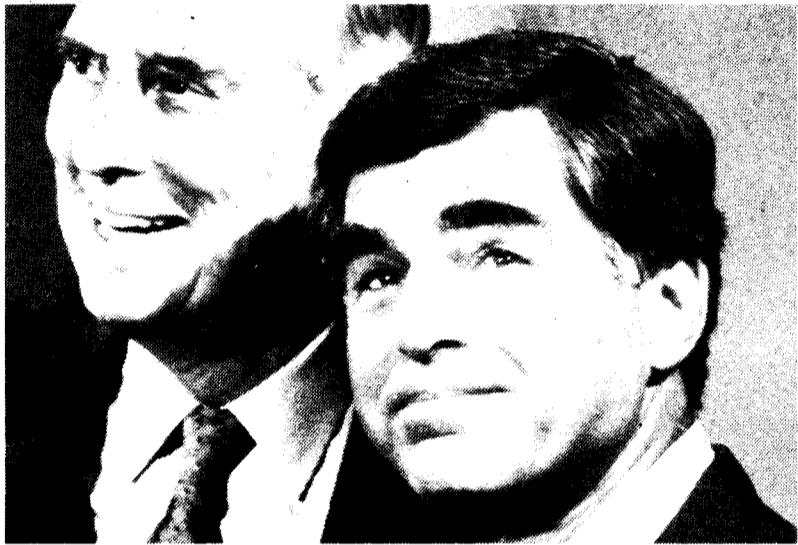


Partner Parties of Racist American Capitalism

Bush-Dukakis:



Heikes/U.S. News & World Report



Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

The Bad News Bores

"Dukakis leading Bush by a 55-38 percent margin."

—*Newsweek*, 1 August

"Bush... leading Dukakis... by 51-42 percent."

—*Newsweek*, 29 August

"Two candidates tied with 42 percent."

—*New York Times*, 3 September

"All I know is just what I read in the papers."

—Will Rogers

* * * * *

No poll in this paper!!

* * * * *

If the wishes of the American electorate seem to blow with the electronic wind on TV—the polls virtually flipped from the Democratic convention to the Republican convention—it's because Americans rightly see nothing to vote for.

The bourgeois Democratic/Republican shell game used to be: make promises galore, tell people what they want to hear, and then break 'em once you're elected. Now, in the twilight of American capitalism, when the dollar buys only a ride on the deteriorating New York subway, the "Republicrats" make no promises at all. The campaign is all media hype pivoting on the quirks, blunders and idiocies of the candidates

of this dying ruling class.

Even the *New York Times*, central organ of the bourgeoisie, felt compelled to call time-out in an editorial (31 August) lecturing the two teams: "The best way for either candidate to fend off negative jabs is to stand for something." And the *Boston Herald's* editorial page editor Rachele Cohen suggested (21 August) that the contest has "all the emotional impact of a coin toss."

Earlier this summer Reagan jumped into the fray to rescue his foundering vice president Bush by taunting Dukakis as the candidate of the "L-word"—things have moved so far to the right that redbaiting has been largely sup-

planted by liberal-baiting. Not one to be caught espousing anything, Dukakis—who during the Vietnam War devoted his energies to pushing a bill in the Massachusetts legislature for no-fault insurance—denied he had an ideology and insisted the issue was, "competence," leaving everyone to wonder, *at what?*

Meanwhile Dukakis' staff jumped on Bush's running mate, Indiana Senator Dan Quayle, a pro-war fanatic who got out of the Vietnam War draft with a "call home" to his rich Birchite daddy, who got the editor of his Indianapolis paper to pull strings to get his son into a safe post in the National Guard. It's

continued on page 11

South Korea's Police-State Olympics

Labor, Students Defy U.S. Puppet Regime

On September 1, South Korean soldiers armed with semi-automatic rifles escorted the Olympic torch into the city of Kwangju on its way to the site of the upcoming games in the capital of Seoul. Student protesters were all the more outraged because Kwangju was the site of the 1979 massacre in which hundreds were mowed down by South Korean units which had been withdrawn from the border with North Korea and replaced by the U.S. Army.

In recent months the U.S.-backed police state has been shaken by

massive workers' strikes and student protests. To secure social peace the generals are preparing for the Olympics as for war. A force of 120,000 police and soldiers has been mobilized under the pretext of "anti-terrorism" to "protect" the games. A special commando unit has been formed consisting of sharpshooters also trained in the more deadly martial arts. The right-wing *U.S. News & World Report* quipped: "With Korean security on a hair trigger, fans might want to think twice before leaping up to cheer the

continued on page 12



Cole/Picture Group

Guardians of "free world" military dictatorship in South Korea.

1921 Leninist Resolution on Organization

The Prometheus Research Library, archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, is pleased to announce the publication of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." This 94-page bulletin contains a complete and accurate translation of the final German text of the Organizational Resolution of the 1921 Third Congress of the Communist International (CI), with accompanying introductory and documentary material. It is the first in the *Prometheus Research Series*, which seeks to make available important materials from the history of the international communist movement.

When the Third Congress of the Communist International met in Moscow in the summer of 1921, the revolutionary wave which had swept Europe following the October Revolution had for the most part receded. As against those ultraleftists who argued that the International must continue the "offensive" against the capitalist world order, Lenin and Trotsky insisted that the young International take stock of the lull in the class struggle. In the main Congress resolutions, which included not only the Organizational Resolution but also the "Theses on Tactics," the

Bolshevik leadership attempted to codify the 20 years of experience in struggle against the tsarist empire—the unique Russian experience which produced the party capable of leading the world's first successful proletarian revolution—so that the new Communist parties in the rest of the world could study its lessons. "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work" is an important component of the great revolutionary material of the first four congresses of the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky's time.

Historians of the CI of this period (e.g., the eminent E.H. Carr) have persistently diminished Lenin's role in drawing up the Resolution, especially misinterpreting his remarks endorsing it at the CI's Fourth Congress, his last intervention into the political life of the International. The Introduction to *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 documents the important role Lenin played in the drafting of the Organizational Resolution. The Resolution embodies Lenin's developed understanding of the party and his struggle to shape an authentic revolutionary vanguard out of the partially sorted-out components of former social-democratic parties which formed the bulk of the would-be Communist parties in Europe in 1921. Lenin

Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work

Resolution of the
Third Congress of the Communist International
12 July 1921

New Translation of the Final German Text
Including Reports and Discussion from the Congress
With Introduction and Notes



PROMETHEUS RESEARCH LIBRARY

\$5.00
August 1988

was particularly concerned that the German party forge itself into a Bolshevik vanguard and the Resolution was drafted in German. With Germany very unstable and the German party one of the biggest in the Comintern, the perspective of world revolution reduced itself in the first instance to the perspective of a German revolution. (Events in Germany tragically confirmed the correctness of Lenin's urgent emphasis on the need for a Bolshevik party in Germany.)

The Organizational Resolution continued the sorting-out process begun in July 1920 at the CI's Second Congress with the famous "Twenty-One Conditions" for admission to the Comintern. The detailing of the organizational norms of discipline and democratic centralism was meant in part to weed out those centrist leaders who had followed their membership into the Communist International reluctantly. The Resolution explains the need for fractions, cells and working groups to forge the ties to the masses necessary to win leadership of the majority of the proletariat away from the misleaders organized in the International Federation of Trade Unions ("Amsterdam International") and in the reformist Second and centrist "Two and a Half" Internationals.

Members of organizations on the left which base themselves on the "cell structure" used by the Comintern as it degenerated after 1924 will be particularly interested in "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of the Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work." In contrast to the practice of the Stalinized Comintern, which in order to straitjacket internal discussion abolished party units based on territorial organization (e.g., a neighborhood branch or citywide local) in favor of small "cells" ostensibly based on the factories, the 1921 Organizational Resolution advocates that cells and fractions operate in conjunction with territorial units.

