

Imperialists Massacre Black Africans

U.S./UN Troops Out of Somalia!



Streets of Mogadishu run with blood as UN "peacekeepers" mow down unarmed protesters. Somalis demonstrate hatred for new colonial occupation by "white warlords."

In the past two months, U.S. and United Nations "humanitarian" forces have turned the streets of the Somali capital of Mogadishu into a killing field, as the people of this small East African country have become the target of an ever more open and escalating colonial war. On July 12, U.S. Cobra attack helicopters—the same kind used in Vietnam—leveled what was allegedly the "command center" of leading warlord Mohammed Farah Aidid in central Mogadishu. This included Digfer Hospital, from which patients had been evacuated after an earlier American rocket assault last month left a gaping three-foot hole in the hospital's recovery room. The latest attack killed 70 or more people and wounded nearly 200, including Somali clan elders who were meeting in the building complex. "There were bodies all over the place," reported an American journalist on the scene, "they were mincemeat."

Since mid-June, when U.S. helicopter gunships bombed the capital and Pakistani UN "peacekeepers" mowed down unarmed protesters, Mogadishu has been subjected to repeated aerial bombardment, galvanizing widespread hostility to the neocolonial occupation forces.

American jets arrogantly buzzed a demonstration by 2,000 Aidid supporters on June 19, as they protested the imperialist intervention and chanted "Down with Clinton!" Following the July 12 terror bombing, outraged crowds sought revenge by attacking a team of foreign journalists, killing four.

With the Somali adventure turning into a bloody quagmire, the imperialist thieves who make up the UN occupying forces are squabbling among themselves. Italy—the former colonial master of Somalia—has criticized the Americans' "cowboy" tactics and is calling for greater military restraint. Even the official newspaper of Italy's Catholic bishops, *Avvenire*, described the July 12 attack as a "vile American raid." But nei-

ther Italy's "soft cop" approach nor Washington's initial "humanitarian" posture can disguise the fundamental truth that the U.S./UN intervention in Somalia is a new colonial occupation of black Africa by the Western imperialists. When they're not gunning down defenseless civilians, the "new white warlords," as they're now called on the streets of Mogadishu, scream racist taunts and cries of "white power" at Somalis.

When lame-duck president Bush first sent American forces into Somalia last December under the guise of ensuring food aid to the famine-stricken country, much of the U.S. left acquiesced to the "humanitarian" scam. The Spartacist League opposed this racist military adventure: "behind this feigned concern

by the racist American rulers for starving black Africans is the sinister reality of U.S. imperialism, which is using the famine in Somalia to justify direct military intervention in Africa" ("U.S. Global Cops Out of Somalia!" *WV* No. 565, 11 December 1992). Today, Western relief workers are among the sharpest critics of the U.S./UN intervention. "When the troops first came," one of them stated, "the humanitarian effort was their *raison d'être*. Now we have become their fig leaf" (*Washington Post*, 12 June). Indeed, the worst of the famine had already passed by the time the U.S. moved into Somalia, and ten times more (\$1.5 billion) is now being spent on the military operation than on "famine relief."

Last month American imperialism scrapped even the fig leaf of a "humanitarian mission" in favor of a "get tough" policy. After U.S. planes and helicopters bombed and strafed Aidid's headquarters in Mogadishu, the compound was overrun by UN troops spearheaded by the Pakistanis. Clinton triumphantly proclaimed: "The military back of Aidid has been broken. A warrant has been issued for his arrest." Acting like the Horn of Africa was the old Wild West, the U.S. proconsul in Mogadishu, retired admiral Jonathan Howe, offered a \$25,000 bounty for Aidid's head, turning the local warlord into a popular hero. From his underground hideouts, Aidid has defiantly denounced the new colonial

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Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution**

**"Ethnic Cleansing"
and Nationalist Wars**

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Genocide "Made in USA"

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Stop the Execution of Gary Graham!

Despite numerous witnesses who support his claim of innocence, Gary Graham sits on death row in Huntsville, Texas facing execution on August 17. At the age of 17, Graham was charged with the shooting death of Bobby Lambert in a supermarket parking lot, convicted solely on the testimony of a witness who observed the gunman for "a split second" from about 40 feet away. Not one of the five other eyewitnesses identified Graham, and one says she has since seen Lambert's killer on the streets several times. Graham's court-appointed lawyer was an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness and refused to investigate Graham's alibi defense. Four witnesses who were never called to the stand have come forward with affidavits saying that

Graham was with them at the time of the shooting. Each of them has passed a lie detector test.

In a protest letter to Governor Ann Richards, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote, "We believe the racist death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency. But that's putting it mildly where Texas is concerned." Texas leads the country with the highest proportion of poor, black, Hispanic and Native Americans on death row. With over 370 men and women sentenced to die, Texas churns out corpses like it used to pump oil. To make sure nothing interrupts this assembly line of death, a state law restricts the presentation of new evidence to 30 days after conviction. A January Supreme Court

decision upholding this law ruled that Texas death row inmate Leonel Herrera should die despite strong new evidence of his innocence. Four months later the executioner took Herrera's life. Meanwhile, in March, an all-white jury in Fort Worth let a fascist skinhead off with ten years probation for the premeditated murder of Donald Thomas, a 32-year-old black man.

Herrera was a Mexican American, Gary Graham is black: innocence is no defense to this country's rulers if you're poor, Hispanic or black. One of those fighting to prove his innocence is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. An award-winning journalist, former Black Panther Party spokesman and supporter of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to die for his political beliefs.

For the past three years the white-supremacist South African government has not carried out a single execution. In that same period over 80 people have been sent to death chambers across the U.S., 20 so far this year alone, the highest rate of legal lynchings in over 30 years. Months after a Washington, D.C. referendum rejecting capital punishment, Waco mass murderer Attorney General Janet Reno is using a federal drug trial to shove the death penalty down the throats of the city's predominantly black population.

Harry Belafonte, Danny Glover, Coretta Scott King, country western singer Kenny Rogers, Amnesty International and all 17 Roman Catholic bishops in

Texas are just a few of those who have spoken out in opposition to the death sentence against Gary Graham. Loretta Lambert, the widow of the man Graham was convicted of killing, wrote a letter to state officials saying, "I do not want the execution of a possibly inno-



Gary Graham

New York Times

cent man on my conscience." Mobilize now to stop the execution. Save Gary Graham!

Send donations for Gary Graham's legal defense to: Gary Graham Defense Committee, P.O. Box 6668, Moraga, California 94570. For more information, contact Gary Graham Justice Coalition, P.O. Box 66806, Houston, Texas 77266, (713) 522-0254.



TROTSKY

Black Liberation Through Workers Revolution

From our mitigation of mass labor/black mobilizations to stop KKK/Nazi provocations to our recent nationwide campaign of protest against Jim Crow racism at the Denny's restaurant chain, the Spartacist League is guided by the understanding that black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism. We seek to link the struggle for black equality to proletarian political power. In this, we stand on the heritage of

the early Communist Party which, inspired by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, broke from the outlook of the pre-WWI American Socialist Party, which at best was "color-blind" and at worst mirrored the overt racism of the AFL unions. Today we carry forward the authentic communist program, and look to the doubly oppressed black proletarians to play an exceptional role in the revolutionary struggle against American capitalism

The Negro workers in America are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a reign of terror—of persecution, rape and murder. The formal abolition of slavery made it possible for the northern capitalists to penetrate the south and to bring poor Negro labor north. This was, however, detrimental to the interests of Southern capitalists, and they have sought by every means to maintain the enslavement of the Negro. It is in order to subjugate him and break his spirit, that secret murder societies such as the Ku Klux Klan have been established. Because of the anti-Negro policies of organized labor, the Negro has despaired of aid from this source, and he has either been driven into the camp of labor's enemies, or has been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims. The Workers Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for Liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality. It will point out to them that the interests of the Negro workers are identical with those of the white. It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by organized labor. Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the Black and white workers, and bind them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of our common enemy.

—Program and Constitution, Workers Party of America (1921)



LENIN

Free South Korea Hyundai Strikers!

On July 20, the South Korean government unleashed an army of police to smash a five-week work action at Hyundai (see "Hyundai Strike Jolts South Korea," *Workers Vanguard* No. 580, 16 July). As 10,000 riot cops massed outside the Hyundai Motors plant in Ulsan, another 1,800 stormed the Hyundai Precision and Industry Co. plant in Changwon, taking 288 workers into custody. Five union leaders for whom arrest warrants had been issued managed to escape.

Invoking strikebreaking "emergency" laws that haven't been used since 1969, the government of former "dissident" Kim Young Sam outlawed any job actions at Hyundai until August 8. In a July 26 protest to the South Korean Embassy, the Partisan Defense Committee wrote:

"South Korea's 'economic miracle' has been built on the blood, sweat and corpses of the working class. As these workers demand more than starvation wages, they are met with yet another wave of brutal state repression. This puts the lie to Kim Young Sam's elec-

tion being hailed as a 'victory for democracy.'

"Despite pre-election talk of amnesty, thousands of trade unionists and leftists continue to swell Korean jails while the butchers of Kwangju, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo, walk the streets with impunity. Riot police unleashed against student protesters; the mass arrest of striking workers—it didn't take long for Kim's 'democratic' façade to fall.

"We demand that all Hyundai strikers be freed and all charges dropped. Cancel all arrest warrants against union leaders. Free all trade unionists and leftists. Hands off the independent unions."

* * *

We encourage WV readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of \$5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send \$1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD



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Reuters

Hyundai workers clash with South Korean riot police.

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

U.S. Troops in Somalia: In Defense of Empire



As the night sky over Mogadishu explodes into blazing light, UN/U.S. armed forces clash with Somali irregulars in the Horn of Africa.

The East African nation, already ravaged by famine and the disintegration of the fallen Barre regime, is now the setting for war.

So-called "Peacekeeping Forces" of the UN shoot live rounds into crowds of demonstrating Somalis, killing and wounding scores of them, and further defaming the dead by calling them "shields" for Somali gunmen.

Curiously, only the "shields"—Somalian women and children for the most part—are hit by gunfire, not gunmen.

Curious too, how troops kill unarmed demonstrators, mostly women, as part of a "Peacekeeping" mission.

The U.S., although not yet involved in ground activity, has unleashed repeated air attacks on the capital city, making President Clinton's first use of arms as Commander in Chief (if one excludes the Waco Massacre) in East Africa, against a

small Somali militiaman commanding a minute squad of what appears to be armed (with small arms) children.

In a world where small wars and silent holocausts approach normalcy, where Serb/Muslim intergroup hatred has spawned concentration camps, mass rape and "ethnic cleansing" of beleaguered Muslims, the United Nations can only drop leaflets and MRE food packages. But that is Europe—where we are told centuries of old hatreds make military intervention ill-advised.

Where U.S. air forces dropped food relief to Bosnia-Herzegovina, they drop bombs in Mogadishu, E. Africa.

