spokesman Ronni Milo, have begun calling for an unconditional pullout from the Gaza Strip, which has little economic or strategic value to the Zionist garrison state. Meretz hailed the sealing of the Occupied Territories with the claim that this was the first step toward the creation of a separate Palestinian state, while Rabin aide Binyamin Ben-Eliezer announced, "The headline is: We're on the way out."

In fact, what the sealing of the territories points to is the creation of South Africa-style bantustans, which will provide a controlled reservoir of cheap labor for Israeli employers while denying Palestinians what little economic security and access to social services they now have.

At the same time, the hardline Likud opposition has seized on Rabin's occasional sops to the American-orchestrated "peace" talks—like allowing open representatives of the PLO and promising the creation of a Palestinian police force in the territories. Likud ostentatiously held its recent convention in the

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Japanese Ruling Party Fractures

SEE PAGE 7



PDC Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Class-War Prisoners Condemn Waco Massacre

On April 19, the U.S. government ended its 51-day siege of the tiny, racially integrated Branch Davidian sect near Waco, Texas with a firestorm that left 86 men, women and children dead. For nearly every observer, the Waco massacre unleashed by Attorney General Janet Reno and President Clinton recalled the 13 May 1985 bombing of the predominantly black Philadelphia MOVE commune, ordered by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode. Like the MOVE bombing, the Waco massacre is a message to all who stand up in defense of their rights.

In contrast to the reformist left, which has turned a blind eye to this latest example of government mass murder (just as they refused to stand up in defense of MOVE eight years ago), victims of the government's terror machine have spoken eloquently in defense of the Branch Davidians, whose only crimes were to

seek to worship as they please and to defend their right to do so.

We print below excerpts of letters to the Partisan Defense Committee from class-war prisoners Bob Buck and Delbert Africa. Buck, a West Virginia steel worker, was railroaded to prison for defending his union on the picket line and refusing to wear a wire for the feds during the bitter strike against Ravenswood Aluminum in 1991-92. Delbert Africa is serving a 30-to-100 year sentence for surviving the 8 August 1978 siege by 600 cops on the MOVE house, during which a police officer was killed by a bullet from another cop's gun. They are among the 17 class-war prisoners to whom the PDC sends monthly stipends.

Bob Buck

Personally I have no use for Mrs. Reno whatsoever. After the Waco Massacre she had the nerve to get on T.V. and talk

of concern for the children. They were so damned concerned for the children they unleashed an armed assault on the house they lived in and filled it full of bullet holes; they were so concerned for the children they turned off the water and power to them and then knocked down the walls these children had their backs to, gassed them, and ultimately turned them to death. Am't America great. I'm glad Mrs. Reno isn't concerned about me.

Delbert Africa

You know what disturbs me about the situations like that murder of Branch Davidians in Waco? The fact that so many supposedly knowledgeable people will accept the damn government's propaganda about the people the govt. is getting ready to massacre. Even in here, where one would think them men wouldn't be so naive about the death and destruction this government perpetuates. It bothered the hell out of me that before the murder of those peoples, dudes in here just went along with the set-up, the picture the government was painting of the group as child-abusers, "kooks," "cultish," etc. It was obvious the government was just setting them people up for the eventual murder, and acceptance of that murder, by isolating them in the public mind. And then, like you stated, putting a dollar value on the confrontation makes it "expedient" to end the thing. Of course you know the whole scenario was/is familiar to MOVE. Just goes to show the public that this govt. is going to greater steps to



UPI
Delbert Africa, stomped by Philly police in 1978 assault on MOVE, is still in prison.

maintain the status of all the rich folk, and viciously wipe-out anyone that don't toe the line!

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. You can aid the program to support class-war prisoners and other activities of the PDC by becoming a monthly sustainer: many contribute \$10, \$25, \$50 and \$100 a month. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (see below). ■



TROTSKY

The Misery of Modern Capitalism

With the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state, the bourgeoisie trumpeted the "death of communism." But crisis is endemic to the capitalist anarchy of production, and the misery it imposes on the working class ensures that the class struggle will continue until this system of exploitation is swept away. The Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky, seeking to acquaint American workers with the teachings of Karl Marx in the midst of the 1930s Great



LENIN

Depression and on the eve of impending world war, wrote an essay which sounds as if it had been written today

The illusion of the uninterrupted "progress" of all classes has vanished without a trace. The relative decline of the masses' standard of living has been superseded by an absolute decline. Workers begin by economizing on skimpy entertainment, then on their clothes and finally on their food. Articles and products of average quality are superseded by shoddy ones, and the shoddy by the worst. Trade unions begin to look like the man who hangs on desperately while going down in a rapidly descending escalator....

The present army of unemployed can no longer be regarded as a "reserve army," because its basic mass can no longer have any hope of returning to employment: on the contrary, it is bound to be swelled by a constant flow of additional unemployed. Disintegrating capitalism has brought up a whole generation of young people who have never had a job and have no hope of getting one....

Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new regime. Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first prerequisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale. Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country, with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads today. By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism.... Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height.

—Leon Trotsky, *Marxism in Our Time* (written April 1939)

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2 July 1993

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!



no credit

July 3 marks the eleventh anniversary of the sentencing of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Former Black Panther Party spokesman, award-winning radio journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political views and activities.

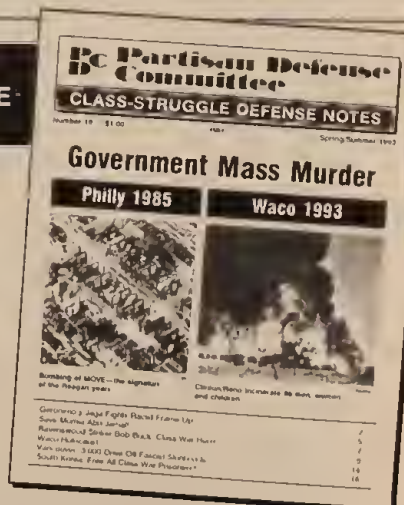
On this anniversary the Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition and Equal Justice/Quixote Center are sponsoring a protest march and rally in Philadelphia demanding, "Free Mumia!" Assemble at 10 a.m. at the State Building at Broad and Spring Garden streets. Be there!

Get Your Copy of CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES!

No. 19
Spring/Summer 1993

Includes:

- Government Mass Murder: Philly 1985, Waco 1993
- Geronimo ji Jaga Fights Racist Frame-Up
- Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
- Ravenswood Striker Bob Buck: Class-War Hero
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For a single copy of issue Number 19 send \$1 to:
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Free Abortion on Demand!

Defeat "Operation Rescue"! Defend the Clinics!

The anti-abortion terrorists of "Operation Rescue" have planned a sinister coast-to-coast campaign (code-named "Cities of Refuge") for the month of July, targeting seven cities for attack. From July 9 to 18, O.R. threatens blockades of clinics and stepped-up harassment of doctors and staff, including stalking their families and picketing their homes. The deadly offensive against these targeted clinics—in Cleveland, Dallas/Fort Worth, central Florida, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Jackson, Mississippi and San Jose, California—must be beaten back by mobilizing a massive defense to sweep away the fascistic fundamentalists.

"Operation Rescue" is headed by Randall Terry, an ultrarightist who was part of a Protestant fundamentalist "missionary" group in Guatemala under the dictator Ríos Montt. Since February, O.R. has been on an intense campaign (code-named "No Place to Hide") to track down the names and addresses of clinic staff and doctors, videotaping them, noting their license plate numbers and printing "wanted posters" with their pictures. It was a similar campaign which set the stage for the heinous murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola in March, which emboldened the bigots in their drive to intimidate the shrinking num-

bers of courageous medical personnel who continue to provide abortions. O.R. calls this summer campaign its "biggest pro-life offensive in five years."

To stop the O.R. assault, thousands of women and men—from the campuses, communities and bolstered by the power of organized labor—must come out to defend the clinics. But a number of feminist "pro-choice" coalitions, such as the Minneapolis "Network to Ensure Access," are relying on the cops and courts of the capitalist state to defend women's abortion rights. They argue against mass clinic defense as "unnecessary and illegal" now that a number of targeted cities (including San Jose) have passed injunctions against demonstrating near medical facilities. Giving the racist cops even broader powers to arrest demonstrators is suicidal—such laws will likely be used against clinic defenders, not O.R.

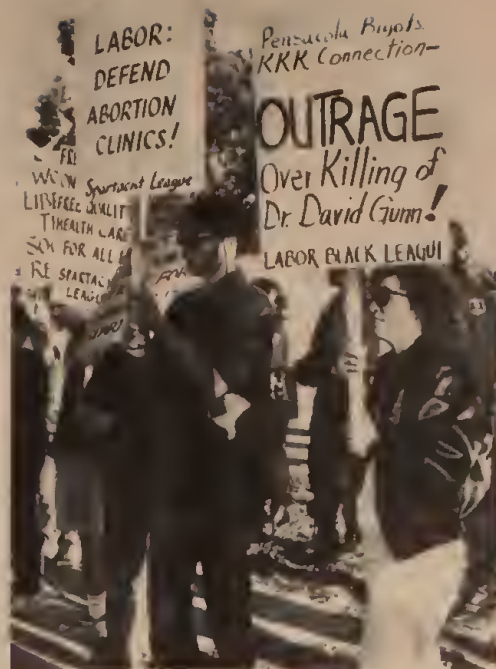
With "Billary" Clinton in office, both the feminists and the reformist leftists who tail them think the White House is on their side, and don't want to rock the boat. The bourgeois feminist goal is simply formal legal equality...to oppress and exploit just like their capitalist brethren. Clinton's Supreme Court appointment of millionaire Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who has "strong doubts"

about *Roe v. Wade* (and whose acceptance speech lauded arch-reactionary Chief Justice Rehnquist), is a case in point. The executive director of the NOW Legal Defense and Educational Fund gushed, "Her vision may be the vision of the future." But this "vision" doesn't include the likes of you and me.