The Spartacist League began to study the 1921 Organizational Resolution in the early 1970s under the impact of building the party's first industrial fractions. An educational session of the SL/U.S. 1975 summer camp was then devoted to presentations on the Resolution. What was striking, but not accidental, was the extent to which the SL's organizational practice embodied,

on the appropriate scale, the principles laid down by the CI in 1921. The Resolution's applicability to the SL reflects our roots in earlier communist organizations in this country, from whom we have sought to choose the best practice. In stark contrast, the Trotskyist organizations of Europe and the ex-colonial world had their fragile human threads of continuity with the early Communist movement snapped by war and fascism and Stalinist terror.

Study of the Resolution has been hampered by the lack of an adequate English-language translation (the translations produced by the Comintern in the 1920s are flawed and also fail to include the amendments adopted by the Congress in its final session). The translation published in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 appears to be the first accurate one ever based on the final German-language text. The bulletin includes a survey of the various language versions of the Resolution including the Russian in "A Note on Translation." Also included are the reports on and discussion of the Organizational Resolution at the 22nd and 24th sessions of the Congress. This material appears here for the first time in English.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922, Lenin repeatedly stressed the importance of "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," in private meetings with various delegations, and in his only speech to the Congress. His remarks remain the best testimony to the 1921 Resolution's significance for the international communist movement:

"That resolution must be carried out. It cannot be carried out overnight; that is absolutely impossible. The resolution is too Russian, it reflects the Russian experience. That is why it is quite unintelligible to foreigners, and they cannot be content with hanging it in a corner like an icon and praying to it. . . . They . . . must study in a special sense, in order that they may really understand the organization, structure, method and content of revolutionary work. If they do that, I am sure that the prospects of the world revolution will be not only good, but excellent."

To receive a copy of *Prometheus Research Series* No. 1 send \$6.00 (includes postage) to Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116. ■

For Working-Class Political Action

In 1948 elements in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) wanted to support the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, a pseudo-radical bourgeois third party heavily backed by the Stalinists. SWP leader James P. Cannon stood for working-class opposition to all bourgeois political formations, and also argued against giving a reformist content to the



TROTSKY

demand for a labor party based on the trade unions.

In the terrible crisis that is impending in America there are possibilities for all kinds of political manifestations, from the most revolutionary to the most reactionary. We must not get mixed up in bourgeois politics of any kind. We must not let our party become involved in any kind of substitute for genuine working class action. All of the activities of our party must be compressed within the framework of the class line. We must have in view the perspective of the terrific social crisis that is impending, when things will move at such terrific speed that some of the comrades who are impatient today may be left behind. We must foresee the possibilities of a rapid radicalization of the American working class, which will almost overnight confront us with a genuine class movement on the political field, ten or one hundred times more powerful in its sweep and scope than this movement of Wallace and the Stalinists. . . .

We have to make it clear to our members that our labor party slogan is by no means a substitute or acceptance of less than we have demanded in our full program, but a weapon of revolutionary agitation. And we have to put the full content of our program into this election campaign. We have to explain over and over again that the whole aim of the labor party slogan is to develop a class line of politics.

—James P. Cannon, "Summary Speech on Election Policy" (February 1948)



LENIN

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: Liz Gordon

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Noah Wilner

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Jon Lawrence

EDITORIAL BOARD: George Foster, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, Jan Norden, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamberg, Noah Wilner (Closing editor)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: 732-7862 (Editorial), 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

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

Imperialism's Gutless Wonders

2 September 1988

Dear Comrades,

I've been doing a bit of thinking about the bourgeois press going after Quayle for pulling strings to get into the National Guard during the Vietnam War. American presidents have often ridden their military careers into office. There's been George Washington, Ulysses S. Grant, Teddy Roosevelt and even John Kennedy's PT-109. Countless Senators, Congressmen and state office holders have parlayed their war records into votes. But in 1988 the up-and-coming representatives of the bourgeoisie are of the Vietnam War generation and their war record is blowing up in their faces. While Quayle is catching the heat for "dodging" the draft, he's hardly alone. Bush and Bentsen both have sons Quayle's age and they too went into the National Guard. The officer corps tends to be rich kids looking for an alternative to the draft while the enlisted men are either college dropouts or veterans looking for some extra cash.

Everybody knows that the "weekend warrior" Guard is the country club for the rich during shooting wars. Republican war-horse and unsuccessful V.P. nominee Robert Dole bitterly remarked about his experiences in WWII: "We knew who was in uniform and who was not!" The National Guard is not "in uniform." When they have donned their khaki greens it has been to quell ghetto upheavals, break strikes or shoot student demonstrators. The rich bullies who murdered unarmed students at Kent State and Jackson State wouldn't have lasted an hour against North Vietnamese regulars.

The "American century," lasting all of

25 years, was buried in the rice paddies of Vietnam. On January 30, 1968 the Viet Cong staged an impressive rising throughout South Vietnam. This ended any semblance of front lines, and now the "stay in the rear and drink beer" troops had to arm themselves. U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat was made official when North Vietnamese tanks smashed through the U.S. Embassy gate in 1975, but the Tet Offensive was the beginning of the end.

After "Tet" the Quayles, Bentsens and Bushes began placing their children in the National Guard. The children of the bourgeoisie get student deferments and upon graduation get their commissions. It has always been working-class and black kids that do the fighting and dying while the officer corps remains

safe in their dugouts. But Vietnam was different: at a tremendous cost the Vietnamese had begun to win the war. Army and Marine officers began taking heavy casualties, some of them "fraggged." Pilots began doing time in North Vietnamese prisons. Jewelry was being made from downed U.S. jets. Vietnam was no longer a safe place for rich kids looking for a career in politics. What can the bourgeoisie say about their children avoiding combat? U.S. imperialism lost this bloody war and all the heroes were on the other side!

"You Will Go!" was the position of the Spartacist League during the Vietnam War as we fought against the class bias of the draft. Then as now we stand opposed to the imperialist draft, but we also oppose cop-outs like student



Dan Quayle guarding Indiana during Vietnam War.



Heroic 1968 Vietnamese Tet Offensive spelled defeat for U.S. imperialist army. Vietnam was a victory!

deferments that exempted the children of the Kennedys while rounding up working-class and black cannon fodder. As communists our political task is to win over disaffected GIs to a class opposition to imperialist war. A number of SL comrades fulfilled this duty during the Vietnam War.

The issue of Quayle ducking combat further underlines the class bias of the draft. But we can take pleasure in the knowledge that while cowards like Quayle—who today are the biggest warmongers—were hiding out in the National Guard, the heroic Vietnamese drove U.S. imperialism out of the country hanging from helicopter struts. That this defeat was inflicted against our "own" bourgeoisie made this victory even sweeter. On the night Saigon fell, we celebrated with great quantities of champagne.

Vietnam was a victory!

Sam H.
USAF, 1966-1970
(Honorable Discharge)

Spartacist Events

"We Stopped the Klan!"

Video Showing and Discussion

OBERLIN
Friday, Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Oberlin College

For more information: (216) 881-3700

SYC Open House and
Video Showing

BOSTON
Sun., Sept. 11, 5:30-7:30 p.m.

Freshman Union, private dining room
Harvard University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going? Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Eyewitness Report and Slide Show

Speaker: Nick Traven, SL/SYC member recently returned from the Soviet Union

CLEVELAND
Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.

Room UC 109
2121 Euclid Ave.
Cleveland State University

For more information: (216) 881-3700

OBERLIN
Sunday, Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m.

Mudd 456
Oberlin College

For more information: (216) 881-3700

MADISON
Wed., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m.

See "Today in the Union" for room
UW-Madison

For more information: (608) 251-6431

CHICAGO
Wed., Sept. 28, 12 noon

Room to be announced
UICC

For more information: (312) 663-0715

Defend the Soviet Union Through World Revolution!

Where Is Gorbachev's Russia Going?

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, Spartacist League Central Committee

BERKELEY
Friday, Sept. 16, 7:30 p.m.