To "send a message" to a Somali general, his home, offices and supporters were bombarded by U.S. air fire. Bosnian and Serb "cleansers," we can assume, do not need any "message."

In truth, however, every act, even non-action, has a message.

The so-called "International Community" (actually a minority of the world's people) have used force in

an attempt to humble an African militia leader who has sought to control his own homeland.

That same UN/U.S. force has refused to raise a finger where European militias have virtually razed cities and scattered countless numbers of Muslim families to "ethnically cleanse" Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To my mind, that's quite a message.

It is also illustrative of the way the UN has become the henchman of imperialist power.

It doesn't matter if the generals are Black, White, hetero or homo, male or female: They serve the interests of this system.

Nor does it matter if the President is Democratic or Republican—They fight to preserve the system.

Is it coincidence that Clinton's first military strike—into the Horn of Africa—comes days after his lowest poll readings?

The American people, if they have shown anything in two centuries of existence, have shown a passion for war.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Letters

Bill Whitney 1913-1993

Vancouver, B.C.
19 July 1993

Dear Comrades,

I have sad news. Our comrade Bill Whitney, for six decades a fighter for revolutionary Marxism, died at home on June 23. He was 80 years old, and had been ill for many years.

Bill joined the Trotskyist International Left Opposition in 1932, was active in the Spartacus Youth League, and became a founding member of the Canadian section of the Fourth International. At various times Bill was Vancouver branch organizer and a member of the National Committee of the Canadian group.

For many years, Bill carried on a correspondence with Peng Shu-tse, founding member of the Chinese Communist Party and leader of the Chinese Trotskyists, which began during the fight against Michel Pablo's liquidationist revisionism. Indeed, against the majority of the Canadian leadership, Bill was an early opponent of Pabloism. Report-

edly, around 1953, U.S. Socialist Workers Party leader James Cannon, worried about the Canadian section, asked, "Where's Whitney on this?" Bill replied, "Against Pablo!" adding, "and where's Cannon been" in this fight? Bill was never shy in strongly expressing his opinions.

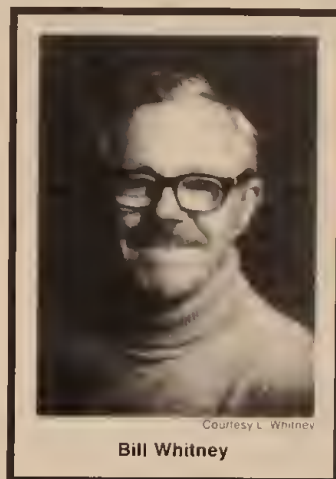
We first met Bill and Lillian, his lifelong comrade and spouse, in 1974, shortly after establishing our Vancouver local. Bill and Lillian declared themselves sympathizers of our tendency in the late 1970s, and in September 1992 they became consultative members of the International Communist League.

From helping Australian comrades on a campus sale in Melbourne while on holiday there in 1990, to accompanying comrades to pulp workers picket lines on Vancouver Island in the summer of 1992, Bill found new political energy in his association with the ICL. He spoke at the November 1990 Trotskyist League forum in Vancouver celebrating the an-

niversary of the 1917 October Revolution and the fusion of the TL with a group of comrades who had broken from Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. With his delight in talking to young comrades, Bill was a living link between the earlier generations of revolutionary Trotskyists and those who today stand on their shoulders.

To Lillian and to all of Bill's family we extend our heartfelt condolences. To commemorate Bill's life, steadfastly devoted to the struggle for the communist future, we will be holding a memorial meeting on August 29 in Vancouver.

Comradely,
Oliver Stephens



Courtesy L. Whitney
Bill Whitney

More on ADL Spies and Apologists

Oakland, CA
21 June 1993

Dear Editor:

Your coverage of the Anti-Defamation League's spying has been helpful in exposing its pernicious role as finger-man for U.S. imperialism. However, in your last article, "ADL's Massive Spy Operation" (JWW No. 577/4 June 1993), you leave Stephen Schwartz off the hook, referring to him as a "professional anti-Communist" and his piece in the *Wall Street Journal* as an "apologia."

WW readers should know that Schwartz brags that he himself has been involved in these same kinds of spying operations, against not only the CPUSA but other organizations within the workers movement. A three-part series entitled "Private Spies," produced and broadcast in the Bay Area by KRON-TV in November 1987, documents how right-wing groups have spied on leftists and passed their information on to government intelligence agencies.

The reporter quotes Schwartz as identifying himself as part of a "commie-watching network," a member of the Institute for Contemporary Studies,

founded by former Reagan top cop Ed Meese. Furthermore, Schwartz, she says, boasts of having addressed the White House and briefed Oliver North and then-CIA Director William Casey.

On camera right-wing social democrat Schwartz brays about his spying, "If any leftist group has an open office where there are a lot of people around and, you know, you can walk in and if there's something lying on the desk, you don't have to filch it. You might just write down what's on it. You see a list of names or something like that." This information, he snidely remarks, is then passed on to government officials.

Schwartz, a Zionist, is an ardent apologist for Croatian fascist Franjo Tudjman, mimicking the despicable Nazi-Zionist collaboration during WWII. But his article in the *Wall Street Journal* wasn't simply an "apologia" for the ADL. It was a defense of spying on the left, something he's been up to his eyeballs in for years.

For the Defense of the
Workers Movement,
Jack Heyman

"Collective Memory of the Working Class"

The following letter, accompanied by a generous contribution, was recently received by the Prometheus Research Library, the central reference archive of the Spartacist League. With its present occupancy at risk, on May 3 the PRL launched an urgent public fund appeal to assist in preserving and securing these premises (see "Prometheus Research Library Fund Appeal," JWW No. 575, 7 May).

Portland, Oregon
26 June 1993

Comrades,

Enclosed is a donation for the PRL. It has been said that a major function of the communist party is to serve as the "collective memory" of the working class. Indeed, some artificial intelligence

theorists see all mental activity as the sifting and recombination of memory to formulate a program or plan of action. Thus the struggle against capitalist and Stalinist lies and fabrications, that is, setting the record straight, is a vital component in the struggle to overcome the crisis of leadership.

Yours in struggle,
Geoffrey W.

Please help us to preserve and upgrade our premises and maintain our unique collection. Send checks, payable in U.S. dollars to "PRL Special," to: Prometheus Research Library, Box 185 Canal St. Station, New York, NY 10013.

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard No. 580, 16 July.

The hideous communal massacres and forced population transfers now referred to as "ethnic cleansing" are not unique to the Balkans, but a common occurrence in imperialist and nationalist wars in areas of nationally and ethnically mixed populations. The German Nazis, in addition to their "final solution" aimed at exterminating the entire Jewish people and their genocide of Gypsies, sought as well to carve out *Lebensraum* (living space) for a Greater Germany in the Slavic regions of East Europe. This was carried out on a vast scale using the *Einsatzgruppen* death squads. Their terrorist techniques have been copied

PART TWO OF TWO

by right-wing dictatorships around the globe (Pinochet's DINA secret police, for example, were advised by the former SS designer of mobile gas chambers). And a notable application of "ethnic cleansing" since World War II is the ongoing war by Israeli Zionists seeking their own *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian Arab people.

In the 1948 war, the single most terrifying event for the Palestinian Arab population was the massacre of 254 largely unarmed villagers, including many women, elderly and children in the village of Deir Yassin. Bodies were mutilated and the 150 survivors were paraded through nearby Jerusalem in open lorries to be spat upon. The "official" Zionist version is that this notorious atrocity was carried out solely by the terrorist Irgun. In reality the Haganah (the "Labor"-Zionist dominated Jewish national force) commanding officer of Jerusalem fully backed the operation, providing arms and ammunition for the Irgun, and the Haganah's Palmach commando forces provided artillery support for the raid. And Deir Yassin was hardly unique. In one incident, on 1 May 1948, the Zionists attacked the village of 'Ein az Zeitun, rounded up about 70 Arab inhabitants and took them to a nearby gully where, on orders of the Palmach commander, they were assassinated.

Not surprisingly, the details of Zionist atrocities have been extensively covered up by the Israeli government and the Zionist press. But, largely in the past decade, the grisly details of many incidents have begun to come out, many of them collected in Israeli historian Benny Morris' *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (1987).

In early July 1948, the Zionists swept the Arab population from the villages of Ramle and Lydda near Jerusalem in conditions reminiscent of the worst horrors of U.S. atrocities in Vietnam. After two days of shelling and bombing the towns, future Israeli army chief Moshe Dayan

Background to the Balkans: Imperialist Hypocrisy, Capitalist Counterrevolution



Communal warfare in former Yugoslavia has killed tens of thousands and driven millions from their homes.

"Ethnic Cleansing" and Nationalist Wars

led a jeep commando into Lydda on July 11, machine-gunning men, women and children, whose bodies filled the streets. The following day, the adjoining town of Ramle was seized as Israeli troops went on an orgy of slaughter, firing and lobbing grenades into houses.

In an article translated and distributed by Israel Shahak, the courageous defender of Palestinian rights (and survivor of the Nazis' Bergen-Belsen death camp), Guy Erlich reports that, according to documents in the Israeli army archives, when a group of Arab fighters had holed up in a small mosque in the center of Lydda, the Palmach commander ordered it blown up. "A group of 20 to 50 of the city's residents was then brought in to clean the mosque and to bury the remains. When they finished their work, they were

also shot, and thrown into the graves they themselves had dug."

On direct orders from Israeli "Labor" prime minister David Ben-Gurion, the entire population from both towns was expelled on a forced march into the desert. Estimates of the numbers of refugees involved range from 75,000 to 100,000 (the towns' normal population had been swollen by refugees). The desperate refugees were stripped of their possessions, food and water, and were driven into the desert by Israeli mortar fire. Untold hundreds died from exhaustion, dehydration and disease as they trudged for several days in the hot July sun. An Israeli soldier described the horrible trail that the refugee column left in its wake: "to begin with utensils and furniture and in the end, bodies of men, women and children, scattered along the way."

Some details of a massacre which took place in the southern village of Ad Dawayima at the end of October 1948 first came to light in the mid-1980s. According to a contemporary inquiry carried out by the left-wing Zionist Mapam party (which kept it secret in order not to "harm" the state of Israel), later uncovered by Benny Morris:

"One soldier boasted that he had raped a woman and then shot her. One woman, with a newborn baby in her arms, was employed to clean the courtyard where the soldiers ate. She worked a day or two. In the end they shot her and her baby."

An Israeli soldier testified that they "killed about 80 to 100 Arab men, women and children. The children they killed by breaking their heads with sticks. There was not a house without dead."

Marxism and Interpenetrated Peoples

These mind-numbing atrocities were part and parcel of the consolidation of the Hebrew-speaking population in Palestine into a nation. For much of the

left, these crimes against the Palestinian Arab people leave the Hebrew-speaking nation with the mark of Cain, denied the historical right to existence. But Marxists do not accept the nationalist framework of "collective guilt," which seeks to punish future generations for the crimes of their forebears. While championing the cause of the oppressed against their oppressors, our answer to national subjugation is not to reverse the terms of oppression. As internationalists we politically oppose all variants of nationalism, and fight to eradicate all forms of national and other social oppression through workers revolution.