While the feminists and reformists push for the Democrats' "Freedom of Choice Act" and Teddy Kennedy's "clinic access" bill, the Democratic-controlled House Appropriations Committee voted—for the 16th year in a row—to ban federal funding for poor

women's abortions. Sure, it's vital that Muffy be able to finish law school unburdened—she's got a future. But what future does a young black or Hispanic woman have in Bed-Stuy or East L.A.? The fight for free abortion on demand, with no "squeal rule" or "waiting period" obstructions, must be linked to the fight against the capitalist class, both Republicans and Democrats. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for women's liberation—and send reactionary scum like O.R. packing. No reliance on the capitalist state or courts! Defend the clinics! ■

Spartacists and Labor Black League protest "Operation Rescue" meeting in Fremont, California, June 11.



WV Photo

Letter

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Imperialist Hypocrisy

Brooklyn, NY
May 30, 1993

Dear Editor:

In *Workers Vanguard* No. 575 [7 May], you correctly stated "Revolutionary Marxists take no sides in the bloody communalist/nationalist wars ripping apart the former Yugoslavia." However, later on in that same paragraph, you added, "In the face of U.S./NATO intervention we defend the Serbs." While revolutionaries must oppose imperialist intervention in the Balkans, it is an error to side with any group in the civil war because of that intervention.

I believe that the Bosnian situation is analogous to the Lebanese civil war, where the SL opposed the U.S. military intervention while giving support to neither side in the communalist conflict. In Lebanon, you pointed out that neither the Muslims nor the Maronite Christians represented any real opposition to imperialism. Likewise, all sides of the conflict in the Balkans are united in their drive for capitalist restoration and all are pro-imperialist.

In giving military support to the Serbs (which I assume is a component of your position to "defend" them) or to any side in a war, the victory of that side must further the struggle of the international proletariat. A Serbian military victory would not only [be] a defeat for U.S. imperialism, but would also mean the success of the Serbian goal of forced population transfers. In your answer to "A Reader" in *WV* No. 576 [21 May], you denounce the bourgeois media's comparison of the Bosnian war to the

Nazi Holocaust. I agree with this and have felt particularly outraged being the son of Holocaust survivors. However, while not on the same scale as the Nazis, the Serb policy of forced population transfers is genocidal.

In the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the SL originally gave military support to the Hebrew-speaking nation. Normally, a revolutionary party would have taken a position of defeatism on both sides. However, the SL felt that the potential

for genocide in an Arab victory was cause to change the defeatist position. Normally, when an imperialist nation attacks a non-imperialist nation, a revolutionary party calls for the defense of the non-imperialist nation. In the Balkans, the potential for genocide in a call to give military support to any side must preclude that defense.

A revolutionary party in the former Yugoslavia would organize workers militias independent of the competing

nationalist military commands in order to fight imperialist intervention. It is hard to envision how a workers militia, which would by necessity be multi-ethnic, would be able to bloc militarily with the Serbian nationalists, since the Serbs would want to "cleanse" any non-Serbian elements out of a workers militia just as they "cleansed" Muslim and Croat leaders out of the former Yugoslavian military forces.

I believe that the appetite behind your program is not opportunist, but is one of being overzealous in opposing one's own imperialist rulers. Thus, I remain an active SL and PDC supporter while arguing against Serbian defensism.

Fraternally,
Jeff S.

WV replies: As comrade Jeff S. says, we take no side in the current fratricidal conflict, but we would give military support to the Serbs if they became the target of an imperialist military onslaught, to which the Croat and Bosnian Muslim communalist forces would necessarily be subordinated. Jeff S. justifies his opposition to our anti-imperialist statement by drawing a misapplied historical analogy to Lebanon in 1982-83.

The few hundred U.S. Marines sent to "guard" the Beirut airport hardly constituted imperialist military intervention in Lebanon's communalist warfare, nor was the fighting in Lebanon at that time primarily a civil war. The Marines were a token force sent in to legitimize the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon. Jeff S. disappears the

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Israeli tanks in Sidon, Lebanon during 1982 blitzkrieg. Spartacists gave military support to all those fighting the Zionist invaders or their puppets.

Trumka's "Selective Strike" Hoggies Miners For a Nationwide Coal Strike!

It has been five months since the United Mine Workers contract with the coal bosses expired. But the union's tradition of "no contract, no work" has been buried by the disastrous "selective strike" strategy of the UMW tops, which is devastating the miners union. On June 16, 2,000 miners from Peabody and Consol, two of the largest coal companies in the country, joined the strike. This brings to 14,000 the number of miners on strike—less than one-fifth of the union. Moreover, just six of Consol's 17 mines are struck. The *Wall Street Journal* crowed that with Trumka's ruinous "selective strike" strategy "the union hasn't yet made a dent in the market."

The UMW army is held back by the bureaucracy of president Richard Trumka, which has worked overtime to undermine the miners' deep traditions of class-struggle solidarity. In a real backstabbing move, Trumka is calling off the strike at "independents" like AMAX, CLI and Freeman Energy who pull out of the BCOA coal bosses' association.

Miners have seen what happens when strikes like A.T. Massey or Aloe drag on for months, even years, leaving small groups of miners to fight alone as Trumka knuckles under to the bosses' injunctions and the Taft-Hartley slave-labor law, ordering other locals to work without a contract. Four A.T. Massey miners who fought for the UMW are still imprisoned on frame-up charges nine years after that strike. One UMW construction worker told WV: "It's time to do away with the selective strike strategy. The union has steadily lost since Trumka's been in office. It's lost on nearly everything." And now Trumka will do everything to make sure there is no militant miners strike that embarrasses his hapless friend Bill Clinton.

There is no lack of combativity, ingenuity and militancy among the miners—they are the historic shock troops of American labor. From West Virginia to Illinois, the BCOA bosses are howling (and producing strikebreaking injunctions from their hip-pocket judges) because their conveyor belts have ripped and their scab coal trucks developed radiator trouble. The temperature in the coal fields is rising. When Peabody president Sam Shiflett visited the Camp No. 1 mine in Union County, Kentucky, he was met by 200 angry UMW miners chanting, "We want a contract!" Peabody fired 163 miners, later reduced to four-day suspen-

sions without pay. And in a revealing lawsuit against what they claim is union "slow-walking" (working to rule), Peabody says Trumka promised the BCOA there would be no strikes or slowdowns during the contract extension!

In Logan County, West Virginia strikers pelted scab delivery trucks and scabs and foremen keep finding jackrocks

face mines and take the West for the UMW, there must first be a solid UMW strike against the whole BCOA that stops the flow of coal. Miners must dispatch pickets to appeal for rail, barge and long-shore workers to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) all coal shipments. Even at the "selectively" struck mines, like Hobet Mining No. 21 in West Virginia, the



Shaft Taft-Hartley—Use Unions' Muscle to Organize the Unorganized!

under their tires. At the Lynnvill mine in Indiana, miners and their wives stopped 1,000 tons of scab coal before a judge threw down an injunction.

Union miners know they have a tough fight to reclaim the coal fields and save the UMW. With only 17 percent of the coal in this country mined by the BCOA, and huge stockpiles at the utilities and steel mills, to win requires breaking the stranglehold of the Trumka bureaucracy and forging a class-struggle leadership that will take on the bosses, their political parties, their strikebreaking laws and scabherding judges. To organize the sur-

rounding unorganized workers, UMW tops are allowing the company to load rail cars and ship coal past the pickets of Local 2286.

At the end of May, over 400 coal miners voted to join the UMW at the Marrowbone mine in Mingo County, West Virginia. Marrowbone is a non-union subsidiary of Ziegler, one of the selectively struck companies. These miners struck for ten days in March after the company cut their health benefits and stayed solid until four fired strikers were returned to work. The Marrowbone miners fought their way into the UMW—one told WV that it is doubly hard to organize non-union mines when workers see strikers like those at A.T. Massey hung out to dry: "They're trying to break the UMW, I'd put everything I had out there." This week, miners at Ziegler's Wolf Creek Collieries in Kentucky are casting their ballots in an NLRB election. But Trumka's 1988 contract explicitly recognizes "double breasting"—the coal bosses' practice of setting up scab mines—only asking that they hire three out of five workers from the union's ranks.

Trumka rose in the UMW as part of the pro-Labor Department "reformers" led by Arnold Miller, who rode to power in the early '70s by inviting the capitalist government into the union. While Miller knuckled under to court injunctions, provoking militant right-to-strike wildcats in the mid-'70s and driving the historic 1978-79 coal strike down to defeat, the energy conglomerates were opening the huge Western strip mines as highly productive non-union operations. The young UMW staff lawyer Trumka got his shot to run the UMW in 1981 after Miller and his successor Church were totally discredited.

The *New York Times* (8 June) referred to the militant "image that unionized miners acquired in the late 1970's, when a young work force engaged in a wave of wildcat strikes." That image is precisely what Trumka wanted to get rid of. He promised that cooperation with the owners on "productivity gains" would bring better industry-union relations and guarantee jobs. Trumka's talk of a "partnership that will usher in a new era of progress" with the bosses is a pipedream. Mining productivity has doubled over the last dozen years—but the union's ranks have been decimated, and working conditions and even health care benefits have been eroded.

All the coal bosses, BCOA and independent alike, are out for profit. The interests of the working class are opposed to the interests of capitalism and its ruling political parties—Democrats and Republicans. Militant miners must join in forging a revolutionary workers party that will champion a fight for the independence of the workers movement from the bosses' parties and the capitalist state. Such a leadership would mobilize the power of the working class in struggle to repay the debt that all labor owes the UMW.

On June 3, 1,000 Australian coal miners shut down Peabody mines at Ravensworth and Warkworth in a one-day strike in solidarity with the UMW. But the UMW tops won't even call on barge workers on the Ohio River or railroad workers on CSX to hot-cargo that scab coal. The real international work of Trumka and the AFL-CIO International is run out of CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia. The "AFL-CIA," as it is known to militant workers from El Salvador to South Africa, contributed to counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union by setting up the pro-Yeltsin "free" miners union in 1990. Now they have established a joint "Coal Project" in Russia, where UMW vice president John Banovic collaborates with the U.S. government and coal industry bosses to bring the benefits of "free world" union-busting to the Soviet miners. Trumka is so full of class collaboration that he exports it.