126 Barrows
UC Berkeley

For more information: (415) 839-0851

SAN FRANCISCO
Wed., Sept. 21, 4:00 p.m.

Student Union
San Francisco State University

For more information: (415) 863-6963

Speaker: Len Meyers, Spartacist League, recently returned from the Soviet Union

NEW YORK
Thursday, Sept. 22, 7:30 p.m.

Room to be announced
Columbia University

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyism: Revolutionary Marxism Today

Spartacus Youth Club Open House

NEW YORK
Friday, Sept. 9, 7:00 p.m.

Room to be announced
Columbia University

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Friday, Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m.

Douglass Hall, Room B21
Howard University

Speaker:
Brian Manning
Spartacist League

For more information: (202) 636-3537

Stalinists vs. Fulani at the End of the Rainbow

The Democratic Party is going out of its way to abuse and insult black people, who are treated as voting cattle to be herded to the polls. When Dukakis picked racist Dixiecrat Lloyd Bentsen—a George Bush clone—for his running mate, he was signaling to the white racist vote that he wasn't going to let black people tell him what to do. At first the Jackson camp responded with a show of wounded pride. The leading black Democrat complained he was being used to "pick up voters, bale them up, deliver them up to the big house" without a word of thanks.

But as the Democratic convention opened in Atlanta, Jackson, after meeting with Dukakis for three hours, reaffirmed his loyalty to the Democratic leadership. In his prime-time address he proclaimed: "We sit here together, a rainbow—the sons and daughters of slavemasters and the sons and daughters of slaves sitting together around a common table. . . ." In his own way Jackson captured well the nature of this racist capitalist "people's" party—the unity of slavemasters with their slaves. The convention ended with Jackson delegates chanting "Duke, Duke, Duke!"

So now, figuring they have the black vote in the bag, the Dukakis campaign has redlined the country, telling Jackson to stay out of the Deep South, New York and other key states! They're even trying to clamp down on his voter registration campaign which had signed up millions of (black) Democrats. So intent are the Dukakis managers on winning conservative white "Reagan Democrats" that they're willing to risk black voters staying home next November 8. As a result of this spectacle, a lot of black people are burned up by the Democrats' racist "unity" show.

Hard Times at the End of the Rainbow

Meanwhile, the supporters of Jackson's defunct "Rainbow Coalition" are at each other's throats. On the one hand, the small-time hustlers of the New Alliance Party (NAP), in league with sinister nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, hope to exploit blacks' lack of enthusiasm, to say the least, for the Dukakis/Bentsen ticket. Advertising itself as a "black-led, multiracial, independent political party," the NAP is running Lenora Fulani, a black psychologist, for president. On the ballot in

26 states, Fulani presents herself as the true voice of the "real Rainbow." "Two Roads Are Better Than One," declare these Jackson Democrats of the second mobilization.

On the other hand, the Communist Party is attacking the New Alliance out-

ple's movement, causing losses on all fronts," says Zagarell. He lambastes Fulani & Co. for "militant rhetoric which, in reality destroys the unity of labor and the Afro-American people, and sabotages the influence of the working class in the broad democratic move-

ment. . . . CP spokesmen make much of its ties to Al Sharpton, a black demagogue who was exposed earlier this year as an informer for the FBI (see article, page 14). Zagarell writes:

"Aligned with publicly identified FBI agents such as Al Sharpton, and having grown out of such FBI-controlled organizations as the U.S. Labor (sic) Party [of Lyndon LaRouche], it is not hard to see how NAP can so easily settle into its current divisive line."

Of course, the deeply reformist CP's standard response to *anyone* who "disrupts" the "progressive movement" (i.e., the Democratic Party), whether from the right or the left, is cop-baiting. But sinister agents and hustlers like Sharpton are just the small fry: FBI finks and CIA assets are legion in the Democratic Party. For that matter, would the CP support the Republicans if only George Bush had not been head of the CIA?

Certainly, the New Alliance Party is plenty unsavory. The organization is the brain child of one Dr. Fred Newman, who runs a chain of psychobabble therapy clinics. In the early '70s Newman linked up with LaRouche, a kindred radical guru then in transit from crackpot social democracy to crazed ultrarightism. In 1973 Newman & Co. were holding joint forums with LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees just when the NCLC launched "Operation Mop-Up," a frenzied if ineffectual campaign of physical attacks on the Communist Party. Newman's crew joined the Labor Committees, then split shortly after, but without renouncing "Mop-Up."

On the surface the New Alliance Party looks like just another rad-lib outfit which in recent years has followed the Rainbow. However, it still operates as a front for Newman's "therapy" cult. The NAP's presidential candidate in 1984, Dennis Serrette, who later dropped his sponsors in disgust, reports: "Every member is required to attend at least one social therapy session weekly, led by Newman's hand-picked, hand-trained therapists" (*Delaware County Daily Times*, 19 July). And the NAP is always on the lookout for a hustle: Fulani brags, "I am the first Black woman ever to receive federal primary matching funds."

A December 1987 pamphlet, "Clouds Blur the Rainbow: The Other Side of the New Alliance Party," by Chip Berlet, who tracks rightist groups, charts Newman's course over the years. At the height of the poverty programs, he and his supporters dabbled in various unemployed and welfare rights schemes. Before forming the NAP, Newman tried to take over the People's Party (which ran renowned pediatrician Benjamin Spock for president). And more recently they have been involved in a squabble with the California Peace and Freedom Party, trying to get the P&FP endorsement for Fulani.

For several years now, Newman, Fulani & Co. have latched onto the virulent anti-Semite and purveyor of "black capitalism," Louis Farrakhan. Farrakhan used to be a prominent and vocal supporter of the Rainbow Coalition. In '84, Farrakhan's inflammatory statements, like "Hitler was a great man," proved no small embarrassment for Jackson and his liberal and left camp followers. As Jackson moved toward the Democratic Party establishment he distanced himself from the racist demagogue Black Muslim. For his part, Far-



New Alliance presidential candidate Lenora Fulani works hand in hand with FBI fink Al Sharpton.

fit from the right, for trying to divert votes from the Democrats. The unappetizing task of selling technocrat Cold Warrior Dukakis and Dixiecrat racist Bentsen is not the only problem confronting the CPUSA these days. The rift in the Kremlin between Gorbachev and more conservative bureaucrats around Yegor Ligachev has spilled over into the American CP leadership. In the June issue of *Political Affairs*, party chairman Gus Hall denounces leading Gorbachevites for repudiating class struggle, while editor Mike Zagarell proclaims the unity of humanity in preventing nuclear war. It's not easy being a Moscow-line Stalinist when Moscow has two lines.

But all wings of the CP agree on tailing the Democratic donkey, so the NAP's "two roads" stance drives them into a tizzy: "By ignoring the danger of the extreme Right-wing and pitting gains in one area against those in another the NAP would split the peo-

ple's movement." By "broad democratic movement" Zagarell means of course the Democratic Party.

To be sure, once in a rare while the CP finds it opportune not to support the Democratic presidential ticket. On these occasions the Stalinists discover the need for a "Third Party" to run against the "Tweedledum and Tweedledee" Democrats and Republicans. But far from advocating a *workers party*, that being a "Trotskyite" heresy, they support or set up a small bourgeois "people's party" rather similar to the New Alliance operation. The classic case was the 1948 Progressive Party of Henry Wallace. And the CP's ire against the New Alliance Party is partly because the NAP is playing the Stalinists' own tune, though a little off-key. The Communist Party is plainly worried about its turf. In 1986 the NAP even outpolled the CP when Fulani won 25,000 votes for governor of New York State.

In going after the New Alliance Party,



1948 Progressive Party convention nominates former Democratic vice president Henry Wallace (above left). Stalinist CP pushed this phony, bourgeois "people's party."

rakhan has taken to calling Jackson a "house negro" on Dukakis' plantation. Meanwhile, the NAP has picked up some recruits from the New Jewish Agenda. This alliance of liberal Zionists with the Hitler-lover Farrakhan is not fated to last long.