What's posed in Palestine are *conflicting national rights of two peoples inhabiting the same territory*. In the mid-1970s, the Spartacist League carried out a discussion on the national question regarding interpenetrated peoples, prompted by a reconsideration of our position on the 1948 war in Palestine. At the time a whole spectrum of New Leftists, Stalinists and pseudo-Trotskyists had taken up the cause of a mythical, classless "Arab Revolution," portraying as anti-imperialism the hostility to Israel of the whole panoply of Arab rulers who participated with the Zionists in the dispossession of the Palestinian masses. But as we noted in our series "Birth of the Zionist State" (WV Nos. 33 and 45, 23 November 1973 and 24 May 1974):

"Marxists do not pretend to sit with the gods on high, majestically rewarding the good but oppressed peoples with the right of self-determination and dispersing to the four corners of the world the bad oppressor peoples."

Our fundamental methodology concerning the national question remained unchanged throughout this discussion, as Leninists, we uphold equally the national rights of all peoples, in this case of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples, while defending the Palestinian people against Zionist state



Jaffa suburb of Manshiyeh after April 1948 Zionist bombardment and assault drove out the city's 70,000 Arab inhabitants.

Institute for Palestine Studies

terror. On this basis, in 1948 we would have been for military support to an independent Palestinian force, had one existed, against the Zionist state and the Arab League armies, both of which sought to suppress the Palestinian Arabs' national existence. Likewise, Marxists would have stood for revolutionary defensism of the Hebrew-speaking people in the event of an irredentist onslaught by the Arab bourgeois regimes threatening the survival of the Jewish population in Palestine.

Previous to that discussion, the Spartacist League had held the position that the intervention of the Arab League in May 1948 threatened the survival of the Hebrew people and its right to self-determination. While opposing partition and fighting for the return of the expelled Palestinians, we supported the call for a victory of the Haganah over the Arab Legion. However, re-evaluation of the events of 1948 clearly indicated that the Arab armies never threatened the existence of the Hebrew nation. Our conclusion was expressed in the following motion adopted by the SL Central Committee on 16 March 1974:

"The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism (and exercise of self-defense by specific villages and settlements when under attack) because:

"1) the democratic issue of self-determination for each of two nationalities or peoples who geographically interpenetrate can only conceivably be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power;

"2) concretely in 1948—the Zionist-led Jews possessed the social/military organization to achieve and expand their own nation-state. The Palestine Arabs were disorganized, ineffectual and betrayed on all sides. With the exception of the battle for Jerusalem, the Trans-Jordan (and British-inspired and backed) war aims were to compete with the Jews for the partitioning of the Palestinian Arabs' lands. The role of other foreign Arab armies was essentially to posture, seeking to deflect discontent within their own states."

—quoted in WV No. 45, 24 May 1974

This discussion of the national question, in a situation where the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people could each set up their own state only at the expense of the other nation, had broader implications for interpenetrated peoples in general:

"When national populations are geographically interpenetrated, as they were in Palestine, an independent nation-state can be created only by their forcible separation (forced population transfers, etc.). Thus the democratic right of self-determination becomes abstract, as it can be exercised only by the stronger national grouping driving out or destroying the weaker one.

"In such cases the only possibility of a democratic solution lies in a social transformation."

Under capitalism, one nation is necessarily pitted against another for markets and scarce resources, even at the most basic level—like division of the waters of the Jordan (or the Euphrates), or distribution of oil wealth. Such conflicts can only be equitably resolved in an internationally planned economy. Only under proletarian rule, in a socialist federation of the Near East, is it possible to assure the just national rights of all the peoples of the region. Socialist revolution will require a sharp break with the prevailing nationalist consciousness, pointing to the formation of a binational, Hebrew-Arab workers state, but a socialist federation could also encompass distinct national states.

We noted at the time that such considerations apply as well in other situations where there is a communal/ethnic patchwork, which is of particular relevance today in Yugoslavia:

"For example, the decomposition of the old multinational Turkish empire precipitated a period of intensified murderous national conflict in the Balkans. The centuries of national hatreds and massacres between for example the Serbian and Croatian peoples exceeded the history of national strife between the Hebrews and Arabs in the Near East. The only basis for the unity of the Serbs and



1974 Cyprus coup provoked Turkish invasion (left), leading to partition. Demonstration of Greek and Turkish Cypriots in London's Hyde Park (right) cut across national lines.



AP photos

Croats (and other peoples) of Yugoslavia was the triumph of the partisan armies, against all of the nationalists, following World War II in a struggle which broke the bounds of capitalism and resulted in the creation of a deformed workers state in Yugoslavia."

—WV No. 45, 24 May 1974

But with its Stalinist-nationalist politics, the Tito regime could not establish a real equality among the Yugoslav peoples or go beyond the narrow limits of Yugoslavia to fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans, for that would have posed socialist revolution in capitalist Europe and a proletarian political revolution throughout the Soviet bloc.

The current butchery in Yugoslavia demonstrates how rapidly this partial resolution of the national question could unravel as capitalist rule returned. But

65,000 Turkish Cypriots—were driven from their homes. But we noted that in the first days after the Cyprus coup and up to the Turkish invasion, there was a basis for united action by Turkish and Greek Cypriots against the military junta:

"For a historical moment the interests of democracy were flatly counterposed to nationalism among the dominant people on the island. This was seen in the reported instances of pro-Makarios Greeks who were saved by ethnic Turks from the initial National Guard onslaught, and notably in a first-ever united Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstration against the junta, in London on July 16. At that time the basis existed for a vast popular uprising which would very quickly have become transformed into a battle on class lines within the Greek community."

—WV No. 50, 2 August 1974

The most explosive and enduring national conflict in West Europe pits Irish Catholics against Scottish- and English-derived Protestants in Northern Ireland (Ulster), who centuries ago were colonized into Ireland as a club against the Catholics. The 1921 partition by British imperialism, setting up the Catholic-dominated Irish Republic in the South while retaining Ulster with a Protestant majority under British rule, created a situation where the exercise of full self-determination by either community in the North necessarily means oppression for the other. An independent capitalist Ulster would necessarily maintain the oppression of the Irish Catholic minority; on the other hand, forced unification of the whole island (in the name of "Irish self-determination") is a call for the oppression of the Protestants in a Catholic-dominated reactionary clericalist Irish Republic.

In our "Theses on Ireland" (Spartacist No. 24, Autumn 1977), while calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the British Army from the North, we noted that the only equitable resolution of the conflicting claims of these interpenetrated peoples is through an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. The "Theses" note that there have been examples in the history of the Irish labor movement of significant workers' solidarity which has temporarily cut across the sectarian divisions, concluding:

"The instances of class solidarity are not proof of a deep-seated strain of class unity or that the situation is not poisoned by sectarian hatreds, but indicate that the opportunity can arise for a revolutionary organization, though perhaps hitherto isolated, weak and small, to intervene, altering the course of the conflict toward a class determination and proletarian revolution."

Examples of significant working-class solidarity across the sectarian divide include the 1919 Belfast engineers strike and the mass unemployed movements of the 1930s.

The Formation of Multinational States in East Europe

While instances of interpenetrated peoples are to be found in the advanced

capitalist (imperialist) countries, as the example of Ireland shows, this is relatively rare. For the most part, this phenomenon prevents itself in countries of intermediate economic development, particularly in East Europe and the eastern Mediterranean, for concrete historical reasons. In the nation-states of West Europe, the creation of a relatively nationally homogeneous population (a factor favoring the extension of commodity exchange) was accomplished in past centuries, and was intimately linked to the development of the national market and the rise of the bourgeoisie. Differing populations were assimilated into the dominant national culture partly through coercion—sometimes quite brutal—but largely through economic forces with the development of trade and production.

However, in the present imperialist epoch, when capitalism is no longer in its progressive phase but instead decaying, with the massive destruction of productive forces symbolized by two world wars in this century, every attempt at "nation-building" in the colonial and ex-colonial countries inevitably runs up against the barriers preventing them from achieving sustained economic development. One need only look at the post-colonial economic retrogression of Africa (which apologists for a U.S.-dominated "New World Order" use to justify the reintroduction of colonialism under the guise of UN "trusteeship"), and the "lost decade" in Latin America due to the bank-engineered "debt crisis" which has driven down the living standards of the masses by 50 percent or more. With the economic pie shrinking drastically, attempts at compacting nations lead to the annihilation of national minorities, often in the guise of "punishing" minorities who under colonial "divide and rule" had been favored by the imperialists (e.g., Tamils in Sri Lanka).

The development of the classic nation-states in West Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries (and elsewhere in the 19th) was the launching pad for the industrial revolution and the emergence of the great world imperialist powers. But at the same time, the consolidation of the French nation-state was carried out through more than five centuries of almost uninterrupted warfare, from the Albigensian Crusade of the 13th century, through the Hundred Years War in the 14th and 15th centuries, to the Religious Wars in the 16th century and the Fronde in the 17th century. It began with the famous order of the early 13th century French commander as he launched the assault on the southern Languedoc region—"Kill them all! God will look after his own!"—and went through the expulsion of the Jews in 1394 and the expulsion of the Huguenots (Protestants) in 1685.

The centralization of state power in the absolute monarchy, exemplified by the "Sun King" Louis XIV, reflected the rise of the bourgeoisie and served as a powerful instrument for national

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WV Photo

Spartacists demonstrate in defense of Palestinian rights. Only proletarian revolution can provide a just solution to national question in the Near East.

even in the most embittered nationalist conflicts under capitalism, opportunities do arise for united class struggle which can be seized by revolutionary internationalists. In Cyprus, the national question was sharply posed in the summer of 1974 when Turkish troops invaded the island to counter a military coup by right-wing Greek officers of the Cyprus National Guard opposed to the Nicosia government under Archbishop Makarios, which was backed by the petty-bourgeois Stalinist AKEL. The heavily interpenetrated Greek and Turkish populations of Cyprus were mutually hostile (particularly after several generations of British colonial "divide and rule"), so that any of the proposed solutions under capitalism—union with Greece (Cyprus has a Greek majority), partition between Greece and Turkey, or even a federated independent state—meant mass population transfers and guaranteed further communal wars.

Ultimately, the Cypriot population was forcibly separated by the Turkish troops into an ethnically "pure" Greek region in the south and a Turkish region in the north, as about a third of the island's population—some 160,000 Greek and

"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 5)

consolidation. But it was left to the bourgeoisie, in the Great French Revolution, to carry out the final consolidation of the French nation. It is a reflection of the weight of feudal provincialism that in the France of 1789 peasants generally preferred to speak local dialects: Provençal was widely spoken in the south, and in the border regions Basque, Catalan, Breton, Flemish, German and Italian were common. The revolutionary bourgeoisie ran roughshod over local particularisms, imposing the French language in school and administration, even prohibiting Breton parents from giving their children Celtic names. With the spread of general education, universal military service and improved communications, in the course of the 19th century a culturally homogeneous French nation was consolidated.