But earlier this month, 400,000 miners in the Donets Basin of the Ukraine rocked the former Soviet republic by striking against the massive destruction of their living standards caused by the capitalist counterrevolution. In the U.S., the very existence of the UMW is at stake, as it was in the late 1920s. In both cases, a sellout leadership is the roadblock to victory. From West Virginia to the Ukraine, miners must sweep away the bosses' agents in the labor movement and forge a class-struggle leadership. ■

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California Killer Cutbacks

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

SAN FRANCISCO—As he voted to slash Alameda County's already pitiful welfare payments of \$327 a month for single adults, Supervisor Don Perata moaned, "This year is the terrible future we've all been talking about." For millions of blacks, Latinos, elderly and working people in California, the coming year promises to be not only terrible but perhaps short and brutish as well. The new state budget proposed by right-wing Republican governor Pete Wilson and passed by the Democratic-controlled California legislature on June 22 gouges deep into funding for welfare, medical care and education.

To make up this year's budget shortfall, the state intends to steal some \$2.6 billion in local property taxes, with the lion's share coming from heavily black, Latino and immigrant Los Angeles County. Faced with Wilson's highway robbery plan, which is allegedly to fulfill legal funding requirements for public education (which Wilson wants to privatize anyway), at least a dozen counties have threatened to withhold payments to the state government. In recent months the campuses have been swept by student protests against the cutbacks—which particularly target minority programs. And on June 16, government workers rallied in Sacramento to protest the planned budget.

Last year's 63-day budget crisis, during which the state handed out vouchers

SEIU "Justice for Janitors" protest against substandard contract outside "Rebuild L.A." offices, April 29. California unions must launch anti-capitalist struggle against cutbacks.



WV Photo

rickety understaffed system—in a city with one of the largest AIDS-infected populations in the country, now complicated by the appearance of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis.

These cold budgetary calculations amount to killing people who are already on the margins of existence: one recent UCLA study showed, for instance, that over a quarter of the residents in one South-Central Los Angeles neighborhood "do not have enough money to buy food" and "go hungry an average of five days each month" (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 June). In SF, half of the already overloaded public health clinics may be shut

epitomizes America's rust bowl economy. California now ranks 48th in per capita spending for schools. With the collapse of the aerospace industry, the state has lost over 800,000 jobs in the last three years. Last winter, the unemployment rate officially topped 10 percent, the highest of any industrial state. The *Economist* (15 May) reported that "Los Angeles accounted for 29 percent of the jobs lost in America between June 1990 and December 1992." Thousands more jobs are due to disappear as the government begins shutting down some of the state's myriad military bases. Driven by a deep recession, California's government finance crunch is a reflection of the broader capitalist economic crisis.

Prop 13 Chickens Come Home

In part, the current budget represents the delayed impact of the 1978 Proposition 13 ballot initiative, which put a cap on property tax increases. Prop 13 was a de facto racist referendum aimed against social programs which particularly benefited blacks and other minorities—a convenient scam designed to pit petty-bourgeois homeowners against unions and government workers. The real beneficiaries were large commercial property owners, who in San Francisco alone reaped an annual windfall of some \$600 million as a result of Prop 13. SF mayor Jordan openly boasts that his budget contains no new taxes on big business—a fact which no doubt pleases his wife, a vice president of Wells Fargo Bank, and the executives at Bank of America, who recently bragged of record profits even as they put all their tellers

on part time to avoid paying health benefits.

Now the compliant bourgeois media have cranked up a classic propaganda campaign to blame the budget crisis on the workers and their unions. "Muni Drivers Cost \$10 Million Extra" blared the *San Francisco Examiner* (23 May), and transit drivers tell WV of an upswing in harassment and even physical assaults on them by irate commuter "taxpayers." It's no accident they're going after the Muni drivers—it's not only a powerful key union but one with a heavily black membership, and this ruling class always uses the race card.

But the labor bureaucrats' first loyalty is to the capitalist system. So when the capitalists show them the empty public treasury, they agree "there's no money" and start offering to sacrifice the membership's living standards, accepting without question that the corporate profit vaults are sacrosanct "private property." Service Employees International Union (SEIU) vice president Paul Varacalli pronounced himself "quite pleased" when his 10,000 members in San Francisco were recently forced to swallow an "arbitrated" settlement mandating a one-year wage freeze. Meanwhile, the Muni drivers' Transport Workers Union chief Larry Martin vows to do "what everyone else does" as long as his union is not "singled out."

Labor action is urgently needed now to fend off the impending attack, but in a time of high and escalating unemployment ordinary walkouts limited to contractual issues are usually not effective and often disastrous. What's called for

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Democratic state assembly speaker Willie Brown and Republican governor Pete Wilson crack the whip of austerity against unions, welfare recipients.

rather than checks, was settled by a handshake between Wilson and Democratic Assembly speaker Willie Brown as they joined forces to make up an \$11 billion shortfall from the blood of working people. This year, the handshake came before the budget even went to a vote, as the two capitalist parties decided in advance that the way to balance the budget was to "decrease the surplus population," as Scrooge put it in Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*. "The only major state program to escape cutbacks," reports the *Los Angeles Times* (23 June), is the prison system, which is slated for a 9 percent increase in funding.

Welfare payments and aid to the elderly and disabled are to be cut by nearly 3 percent, on top of a 10 percent reduction in welfare over the past two years. The health budget is to be chopped by \$1.7 billion, including every penny in AIDS funding. San Francisco mayor and former top cop Frank Jordan's plan to slash public health care by nearly 40 percent would devastate even the present

down, dumping the patients on San Francisco General Hospital, which may be forced to shut down by the end of next year. A doctor at SFGH warned grimly: "people will pay the price of their lives."

The misery of California's dispossessed and disenfranchised came to the surface in last year's multiracial rebellion in Los Angeles, as the city's black and Latino poor rose up, only to be bloodily suppressed by a massive military mobilization orchestrated from the White House and the state house. In April, as a verdict approached in the second trial of four cops who beat black motorist Rodney King to within an inch of his life, the authorities imposed virtual martial law on South-Central Los Angeles. Now right-wing multimillionaire businessman Richard Riordan has been swept into the L.A. mayor's office in a racist "law-and-order" backlash campaign.

This is no ordinary budget crisis. Once the symbol of get-rich-quick capitalist success and high-tech Silicon Valley growth, the "Golden State" increasingly

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Nothing Settled in Ukraine Strike Settlement



After a strike lasting nearly two weeks which threatened the very existence of the Ukraine's capitalist government of President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma, coal miners and other workers have by and large returned to work. As the strike began spreading from the coal-producing Donets Basin (Donbass) in eastern Ukraine, Kuchma pleaded: "I'm ready to get down on my knees and ask the miners to go back to work."

On June 17, the Ukrainian parliament voted overwhelmingly to accept the miners' demand for a referendum on the government, to be held in September. Kravchuk had already conceded the strikers' key economic demands, including a wage raise indexed to the Ukraine's galloping inflation rate. But after the strike was over, Kuchma said the government doesn't have the money to pay for the wage demands.

The fear which concerted action by the Soviet proletariat inspires in the bourgeois rulers and their imperialist patrons was demonstrated by the virtual blackout of this struggle of *more than a million* workers in the Russian, Ukrainian and American press.

This powerful strike demonstrated the capacity of the working class to sweep away the fragile nationalist-capitalist regimes erected over the corpse of the Soviet degenerated workers state. But the Independent Union of Miners (NPG) leadership—working with the mine di-

rectors and their man in Kravchuk's government, deputy prime minister Yekhim Zvyagilsky—exploited the strikers' militancy for their own ends, pushing a regional self-administration scheme in the interests of the would-be mine owners.

In the upshot, the strike has settled nothing. World Bank favorite Kuchma called for tougher controls on money supply (i.e., austerity), incentives for foreign investment and speeding up privatization of industry. As part of an ongoing power struggle between the president and the prime minister, Kravchuk tried to declare bonapartist presidential rule. He was soon forced to rescind his decree, as Kuchma made his own power play, arguing that it was time not only for "stern measures" but for "vicious measures," and warning: "If such powers are denied today, dictatorship will be unavoidable in a month."

But for the moment, these bonapartist threats seem like so much hot air, lacking the military force needed to implement them. Even as the miners return to work, rail workers are threatening to strike. And in Russia, the Independent Trade Union of Coal Industry Workers, affiliated to the former "official" FNPR trade-union federation, has been picketing government offices in Moscow and threatening vague action against Yeltsin's plan to end subsidies to the mines on July 1, which would virtually assure that unprofitable pits will go under.

The fact is that both in the Donbass

and in Russia, many mines lack the capital investment needed to compete on the world market. Schemes for regional autonomy are designed to benefit a handful of mine directors who would make their enterprises profitable by driving up the rate of exploitation, laying off workers and selling out to imperialist cartels. While many workers today look back to the Brezhnev years as a "golden era" of guaranteed employment and relative economic security, the Stalinist bureaucracy's arbitrary mismanagement and appeasement of imperialism paved the way for counterrevolution, and the ex-bureaucrats are now aspiring capitalists.

The only way to reverse the immiseration of the Soviet workers is the restoration of a planned, centralized economy throughout the former USSR. As one Donbass striker told representatives of the International Communist League: "There must be that type of control over the economy. But in order to have that, we'll have to get rid of the directors, the mafia and the apparat." Indeed, what is needed is a socialist revolution to sweep away Kravchuk/Kuchma, Yeltsin and all the new exploiters and to reforge a truly voluntary Soviet Union based on authentic soviet democracy and a perspective of international socialist revolution.

The way forward for the multinational Soviet proletariat lies in building a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party as part of the struggle for a reformed Fourth International. ■

Israel Starves Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

occupied Golan Heights, while newly elected party leader Binyamin Netanyahu compares Rabin's talk of evacuating (part of) the Golan to Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler in the 1930s.

Meanwhile, the fascist Zionist "settlers" in the Occupied Territories have been indiscriminately gunning down Arabs, including a 75-year-old man. In March, 20-year-old Musa Suleiman Abu Sabha was shot eight times at close range while bound hand and foot. His murderer, Yoram Skolnick, crowed, "I shot him to teach the Arabs a lesson," while a banner over a Jewish settlement near the West Bank city of Hebron proclaimed, "We are all Skolnick." They are indeed. Like this fascist pig, the racist "settlers" in the strongholds that dot the West Bank and Gaza, ringing every Arab town and lining the Jordan River, are military auxiliaries to the Zionist occupation forces.