'48 Wallace Campaign: Stalinists as Just Plain Folk

The New Alliance Party is a political aberration, without working-class principle and without prospects. If such an attempt to launch a radical/liberal petty-bourgeois party were viable, it would be *against* the working people and counterposed to the struggle for a class party of labor. The NAP today looks like a shabby version of the 1948 Progressive Party with some psychobabble thrown in to appeal to the "me generation." Without Jackson, the NAP lacks a big-name bourgeois politician like Henry Wallace, FDR's former Democratic vice president, and the significant organizational resources then commanded by the Communist Party. Hence the increased weight of shady, dubious, lowlife (and mutually incompatible) elements.

With that qualification, it's worth taking a look at the '48 Wallace campaign, which was the classic case of bourgeois "Third Partyism" in the U.S. The stage was set during the second imperialist world war, when in the name of "anti-fascist unity" the Stalinists were more fervent than even many liberals in supporting the reactionary policies of the U.S. government. The CP applauded government strikebreaking, opposed combatting racist segregation in the armed forces, endorsed putting Japanese Americans in concentration camps and hailed the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. They followed the logic of the popular front to the point of dissolving the party in

CPUSA, resisted such a turn and it cost him his political life. The famous 1945 "Duclos letter"—probably written in Moscow—which led to Browder's downfall, criticized the CPUSA for being too soft toward American imperialism. (For an account of the Browder affair, see "The Myth of 'Browderite Revisionism,'" *WV* No. 129, 15 October 1976.)

But the new Moscow line was *not* one of working-class struggle against American capitalism. Far from it. Rather the Kremlin called on American Communists to unite with those few bourgeois politicians who were a little slow enlisting in the new Cold War. These were glorified as opponents of monopoly capitalism. The "Duclos letter" singled out Henry Wallace as their leader:

"In the United States, the omnipotent trusts have been the object of violent criticism. It is known, for instance, that the former Vice President of the United States, Henry Wallace, has denounced their evil doings and their anti-national policy."

—Political Affairs, July 1945

The scion of a wealthy and influential Iowa family, Wallace liked to pose as just plain folk. He acted the type portrayed at the time by Jimmy Stewart in movies like *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

This Mr. Smith, however, was a loyal servant of American imperialism. As a permanent member of the Roosevelt cabinet, Wallace worked hand in hand with the Dixiecrat racists who ruled the Jim Crow South. During his eight-year stint as secretary of agriculture, millions of black Southern sharecroppers remained cruelly exploited by landowners and bankers, terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan and forcibly prevented from even voting. As vice president and then secretary of commerce during World War II, Wallace shared direct responsibility for strikebreaking at home and



IN THE ROBBER'S DEN.
JAY GOULD SURPRISES EVEN THE HARDENED MONOPOLISTS.

"Anti-monopoly coalition": the Stalinists didn't invent it (cartoon from the 1880s).

one with another, in a profitable and productive peace" (quoted in Curtis D. MacDougall, *Gideon's Army* [1965]). To the beleaguered American Stalinists these words were like manna from heaven. (Wallace himself was a bible-thumper who likened the Progressive Party to the Old Testament Gideon's army.)

Wallace had often stated that the strength of the Democratic Party rested in the support of "ordinary folks." The Stalinists now pretended to be those ordinary folks. The irrepressible folksiness of the Wallace campaign was enhanced when Glen Taylor, the singing senator from Montana, joined him as running mate. But the Progressive Party "army" turned out to consist of a handful of bourgeois liberal politicians, the CP, its fellow travelers and a few Stalinist-led unions. The mass of the union bureaucracy and black establishment rallied behind the Cold War and actively campaigned for the Democrat Harry Truman.

James P. Cannon Against Bourgeois "Progressivism"

A significant and vocal minority of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) argued for supporting the Progressive Party and seeking its

transformation into a labor party. A document by Chicago SWP leaders, including Arne Swaback and Mike Bartell, maintained it was not really a bourgeois party—its vaunted leader's program of "progressive capitalism" notwithstanding—because "it is dominated and directed in a large measure by the Stalinists and their fellow travelers." The Chicago document concluded: "The leftward moving workers, unable to find expression on the direct road of a labor party, will unquestionably move to this bypath [the Progressive Party]" ("The Wallace Third Party Movement," [SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, April 1948).

James P. Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, effectively fought those tendencies in the SWP who wanted to capitulate to bourgeois liberalism and Stalinist popular-frontism. Far from being a path to a workers party, a pseudo-radical bourgeois third party like the Progressive Party was a *diversion* from it. For such a party fostered illusions that, in Henry Wallace's words, there can be a "peaceful" and "progressive" American capitalism. Cannon summed up:

"Wallace is the, as yet, unacknowledged, candidate for the role of

continued on page 14

San Francisco nurses okay contract, ending month long strike page 2

PEOPLES DAILY **World** TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 1988 VOL. 3, NO. 88 25¢

**Battlecry of 25th anniversary march
UNITY CAN DEFEAT BUSH**

CP Stalinists rally behind Democrats' racist "unity."

1944, forming the Communist Political Association.

But when Germany was defeated, U.S. imperialism turned sharply against the Soviet Union, threatening to A-bomb its former ally. Stalin responded to the outbreak of the Cold War by ordering Communist parties in the West to execute something of a left turn. Earl Browder, then head of the

war crimes abroad like the A-bombing of Japan.

At the onset of the Cold War Wallace advocated a policy later called "détente." Speaking in New York's Madison Square Garden in 1946, he proclaimed, "we should close our ears to those among us who would have us believe that Russian Communism and our free enterprise system cannot live,

NAP Gave Platform to Anti-Union Lorenzo Stooges

In their scurrilous attack on the Spartacist League and Communist Party (*National Alliance*, 18 August), the New Alliance Party raises only one pretense at a factual argument: they holler that *Workers Vanguard* made a "vague and turbid" charge that in Atlanta the NAP gave a platform to "anti-labor, pro-Lorenzo forces fighting unionization at Continental Airlines" (*WV* No. 458, 29 July). The NAP is doubly sensitive because they pretend to back labor's battle against union-buster Frank Lorenzo. The following week they ran an article on "Independent Politics and the Fight at Eastern Airlines." But while implying they are the innocent victims of slander, the NAP is careful *not* to deny what *WV* said was true. Let's see why.

On July 19, the NAP had booked the "free speech" holding pen set up by the cops adjacent to Atlanta's

Omni convention center. With their huge banner "We Need a People's Party. Not a Businessmen's Convention" unfurled below her, a New Alliance spokesman took the stage to assure those waiting that NAP presidential candidate Lenora Fulani would arrive momentarily. Three people wearing "I Love (heart shape) Continental" T-shirts mounted the stage and thanked the NAP by name for giving them the platform. One of them, a Continental pilot, closed his remarks with an anti-union diatribe:

"If we don't have a free say in this, then what's the good of being represented?... What we're up against is repression. We want to represent ourselves, organized or unorganized, but we should have the choice."

So at the end of the New Alliance "Rainbow" we find a group of pro-company finks and cheerleaders for

Lorenzo, the "Darth Vader" of the airline industry, who slashed wages in half, broke a pilots strike and smashed the unions at Continental in 1983 and is now trying to do the same at Eastern.

Frank Lorenzo regularly hauls out this "Continental by Choice" outfit to oppose union organizing efforts. According to the 28 May *AFL-CIO News*, they were flown in on four chartered planes to demonstrate for Lorenzo outside a National Mediation Board hearing in Washington, where the Eastern unions were petitioning to have Lorenzo's Texas Air empire declared a single company for bargaining purposes. Again on June 9, at the Texas Air stockholders' meeting in New York, "Continental by Choice" pilots and flight attendants were paraded around in uniform to defend scabherder Lorenzo, even as he called on a security guard to expel a

Machinists union official from the meeting!