In East Europe the development of the first centralized states proceeded quite differently from the experience in the West, leaving a legacy of unconsolidated national groupings and interpenetrated peoples. While the consolidation of bourgeois nation-states in the West included the forcible assimilation of various feudal remnants, in the East multinational states were formed in which a myriad of nationalities were ruled over by a dominant national group—Germans in the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Empire, Great Russians in the Tsarist Empire. The Bolshevik Revolution pointed the way to resolving this dilemma by combining the unfinished tasks of the bourgeois revolution—including national emancipation—with the tasks of the socialist revolution, confirming Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution. Elsewhere, in East Europe (and now, with the destruction of the Soviet workers state, throughout the former USSR) the patchwork quilt of peoples led to communal conflict and revanchist drives by competing nationalities.

In the West, absolute monarchies took shape as the harbinger of the bourgeois revolutions, reflecting the *weakening* of the feudal order through the growth of an urban mercantile class; in East Europe, the growth of absolutism led to a *consolidation* of the hitherto poorly developed feudal system (the "second serfdom"). The centralized absolutist states which emerged in the 17th century in the East—Prussia, Russia and Austria—were heavily militarized, fiercely repressive machines of a landed aristocracy intent on imposing a reinforced feudal order to squeeze surplus product out of the peasantry. The consolidation of these fortified absolutist states, in the absence of a dynamic urban bourgeoisie, tended to freeze social development, preserving overlapping and ethnically intermixed distinct populations that had long since been homogenized in the West.

If East Europe was a communal hodgepodge, dotted with a host of peoples—Jewish villages in the Russian Pale, interspersed among Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Great Russians; the Slovaks, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Magyars (Hungarians), Moldavians (Romanians) in the Transcarpathian region; German baronial landlords in the Baltics; Saxon settlers fortifying the Habsburg eastern border in Transylvania; etc.—this was even more the case in the Balkans, whose extended occupation by the Ottoman Empire starting in the 14th century assured them a position as the most backward societies in Europe.

The Ottoman Empire was a case of what Marx referred to as "oriental despotism," with a bureaucratic state machinery whose "economic bedrock... was the virtually complete absence of private property in land," which was considered to belong to the Sultan (Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist*

State [1974]). Class structure was undeveloped, cities were state administrative centers, providing scant margin for the development of a vigorous bourgeoisie. Balkan society under the Ottomans underwent regression to primitive local institutions—the village, tribe and *zadruga* (extended communal family)—many of whose provincial customs and clan loyalties have endured.

The various Balkan peoples were further scrambled by the centuries-long conflict between the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empires, making the Serbs, for example, not only the largest national group of the former Yugoslavia but also the most dispersed. Groups of Serbs were repeatedly propelled north by the advance of the Ottomans, who in the early 16th century pushed as far as the gates of Vienna. As part of their military

while at the same time the remnants of peoples that can still be found here and there and that are no longer capable of national existence, remain incorporated into the larger nations and either merge into them or are conserved as merely ethnographic relics with no political significance."

—Friedrich Engels, "Po and Rhine" (April 1859)

In the Revolution of 1848, Marx and Engels distinguished between "revolutionary-democratic" and "reactionary" nations on the basis of whether their national struggle contributed to the European revolution or impeded it. And the South Slavs were distinctly in the latter category. For Marx and Engels, the national question in East Europe was subordinate to the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany. This included the task of German national unification, which implied a radical redrawing of



1848 uprising in Vienna threatened to bring down Habsburg dynasty. Tsarist-backed counterrevolution in Austria-Hungary perpetuated reactionary monarchies in East Europe.

defenses, both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs deployed colonies of Serbs in a broad arc along the fault line between the two empires. The predominantly Serb area of Croatia today, the Krajina, is in part the result of Habsburgs encouraging Serbian settlement along the "military frontier."

Awakened to independent life by the gradual development of bourgeois relations, the subjugated nations in East Europe could not form themselves into national states without confronting the resistance of the ruling strata of the dominant nations which had control of the imperial states. They responded (as did Ireland in the West) by fights for national independence, such as swept East Europe in the revolutionary 1848 "springtime of peoples."

Marx and the "Remnants of Peoples"

The Marxist attitude toward the national question in general, and interpenetrated peoples in particular, today in the epoch of imperialism differs significantly from what it was in the earlier period of capitalist development. In the mid-1800s, Marx and Engels judged the aspirations of East European nationalities to national independence according to their ability to consolidate modern independent nation-states favorable to economic development. They envisaged Central and East Europe divided into three great states—Greater Poland, Greater Germany and Greater Hungary. The western and southern Slavs, whom they considered too small, dispersed and backward, were expected to assimilate into these larger national units. Engels wrote:

"Nobody will venture to say that the map of Europe is definitively established. But any changes, if they are to endure, must increasingly tend by and large to give the big and viable European nations their real natural frontiers to be determined by language and fellow-feeling,

borders throughout East Europe and an inevitable war with Russia, the main bastion of reaction in Europe.

Marx and Engels were adamantly committed to an independent Poland, since the partition of Poland was the cement that bound together the Holy Alliance of Prussia, Austria and Russia. But they observed that since the South Slav "residual peoples" were condemned to disappear, they necessarily played a reactionary role in the 1848 Revolution. The Croats, fearing national oppression of the Croatian minority by the dominant Magyars in an independent Hungary, sought to *preserve* the Austro-Hungarian Empire and helped the tsarist army smash the Hungarian revolution. At one point, in the early 1850s, Marx and Engels left open the possibility that the South Slavs would unite against their Ottoman oppressors. But in 1882, Engels noted with exasperation that "the smaller Slav nations have come to look to the Tsar as their only liberator" (letter to Bernstein, February 1882).

But with the advent of the imperialist epoch, the fundamental terms of reference were changed, which Marx and Engels were beginning to realize when they changed their position to favoring Irish independence in the 1870s. The 1896 (London) Congress of the Second International passed a resolution stating: "This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination...." Given the slicing up of the various nations and nationalities of southeastern Europe and the competing interests of the Habsburg, Tsarist and Ottoman Empires, the development of the social-democratic movement in the region in the early years of the 20th century hrought forward the demand for a *Balkan federation* directed against all the competing imperialist powers. In January 1910, the Social Democratic parties and groups of southeastern Europe met

in Belgrade and formulated a common program:

"To free ourselves from particularism and narrowness; to abolish frontiers that divide peoples who are in part identical in language and culture, in part economically bound up together; finally, to sweep away forms of foreign domination both direct and indirect that deprive the people of their right to determine their destiny for themselves."

In July of that year, the Slavic Social Democratic parties met in Sofia at the invitation of the Bulgarian Workers Party to work out a positive program. Commenting on this, Leon Trotsky wrote:

"The only way out of the national and state chaos and the bloody confusion of Balkan life is a union of all the peoples of the peninsula in a single economic and political entity, on the basis of national autonomy of the constituent parts..."

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

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

As a war correspondent during the Balkan Wars which led up to World War I, Trotsky noted the dreadful communal slaughter and forced population transfers, as the Ottoman Turks were driven out of the Balkans and then the various Balkan nationalities fell at each other's throats. In a March 1913 article he warned prophetically: "European equilibrium, which was highly unstable already, has now been completely upset. It is hard to foresee whether those in charge of Europe's fate will decide this time to carry matters to the limit and start an all-European war. One result, however, of the chauvinists' efforts is already obvious: throughout Europe a frenzied growth of militarism is taking place" (Leon Trotsky, *The Balkan Wars 1912-13* [1980]).

The monstrous slaughter of World War I, which had been triggered by the Balkan Wars, gave rise to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and revolutionary situations throughout the continent. While the imperialist "peace" treaties sowed the seeds of future irredentist wars by deliberately cobbling together states with large national minorities, the young Communist parties saw that the just resolution of national claims among these highly interpenetrated peoples could only be achieved under the dictatorship of the proletariat. At its founding conference in May 1919, the Bulgarian Communist Party declared that the independence of the Balkan peoples could only be assured by a Balkan Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics. In January 1920, the Balkan Social-Democratic Federation was renamed the Balkan Communist Federation. And in a declaration of March 1920 to the newly formed Communist parties of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Turkey, the Communist International declared:

"Only the victory of the proletarian dictatorship can unite the masses in a Balkan or Balkan and Danubian federal, socialist, Soviet republic, liberate them both from the feudal capitalist exploitation of their own and the foreign bourgeoisie as well as from colonial servitude and national dissensions."

—Jane Degras (ed.), *The Communist International 1919-1943*, Vol. 1 (1956)

The Bolsheviks and Multinational States

V.I. Lenin, in his article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (February-May 1914), underlined essential propositions of the Marxist position on the national question in the imperialist era: "on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the

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Genocide "Made in USA"

It is the height of cynicism for the American bourgeoisie, drenched in blood up to its elbows, to take a posture against "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia. These are the people who wiped out over two million Vietnamese, dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and, using the "food weapon" and IMF "shock therapy," condemn entire countries to starvation. U.S. capitalism was literally born in genocide and forced population transfers—namely, the extermination of the American Indians and the kidnapping and subjugation into slavery of millions of black Africans. The legacy of Hispanic colonialism in the New World is no less bloody.

This destruction of humanity on a vast scale was an integral part of the origins of capitalism. Karl Marx gives a vivid portrayal of the primitive accumulation of capital:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre."

—Capital, Vol. I, Chapter 31

For generations, bourgeois ideologues covered up the enormity of the extermination of the American Indians by pretending that the continent was virtually "empty" when the Europeans arrived.



Oxford University Press

Wounded Knee, South Dakota, December 1890: Bodies of nearly 300 unarmed Sioux men, women and children massacred by U.S. troops, thrown into mass grave.

eight million people lived there, according to the magisterial three-volume work of Sherburne Cook and Woodrow Borah, *Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean* (1971). Several decades later, the native population of the island "became extinct." Throughout Mexico, Central America and South America the Spanish conquest left millions dead from war, massacres,

most advanced peoples who had already reached the stage of class societies and had consolidated states. The Aztecs, in particular, practiced ritual sacrifice on a vast scale. Cortes' chronicler, Bernal Díaz, writes that in the Mexican capital of Tenochtitlán, in the plaza of Xocotlán, "there were piles of human skulls so regularly arranged that one could count them, and I estimated them at more than a hundred thousand" (*The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*).

While a lot of racist nonsense has been written as pseudo-scientific explanations for Aztec cannibalism, Mexican anthropologist Yolotl González Torres stated flatly: "It is, however, unquestionable that in no other people on the planet did human sacrifice have such importance in ritual, nor was it practiced in such large quantities, as in the Mexican society" (*El sacrificio humano entre los mexicas* [1985]). But even among the Aztecs the scale was minuscule compared with the horrendous massacres carried out by the "civilized" conquerors.