Yet, while Rabin proves that he is no better and no worse a Zionist mass murderer than his Likud predecessor Yitzhak Shamir, the PLO of Yasir Arafat continues to preach illusions in the U.S.-sponsored negotiations with the Israeli butchers. Growing frustration with the PLO's dead-end reliance on Washington to broker a deal have made seemingly "irreconcilable" Muslim fundamentalist groups like Hamas popular while encouraging indiscriminate terror attacks against Israelis. While understandable, such outbursts are no less a dead end

than Arafat's pro-imperialist politics. And a fundamentalist bantustan run by Hamas would be no less a living hell—particularly for Palestinian women and secularized workers and youth, including the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Christians—than the current brutal occupation.

As the current situation demonstrates, Palestinian workers continue to play a considerable role in the Israeli economy, which is screaming from the sharp decline in cheap Arab labor being allowed through the "green line" (the pre-1967 borders). Working for as little as \$6 a day, they constituted nearly half the workforce in construction and some 20 percent in agriculture. Despite

Rabin's threats to cut off unemployment and welfare benefits to "freeloaders"—particularly the 400,000 recent Soviet immigrants—barely 7,000 of the 70,000 jobs filled by Palestinians in the building industry have been taken by Israelis, even with government wage subsidies. Soldiers and welfare recipients have been mobilized to harvest crops, and the government was compelled to allow some Palestinian workers back in. Now they are bused directly to their workplaces under the supervision of armed security guards.

For their part, Israeli workers face mass unemployment and high inflation, with the prospect of far worse to come. The huge influx of recent Soviet immi-

grants—who are overwhelmingly secular and have yet to be brainwashed by the Zionist bunker mentality—have no jobs and no future. Short of a Near East holocaust—nuclear or otherwise—the only hope for any future for the interpenetrated Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples lies in revolutionary class struggle against their common exploiters and oppressors. Hebrew-speaking workers must break from the Zionist stranglehold and defend the national rights of the Palestinian people if they are not to become victims themselves of their rulers' blood-thirsty schemes.

Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a binational Trotskyist party! For a socialist federation of the Near East! ■

Refugee camp
in Gaza.
Zionist state's
sealing off
of Occupied
Territories means
starvation for
Palestinian masses.



Japanese Ruling Party Fractures



Feeling the heat: Tsutomu Hata, seated far left, hopes to head next government. Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa (right) as he loses no-confidence vote in parliament.

TOKYO—On June 18 the Liberal Democratic Party government led by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa lost a no-confidence vote in the lower house, forcing the LDP cabinet to dissolve the Diet (parliament) and call general elections for July 18. The successful no-confidence vote, only the fourth in Japan's postwar history, was put up by the three main opposition parties ostensibly because the government refused to act on a number of election reform proposals. What brought the cabinet down was a revolt within the ruling party's ranks, as 39 LDP Diet members voted with the opposition and 16 abstained. The vote was 255-220 against the Miyazawa government, and it is expected that the LDP will lose its majority in the Diet after the July 18 election.

Miyazawa figured that, with the upcoming Tokyo conference of the seven leading imperialist powers, he could extend the current Diet session and buy a little more time. But the rebel LDP Dietmen, in a single stroke, reduced Miyazawa to a lame duck leader who can only serve tea at the G-7 meeting. The fall of the government will probably frustrate some of the Western leaders

who were counting on this confab to pry loose a sizable amount of yen to finance the Russian counterrevolution and possibly strong-arm some trade concessions from Japan Inc. This vote of no confidence also reversed—at least temporarily—the escalating value of the yen, which quickly dropped to ¥110 against the U.S. dollar.

Front-running candidate to be the next prime minister is Tsutomu Hata, an LDP faction leader who voted with the opposition parties. Hata was a member of the discredited Tanaka/Takeshita faction and only severed his ties with these politicians when the stench of corruption got too close. On June 21, ten LDP Diet members (part of the group that had abstained on the vote) quit the party and organized their own party called *Sakigake*, "Pioneer" in English. They seek to work with *Nippon Shinto*, the "Japan New Party," another bourgeois split from the LDP that ran for the first time in the last upper house election. Two days later Hata's faction formalized their divorce from the LDP and launched *Shinseito*, the "Renaissance Party."

The last split in the LDP was in 1976 (after the Lockheed scandal), when a handful of Diet members bolted the party to form the New Liberal Club—but they all returned. This split, however, runs far deeper. In the current Tokyo City Council election many LDP candidates are telling party leaders like Miyazawa, Takeshita, etc. not to appear with them at public campaign rallies.

Right-Wing Popular Front

Significant segments of the bourgeoisie are angered that their campaign donations are poured down a black hole of scandal and political payoffs, spurring younger political leaders to bolt from the corruption-ridden LDP deemed incapable of leading Japan into the new world disorder created by the collapse of the USSR. This might well lead to a new coalition government taking office after the July 18 vote. The imminent toppling of the 38-year rule of the LDP has little to do with election reform, which is nothing but a political football. The real issues are the expansion of Japanese imperialism, domestic austerity and a harder protectionist line against its main imperialist rival, the U.S.

Elements of the bourgeoisie think the opposition parties have been sufficiently house-broken to share power, and this might prove useful if wage cuts or other anti-working-class measures become necessary in the midst of the cur-

rent economic recession and trade wars. The LDP dissidents are actually to the right of their party elders, just as the right-wing elements within *Shakaito*, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), are also the party's younger elements in their 40s. This is looking like a Japanese version of Clinton-generation yuppies and social-democratic reformists joining hands in a pretty unsavory popular front.

The JSP, the largest opposition party with 140 lower house Diet seats, immediately jumped on the Hata bandwagon, despite the fact that Hata's faction has only 35 seats today. Since Takako Doi was removed as public party leader, the JSP has been incapable of fielding a national leader acceptable to anyone, even their own members, hence this prostration to the bourgeoisie even before the July 18 election results. The JSP has been in a rapid flight to the right since they won the upper house election in 1989 and got a whiff of power. On June 24 Hata met with the leaders of the three opposition parties, now called *Shakomin*—an abbreviation of the formal names *Shakaito* (JSP), *Komeito* and *Minshaito* (Democratic Socialist Party)—to begin the horse trading on the next government.

Opposition leaders, including JSP chairman Sadao Yamahana, announced that they would retain the same policies on diplomacy, national defense and the economy as the current government. The Hata faction and the JSP claim they agree on election reform, but this is simply a cover to appease public indignation over a seemingly never-ending series of scandals and tax evasion cases,

and the corruption endemic to the LDP's internal faction system. The real cement bonding this coalition together is the JSP's recent announcement that they now accept the "constitutionality" of the military (hypocritically called "Self-Defense Forces"), and the convergence between Hata's headline support for agricultural protectionism and the JSP's longstanding opposition to liberalization of rice imports designed to win rural votes away from the LDP.

It seems like only yesterday (1961-63) that the JSP was shouting radical anti-American slogans against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, but they, along with the rest of the left, divorced this "radicalism" from defense of the USSR—which the treaty was directed against. Today the Hata faction can tell the JSP—shout all the anti-American slogans you want, we agree with them! Imperialist arrogance is being fostered by the Ministry of Education's insistence that the rising sun *hinomaru* flag be hoisted and the imperial anthem be sung at all school ceremonies, while a Japanese court recently upheld the conviction of an Okinawan man who publicly burned the *hinomaru* flag.

Just as social democracy supported its own bourgeoisie in the Pacific War of 1937-1945, today they are again lining up to support the Japanese ruling class as interimperialist rivalries intensify. The Hata faction opposed the dispatch of Japanese troops to Cambodia from the right. They, like the reformists, claim that the newly enacted law is a violation of the constitution...so they want

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Japan

(continued from page 7)

revise the constitution to legalize the use of Japanese military power. This will conveniently strip the JSP of its "constitutional" arguments.

The LDP, however, is far from finished as a political entity. LDP elders may be forced to hand over government reins to younger leaders, who in their zeal might mistake a temporary popular-front alliance for a stable two-party system. LDP leaders, like former prime minister Kaifu, are pushing their own reform program to refurbish the party's image, and could regain office when a coalition government founders because it can't solve any of the contradictions facing Japanese society today.

The 1947 Popular Front and the "1955 System"

The bourgeois press is rife with laments that the "1955 system" has run its course and a new era in Japanese politics is upon us. On the surface this is true, as the uninterrupted rule of the LDP for the last 38 years, initiated by the 1955 merger of the Liberal and Democratic parties, is heading for a change. More far-sighted elements of the ruling class think political realignment is necessary as the bourgeois figures out how best to rule in a new historic period. The old-boy cronyism and Tammany Hall wheeler-dealer style of the LDP old guard cannot make the turn to a more flexible, cost-conscious leadership needed to fight the coming trade wars.

The proposed coalition government is of the bourgeoisie's making and quite different from the 1947 popular-front government that was installed to divert a militant postwar strike wave into electoral reformism and provide the bourgeoisie some breathing space to regroup. The JSP-led Katayama government was short-lived (toppled by a financial scandal, of course). But the "1955 system" of relative class peace was not established until the militant 1953 Nissan auto workers strike was broken. The defeat at Nissan, a turning point for the bourgeoisie in spiking the postwar strike wave that began in 1945, was the basis for the political realignment that took place in 1955.

The competing bourgeois parties

united in 1955 to internalize their tactical differences and avoid sharing power with a reformist workers party. This was not the haggling of today's realignment, but reflected a serious defeat for the proletariat. Social democracy's left and right wings united into a loyal "left" opposition electoral formation and launched the timid *shunto* (spring struggle) to turn union militancy into orchestrated ceremonies. The Japanese Communist Party, left out of the previous Katayama pop-front government (and future ones as well) because of its opposition to the bourgeoisie's Pacific War, renounced lip service to the dictatorship of the proletariat in a desperate attempt to prove its loyalty to the bourgeoisie. The "1955 system" is based on this deflection of working-class militancy and its throttling by the social democrats.