The *National Alliance* (25 August) article on the battle at Eastern complains about "the failure of the rest of the labor movement, in particular the other air transport unions... to rally to their side." This is no accident. Machinists union leader "Wimpy" Winpisinger betrayed the air controllers at the beginning of the Reagan years, ordering his members to work while PATCO was destroyed. At Atlanta, Winpisinger made the nominating speech for black Democrat Jesse Jackson inside the convention hall, while on the outside Jackson supporters Fulani and the NAP were hosting Lorenzo's "scabs by choice." They are all "united" under the banner of the racist, capitalist Democratic Party. We say, enough—It's time for a workers party!

Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!

Moral Majority Bigots Target Atlanta

ATLANTA, September 2—Led by a used car salesman from Binghamton, NY, for over a month an army of white Christian fundamentalists has been attempting to shut down abortion clinics in Atlanta. They surround the clinics, linking arms to prevent women from entering, and scream at staff members and patients entering the buildings, calling them "murderers" and "baby killers," taking their pictures. They've flooded the jails, giving their names as "John Doe" or "Jane Doe" in "solidarity" with aborted fetuses.

One clinic, the Atlanta SurgiCenter, was stormed and occupied. All the clinics so targeted have received bomb threats, sometimes several a day. Ominously, 100 pounds of dynamite were stolen; one of the suspects was the vice president of an out-of-state Right to Life chapter. A black doctor and clinic owner was prevented from entering his clinic by bigots barring the entrance. "I need to get in and take care of my patients," he pleaded. "We have orders not to let you in," they said. When asked who gave these orders, they replied, "God" (*Atlanta Journal & Constitution*, 26 August).

Determined that no woman is going to be denied an abortion by these scum, the clinics have organized into a coalition so that if their services are disrupted by the deadly right-to-lifers, the women's appointments will automatically be accepted at another clinic somewhere else in Atlanta. The staff of these clinics are courageous and defiant, despite the strain of constant harassment, daily bomb threats, and having to check under the hoods of their cars every night before they go home to make sure their cars don't explode when they turn the key in the ignition. They're hanging tough, proclaiming a devotion to duty. "This isn't just a job," said Marcia Berry of the Atlanta Women's Medical Center, "it's a political statement."

There has been one *pro*-abortion demonstration that took place outside of the Atlanta Care Center, one of those disgusting places that advertises free pregnancy tests, then shows the anti-abortion movie "Silent Scream" to the women waiting for their test results. The Atlanta "Scare" Center should certainly be protested and shut down. But the demonstration's organizers chose the site because they didn't want to "protest in front of any abortion clinics where Operation Rescue [the anti-abortionists] was demonstrating to avoid confrontations" (*Atlanta Consti-*



Racist bigots terrorize women and staff at Atlanta abortion clinics. Below: Charred remains of Pensacola, Florida clinic bombed in 1984 by deadly right-to-lifers.



McCracken/Pensacola News-Journal

tution, 21 August). The "Operation Rescue" crowd needs more than just a little confrontation—they need to get a lesson that would have them crawling back into their rat's nests never to emerge again! Last spring, when clinics in New York and Chicago were under siege, the Spartacist League demonstrated, proclaiming:

"What's needed to keep the clinics open is a massive mobilization of labor, together with women and minorities, to run these bible-thumping bigots out of town."

—"NYC Abortion Clinics Under Siege—Labor Must Defend Abortion Rights!"
WV No. 452, 6 May

What has been happening in Atlanta is an extraparliamentary mobilization by the religious right wing of Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell. The opening shot was aimed at the Democratic Party convention itself (and against black mayor Andrew Young)—a counter-convention organized by Falwell and Phyllis Schlafly, urging their fundamentalist followers to continue their "moral revolution" and bombarding Democratic delegates with their "Family Manifesto" demanding forced prayer in the schools and the banning of abortion.

These reactionaries are drawn mainly from the Baton Rouge area of Louisi-

ana—Jimmy Swaggart country—and from the lily-white suburbs and counties surrounding Atlanta. They've targeted Atlanta, obscenely calling the city the "Selma of the anti-abortion movement." There's no question but that these all-white fundamentalist reactionaries have a larger agenda than just shutting down abortion clinics. Majority-black Atlanta is a city run by a black Democratic Party administration which includes many veterans of the civil rights movement. In league with the Klan's attempted demonstration during the Democratic convention, this is an orchestrated attempt at rolling back democratic rights across the board.

Atlanta clinics that offer abortion services have long been targets of the fundamentalist right. It's a familiar sight to see women seeking abortions pushing their way through hostile pickets. In 1984 the Atlanta Northside Family Planning Services clinic was fire-bombed, and in June 1987 Dr. James Gay, owner and operator of the Northside Women's Clinic, was arrested after repeatedly turning his sprinkler system on anti-abortion picketers in a commendable act of social hygiene.

All over the country abortion clinics have been under siege. In North Carolina recently they had a "funeral" for 67 fetuses some reactionary sicko fished out of hospital garbage bins. In Pensacola, Florida anti-abortionists erected a "Tomb of the Unknown Fetus" in honor of one of their partners in crime, Joan Andrews, currently serving a prison sentence for a clinic bombing. The leader of the Pensacola right-to-lifers, John Burt, is an ex-Klansman who brags about his violent activities in St. Augustine against the civil rights movement.

These reactionary anti-abortion terrorists act in concert with the attacks by the bourgeois state on abortion, most recently the removal of Title X funds designated for facilities that offer family planning services to lower-income women, cutting off funds not only from abortion clinics, but also from family planning counseling services that offer *information* about abortions. Likewise the Agency for International Development has been withdrawing funds from international family planning programs that offer abortion services or abortion counseling.

And in state after state, legislation has been passed requiring young women to get parental assent before seeking an abortion. These "squeal laws" would deny most teenagers access to abortion, since "notifying" a parent of an unwanted pregnancy could be an invitation to physical abuse, or worse. While many of these bills have been thrown out in federal courts, the Minnesota law, one of the most stringent, was recently upheld by the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals. These conflicting decisions are sure to provoke a ruling by the Rehnquist Supreme Court.

In the recent past the state of Georgia in particular has been on the front line of Reagan's war on the working class and blacks. In June 1986 the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's now infamous sodomy law, a viciously anti-homosexual decision applicable to anyone who doesn't conform to the *professed* positions of the right-wing fundamentalists. Then came the Supreme Court's endorsement of Georgia's racist and barbaric death penalty, deeming it "irrelevant" that blacks are far more frequently sentenced to die than whites convicted of the same crimes.

continued on page 13



Spartacist contingent marches in NYC protest against attacks on abortion clinics, April 29.

WV Photo

Young Spartacus

The Bolshevik Revolution



Women workers sparked the 1917 February Revolution that overthrew tsarist autocracy.

Viktor Bulla

How the Working Class Took Power

As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, stated:

"The Russian question is no literary exercise to be taken up or cast aside according to the mood of the moment. The Russian question has been and remains the question of the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917, once and for all, took the question of the workers revolution out of the realm of abstraction and gave it flesh and blood and reality."

—"We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution!"
(October 1939)

We print below a presentation on the Russian Revolution (condensed for publication) by comrade T. Marlow to the New York Spartacist League

Part One of Two

branch. Part I covers the prelude to power and the fights which shaped the Bolshevik Party, from February 1917 through the July Days. Part II will cover the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution. (We recommend the readings for this class to all: John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook the World*, and Leon Trotsky's "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution," *From October to Brest-Litovsk*, and *The Lessons of October*.)

* * *

This class is on the Russian Revolution, the world-historic event of our century. It's the story of how the relatively small Russian proletariat came to lead not only the overthrow of tsarist absolutism, but to conquer state power only

eight months later in an empire covering one-sixth of the planet. At the turn of the century Russia had a population of roughly 150 million people, the vast majority of whom were peasants still laboring under almost feudal conditions on the land. Due to the stifling weight of the tsarist bureaucracy and autocratic rule, you didn't get the development of an indigenous bourgeoisie as had occurred in Europe much earlier. So the middle classes in Russia were very, very small. Industrial development was highly concentrated in a few major cities and it was largely foreign-owned. The Russian capitalist class came to look at the tsarist state not as something to overthrow, but as a necessary club to keep the workers in line.