Yet the small bands of Spaniards were able to subdue a whole continent precisely because they represented a higher level of social development, expressed for example in their superior military technology.

The devastation of Latin America was the dreadful consequence of the Spaniards' drive to exploit the Indians' labor and carry off the wealth of the continent. But in the U.S., where the European settlers were uninterested in exploiting the Indians and rather wanted to take their land, they carried out a policy of systematic and deliberate genocide of the native population, coldly wiping

out millions of people.

From the governor of New Netherlands, who introduced scalping to North America as a means by which Indian-hunting houny seekers could claim their payments, to the 1838 "Trail of Tears," where thousands died as the entire 14,000-strong Cherokee nation was force-marched from their home in Georgia to the barren Oklahoma plains, to the final massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota in 1890 when the U.S. Army assassinated 300 unarmed men, women and children—the westward march of U.S. capitalism was guided by the spirit of General Sheridan's notorious remark: "There are no good Indians but dead Indians." The few hundred thousand survivors of that genocide and their descendants were imprisoned in squalid "reservations" under government guard, where they continue to endure Third World conditions of poverty and police-state terror.

The genocidal destruction of the Indians was a key event in building the American nation because it involved a fundamental social transformation which laid the basis for the development of capitalism in North America. At bottom, it was a battle between incompatible systems of production and ways of life—the Europeans' nascent capitalist society based on private ownership in land (and all means of production) against the North American Indians' primitive communistic society.

Lacking the tools and productive capacity for modern warfare, the Indians were unable to defend their existence. Establishing private property in land laid the basis for the expanding market in agricultural products, the accumulation of capital and the development of capitalist society in the U.S. This transformation was carried out according to the only rule capitalism knows: dog eat dog. The extermination of the Indians, which was glorified in the popular culture as a celebration of U.S. imperial might, left a birthmark of racism on U.S. capitalism from its inception.

Another cornerstone of the construction of the American nation—and of the legacy of capitalist racism—was the trade in African slaves, who were transported to the New World to be tortured and worked to death in the mines and plantations. This brutal forced population transfer began from the very start of the European conquest (Columbus even had African slaves among his crew on his first voyage of discovery).

The historian Basil Davidson estimates in his book *The African Slave Trade* (1980) that throughout the period of the Atlantic slave trade, from the beginning of this huge forced emigration in the middle of the 15th century until it came to an end in the 1880s, at least twelve and a half million captives

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Library of Congress

More than twelve million enslaved black Africans were forcibly transported to the New World. One in ten died in the harrowing "Middle Passage."

Hispanophiles vituperated against the so-called "black legend" of the monstrous crimes of Spanish colonial rule.

But in the mid-1960s a detailed study by anthropologist Henry Dobyns on "Estimating Aboriginal American Population: An Appraisal of Techniques with a New Hemispheric Estimate" (*Current Anthropology*, October 1966) argued on the basis of a broad range of data that the population of the New World at the time of the European conquest was much higher than had been previously accepted. He estimated "a hemispheric average depopulation ratio between 20 and 25 to 1," meaning that a staggering 95 percent of the population of the New World, some 90 million people or more, perished as a result of the European conquest. This figure is now widely recognized among anthropologists.

This means that the total native population that died under the European onslaught may have been greater than the total population of West Europe at the time of Columbus' voyage!

When Christopher Columbus stepped off the boat on the island of Hispaniola in 1492, an estimated seven to

disease and being worked to death in the mines.

In his *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies*, written in 1542, the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas described the carnage he witnessed in the early 1500s in Hispaniola:

"They entered in the villages, and left neither children nor old people, neither pregnant women nor those who had recently given birth that they didn't cut out their wombs and chop them into pieces, as if to give them to some pigs in their stys. They made wagers as to who could cut a man open down the middle with a single slice, or who could cut off a head with a pick, or who could open up the entrails. They took babes, by their feet, from the breasts of their mothers and bashed their heads against the rocks.... They built big gallows, with the feet almost touching the ground, and then in groups of 13 by 13, in honor and reverence for Our Redeemer and the twelve apostles, and throwing wood on the fire they burned them alive."

Naturally, such scenes were not shown in the recent spate of films on Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas.

This is not to deny that there was plenty of wanton killing among the indigenous population, particularly the

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"Ethnic Cleansing"...

(continued from page 6)

full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for international unity in their class struggle." This position was adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, in the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question," drafted by Lenin. In response to the scandalous support for European colonialism by the reformist Social Democrats, the Comintern insisted on the duty of supporting struggles against colonialism and imperialism.

Lenin's theses were amplified in the discussions on the national question at the Comintern's Second Congress, most notably by M.N. Roy's supplementary theses (which were adopted in amended form) emphasizing the contradictions between the bourgeois-democratic nationalist movements and the masses of workers and poor peasants struggling for liberation. In addition, a Ukrainian Jewish delegate of the Communist Party of Russia, A.N. Merezhin, drew on the experience of the Russian Revolution in areas of interpenetrated peoples in proposing an amendment to the "Theses on the National and Colonial Question":

"The experience of the mutual relations between majority nationalities and minority nationalities in territories with mixed populations (the Ukraine, Poland, Byelorussia) has shown that the transfer of power from the hands of the big bourgeoisie to the hands of the petty-bourgeois groups that are forming republican-democratic states does not reduce, but on the contrary greatly sharpens internal national frictions. Republican democracy, forced by its struggle against the proletariat to substitute national war for the class struggle, quickly became permeated with xenophobia. It easily converts to its own use the experiences of the old masters of national oppression and applies them ardently. Inciting the popular masses of one nation against those of another, it uses the state apparatus to organize mass pogroms aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat....

"This same experience showed that no 'democratic' forms within a republican-democratic order, including the national-personal autonomy defended by Austrian Social Democracy, can ensure protection of the rights and cultural interests of the minority nationalities in areas with a mixed population or guarantee their true equal rights and equal influence in affairs of state."

—*Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920* (1991)

So already by 1920 the Bolsheviks had run up against the problems posed in regions of intermingled peoples, at least implicitly recognizing in this case that only under proletarian rule was a just and democratic resolution of the national question possible. The Caucasus, with some 50 highly interpenetrated nationalities scattered through this mountainous region, was a particular example of the intractability of the national question under capitalism.

After the October Revolution, from 1917 to 1921 the Mensheviks held power in Georgia, while bourgeois nationalists controlled Armenia and Azerbaijan (except for the proletarian oil center of Baku). In April 1918 they proclaimed an independent Transcaucasian Federal Republic. But the "unity" between these bourgeois regimes quickly broke down in national conflicts. There were repeated border clashes between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and full-scale war between Georgia and Armenia was stopped only by the intervention of Britain. Meanwhile, the Menshevik regime in Georgia—while touted by Social Democrats internationally as a showcase of "self-determination"—launched a brutal campaign of "ethnic cleansing" against the Ossetians in the north, the Abkhazians in the west, and the Muslim Adzhars.

At the close of the Civil War, the Bolsheviks took power in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan through a combination of local uprisings and Red Army intervention. In Georgia, the regions which had undergone fierce nationalist repression under the Mensheviks were declared autonomous republics (South Ossetia, Abkhazia) and an autonomous region (Ajaria) within the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. A number of autonomous regions were set up throughout the Caucasus, setting an internationalist framework for relations among peoples. An Autonomous Region of Kurdistan (so-called "Red Kurdistan") was established in 1923 between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

But it was over the national question in the Caucasus that the conserva-

tives in the non-Russian republics, commenting: "It would be unpardonable opportunism if, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, we undermined our prestige with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice towards our own non-Russian nationalities." In addition, in a postscript to his suppressed "Testament" Lenin called for Stalin's removal as general secretary.

Stalinist rule would become notorious for Great Russian chauvinism, anti-Semitism, national oppression and forced population transfers. In 1929, for example, Stalin put an end to the autonomous republic of "Red Kurdistan," and in the 1930s he deported many Kurds from the Caucasus to Central Asia. The Leninist forms of national and autonomous republics and autonomous regions were main-



1920 Baku Congress, organized by the Communist International to spread revolutionary struggle among Eastern peoples.

tive, bureaucratic-centralizing tendency in the young Soviet state first raised its head. And it was precisely on this issue that Lenin took up his last battle, a political fight against the developing Stalinist bureaucracy. In early 1922, Stalin, as head of the Council of Nationalities, highhandedly forced the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani republics into a Transcaucasian federation. That summer, he sent a commission including Dzerzhinsky, head of the Cheka, and Manuilsky to fight the "national-communist" deviation. In the autumn, Georgian CP leaders Mdivani and Makharadze were removed from their posts.

In September 1922, Lenin objected to Stalin's "autonomization" plan to bring the Transcaucasian republics into the Russian federation, and proposed instead a Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia. But Stalin transformed the Transcaucasian federation into a single federal republic in order to lessen its weight in the new USSR. When Lenin received reports that Stalin's deputy Ordzhonikidze had physically attacked one of the Georgian opposition leaders, he ordered his own investigation and broke with Stalin. In December Lenin proposed to Trotsky a bloc against Stalin's Great Russian chauvinist policies on the national question. (Though Trotsky did not take this up at the 12th party congress in early 1923, it was addressed by Christian Rakovsky, who was to be a co-leader with Trotsky of the Left Opposition.) Lenin noted that, in the hands of an alien apparatus shot through with bourgeois and tsarist holdovers:

"the 'freedom to secede from the union' by which we justify ourselves will be a mere scrap of paper, unable to defend the non-Russians from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great-Russian chauvinist."

—*"The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomisation'"* (December 1922)

Lenin called for "exemplary punishment" to be meted out against Ordzhonikidze, for a reinvestigation of the Dzerzhinsky commission, and for detailed rules defending the national languages

in the non-Russian republics, commenting: "It would be unpardonable opportunism if, on the eve of the debut of the East, just as it is awakening, we undermined our prestige with its peoples, even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice towards our own non-Russian nationalities." In addition, in a postscript to his suppressed "Testament" Lenin called for Stalin's removal as general secretary.

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Yet even as Stalinism has collapsed throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union, West Europe has seen some of the sharpest class strug-

gles in decades. The gruesome national-communal slaughter in the former Yugoslavia and ex-Soviet Caucasus, the high-tech mass murder in the Persian Gulf War, the spread of mass unemployment and homelessness even in the richest imperialist countries, vividly demonstrate that modern capitalism offers only the promise of deepening barbarism. The words of the 1848 Communist Manifesto remain true today:

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word. "National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto. "The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Today in the aftermath of the collapse of the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states, "all the old crap" of the pre-World War I era has returned with a vengeance. "Ethnic cleansing," fascist pogroms, anti-Semitic attacks, daily terror against immigrants and minorities—these are part and parcel of the triumph of the "national principle" which the imperialists have pushed throughout the Cold War as a weapon against the Soviet Union and the "captive nations." And the grandiose promises of "European unity" sound ever more hollow as inter-imperialist rivalries intensify.