The bourgeoisie might feel compelled to end the unchallenged rule of the LDP, for them the cornerstone of the "1955 system," now considered too expensive. The current economic recession, which began with the 1990 Tokyo stock market crash that burst the real estate and speculative capital bubble, has wiped out many middle and low-level companies. Nissan's closing of its Zama production plant near Tokyo sent shock waves through the economy, as the backbone of Japan's postwar "economic miracle," its industrial production, is now being eroded. Japan's vaunted "lifetime employment system" is no longer

considered sacrosanct in some bourgeois quarters, as Sony chairman Morita is demanding its elimination.

The proletariat must understand that the bourgeoisie's overhaul of the "1955 system" and the creation of a proposed new coalition government is to impose austerity cutbacks. Only sharp class struggle can defend the Japanese proletariat's standard of living, and in the process sweep away the social-democratic bureaucrats who chain them to the bourgeois order.

Popular Front and the Left

Various fake-lefts generally vote for the JSP in Diet elections, which now means a vote for Hata. This should cause a bit of political turmoil within the left, most acutely felt by the JSP's left faction, *Kyokai-ha*. The bourgeoisie sees the existence of this "red tail" within the JSP as an obstacle, since on paper it opposes the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the existence of the military, and advocates friendly relations with North Korea. They are demanding that *Kyokai-ha* be expelled as the JSP's entry price into a coalition government. *Kyokai-ha* leaders, afraid of cutting the umbilical cord to their cozy existence, seem willing to capitulate and hope to continue as a loyal "left" opposition.

This should cause problems for the New Leftovers who routinely tail the so-called "left" trade-union bureaucrats. The Hata/Yamahana lash-up is so right-

wing that most ostensibly leftist groups will probably be forced to verbally distance themselves from it. The JCP has already publicly come out against the *Shakomin*/Hata coalition, but this is not necessarily a leftist position on their part. The "Eurocommunist" JCP agrees with the Hata/opposition support to agricultural protectionism (in fact is its most rabid champion) and is opposed to election reform because they would lose a lot of seats. The government crisis can only accelerate the centrifugal split tendencies within the JCP as its right-wing elements will push harder to jettison its "communist" name, an obstacle to its popular-front aspirations.

The coming weeks will undoubtedly see a lot of maneuvers within the ruling class as they jockey for position to either minimize the damage that the fracture in the LDP has caused or negotiate the parameters within which they will support a new coalition government. The JSP social democrats are dragging the proletariat into a formal alliance with its class enemy and seek to create a coalition government that will take a harder line against U.S. imperialism and a tougher domestic austerity policy to finance this. The Spartacist Group Japan (SGJ) fights to build a Leninist-internationalist party to break the stranglehold of the JSP/JCP reformists on the proletariat and lead the socialist revolution needed to head off the accelerated drive to imperialist war. ■

California...

(continued from page 5)

is a united front of all the unions, city-wide and statewide, in labor actions which go way beyond immediate questions to challenge the very legitimacy of the capitalists' government. And there are plenty of tactics to pursue this: what with their chauffeur-driven limos, the bosses may not rely on public transit, but let the corporate HQ of U.S. imperialism on the Pacific Rim try to function with the offices which handle financial/property transactions shut down! In the wake of last year's draconian budget attacks, we wrote:

"What's needed is an alliance of labor and blacks and the unemployed in a full-scale assault on the bipartisan attacks by the governor and legislature—including a statewide general strike. But this clearly requires a break from the capitalist Democratic Party, and a perspective of working-class revolution."

—California, the Curb
State," WV No. 561,
16 October 1992

Public workers have the opportunity and the ability to mobilize massive demonstrations of support by linking the fight to defend their jobs with demands that address the needs of the poor and working people who have the most to lose by the attacks on city services. The bosses want to raise the transit fares? We say abolish the fares, free transit for the working class! They want to close

the public health clinics? We demand free health care for all!

A May 27 leaflet by a group called "Members Organized for Action" reports that one SEIU Local 250 elected negotiator and shop steward was illegally removed from her posts and even physically assaulted by a union bureaucrat because she "publicized the truth" about the sellout. But while denouncing support to both bourgeois parties and calling for a workers party, this "opposition" grouping supported by the centrist Revolutionary Workers League says not one word about the root cause of this crisis—decaying capitalism—nor about the solution, a workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie. Instead, they promote futile "tax the rich" schemes—e.g., "the stock exchange could pay taxes on its billions"—and illusions that standard trade-union struggle can "force the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors to stop attacking workers," sort of like making a leopard change its spots.

The obstacle now plainly before the workers' eyes is the government itself at every level, and the two-headed "property party" which has a lock on the "democratic" electoral process. The petty-bourgeois radical milieu in the Bay Area is a breeding ground for innumerable "labor party initiatives" aimed at appealing to left-talking bureaucrats who want to put some pressure on their Democratic Party patrons. But what's needed is a class-struggle workers party

committed to the fight for a workers government, not a reformist labor party which maneuvers within the framework of what capitalism offers. There must be a political mobilization of the working class aimed at expropriating the capitalists' property and establishing a planned economy.

With the Republican and Democratic budget slashers acting like characters out of *Terminator 2*, both capitalist parties are the objects of widespread disgust. This is nothing new. In an 1891 introduction to Karl Marx's *The Civil War in France*, Frederick Engels noted of the capitalist politicians in North America: "we find here two great gangs of political speculators, who alternately take possession of the state power and exploit it by

the most corrupt means and for the most corrupt ends."

Then also, the bourgeoisie cynically drummed up middle-class votes with lying promises of "cheap government." But Marx pointed out that only when the workers took the reins of power, in the Paris Commune of 1870-71, was this accomplished: "The Commune made that catchword of bourgeois revolutions, cheap government, a reality."

Not so long ago, smug liberals were jocularly dismissing Marx's famous words that capitalism meant only the "accumulation of misery" for the masses. California's crisis is the crisis of capitalism, of a bankrupt economy run for the private greed of a handful. It will take a socialist revolution to change that. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Feds Set Up Fascist in Idaho

For 16 months federal agents planned their assault on the Idaho mountaintop log cabin of Randy Weaver. Wanted on a charge of sawing off the barrels on two shotguns he sold to Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) agents in a government sting two years ago, Weaver stayed holed up with his wife and four kids until last summer. On August 21, up to 400 feds surrounded the cabin. When the Weavers' dog flushed three camouflaged U.S. deputy marshals sneaking up on the cabin, all hell broke loose.

First the federal marksmen shot the dog, then they shot Weaver's 13-year-old son Samuel in the back. A friend of the Weavers', Kevin Harris, returned fire and when it was over, a marshal was dead. During the ensuing eleven-day siege, FBI snipers shot Weaver's wife Vicki in the face as she stood on her front porch. She died holding their ten-month-old baby. Now as Randy Weaver and Harris are on trial in Boise, the government's own witnesses have exposed the cover-up of the feds' Murder Inc.

Randy Weaver is not nature's nobleman. He is part of the white-supremacist "Christian Identity" movement which denounces Washington as the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), and is associated with the deadly fascist "Aryan Nation" fringe headquartered in Hayden Lake, Idaho, 60 miles from Weaver's land. (One press account has it that Weaver was tossed out of the Aryan Nation compound for drinking.) The feds say they went after Weaver in an operation against illegal gunrunning. The government jealously seeks to enforce its would-be monopoly on armed violence, and even wants to keep its fascist dogs of war on a short leash.

During the 1992 siege, Nazi skinheads, "survivalists" and tax protesters lined the road leading to Weaver's cabin to denounce the federal agents. From the California KKK to Posse Comitatus in the Midwest to "The Order" scum who shot Denver talk show host Alan Berg, they are a network of racist, anti-Semitic killers. One of Berg's assassins was hidden in North Carolina for months by Roland Wayne Wood, one of the Klansmen who shot down five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979. Of course, a BATF agent participated in planning the mass murder and advised the KKK/Nazi killers on transporting weapons to the Greensboro killing ground.

Unions, socialists, blacks and other minorities, all the intended victims of the Aryan Nation fascists have always been subject to capitalist state terror and are more often the targets of the feds' tactics. From entrapping Weaver into sawing off the shotguns to staging the deadly assault, it is transparently obvious that the feds set up Weaver and then went in to blow him away. The federal judge in the trial observed that "About 75 percent of the witnesses called by the government have been favorable to the defense" (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 June).

After the sting operation in January 1991, Weaver was given the wrong trial date—and then indicted for not showing up on time! Federal prosecutors buried key FBI documents in fourth-class mail so the defense wouldn't get them on time; transcripts were "lost" and bullets were removed from the scene and then secretly replaced. But the federal hit squads from Washington, D.C. don't want to be hindered by such legal niceties as the Bill of Rights, no matter who

they are going after.

Weaver said he just wanted to be "left alone" on his 20 acres with a lot less guns than the arsenal surrounding Ross Perot, and he "refused to surrender unless the government admitted that he was set up and apologized." Well, the armed thugs of the bourgeois state don't "apologize," not even to the fascist fringe who are arming themselves to do battle with "godless communism" on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

The American ruling class, armed to the teeth and well-drilled in bombing slum neighborhoods in Panama City and baby food factories in Iraq, has repeatedly shown that it's more than willing to unleash state terror on those who defy them at home—like the scores of men, women and children of the multi-

racial religious group incinerated in their compound outside Waco, Texas for the "crime" of owning a few guns and preaching something other than High Church Episcopalianism or "respectable" Southern Baptist racism.

Weaver and his ilk thought they could escape to the wilds of Idaho to groove on their demented fascistic dreams. Instead they got a sample of the treatment meted out by the cops in the ghettos and barrios of every city in America. It is the working people, blacks and other minorities who are the main victims of "gun control" laws and the trigger-happy badge-toting gunmen who enforce them. And it is the exploited and oppressed who must sweep away the crazed killers who run this country in the interests of capital. Any fascistic survivalist killers still lurking in the boondocks of Idaho or the swamps of Louisiana who resist the will of the multiracial proletariat in power will assuredly be swept away. ■



Sygm

Gun control, BATF-style: feds lay siege to Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, culminating in massacre of 86 men, women and children in racially integrated commune.

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

Zionist blitzkrieg from his discussion of Lebanon.

Yet the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the summer of 1982 is a quite good analogy to the recently threatened U.S./NATO military intervention into Bosnia. For the Israelis did intervene in support of one of the contending factions in the interminable communalist bloodletting, installing the Gemayel clan of the Christian Maronites as a puppet government in Beirut.