Because industry in Russia was new, it was present at the highest technological levels—very large, concentrated plants. The relative social weight of the proletariat was therefore much higher than in the other advanced capitalist countries. You had a very young, very raw, very militant proletariat, which was open to the most advanced ideas of the time. While the working class represented a minority, it was not insignificant. Trotsky points out that even as early as 1905, if you took the city and village workers plus their families, this amounted to some 25 million people, which was the entire population of

France at the time of the Great French Revolution. This class basis formed the outline for the divisions among the Russian Marxists, which are given so concisely in Trotsky's pamphlet, "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution." In brief the three concepts were:

One, the Mensheviks—they looked at the situation and said: The tasks of the revolution are bourgeois. We have to overthrow the monarchy and carry out abolition of feudal relations on the land, and if it's a bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie has to do it. This was stated quite openly by Axelrod, a leading Menshevik, who said in 1906 that "we must not even so much as mention the direct fight of the proletariat against other classes for political power. Objective historical conditions doom our proletariat to an inevitable collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the struggle against our common enemy."

Second was Lenin's position which immediately discounted the revolutionary capacities of the rather miserable Russian middle classes. His focus was primarily on the agrarian question, that the seizure of the large landed estates by the peasantry would be the motor force of revolution. He looked at the union of revolutionary forces being that of the peasants and the workers. And the formulation he came up with was the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat

and the peasantry," the chief task of which was to clear Russia of medieval rubbish. The weakness of the formulation was the implicit secondary role that the proletariat would have to play. And this was in fact acknowledged by Lenin, who referred to the dictatorship as "bourgeois," not socialist.

But Lenin did not intend to doom the proletariat, as did Axelrod, because his conception of the revolution was above all *international*. He saw the Russian Revolution as a great impetus to the socialist revolution in the West, and that when state power had been taken in the West, the proletariat in Russia would go through a fairly short period of capitalist development, whereupon they too would overthrow their bourgeoisie. Faced with the revolution in life, Lenin was later to change his formulation, as we shall see.

The third conception is Trotsky's, that of *permanent revolution*. Like Lenin, Trotsky dismissed the revolutionary capacities of the Russian middle-class bourgeois liberals. But unlike Lenin, Trotsky forswore in advance the idea that the peasants could play a leading role in the revolution. As early as 1906, in *Results and Prospects*, he noted that in the previous whole entire historical development of capitalism, it was always in the towns that the first revolutionary classes arose which would later overthrow feudalism. And he stated that only the proletariat in 20th century conditions in Russia could play that role, that it would appear in power to the peasants as their class liberator. Trotsky stated, "Coming into the

continued on page 8

Bolshevik Revolution...

(continued from page 7)

government not as a helpless hostage, but as the leading force, the representatives of the proletariat will by virtue of that alone smash the demarcation between the minimal and maximal program, i.e., place collectivization on the order of the day." And that's exactly what happened.

The 1905 Revolution in tsarist Russia did not succeed, but it did throw up one thing which was to be of vital significance later: the workers councils, the *soviets*. Faced with the hot breath of the proletariat behind them and remembering the experiences of the Paris Commune, the 1905 Revolution drove the Russian bourgeois liberals further away from revolutionary pretensions. After 1905 there was a period of dark reaction, but by about 1912 class struggle began to pick up. In the first half of 1914, there were as many people on strike as there were at the height of the 1905 Revolution. Trotsky speculated that in the natural course of things, the proletariat might have assumed power and led the peasants behind them. But events were cut short by the cataclysm of the First World War.

In the initial burst of patriotism following the declaration of war, the class struggle in Russia basically came to a halt. The Bolsheviks, who had been a leading force within the Russian proletariat, were hounded, their leaders forced into exile, their rank-and-file workers beaten for their opposition to the war. However, this patriotism and chauvinism didn't last too long, because the costs of the war were tremendous for Russia. Trotsky estimates the number of dead, wounded and captured at about five and a half million men. Along with the suffering at the front there was economic chaos. And while the war profiteers were raking in the gold, the bulk of the population was suffering greatly. This laid the basis for the explosion in February 1917.

The Paradox of the February Revolution

The explosion came from below, triggered by the strike of mostly women textile workers on 23 February 1917 (International Women's Day on the old Russian calendar). The strike wave spread and within days almost the entire working class of Petrograd was out. To give you a feel for how this event caught even the most advanced political party—the Bolsheviks—off balance, it wasn't until two days later that the Bolshevik Central Committee au-



Dietz Verlag Berlin

Imperialist slaughter of World War I built mass support for the Bolsheviks, who demanded peace without annexations.

thorized issuing a call for a general strike. There were numerous street clashes and quite a number of casualties, but when push came to shove, the tsar could find no loyal troops. Later on, even his own palace guard deserted him.

Despite the fact that the autocracy had been overthrown largely through the efforts of the workers, the government that resulted from the February Revolution did not really have any representation from the working class. As Trotsky points out in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, the February Revolution really represented the awakening of the mass, multimillion, peasant-based army. And the traditional party of the peasantry was the Social Revolutionaries (SRs). In the army you also had numerous middle-class intellectuals—doctors and engineers—who were chosen as delegates because they knew how to read. Their party was the Mensheviks.

These guys did not want political power! They felt swept up to heights that they weren't used to. They went to the bourgeois leaders like Miliukov and the Kadets (the bourgeois party) and said, "Here, take it, we don't want it." Within the soviets, the resulting coalition and the Executive Committee that was elected also reflected the predominance of the SRs and the Mensheviks, and, as Trotsky noted, the Mensheviks were really the political force. This explains the main paradox of the February Revolution—the workers carried it out but the government that came out of it was a bourgeois government. The paradox is that the masses were deeply hostile to the bourgeoisie, and looked only to the soviets, which were the *de*

facto power. But the petty-bourgeois leadership in the soviets, fearing anarchy from the masses and feeling insecure, sought to give the power to the bourgeoisie and did.

What was the attitude of the Bolshevik Party during all this? With the first Provisional Government side by side with the soviets, one enters the period of *dual power*. On the one hand you have a bourgeois government nominally in charge of the army, but with zero social base. On the other side you have the soviets—which also at times claimed some command over the troops—supported by the vast majority of the workers, but whose leaders had voluntarily given up the power. The fundamental class contradiction is that the state power cannot be wielded simultaneously by an amalgam of irreconcilable class forces. Either one or the other had to go. Lenin's attitude was that the Provisional Government was bourgeois. It was committed to the imperialist war aims and the Bolsheviks could in no way support it. And he made this clear literally as soon as he got off the train when he returned to Russia in early April.

Lenin's April Theses

Before Lenin's return, the Bolsheviks in Russia had taken an extremely conciliatory attitude as exemplified in *Pravda* (Stalin was on the editorial board). *Pravda* came out and practically said, we must remain at our posts, none of this "down with the war." It was a hairsbreadth from the Menshevik position. Stalin at least was consistent—as early as 1907 he crowed that the bourgeois revolution in Russia would

culminate in a democratic republic. So evidently he looked around, saw what looked to be a democratic republic and thought that was all right. *Pravda* also went on to hail a manifesto that was issued by the soviets on the war which amounted to an on-your-knees appeal to the Allied governments. In a letter dated March 12, Lenin referred to this manifesto, saying, "To urge that government to conclude a democratic peace is like preaching virtue to brothel keepers."