In the era of globalization of production, the contradictions between the increasingly international economic system and the narrow limits of the nation-state become ever more acute. Already twice in this century such contradictions have led to world wars and the annihilation of untold millions. The barbarism of capitalist rule is a stark reality; we communists fight for a world cleansed of class exploitation and nationalist fratricide. Workers of the world, unite! ■

Genocide...

(continued from page 7)

were transported (about one-tenth of them died on shipboard from the inhuman conditions), while many millions more perished in Africa as a consequence of the hunt for captives or their imprisonment awaiting transportation. This does not include those who died due to the (likely less extensive) non-Atlantic slave trade to the Near East and Asia.

The forced transfer and enslavement of masses of black Africans was a vital component of the consolidation of capitalism in the U.S. Slavery, which was sanctioned by the Founding Fathers in the U.S. Constitution, was an essential institution for the Southern planters because, in a situation where land was plentiful and labor lacking, it provided the manpower necessary for the large-scale operations needed for crops like sugar, tobacco and cotton. The commercial export of these cash crops to Europe was key to the economic development of the American colonies. Export of slave-produced cotton comprised nearly 40 percent of American exports in the early 19th century and made enormous profits for the Northern merchants and shippers.

One historian has summarized the crucial role of slavery in the founding of

the United States by concluding that "slave labor of blacks was an integral part of the process by which the American industrial economy got started," and "the existence of slavery made agriculture not only a viable industry itself, but also the one that produced a substantial part of the capital essential to the development of the rest of the economy" (Donald Robinson, *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics 1765-1820* [1971]). This point is underlined by Peter Kolchin in his book *Unfree Labor* (1987), a comparative study of American slavery and Russian serfdom. As Kolchin notes, while serfdom had become a fetter on economic development and was abolished by the tsar, in the U.S. it took a civil war to smash the chains of human bondage.

The American Civil War simultaneously freed the slaves and definitively consolidated the American nation, but the democratic tasks of this bourgeois-democratic revolution were left unfinished. U.S. blacks remain a race-color caste, integrated in production but forcibly held at the bottom of U.S. society. It will take a working-class socialist revolution to finish the work of the Civil War. That would be a giant step toward a future international socialist society that will relegate capitalist-spawned "ethnic cleansing" to the prehistory of mankind. ■

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

You Don't Have to Be in the Mafia to Loot the Teamsters

When the government first announced they were going to "RICO" the Teamsters six years ago, putting the union under the thumb of federal judges and administrators, we said, "If 2,000 lawyers of the crooked 'Justice' Department get mixed up with the Teamsters, who is corrupting whom? Is this a fusion, a hostile takeover or what?" Since then, the feds have used their "Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act" weapon to run amok in the union, expelling officials, taking over locals and robbing the Teamster treasury blind.

The newest government capo is named Thomas Puccio, who made his bones prosecuting acquisitive Congressmen in the Abscam scandal. Now he is running another scam as "trustee" of Teamster Local 295, whose 1,800 members truck and warehouse the air freight at New York City's JFK and Newark airports. Puccio pulls down a cool \$250,000 a year and his Labor Department gumshoe gets another \$150,000—all out of union dues! Now, the *New York Times* and Clinton's "Justice" Department are gunning for the 1,300 Teamster clerks at the airport in Local 851. Based on the testimony of one Alphonse D'Arco, a government canary who says he is the former boss of the Lucchese mob, Puccio now wants to pull off a RICO takeover of Local 851—presumably doubling his fee at the same time. Teamster International president Ron Carey quickly dropped any opposition to this latest government seizure, clearing the way for Puccio to expand his territory.

Puccio is continuing the 1950s vendetta of Robert Kennedy, whose "Get Hoffa Squad" also targeted Local 295, a stronghold of then Teamster president Jimmy Hoffa. Kennedy's Senate investigations were aimed at breaking the power of the Teamsters. Liberal witch-hunter Kennedy persecuted Hoffa in order to go after the Master Freight Agreement. Half a century of government prosecutions, takeovers and "trusteeships" have never been directed at "mob corruption"—their target has been the Teamster union's power to shut down trucking across the country.

In the 1980s the FBI formed an anti-Teamster task force called the "Liberatus Squad" and planned their assault on the union. In 1989 the Teamster bureaucracy capitulated to the feds' RICO suit, signing a consent decree that gave federal judge David Edelstein and a three-man Internal Review Board enormous power to throw out union officers and approve appointments and expenditures. The board includes a high-priced Republican mouthpiece named Frederick Lacey, who sits on the boards of the Teamster employer Anheuser-Busch and the notorious Pinkerton Company goons! For this, Lacey bills the union \$385 an hour! And sitting alongside him is former FBI and CIA chief William Webster.

This "Company" review board has purged 185 Teamster officials and taken over nine locals. Now with the contract for 165,000 Teamsters at United Parcel Service expiring July 31, the bourgeoisie is cranking up their media campaign against the "mob-dominated Teamsters." The feds are even complaining that Carey, whose victory in a government-run election was greeted by a *New York Times* editorial titled, "Virtue Triumphs at the Teamsters," isn't compliant enough! What more do



New York, 1991: White Rose Teamsters strike was knifed when bureaucracy bowed before capitalist court injunction.

they want? Carey's already forked over \$2 million in Teamster cash to Clinton's election campaign and imposed givebacks in airlines and trucking. And on June 15, he "trusted" Local 705 in Chicago, the 14,000-member freight and UPS local, at the demand of Lacey's troika.

This is the "Teamster Revolution" that outfits like Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the *Labor Notes* crowd are braying about. They brag that "TDU is now a player in national Teamster politics as never before." And the Solidarity outfit, braintrusts for this "sue the union" gang, gushes that "several TDU members have moved into high-ranking positions" in the Teamsters (Against the Current, March-April 1993). This is their payoff for numerous court suits against the union, and for giving the G-men a blueprint for the government's takeover campaign.

Aligning themselves with counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Solidarity boasts in their magazine *Against the Current* that "Fighting for democracy has been a popular cause in the world lately, and TDUs have felt proud to be part of it in their own way." Like their bourgeois masters, for whom it was always "bait the unions, bait the Soviet Union."

We say: Hands off the Teamsters! Feds and RICO finks out!

Illinois Workers Rally in the "War Zone"

CHICAGO—Unionists in downstate Illinois call the area a "war zone." At the A.E. Staley corn processing plant in Decatur, 750 members of Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 837 have been pitted against this subsidiary of the giant British sugar conglomerate, Tate & Lyle PLC. Working without a contract since last October, they have now been locked out. In February, Staley unilaterally imposed draconian work rule changes, including attacks on seniority and a 12-hour shift scheme that allowed the bosses to work union members up to 16 hours in a single day without bav-

ing to pay overtime. This parallels the attacks of another Tate & Lyle subsidiary, Domino Sugar, in New York. After a six-month strike at Domino, in March the International Longshoremen's Association tops caved in to the company's "last offer" and sent workers back to face layoffs, job combinations and widespread harassment.

But it isn't only Staley workers who are under the gun in the "war zone." On June 26, a Decatur rally in solidarity with the Staley workers drew over 4,000 unionists from all over Illinois. Among them were UAW members at area Caterpillar plants who have been working under a company-imposed takeover "contract" since the UAW tops knifed the CAT strike in April 1992. They were joined by Electrical workers who had been locked out this spring by the Central Illinois Public Service Co., downstate Illinois' largest utility, as well as by striking coal miners, operating engineers, rubber workers and AFSCME government workers. Unionists lined the road outside the Decatur Caterpillar plant.

But the man chosen to emcee the rally is the embodiment of why the workers at Staley, Central Illinois power and CAT find themselves up against the wall: Ray Rogers of Corporate Campaign, Inc. Along with UAW New Directions "dissident" Jerry Tucker, Rogers has signed on as an adviser to Local 837, "advising" the union tops in their disastrous anti-strike policy of "in-plant" work slowdowns, coupled with "corporate campaign" pressure tactics. Even the haughty capitalist *New York Times* (13 June) is promoting the "in-plant strategy" in the "age of givebacks," calling it "an amalgam of two proven labor tactics"—the sit-down strike and the slowdown. An immense gulf separates the no-strike "in-plant strategy" from the heroic sit-down strikes of the 1930s, which not only halted production—and profits—but challenged the very right of capitalist private ownership.

Rogers has racked up an impressive record of defeats that has persuaded the AFL-CIO tops that his "corporate campaigns" pose no challenge to their jobs as agents of America's capitalist rulers. He gained notoriety in 1985-86 as leader of the Hormel meatpackers strike in Austin, Minnesota, where his strategy of boycotts, civil disobedience and reliance on the capitalist courts diverted the strikers from the crucial task of stopping Hormel's scab production through mass pickets and sit-down strike action. Like the Hormel strikers, Staley workers have shown a readiness to fight: on June 16 they walked out, winning the reinstatement of a fired union member. But at the rally Rogers offered up the most diversionary of boycotts, telling unionists at the rally that they'd be "union-husters" if they didn't cancel their insurance policies at... State Farm!

The impotence of the labor bureaucrats' "inside game" was laid bare when, less than 24 hours after the June 26 rally, Staley locked out the entire workforce. At 3:00 a.m. that Sunday, production workers were told to gather up their belongings and escorted out of the plant by security guards. Now Staley threatens to replace the AIW members with scabs. At Caterpillar, a similar "in-plant" campaign by the company cops in the UAW bureaucracy has left workers isolated and divided. At one plant, Caterpillar is recalling laid-off unionists as temporary workers for \$8.50 an hour—without any medical benefits.

The way to beat the capitalist union-busters is to stop production, halt shipments and choke off profits! That means militant strike action and plant occupations, enforced by mass pickets to keep out scabs. To play hardball you need a class-struggle leadership that won't play by the bosses' rules. ■



Workers demonstrate outside Caterpillar plant in Decatur, Illinois. "Inside game" is playing by the bosses' rules.

Germany...

(continued from page 12)

been thrown onto the scrap heap by the Treuhand (Trusteeship Agency) executives of counterrevolution. A sign in the workers' headquarters depicts the Treuhand's claws digging into a factory labeled "DDR," and the sense is widespread, as one miner put it, that "The tuse which we lit here is going to burn in all east Germany."

Declarations of support have poured in to the defiant Bischofferode miners from workers throughout Germany, as well as from miners in Holland and Belgium, and striking Timex workers in Scotland. Some 100,000 D-marks (\$58,000) have been donated to the miners' solidarity fund, 50,000 in the last three days alone. A July 10 support rally in Bischofferode drew 5,000 workers, and a smaller "day of action" a week later featured two dozen local truckers who drove their rigs up to the plant gates.