Our line was one of military support to all forces in Lebanon—Palestinians, Druze, Shi'ites—fighting the Israeli army which was engaged in a de facto colonialist occupation. Furthermore, we stated: "In the present fighting we defend the Palestinian forces against not only the Israeli army but also the Lebanese Christian militias which have become subordinate to the Zionist state" ("Israel Out of Lebanon!" WV No. 308, 25 June 1982).

As for the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Spartacist League did earlier have a position of military support for the Hebrew-speaking forces in that war (see *Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968). However, on the basis of later discussion and additional information which made it evident that the survival of the Hebrew nation was never threatened by the Arab forces, we subsequently determined that "The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism" (WV No. 45, 24 May 1974). This was, indeed, the position of the Fourth International at the time.

Even Clinton is not stupid enough to send a few hundred Marines to Sarajevo as sitting ducks for Serbian artillery. At a minimum, U.S. intervention would

entail air strikes against Serbian positions, killing civilians as well as militiamen. Clearly, revolutionary internationalists would be duty-bound to defend the Serbs against the Pentagon's terror bombing.

If the Western imperialist powers decide to reverse the course of the territorial war in Bosnia (which at present is not their intent), they would have to launch a large-scale invasion on the order of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The aim would be to drive the Serbs from much of the territory they now occupy, turning this land over to the Bosnian Muslim "government," which would become a colonial puppet regime. The Bosnian Muslim leaders and their friends in the NATO countries are agitating for precisely such a course of action.

The use of the emotion-laden term "genocide" to describe the massacres and forced population transfers inherent in the Bosnian communalist war is a key element in anti-Serb warmongering in the imperialist countries. When the Clinton gang had to justify backing off its earlier threats of military action against the Bosnian Serbs, Secretary of State Warren Christopher on a rare occasion told it like it is: "there are atrocities on all sides.... It's been easy to analogize this to the Holocaust, but I never heard of any genocide by the Jews against the German people" (*New York Times*, 19 May).

Should the Western imperialists intervene militarily on behalf of the Bosnian Muslims, the Serbs will become the victims of "ethnic cleansing" at the hands of vengeful Muslims and probably Croats as well acting under the protection of the NATO forces. To repeat, in the present fratricidal strife within the former Yugoslavia, we do not support any side. But, as we wrote last issue: "in the face of U.S./NATO inter-

vention we defend the Serbs, while calling on the Serbian working class to overthrow its nationalist-capitalist misleaders in an internationalist struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans stretching from the Danube to the Aegean Sea." ■

Baby-Killer Clinton...

(continued from page 1)

rented the safe house, bought guns and equipment, and while they were stirring the chemicals the whole thing was being carried live on the FBI's video. All this and the World Trade Center bombing too supposedly leads back to the blind sheik of Jersey City, who, however, is not arrested because of services rendered to the CIA fighting Soviet infidels in Afghanistan. Is this the "New World Order," or what?

This comes a day after a *Time/CNN* poll revealed that 65 percent of the population could care less about the alleged Iraqi Bush bombers (in addition to the two-thirds who turned thumbs

down on Clinton). But, *mirabile dictu*, a day later Clinton's ratings shot up eleven points. For the cynical spin doctors in the White House, this is a "rally event," when bombing some Third World country leads Americans to "rally around their flag, their troops and their Commander in Chief. Past 'rally events' have produced, on average, an 8-percentage-point increase in the President's approval rating, and they have lasted an average of about 10 weeks" (*New York Times*, 29 June). By those guidelines, Qaddafi better start worrying round about September 10.

Saddam Hussein is a bloody butcher of Kurds, Communists and Shi'ites, but the incomparably greater criminals are the swaggering imperialist rulers who act as cops of the world, cloaking their wanton marauding with the rhetoric of "law and order." Clinton's eleven-point air strike on Baghdad was a show of weakness, a pretense at "standing tall" without risking the "downside" of American casualties. But make no mistake, these nuclear-armed madmen are a threat to life on the entire planet. We say: U.S. butchers keep your bloody hands off Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia and the rest of the world! ■

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Revolutionary Marxism

Next class: Sat., July 10, 4 p.m.
"The 1917 Russian Revolution"

Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St.
(1 block south of Chambers,
between Church & West Broadway)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Next class: Sat., July 10, 2 p.m.
"The Russian Revolution of 1917—
How the Working Class Took Power"

Undergraduate Library Lobby
Howard University

For more information: (202) 872-8240

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FACT SHEET

(continued from page 12)

their now infamous pattern of discrimination. On May 29 the black agents filed a lawsuit against Denny's for blatant racism.

• **The "stay on your bus" treatment:** Also after Denny's reached agreement with the U.S. Justice Department, 125 black schoolchildren in the Martin Luther King Children's Choir were refused entry at Denny's in Woodbridge, Virginia. The manager told them he had no room for them and directed them to another Denny's 40 miles down the highway. By the time the busloads of children arrived there, the manager was waiting for them in the parking lot insisting his restaurant had "no room" for the black children either.

• **Lousy food, dirty dishes:** Across the country black customers have been forced to pay extra for food—like dinner rolls—that are included in the price of the meal for whites. Black customers have testified that they were served inedible food on dirty and broken dishes while white customers at nearby tables were clearly given better food and service. An affidavit by a former Denny's employee attests to the fact that his manager would respond to customer complaints of bad food and service depending on race.

• **Anti-Hispanic prejudice:** Six Hispanic college students were refused service at a Santa Cruz, California Denny's on June 14. After waiting for over one-and-a-half hours for service, the group of youths finally walked out.

• **Anti-gay bigotry:** In May, in Kansas City, Missouri, a gay men's support group went out to eat at Denny's. The restaurant manager proclaimed, "we don't serve your kind of people here."

• **Denny's threatens customers who demand equal service:** Anthony C. Johnson, a deputy sheriff in Raleigh, North Carolina was denied service at

Denny's, even as he and his wife kept their hands raised to get attention from a waitress who ignored them while serving others. Mr. Johnson and his wife are black, the other customers were white. After receiving several complaints by phone and in writing, TW Services sent Mr. Johnson two checks for \$3.00! When Mr. Johnson phoned back to say that Denny's had "a race problem" he was told that if he contacted a lawyer or sued Denny's he would be "opening a can of worms" that he would regret and he "would be in for a surprise."

• **Denny's discriminates against employees too:** Five former and current employees of a Denny's located in North Randall, Ohio (Cleveland) filed a lawsuit on June 15 against Denny's for racist discrimination. This former "Sambo's" restaurant was called a "zoo" by Denny's, Inc. because of the large black clientele and workforce. The restaurant's black manager (the only black manager of the 14 Denny's in the Cleveland area) was driven out. The new white managers referred to black women workers as "wenches" and black men as "boys." Employees who complained of this systematic racist abuse were fired or had their work hours drastically reduced. Management prevented a black waitress they had fired from gaining new employment by spreading a lie that she had been fired for stealing.

• **White supremacy and union-busting:** Denny's bought out a former "Big Boy" restaurant in Winchester, Virginia last November just as employees were in the midst of a union organizing drive. A Jewish woman active in the organizing drive was subjected to relentless anti-Semitic abuse by management. One day she arrived at work to find a huge swastika posted on the front of the restaurant. Despite complaints, the managers left it hanging for six days! When the conversion from "Big Boy" to Denny's was completed, workers who supported the union organizing drive were fired. The racist, anti-Semitic man-

agers were kept on by Denny's.

Jim Crow racism and union-busting go hand in hand. All of Denny's restaurants are non-union. In the South, the "open shop" has been a key prop to maintaining a whole system of racist discrimination and Klan terror. The strength of the labor movement lies in the unity of the multiracial working class against the racist bosses. The union movement has been saddled with a leadership that refuses to fight for black rights just as it seeks "labor peace" with the capitalists and their government. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the union movement to organize the South by fighting against black oppression, understanding the common class interest of all workers.

• **The NAACP has made a "Fair Share" agreement with Denny's:** Denny's CEO Jerome Richardson struck a deal with the NAACP to chill out protest and negative publicity in exchange for a few more black faces in high places. According to *Business Week* (28 June) this deal would include putting a token black onto Denny's all-white board of directors, boost purchases from minority-owned suppliers, and sell more franchises to blacks.

But there is no "fair share" for blacks under capitalism. We can't buy black freedom in the marketplace, whose rules are laid down by the racist capitalists who have the power and have no intention of giving it up. Racial oppression permeates capitalist society and is built into its every institution: the job market, schools, military, courts, media. For the mass of the black population to escape poverty and oppression, the multiracial working class must fight for power and rewrite the rulebook.

• **You can't get justice through the "Justice" Department:** The government is the bosses' government. The Rodney King beating and whitewash trial proved that there is no justice in racist America. The whole legal system is based on subjugating the black population in order to

protect the interests of the racist ruling class. U.S. attorney general Janet Reno put law enforcement on full-scale alert as a warning to minorities and youth during the second trial of the cops who beat Rodney King. Then she ordered the holocaust in Waco that incinerated 86 people from an integrated religious sect. The Justice Department's FBI has been implicated in every infamous crime that has become synonymous with racist KKK terror—from the 1963 Birmingham, Alabama bombing that killed four little girls in Sunday school to the 1979 Greensboro massacre of five leftists and labor organizers.

A generation after the lunch counter sit-ins, racist attacks are on the rise again. The liberal civil rights movement had no answer for the economic oppression of black people and institutionalized racism of America's ghettos and barrios. Mass struggle forced an end to *de jure* segregation and the Jim Crow laws of the South. But no new civil rights law can redress the *de facto* segregation and exploitation inherent in the racist capitalist system. Racial inequality—by every index from infant mortality to income—is growing. The mass of black youth are viewed as a "surplus" population that this government doesn't even want to educate because it has no jobs to offer them. That's why prisons are the "growth industry" of this sick society.

To defeat the race haters and union-busters, we need mass struggle led by a party with a revolutionary program linking the ghettos and barrios to the social power of the multiracial working class in the factories. The bosses have their party—the property party—which has two wings: Democrat and Republican. Working people and minorities need their own party, a revolutionary workers party that will fight for a socialist egalitarian society where Jim Crow racism and the pain and suffering that's "business as usual" in American life is a thing of the past. *Black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Denny's...