Lenin's hostility to the Provisional Government came as a shock to a lot of the Bolshevik leadership. He declared right then and there that support to the Provisional Government was a *split* issue. He was going to fight any manifestations of defensism in the party, which he called a "betrayal of socialism." The culmination of this is Lenin's famous "April Theses," in which the bottom line is that the government issuing from the February Revolution is not our government and the war it is fighting is not our war. The task of the Bolsheviks is to overthrow the imperialist government. However, since the government at present rests on the support of the SRs and the Mensheviks, who are in turn supported by the masses, the task is to patiently explain, to win the masses over and to teach them not to trust the compromisers.

When *Pravda* published the April Theses, not a single other member of the Central Committee would sign it! On April 8 a *Pravda* editorial attacked the April Theses. So this fight went pretty deep. Lenin had explicitly repudiated the old Bolshevik formulation of "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." He said, it's antiquated, any attempt to revive it is impossible, and added that anybody who continued to support it had in effect gone over to the petty bourgeoisie.

Trotsky sums up in *The Lessons of October* the decisive question posed by this fight: Is the party heading for the conquest of power or not? Do you seek to overthrow the Provisional Government and seize power through the soviets, or do you consign yourself to being a pressure group on the government, i.e., an opposition in some kind of a bourgeois parliament? Lenin had threatened to split, but the Bolsheviks' April conference accepted his position and in effect the party was put back on the rails.

In April, the first Provisional Government fell. This was prompted by a letter Miliukov had written, stating that Russia would pursue its war aims, becoming public. And Petrograd exploded. There were armed demonstrations in the streets. This provoked a cabinet reshuffle, and a coalition was formed with the SRs and the Mensheviks formally accepting ministerial portfolios. Also during the April Days the Kadets scheduled a patriotic demonstration, and General Kornilov (who we'll hear from later) attempted to move troops and artillery in to support the Kadets.

Fearing what was up, the leaders of the soviets issued a proclamation to the Petrograd garrison saying essentially that "without our authority you don't move." This is an illustration of *dual power*—the soviets asserting rights that would traditionally be sacrosanct privileges of the state. In June the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets was called. Since the elections had taken place a while back, the Congress reflected the consciousness of February. The delegates again were predominantly SRs and Mensheviks, but with a small, solid Bolshevik minority.

The July Days

After the April Days it was clear there was a lot of sentiment against the bourgeois government, so the Bolsheviks decided to test this. They called an armed demonstration for the 10th of June. This was primarily to pressure the



Above: Alexander Kerensky (in tie), leader of bourgeois Provisional Government. Right: 18 June 1917, thousands marched in Petrograd with Bolshevik slogan, "Down with the capitalist ministers!"



Novosti Press

soviet leadership to break the coalition with the bourgeoisie and essentially to assume power. The Executive Committee was scared and said "no." They even went to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and got the demonstration banned. The Bolsheviks didn't wish to openly oppose a Congress of Soviets at this point, so they stood down. But they had their revenge. On June 18 the compromiser leadership of the soviets called their own demonstration which they thought would be a peaceful affair, and 400,000 people showed up carrying Bolshevik slogans like "Down with the ten capitalist ministers!" "Down with the offensive!" "All power to the soviets!"

The Provisional Government was discredited, and not just with the Petrograd masses. Most important to it was the feeling of the Allied imperialists, who were upset that Russia really wasn't doing anything to continue the glorious war. So the Provisional Government launched a new military offensive. In his history of the First World War, A.J.P. Taylor says, "The Russian soldiers at last lost heart and interest. They began to go home without waiting for the end of the war. Kerensky had hoped to restore Russia's fighting spirit, instead he destroyed the Russian army."

By the beginning of July, the impatience of the masses with the Provisional Government had reached the boiling point. The Bolsheviks tried very hard to hold back what they were afraid would be a premature bid for power. But when the workers and the Kronstadt sailors went out into the streets, rather than leave them without any kind of a leadership the Bolsheviks assumed responsibility for the demonstration. They tried to keep it a demonstration, despite the later cries of the reactionaries that this was actually an insurrection. They surrounded the Tauride Palace where the compromiser leadership of the soviets was meeting—and they must have been sweating, with a hundred thousand guys outside with guns demanding an end to their coalition with the bourgeoisie. And they didn't



Lenin presenting his "April Theses," arguing that the Provisional Government was a bourgeois government and the Bolsheviks must lead fight for all power to the soviets.

have any troops left in the garrison that they could rely on. But so-called reliable troops were secured from the front and "discipline" was restored in Petrograd.

The ruling class was in a frenzy. They were driven by fear and hatred of revolution which had stared them in the face for two days. The general staff also needed a scapegoat, because their military offensive had predictably gotten bogged down. So as a result there was wholesale repression against the Bolsheviks. Their newspapers were shut down, many people were arrested, there were murders. Lenin went underground on July 6th. Trotsky publicly associated himself with Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and was arrested on the 23rd of July and sent to Kresty Prison.

There was some consternation about the fact that Lenin had gone underground. But he knew that if he was captured by the authorities they would have done him in, and he felt that he had to keep himself around for the success of the revolution. As Trotsky points out, it's sufficient to recall the fate of the German revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Lenin was also worried about the further course of the

revolution, because at this point the Bolshevik Party was being repressed, not only by open counterrevolutionary elements, bourgeois forces, but by the SRs and the Mensheviks, who were leading the charge with all their slanders.

The Bolsheviks Defeat Kornilov

If the Petrograd masses were sick of the Provisional Government, the bourgeoisie was also. Fresh from the suppression of the July Days, and with their own class interests in mind, they knew that dual power was a situation which couldn't last, and they wanted to resolve it in their favor. This meant a military solution—and if a Russian general couldn't pull it off, the "patriotic" bourgeoisie was perfectly capable of looking for salvation from the German Kaiser. It echoes the "patriotism" of the French bourgeoisie in 1871 who begged Bismarck to come in and crush the Paris Commune. By late July, however, the obvious favorite was General Lavr Kornilov, the new commander in chief of the Russian army. In a conversation with his chief of staff, Kornilov vowed to "hang the German agents and spies,

Lenin first of all, and disperse the soviets."

The soviet leadership bumbled away as the counterrevolution approached. Fortunately the working class did not. The lower soviet bodies got in motion and essentially bypassed the entire upper leadership. Trotsky said, "the Revolution had everywhere its eye, its ear and its hand." As Kornilov set in motion he found that the rudimentary things you need for a military campaign like communications, transport, supplies, troops—they were all for the soviet and not for him. It never actually came to any fighting. The Bolshevik agitators were successful in winning over those few regiments that hadn't basically told Kornilov to get lost in the first place.

After the failed Kornilov uprising, Trotsky, who was in prison at the time, expected things to move quite quickly toward a revolution. It didn't quite work out that way—there was still a little bit of time left. But the overthrow of the government was clearly on the order of the day.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Real Communists Don't Crawl for the Democrats

The Young Communist League (YCL) logo says it all—red, white and blue with a star-spangled map of the USA. Despite the name, these Communist Party (CP) youth freely admit they don't want to play up the C-word too much. The message delivered to youth attending the Third National YCL Convention held at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst June 17-19 was: don't fight, vote Democrat! At times the audience of 250 people looked on the verge of lapsing into mass coma at every moan from the podium to "Beat Bush." With the regimented atmosphere of a Catholic summer camp, the whole area was declared "an alcohol and drug-free zone" and smokers had to slink around the corridors like escaped cons.

The convention drew a number of youth who are new to politics and looking for revolutionary solutions to fight racism, poverty, union-busting and imperialism's global war preparations. Those looking for a class-struggle perspective couldn't find it inside the convention, however. They had to slip the watchful eye of CP chaperons and talk to Spartacist comrades who were undemocratically excluded by the Stalinists from the heralded "open" convention. YCLers caught talking to us were told it was a convention rule to always be in a workshop. Fearing open political debate, especially debate with the Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union, the CP resorted to lies and whispers—from the ridiculous charge that we say the USSR is "state capitalist"

Report from CP Youth Convention

(which any glance at *Workers Vanguard* quickly dispelled) to the outrageous cop-baiting slanders the CP dishes out against all challengers on their left.