Yet while the miners see their struggle as linked with that of the entire working class, four decades of political atomization under Stalinist rule, as well as their present desperate circumstances, foster disbelief in the possibility of extending the struggle. Indeed, the miners have neither stopped extracting and shipping potash during the protest nor appealed for solidarity strike actions by other workers, like those at BASF. Instead they have appealed to the European Community Commission in Brussels to prevent the mine closure on the grounds that it would violate EC "anti-cartel" regulations. But the EC's "anti-cartel" rules will be applied only to protect powerful capitalist interests, not to save workers' jobs.

IG Farben in the Fourth Reich

With the annexation of the DDR by West German imperialism in 1990, the Thomas Müntzer potash mine—named after the communistic leader of the German peasant revolt in the 1500s—was taken over, along with other East German enterprises, by the Treuhand. Now the Treuhand plans to close the mine as part of a merger deal with BASF, which will receive a \$600 million bribe to destroy the eastern potash industry. BASF is a successor to the infamous IG Farben, an industrial pillar of Nazi Germany and a major employer of slave labor (one of its synthetic oil plants was constructed next to the Auschwitz death camp). The Farben bosses were bankrolling Adolf Hitler years before he came to power in 1933. After the war, they took on new corporate identities, like BASF and Bayer, and sponsored a new generation of political agents, prominent among them one Helmut Kohl, who served his apprenticeship at BASF as a protégé of Nazi slave-driver Fritz Karl Ries.



Bischofferode, Thüringen: Banner outside plant gate reads "This Plant Is Occupied." Five thousand workers rally in support of potash miners, July 10.



What worries the Fourth Reich's capitalist rulers about Bischofferode is that it will be an example for the angry and desperate working people of eastern Germany. A hostile front-page editorial in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (19 July) sneered: "What do they want anyhow? The guarantee of a job without work financed down to pensioner age by the state (as in DDR times)?... It won't make things easier for those who have to pay if a gains-of-the-DDR consciousness arises in the east."

And attempts by the capitalists to shift the cost of the leveraged buyout of the DDR to the western German working class will intensify class struggle there as well. In a *Spiegel* (19 July) interview, Treuhand manager Klaus Schucht worried that the example of Bischofferode could have "a powerful effect also on businesses in the west.... How will we then be able to carry out further employment changes in Germany?" Ruhrkohle, the country's largest coal producer, recently announced plans to slash 14,000 jobs, while BASF intends to lay off 15

percent of the 4,000 workers in its pharmaceutical division. And on July 21, some 8,000 Thyssen steel workers demonstrated in the Ruhr city of Duisburg against mass layoffs.

So the German rulers have moved to end the Bischofferode action quickly. The CDU government of Thüringen, with Kohl's backing, offered to provide the 700 potash miners with other jobs for the next two years. When this was rejected, they promised that the new employment would be maintained indefinitely. But the miners didn't buy this either. "Promises are not laws. That is why we have to continue fighting," stated miners' spokesman Giebert Sommerfeld.

For Workers' Solidarity Action, East and West!

The Spartacist Workers Party (SpAD), which was unique in its unambiguous opposition to capitalist reunification from the outset, has intervened heavily in this struggle, appealing for solidarity from other sectors of the workforce and pointing to the need to bring to bear the heavy battalions of the West German labor movement against BASF. In a July 16 leaflet, which has been widely distributed in both German and Turkish, to harbor workers, factories and workers' demonstrations, to Turkish communities and immigrant hostels, the SpAD has advanced a strategy aimed at mobilizing action in support of the beleaguered Bischofferode workers. Quoting Thomas Müntzer's 1525 *Manifesto to the Miners*, "Onward, onward, onward, while the fire is hot!", the leaflet raised the call:

"Organize solidarity strikes! Shut down the BASF mines near Kassel! Extend the struggle, into the west as in the east: to the Ruhr, to the heavy battalions of the working class in steel, auto, shipbuilding. The numerous immigrants, among them tens of thousands of Turks and Kurds, who play a key role in production, can employ their fighting experience in the front ranks."

In the present context of anti-immigrant frenzy sweeping Europe, with massive deportations and hideous terror-bombings in Germany, the unity of the proletariat is an urgent necessity. The Bischofferode workers know what these racist atrocities mean; one miner noted: "We are the new Turks." In turn, when

a nearby refugee hostel received a bomb threat aimed at pitting them against the miners, the refugees spurned this provocation and joined in solidarity with the potash workers at the plant gate. One hunger striker said: "We are fighting for you all. No matter where you live, where you reside, what you are, what skin color you have, what your beliefs are, fight with us!"

Bringing into play the social power of the West German workers is key to winning this fight! But the bourgeoisie's Social Democratic (SPD) prop and the DGB trade-union tops are dead set against such a course. On the eve of the July 17 solidarity rally, the IG Bergbau miners union leadership took out a half-page strikebreaking ad in a local paper, urging the workers: "End the hunger strike now, don't endanger what's been won." Is it any surprise that IG Bergbau head Hans Berger, who openly proclaims "Bischofferode cannot be preserved," sits on BASF's board of directors?

Actively promoting defeatism over Bischofferode is Gregor Gysi's Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), successor to the former DDR ruling party, now an East German version of the SPD. While Gysi visited the miners to proclaim his support, the PDS' *Neues Deutschland* (20 July) condescendingly lectured: "You can't win jobs by striking. This lesson of the market economy we have all learned in the meantime." At the same time, the PDS is seeking to exploit popular sympathy for the hunger strikers in order to push its popular-front "Committee of Justice," which embraces such right-wing politicians as CDUer Diestel, to promote the capitalist reconstruction of eastern Germany. The PDS actively fosters East German parochialism, which was already very much in evidence among the potash miners.

Indicative of the PDS' appetites, *Neues Deutschland* (26 July) features on its front page a slogan from Bischofferode which reflects lingering anti-communism among the workers, "Chancellor Kohl, should we drive you out to Chile too?" This refers to former DDR head Erich Honecker's move in January after the charges against him were dropped in an anti-Communist witchhunt trial. But the witchhunt against the former DDR leaders is aimed at "demonizing" the deformed workers state and such social gains as guaranteed employment, and intimidating workers in the east who would stand up to the bosses' attacks.

To reverse the mass unemployment and all-sided devastation imposed by the bourgeoisie requires a revolutionary struggle for power, led by a Trotskyist party forged in combat against the social-democratic misleaders of all stripes. Despite the important defeat represented by the destruction of the DDR deformed workers state by imperialist capitalism, the German proletariat remains the most powerful in Europe, and its militancy was shown by East German metal and steel strikes this spring and last year's massive West German public workers strike. As the headline of the SpAD leaflet declared, "Bischofferode: Battle Cry to Workers in East and West! Overthrow Kohl/Treuhand Gang, Kick Out SPD/DGB Traitors! For a Workers Government!" ■

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Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

occupation of Somalia. Meanwhile, his gunmen, aided by intelligence from sympathetic Somali nationals employed by the imperialist occupiers, wage guerrilla attacks on the U.S./UN forces.

The U.S. overlordship of Somalia has also been undercut by its Italian NATO ally. During World War II, Anglo-American imperialism took over the Horn of Africa from Mussolini's "new Roman empire." In the subsequent Cold War against the Soviet Union, the Italian ruling class—fearful of the militant, pro-Communist Italian proletariat—was slavishly loyal to its big brother in Washington. But with the Cold War over, the Italians are dreaming of a bit more independence from superpower America, especially in a region of their one-time colonial empire. All factions of the fractured Italian bourgeoisie united around this new imperialist campaign. The killing of three Italian soldiers, their first combat fatalities since WWII, exacerbated disgruntlement over the way the Americans were running the operation in Somalia.

In early July the commander of the Italian UN contingent in Mogadishu, General Bruno Loi, carried out his own private negotiations with Aidid, who was trained at the Italian military academy in the '50s. As a result Italian troops were allowed to reoccupy Checkpoint Pasta, named after a demolished spa-

ghetti factory. In turn, they promised not to resume weapons searches in the surrounding area. And following the Americans' July 12 bombing raid, Italy's defense minister Fabio Fabbri called for "a cooling-off period to reduce tension, the suspension of combat operations and a renewed effort to restore dialogue," as Rome threatened to pull its troops out of Mogadishu entirely. To punish the Italians for their effrontery, Washington had its stooges at the UN fire Loi for "insubordination." The Italian government responded by declaring that its general in Mogadishu took orders from Rome, not New York, and would remain in place. And Washington hacked off.

Behind the diplomatic row between

Rome and New York is a general feeling in European ruling circles that America's Rambo methods in Somalia are designed more to bolster Clinton's feeble popularity at home than to restabilize the neo-colonial order in the Horn of Africa. France and Germany have to some degree echoed Italy's criticisms of Washington's policies, and the conservative London *Financial Times* (14 July) wrote: "The rising death toll—35 UN troops, more than 100 Somalis—and the UN's decision to single out Gen Aidid as the chief villain in a land of feuding warlords, has stoked Somali hatred against what is now perceived by many as a foreign occupation force."

At the same time, Germany—the dominant imperialist power in Europe—is

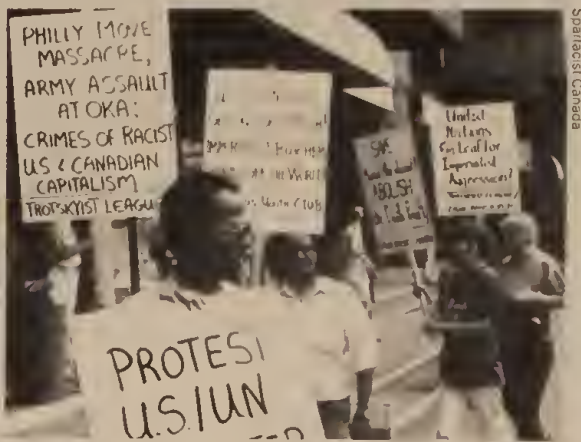
using the UN intervention in Somalia as a pretext to scrap its constitutional prohibition on deploying combat forces outside West Europe. Some 1,700 Bundeswehr troops have now been airlifted to Mogadishu. The embryo of a new Afrika Korps? Our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany wrote:

"The masters of the German Reich are mobilizing again, 'step by step' according to war minister Rühe. First it was sending cruisers to the Adriatic, naturally only as 'observers.' After that came the Balkans, this time 'for historic reasons' from a safe distance of 5,000 meters high with AWACS reconnaissance planes—rather than with tanks as in the Second World War, when the Nazis slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, Jews and Slavs. Now the first troop contingent is being sent to Somalia."

—Spartacist, July-August 1993

Similarly, Japan—the other major imperialist power defeated in World War II—has, under the cover of the UN "peacekeeping" occupation of Cambodia, sent combat troops back into Southeast Asia for the first time since 1945.