(continued from page 12)

For Equal Treatment, Good Service and Food for All! Following these integrated protests, demonstrators will go in to eat, taking no "ifs, ands or buts" as a condition. Protests are taking place in Atlanta, the San Francisco Bay Area, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C.

"We're especially calling on the labor movement to take up this cause today," said Bay Area Labor Black League spokesman Hursey Bush in announcing the campaign. "Unionization and black rights march forward together and slide backward apart. Denny's racist Jim Crow policies are directly tied to their non-union operation and are a vicious affront to all decent, hard-working folk everywhere!"

This campaign has intersected a wave of anger among blacks who are "sick and tired of being sick and tired" of racist crap at every turn in this country—especially in integrated unions under the gun from Clinton's program of "sacrifice, sacrifice, sacrifice." The strategic, integrated West Coast longshore union, the ILWU International, has endorsed the protest. So has SEIU Local 250 covering hospital workers throughout California, and the East Bay Hotel & Restaurant (HERE) Local 28.

In Chicago, the campaign has been endorsed by Katie Jordan, a local ACTWU president, as well as "Smokin' Joe" Barnes and Bobby Robinson, former players in the Negro National Baseball League. In Boston, supporters include James H. Neil of HERE Local 26 at Harvard; Michael Holden, ATU

Local 1205; Rev. Carlton A. Mathis, pastor of St. Luke's Christian AME Zion Church in Dorchester, who himself suffered racist abuse at Denny's.

Denny's Cover-Up Flops

The uproar over Denny's racism began when 20 black students were met with a demand to prepay for their meals when they went to a San Jose Denny's after a late-night college forum in December 1991. White students who came in at the same time had no trouble getting served. This was only the beginning. In a class-action suit by 32 Denny's customers charging discrimination, a former Denny's manager in Northern California—who was also a former owner of the notorious Sambo's restaurants, many of whose franchises were picked up by Denny's—described how his superiors gave instructions on preventing "black-

outs"—"too many" blacks in the restaurant—by requiring blacks to prepay or even closing the place down.

Other cases cited include: a group of 30 black mourners who came to Denny's in Culver City, California following a wake—having made a reservation the night before—were blocked at the door on the grounds that they would make the other (white) customers uncomfortable. A black man in Miami waited 60 minutes for a breakfast which arrived on a broken plate; after he sent it back the manager called the cops and had him arrested for trespassing as he sat drinking his coffee!

~ Denny's is trying to deflect the heat by agreeing to a consent decree promising to discontinue prepayment, hire more minorities and begin "sensitivity training." But this cynical ruse blew up in their faces after complaints from a

group of black Secret Service agents who couldn't get served in Annapolis last April while the white agents they were with, seated separately, got second helpings.

Since then Denny's CEO Jerome Richardson has launched a CYA "You Are Welcomed" ad campaign so brazen even Madison Avenue pros are taken aback. "When you have a problem like the one Denny's has, you have to clean up the problem first before talking about it," commented one New York PR man (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 June).

Labor and Black Rights: Same Enemy, Same Fight!

Black rights and the struggle for union power go hand in hand—just as do lynch ropes and union-busting. Spartanburg, South Carolina, Denny's headquarters, is in the middle of the new industrial belt in the Southeast, a band of new factories along the I-85 corridor. Decent industrial union jobs have disappeared in the North as capitalists closed factories and opened up shop in the "open shop" South—with no unions to inhibit capitalist greed.

It's no accident that BMW is opening a non-union factory near Spartanburg, where "its labor costs could be half what they are in Germany" (*New York Times*, 11 April). Meanwhile, many workers are forced into low-paying non-union "service" jobs like fast food. It's not just Denny's—in the anti-union climate created as union tops prostrated themselves before Reagan/Bush reaction, then hustled for the "New South" yuppie Clinton/Gore ticket, racist harassment is rampant. Witness the case of Miller Brewing in Fulton, New York, where for nearly ten years black workers were subjected to filthy racist abuse



Luckovich/Atlanta Constitution

Socialists and the 1960 Woolworth Sit-Ins

On February 1, 1960, four black students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College—Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Franklin McCain and David Richmond—sat down at the “white only” section of the lunch counter at a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro. They were refused service but politely remained in their seats until closing time for what they called a “sit-down protest.” Two days later, there were 85 student protesters; five days later the number was four hundred. After a week the movement spread to other cities in North Carolina. By the end of February there were similar integration campaigns in 31 Southern cities across eight states. The 1960s “sit-in” movement was born.

The initial movement was a spontaneous, militant upswelling of youth bypassing the established civil rights leadership like the NAACP and A. Philip Randolph. At first it was confined to the Southern states, but at this critical juncture the fledgling *Young Socialist* newspaper intervened. Founded by leftward-moving youth who had split over two years earlier from the moribund centrist organization of Max Shachtman (which was liquidating into the out-right reformist Socialist Party and the labor bureaucracy), the YS leadership was associated with the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP). They saw that the burgeoning civil rights protests signaled a new era of struggle, and an opportunity for the rebirth of a revolutionary socialist youth after the long witchhunt years.

On February 15, the editorial board of the *Young Socialist* decided to launch a national campaign of picket-line protests at Woolworth’s because, as the paper reported, “Negro students in the South should not be allowed to fight alone for integration in public eating places.” The first picket line, at Woolworth’s 34th St. Manhattan location on March 5, was a resounding success as 400 youthful protesters showed up:

“Potential shoppers coming toward the store were first confronted with multi-



New York: radical students picket Woolworth’s in 1960 as part of national campaign in solidarity with Southern civil rights sit-in movement.

tudes of young people bearing signs declaring ‘Jim Crow Must Go,’ ‘They Must Be Served Who Now Stand And Wait,’ and ‘Boycott This Store—Let’s Integrate!’”

—*Young Socialist*, April 1960

“BOYCOTT WOOLWORTH’S” proclaimed the headline as the campaign caught on in the North and picketing spread.

The mushrooming success was soon followed by the founding convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in Philadelphia on 15-17 April 1960 with more than 100 delegates. The YSA for the first time formally affiliated with the SWP as its youth group. Coincidentally, the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was also born on April 15, in North Carolina.

The reformists soon moved to squelch the sit-in movement in the North. In New York, the Young People’s Socialist

League (YPSL) and Communist Party youth took the leadership away from the Trotskyists, and then called off the sit-ins. They were more interested in getting Democrat John F. Kennedy elected president in the ‘60 elections.

The newborn YSA quickly became embroiled in internal fights with the stodgy SWP leadership which was becoming tired of struggle and moving to the right. A key issue was the urgent need to intervene in the civil rights movement and win black youth to a revived revolutionary SWP. This was a central driving theme of what became the Revolutionary Tendency inside the SWP.

As a leading black RTer, Shirley Stoute, noted later in a May 1962 report on her participation in sit-ins in Baltimore, “this is a movement that we must be part of.” But the SWP criminally abstained, instead tailing after liberal

and nationalist forces rather than fighting to win leftward-moving youth to a revolutionary program. They went so far in factional venom as to precipitously recall Shirley from the South later that year—despite a personal invitation she had from a leading SNCC member—and ordered her not to give the reason for her disappearance. In late 1963, the leaders of the RT were expelled from the SWP. They published the first issue of *Spartacist* in February 1964.

In the meantime the civil rights movement, cut off at a crucial moment from revolutionary forces, was channeled by Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin et al. straight into the Democratic Party via the 1963 “March on Washington”—rightly called the “Farce on Washington” by Malcolm X. There would be some more opportunities for revolutionary recruitment later in the ‘60s, but the opportunity for recruiting perhaps *hundreds* of young black leaders to Trotskyism had been missed. The civil rights movement sank into the morass of the Democratic Party, or via the “black power” movement into pork-barrel nationalist politics—that is, those who weren’t gunned down or jailed by the state’s murderous COINTELPRO campaign.

As we noted in “Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom,” adopted by the founding conference of the Spartacist League in 1966, the civil rights movement was rejecting liberalism but, “lacking a conscious orientation towards the working class” the movement “may yet fall prey to bourgeois politicians with radical phrases or else become hopelessly isolated and demoralized.” In the upshot, the Coleman Youngs and Tom Bradleys built their Democratic careers on the corpse of the civil rights movement. We are determined that this tragic end will not be repeated. The SL reaffirms the conclusion of “Black and Red”: “The victory of the socialist revolution in this country will be achieved through the united struggle of black and white workers under the leadership of the revolutionary vanguard party.” ■

broadcast over the plant’s P.A. system and nooses hung from a gate (*New York Times*, 20 June).

Denny’s management is hardline anti-union, treating their workers worse than they treat their customers. In Winchester, Virginia outside Washington, when Denny’s took over a Big Boy franchise from Marriott that was being organized by Local 25 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, pro-union workers were left without jobs. In Southern California, a longtime Denny’s waitress married to a black man was threatened with firing unless she demanded prepayment from her own son who came in with a group of black friends.

What’s needed at Denny’s, and throughout the open shop South, is a class-struggle union organizing campaign. And that means waging an up-front fight against discrimination and racial oppression. Otherwise, there will be more horrifying atrocities like the deadly fire at the Imperial Food chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina which incinerated 25 black workers trapped behind fire exits locked by racist bosses to “stop employee theft.”

It’s a question of class power—no gentlemen’s agreement for more black-owned franchises and no lawsuits can change the racist nightmare that is America for the vast majority of black people in this country. The laws are written by the racist, capitalist rulers.

Saturday, July 3—Be There!

In building for the pickets we have been met with an outpouring of spontaneous testimony from people who have had their own experiences with Denny’s.



It took the Civil War to wipe out chattel slavery. Socialist revolution will put an end to wage slavery and racist oppression.

In the Bay Area, one unionized black airline worker told us how he and 20 coworkers defiantly integrated the Denny’s in Daly City near the San Francisco airport. At “Juneteenth” celebrations, at campuses like UC Berkeley, at unionized job sites from longshore paylines to Muni bus barns, the word of the July 3 coast-to-coast protests is getting out.