UN "peacekeeping" operations have become both a means of legitimizing the imperialist policing of the impoverished African and Asian masses, and an arena for the imperialist powers to jockey for position against one another. Whether carried out in the name of "humanitarianism" or a "New World Order," working people in the U.S. and throughout the world must oppose imperialist military intervention in Somalia, the Balkans, Cambodia and everywhere else on the face of the planet. ■



Vancouver, June 26: Trotskyist League protests imperialist intervention in Somalia.

Abortion...

(continued from page 12)

militant defense, in San Jose and nearby Los Gatos and San Mateo, the SL and SYC joined forces with other militants to repeatedly rout the O.R. fanatics, repulsing attempts to break through the defenders' lines and terrorize clients.

The SL/SYC's role in this successful united-front clinic defense apparently drove one self-styled militant group into a frenzy, as the Revolutionary Workers League's NWROC came out with a cop-baiting slander sheet smearing our comrades. We reprint below a 23 July Bay Area SL/SYC leaflet in response to the RWL/NWROC.

Why NWROC Lies

On Wednesday, July 14, some 50 "Right to Life" terrorists of Operation Rescue (O.R.) attacked the Los Gatos Choice clinic just outside of San Jose. It began with an assault by ten O.R. creeps who busted their way through a line of clinic defenders. Dodging two baton-swinging cops, a handful of clinic defenders gave chase, removing five anti-abortion thugs and successfully preventing their attempt to block the back door of the clinic.

A militant defense line of members of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) and the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) kept the clinic open. O.R. goons who sat down in front of the main entrance, pushing against the row of clinic defenders, were ousted. When an SL supporter chanted "O.R., KKK" at a screaming O.R. provocateur who was terrorizing a clinic client, the anti-abortion bigot made a citizen's arrest and had the cops haul him to jail on charges of "assault." A young leader of NWROC was also arrested for "trespassing," after the cops grabbed her by the face and dragged her out of the defense line!

Three days later, NWROC came out with a new edition of its bulletin "The Organizer." Completely disappearing the SL/SYC—not to mention any organization other than their own—from any role in defending the clinic, "The Organizer" obscenely libels our comrades as

"finger-men" for the cops:

"The cops also arrested two pro-choicers. One was a young NWROC leader and supporter of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). She was essentially fingered as a communist by the Spartacist League (SL), whose supporters screamed at her and other RWL supporters and used their first names repeatedly in front of two cops who were listening to the argument only ten minutes before O.R. hit the clinic."

What gives here? NWROC postures as the militant, "in your face" alternative to the bourgeois feminists of NOW/NARAL and Planned Parenthood who look to the cops, courts and above all to the "Billary" Clinton White House for their salvation (or more appropriately, their careers). But when one of their supporters gets arrested, NWROC blames it not on the cops, not on Operation Rescue, not on the NOW/NARAL "ladies auxiliary" to the Democratic Party. No, they blame it on the communists of the Spartacist League. As an aside, they laconically add that the "second arrestee was an SL supporter." (Maybe he fingered himself as a red?)

In San Jose, Planned Parenthood announced that nobody would be allowed on clinic property who did not sign their yellow-dog pledge vowing not to stop O.R. but to leave it to the cops. When the SL contingent refused, followed by BACORR supporters, the bourgeois feminists went running to the cops demanding that they remove us. With their slanders against the SL, NWROC serves the cause of the red-hunting ladies of NOW/NARAL and Planned Parenthood who want to keep all militant abortion rights activists away from "their" clinics.

Stalin is credited with the observation that paper will take anything that is written on it, and he certainly knew whereof he spoke. His slander that Trotsky was an agent of various imperialist police agencies was more than simply a war of words. It was a setup for repression. In its own penny-ante way, NWROC's attempt to finger us as some kind of provocateurs who set up militants for arrest, plays straight into the hands of the anti-abortion terrorists and the cops who would desperately love to hush up the politically diverse forces that united in militant defense of the clinics. What's necessary now is a united defense of all arrested anti-O.R. activists, not NWROC's slimy backstabbing slanders.

Drop the charges against all clinic defenders!

If it wasn't intended to have such sinister implications, NWROC's inept slander would be completely laughable. Here we have an affiliate of the Revolutionary Workers League, a self-proclaimed communist organization, complaining about being fingered as...communists! We can't help it if the RWL/NWROC have a "closet rule" against their members "exposing" themselves as some kind of reds.

However, we will point out that, in this instance, the RWL's supporters were engaged in the rare practice of handing out their organization's press, *Fighting Worker*. One can only presume that they felt secure in the knowledge that no one, not even the cops, would think this was a "communist" (shudder) newspaper. Moreover, we can't help but note that our political discussions with the RWL/NWROC supporters "exposed" them not as communists but as a bunch of phonies. But maybe the bourgeois state is gunning for centrists?

What is really going the RWL's ox is that three of their youth members in the Bay Area were recently won to the Spartacist League. They got fed up with being closet reds whose role in life was to slink around various feminist coalitions trying to pressure liberals to be more "militant." After being put in internal quarantine by the RWL leadership, which didn't want them "infecting" other young members with their political differences, they resigned and joined the Spartacus Youth Club.

Now these young comrades can fly under their own colors as open reds with a genuinely communist program. As opposed to the RWL's opportunist practice of duplicitously attempting to "bore from within" various rad-lib coalitions, they can now work with other forces on a principled united-front basis. The fight for abortion rights requires mobilizing the power of labor to defend the clinics and to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all. That is what the Spartacist League fights for, as part of our struggle to build a revolutionary party which will serve as a tribune of all the oppressed and organize to sweep away this entire disgusting system.

Despite our manifest political differences with NWROC and BACORR, we

stood together to stop Operation Rescue. Of course, this flies in the face of the RWL's attempts to portray us as the sectarian, do-nothing, parasitical "Count Draculas" of the left. Their only recourse is to lie about us—but slander has long been the refuge of the politically bankrupt.

The RWL has some big problems. In San Jose, they pose as the militant clinic defenders. Yet in their election platform in black Detroit, there is no mention of defense of abortion rights. They are so manifestly incapable of answering our politics and so evidently worried about exposing their ranks to the Spartacist League that they refused to come out to, much less even give a paper endorsement for, our recent nationwide protests against racist segregation at Denny's restaurant chain (despite our encouragement).

Similarly, the RWL abstained from our 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization which stopped the KKK from marching in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. In the aftermath they denounced this action as a "fraud," reviled the militant black workers and youth who participated in it as "dupes" and obscenely smeared the SL as "carpetbaggers," appropriating the disgusting racist slur used by the defeated remnants of the Southern slavocracy for "Northerners" who helped organize the freed slaves after the Civil War.

We have yet to encounter anyone who buys NWROC's lies. Even they felt compelled to put away this issue of "The Organizer" when we came out to defend a clinic in San Mateo last Saturday. But as the old saying goes, "A lie travels round the world while truth is putting on her boots." While NWROC's smear job might not play in San Jose or the Bay Area, doubtless the RWL will try to foist it on the uninitiated elsewhere. *Caveat emptor*—buyer beware.

If you want to find out about the real thing, get a copy of "Whither the RWL," which documents the fight of RWL youth members in the Bay Area who were looking for the program of genuine Trotskyism. To any militant youth around the RWL (or trapped inside it) who want to break with centrism politics and "come out of the closet" as unashamed, unabashed reds: the Spartacus Youth Club extends an open hand. Join us! ■

Defend Abortion Clinics!

After bragging of "the biggest pro-life offensive in five years," Operation Rescue's seven-city, ten-day "Cities of Refuge" crusade ended July 18 in a big fizzle. Faced with poor turnouts and evident demoralization among his flock, embittered O.R. führer Randall Terry vented his rage by pointing to the Midwest floods as a sign of god's wrath. But these "god squads" remain a deadly danger, underscored by their continuing threats to stalk and harass abortion doctors in the wake of the murder of Dr. David Gunn last spring.

Yet the mass clinic defense which could have handed the anti-abortion higs a resounding defeat was sabotaged nationwide by the bourgeois feminists of NOW, NARAL and Planned Parenthood. Instead these ladies' auxiliaries of the Clinton White House relied on court injunctions and the cops, demobilizing abortion-rights forces and allowing O.R. their only victory, a blockade of a clinic near Philadelphia.

In some areas militant clinic defenders were able to decisively spike O.R.'s attacks. As we reported last issue, in Philadelphia and the San Francisco Bay Area, Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club supporters mobilized to defend the clinics, raising the call for free abortion on demand and linking the fight for women's rights to the class struggle against capitalism. Defying the NOW/NARAL feminists' ban on

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San Jose: "Right to Life" Bigots Spiked



July 17: Militants defend San Mateo clinic against Operation Rescue terrorists.

WV Photo

Capitalist Reunification = Mass Unemployment East German Hunger Strikers Fight for Jobs

BERLIN, July 26—A hunger strike by potash miners in the east German town of Bischofferode has become a focus of working-class resistance to the devastation wrought by capitalist reunification, which has left nearly half the workforce of the former East Germany (DDR) effectively unemployed. Now in its fourth week, this desperate and courageous action has had an electrifying impact throughout Germany, galvanizing widespread contempt for the Christian Democratic (CDU) government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl while provoking a frenzy of vitriol from the bourgeois media.

Faced with the threat of takeover and closure by the BASF chemical giant at year's end, the 700 potash miners launched a protest occupation of the shaft on April 7. As miners get off their work shift, they join a round-the-clock protest picket at the plant gate, where a huge banner reads, "This Plant Is Occupied." On July 2, forty of them embarked on the hunger strike, stretched out on cots in the plant cafeteria. Inside, the walls are hedecked with solidarity statements and slogans. One sign depicts a gleeful Kohl feasting on a chicken dinner in front of the skeleton of a dead miner. Another reads, "Should unemployment in the east lead to civil war? Then let it!"

Six of the miners have now been



Women workers and miners' wives join Bischofferode potash mine protest occupation.

DPA

hospitalized. Those who become too ill to continue the hunger strike have had their places taken by others, including miners' wives, sympathetic students and

an elderly pensioner who came down from Berlin to solidarize with their action. The women workers and miners' wives have pushed forward to play an

active role. Every day up to 20 women go down the shaft to participate in the occupation, 600 meters (2,000 feet) underground. Many of the wives formerly worked at the only other factory in town, a textile mill which was shut down after reunification.

In the ex-DDR, the women workers have been the most vulnerable to unemployment and the dismantling of essential social services (like child care). Despite the restriction of abortion rights, the birthrate in the east has fallen dramatically, an index of the population's lack of optimism about the future.

Ironically, workers in this region voted heavily for Kohl's CDU in 1990, lured by the siren song of a Mercedes-Benz in every garage. Today they are animated by a bitter hatred for the western German ruling circles, who promised them instant prosperity with reunification, only to deliver degradation and misery. "They only want the east to be a market for western German goods and not a productive society at all," exclaimed hunger striker Gerhard König. "we are only rubbish, garbage to them."

Through their dramatic action, the potash miners in this small Thüringen town have become the voice for millions of workers in the former DDR who have

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