“Down with Jim Crow at Denny’s!” has struck a chord among blacks, Latinos and others in L.A., city of minorities, where the racist cops who tried to lynch Rodney King got off with a slap on the wrist. The Spartacus Youth Club is taking the campaign to UCLA, scene of the recent Chicano studies protests. Campaign organizers are getting out the

word to transit workers and ILWU longshoremen at San Pedro. Officials and union activists from the SEIU Local 399 “Justice for Janitors,” school bus drivers, and Latino drywall workers are building the protest. Press packets were distributed at a black newspaper publishers convention.

At a rally of 1,000 Caterpillar and Staley workers in Decatur, Illinois, a white IBEW member suggested flooding Denny’s with demonstrators in two-hour shifts, like the sit-ins of the civil rights movement. “Next Saturday, be at Denny’s,” said former Chicago alderman Clifford Kelley after interviewing a campaign organizer on his Saturday morning program on black radio station WGCI. Speaking at a Chicago

rally to defend imprisoned American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, Bernard Branche of the Labor Black Struggle League said: “We chose the July 4th weekend to expose the hypocrisy of the so-called ‘Liberty Weekend.’ What July 4th really means is racism and capitalist exploitation.”

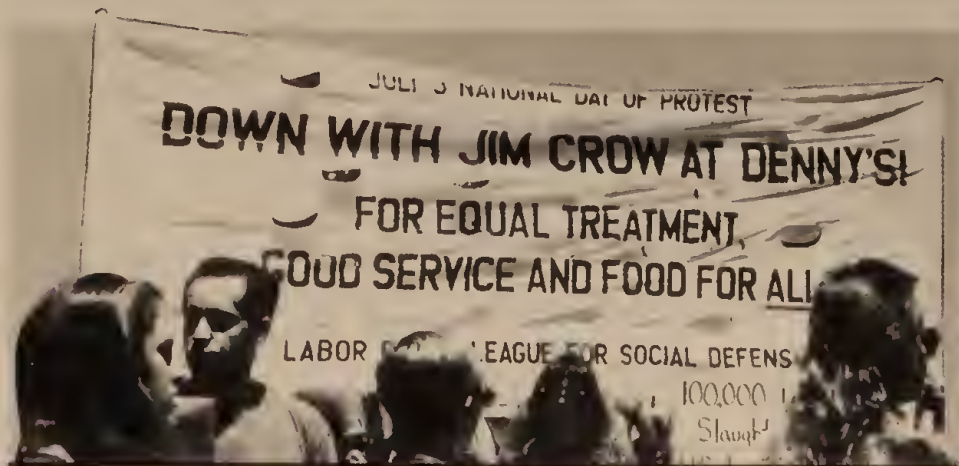
The focus for the Boston protest will be the Denny’s in Lexington, a focus of the cross-district METCO school busing program which has provided a small group of black students from Boston access to richer suburban school districts. Long after the collapse of the Boston busing program as a meaningful force for school desegregation, the racist regime of Boston mayor Flynn now seeks to dismantle METCO. Area stations have broadcast the call for the rally, including in Creole.

The Washington-area rally is taking place at the Woodbridge, Virginia Denny’s where a choir of black schoolchildren were refused service; appropriately enough, it’s located on Jefferson Davis Highway, named after the president of the slaveholding Confederacy. In Atlanta, the president of ATU Local 732 has endorsed, and MARTA transit workers are spreading leaflets around the city.

On July 3, send a message to Denny’s management and America’s racist, capitalist rulers—*Jim Crow must go!* The integrated working class, oppressed minorities and youth are ready to fight. This campaign against discrimination is part of the program of *revolutionary integrationism*: full social equality for blacks in America can only be won through victorious socialist revolution! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mobilize to Smash Jim Crow Racism at Denny's!



WV Photo

A crescendo of charges exposing racist discrimination by the Denny's restaurant chain has created a national scandal. From San Diego to South Carolina and Cleveland, reports of incidents are pouring in. The Martin Luther King Children's Choir is turned away at two Denny's restaurants in Virginia. Hispanic students in Santa Cruz, California can't get waited on. Gays in Kansas City are told "we don't serve your kind of people here."

Throughout the country, blacks are forced to wait while whites are served first; required to pay in advance while whites are not; charged a "blacks only" cover charge; given segregated seating in the back; served

cold or bad food, insulted, treated like dirt. And if you complain, they call the cops on you. For years, outraged black customers have been forced to endure this racist treatment. Now it's been exposed as company policy. *This institutionalized racism will not be tolerated. We are not going back to the back of the bus!*

The Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League have launched a nationwide campaign of protest action to put a stop to Jim Crow segregation at this chain of some 1,300 public eating establishments. On July 3, pickets at Denny's restaurants coast-to-coast will be demanding: "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!"

continued on page 10

Pickets Called Coast-to-Coast July 3

Pickets will take place July 3 at the following locations and times (call for more information):

Atlanta (404) 659-0251

12 noon, 1860 Corporate Square Blvd. NE, Atlanta, GA

Bay Area (510) 839-0852

12 noon, 1776 Powell St. (at I-80) Emeryville, CA

Boston (617) 492-3928

12 noon, 438 Bedford St., Lexington, MA (exit 31B off Route 128)

Chicago (312) 663-0715

11 a.m., 9217 S. Cicero Ave. Oak Lawn, IL

Los Angeles (213) 380-8239

12 noon, 635 S. Vermont (Vermont and Wilshire), Los Angeles, CA

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

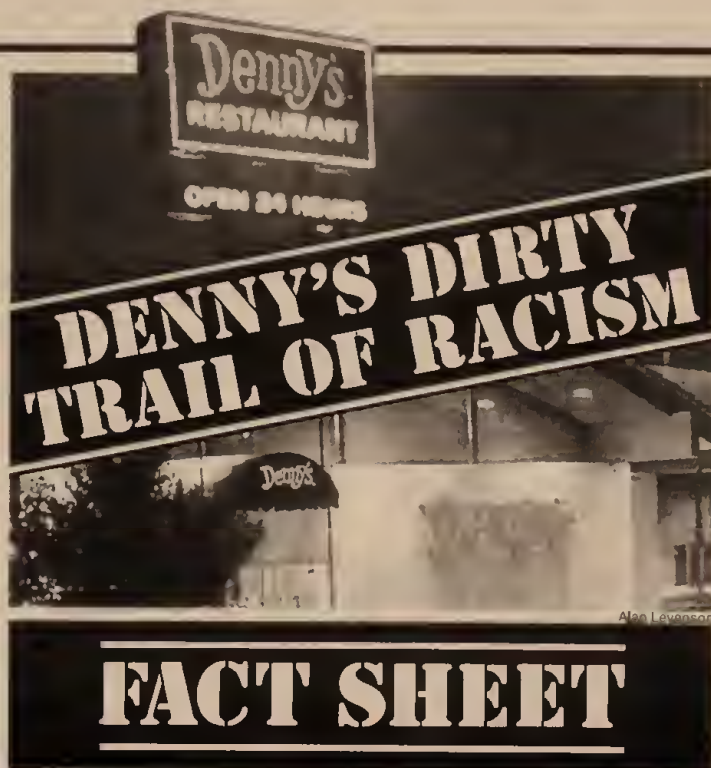
12 noon, 13775 Jefferson Davis Highway (Route 1), Woodbridge, VA

In 1960, the sit-ins at Woolworth's segregated lunch counters symbolized the growing movement against Jim Crow racism in America. Three decades later, Denny's restaurant chain has become synonymous with the rampant racist discrimination that persists despite formal civil rights. On July 3, the Labor Black Leagues and the Spartacist League will picket Denny's restaurants around the country to demand "Down with Jim Crow at Denny's!" and to demand "equal treatment, good service, and food for all!"

In the 1980s, Denny's rapidly expanded, including by buying up a large number of "Sambo's" restaurants—a chain whose name alone was a racist provocation to black America. Headquartered in Spartanburg, South Carolina—in the heart of the old slaveholding Confederacy—Denny's parent company, "Flagstar" (formerly "TW Services") controls more than 1,400 Denny's restaurants which are concentrated on major highways and freeway exits and open 24 hours a day. These restaurants are supposed to be public service facilities, but Denny's racist management wants to keep black people "in their place."

Despite Denny's PR campaign denying discrimination, the incidents keep mounting in this coast-to-coast chain of racism.

• **Racist "pre-pay" policy:** Denny's randomly slaps minorities—black youth in particular—with a "pre-pay" policy which is calculated to drive them away. In a class-action lawsuit against Denny's in California, more than 20 black customers signed affidavits testifying that they were not seated and were denied service unless they agreed to pay a



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"cover charge" and pre-pay for their meals in full! White teenagers were served at the same restaurant at the same times and were not asked to pre-pay for their meals or assessed a "cover charge." Denise Perryman, a waitress at Denny's in Champaign, Illinois, told management that she objected to the restaurant's policy of pre-payment for black and His-

panic patrons and she refused to discriminate against her customers. Denise Perryman was fired.

• **Police harassment of black customers:** Meling Harrison, Catrena Law and Navjot Nijjar (two black Americans and an East Indian woman), were eating at a Denny's in San Jose, California. The restaurant manager screeched, "there are

too many of you here!" Police arrived and were escorted through the restaurant by the manager who directed the cops to eject black patrons, including the Harrison party. The cops forced this group out of the restaurant—and insisted they pay for the meals they weren't even permitted to eat!

• **No happy birthdays for black children:** Denny's advertises complimentary birthday meals. But 13-year-old Rachel Thompson got nothing but humiliation on her birthday on 11 December 1991. The restaurant was almost empty, yet Rachel and her family were made to wait an inordinate time before anyone would even take their order. Despite presentation of a baptismal certificate which verified Rachel's date of birth, she was denied Denny's advertised birthday meal.

• **Racist "blackout" policy:** A former manager of a Northern California Denny's restaurant has acknowledged that during weekly district meetings the term "blackout" was used to describe the scene when "too many" black customers were in any particular restaurant. Denny's district managers instructed store managers to "start cracking down and get rid of some of those blackouts."

• **The "back of the bus" treatment:**

Across the country, black people have been made to stand and wait and denied service while white customers who arrive after them are promptly seated and courteously served. A recent case in Annapolis, Maryland involved six black Secret Service agents who were denied service on April 1, the very day that Denny's signed a consent decree with the Justice Department promising an end to

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