In contrast, the CP left itself disarmed before a right-wing provocation by the campus contras grouped around the *Minuteman*, who last semester tried to attack CP leader Gus Hall when he spoke at Amherst (see *WV* No. 443, 1 January). The YCL, afraid of appearing too militant, downplayed the threat and tried to cool out its members who wanted to make short work of these proto-fascist punks sporting "Kill a Commie for Mommy" T-shirts and carrying full-size American flags on staffs. Rebuffing our offers of a united defense squad, one YCL leader frantically searched for a campus cop, but the forces of capitalist "law and order" took a powder during this rabid disruption, and the entire YCL security team was out playing basketball!

Throughout the conference the YCL attempted to style themselves champions of anti-racist struggle. But they oppose independent labor and black struggle, instead peddling reliance on the biggest racists around, calling on the capitalist state to "outlaw racism" and "ban" fascists. Racist violence is not some aberrant idea that can be legislated off the planet—it's endemic to the cap-

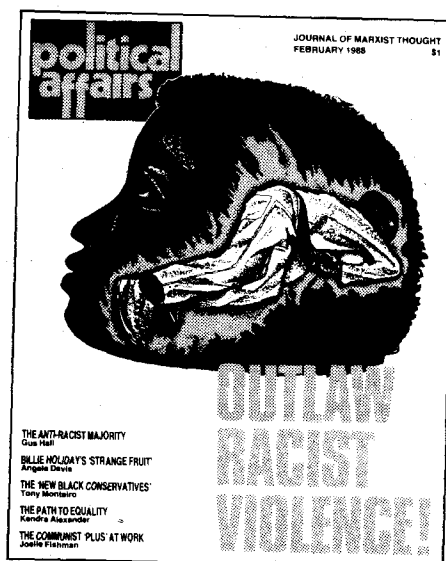
italist system which keeps black people segregated at the bottom of the economy. What's needed is militant action by the integrated labor movement against marauding racists and in defense of the rights of all the oppressed. In 1982 the Spartacist League organized 5,000 people, labor and the black community, to stop the KKK from marching in the nation's capital. And where was Gus? The CP wrote impotent appeals that the police who protect fascist scum should

protect black people.

The YCL tells youth to "just say no" to Reaganism by voting for the Democrats, the party of the slavemasters in the Civil War, the party that threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps (a racist crime the CP actually endorsed at the time!), the party that bombed and napalmed Vietnam and sent tanks rolling into black Detroit to put down the ghetto rebellion in 1967. Unity with the mythical "progressive" bourgeoisie is so paramount for the CP that they're not even running their own candidates this year, instead pushing the lie that anti-busing technocrat Dukakis and his Texan rancher sidekick offer a way out for working people and minorities.

Pandering to the Democrats and bourgeois "respectability" also leads the CP to flinch on defense of the Soviet workers state at key junctures, on KAL 007 ("Soviets Deny Downing Plane") and over stopping Solidarność' counterrevolutionary bid for power ("Poland Heeds Unity Call—Nation Goes Back to Work"). Despite the "détente" pipe dreams of Kremlin bureaucrats and their CP underlings, the imperialist A-bombers of Hiroshima and carpet-bombers of Vietnam will not change their policies by appeals to their nonexistent morality. The only road to peace is to disarm the bloody capitalist class through world socialist revolution!

Youth who want to get rid of this racist capitalist system should join the Spartacus Youth Clubs. We have a world to win. ■



CP reformists tell black people they should rely on the racist capitalist government.

Young Spartacus'

Honor Picket Lines—Shut Down Classes!

Victory to NYU Clerical Workers!

Banging pots and pans and chanting "Five percent won't pay the rent!" striking clerical and technical workers at New York University (NYU) put up picket lines at all the main campus buildings on August 29. The strikers, represented by American Federation of Teachers Local 3882, are demanding a union shop and desperately needed improvements in pay, benefits and working conditions.

An article on the skyrocketing rents in New York City in the 12 July *New York Times* exposed the case of a homeless NYU clerical worker who can't possibly find food, clothing and shelter for herself and three children on the meager NYU paycheck of only \$17,500 a year. Meanwhile, NYU president John Brademas lounges in a rent-free luxury penthouse in the heart of Greenwich Village and plays slumlord to the Lower East Side, where cops recently staged a bloody riot against residents and youth protesting "gentrification."

With registration under way and classes starting September 8, students face the question: which side are you on? Shutting down the university is key to winning this strike—that's why we say: picket lines mean don't cross! Phone workers and delivery men are honoring the lines—students, faculty, and the other campus unions must do likewise. Spartacus Youth Club members have been on the picket lines every day. Shut down classes! No business as usual!

The clerical and technical staff at NYU is 70 percent female and 50 percent minority. Emphasizing the issue of "pay equity," the union points out that they receive about \$2,000 less than the predominantly male operators and porters. A key way to boost pay for the lowest-paid as well as the entire workforce is by fighting for one campus-wide union of all university employees. This is the way to break the university's pattern of pitting one sector of the work-



Young Spartacus

On the picket line, August 30. Spartacus Youth Club members join strikers to help shut down NYU.

force against another with separate contracts and pay scales.

At the first meeting of a student strike support committee on September 1, Spartacus Youth Club members argued for a boycott of classes. This position won significant support, but the majority of those present voted instead for a token one-day boycott and a proposal to move classes off campus—a proposal which, one militant pointed out, simply saves NYU electricity and assuages the guilt of liberals who want to evade picket lines rather than build them. As an SYC member said, "A picket line is a picket line and a scab is a scab. The real question is not the 'sacrifice' of having to make up lost credits, but what's life

going to be like for you when you're done with school and have to go out and find a job, if corporations like NYU continue to get away with busting unions?"

For once, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) is also calling for a boycott of classes. In 1985 the ISO boasted about scabbing on the British miners strike, and last October they voted against a motion put forward by the Cornell Spartacus Youth Club for students to boycott classes and honor picket lines during a campus workers strike. These anti-Soviet "state department socialists" can't see the class line even when they're tripping right over it: their leaflet likens the struggle of NYU clericals to Polish Solidarity. Solidar-

noś is not a union, it's the only "union" Reagan loves—a clerical-reactionary outfit openly on the take from the CIA.

As the largest section of the campus population, college students can play a significant role in the fate of a campus workers strike. The success of any strike is measured by its ability to shut down operations and keep out the scabs. Genuine solidarity is not five minutes of picket duty before and after scabbing by going to classes. A united show of strength by all sectors of the campus now could make the difference between a swift victory for the union or the prospect of a long drawn-out defeat. All out for Local 3882! Shut down NYU! Victory to the workers! ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

Week One of Six Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Week One	%	Local	Quota (in points)	Week One	%
Atlanta	190	0	0	Oakland	800	107	13
Boston	300	33	11	San Francisco	380	75	20
Chicago	550	80	15	Washington, D.C.	160	8	5
Cleveland	230	62	27	At-large	200	0	0
Los Angeles	240	23½	10	National Total	4,300	501½	12
New York	1,250	113	9				

Subscribe Now!

Name _____
 Address _____
 _____ Apt. # _____ Phone () _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscriptions to both *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*.

- \$7/24 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
 - New Renewal
 - International rates:
\$25/24 issues—Airmail \$7/24 issues—Seamail
- \$2/4 issues of *Spartacist* (edición en español)
- \$3/3 issues of *Women and Revolution*
- \$2/10 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)

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

August 25 to October 5



Bush-Dukakis...

(continued from page 1)

striking how all these "standing tall" people take to the hills when the war they want breaks out—remember Congressman Pete McCloskey's revelation about how Pat Robertson pulled strings to get out of combat during the Korean War?

Not that these guys are backward when it comes to killing people—the CIA that Bush ran kills and maims millions all over the globe. Bush's childhood nickname (at the Greenwich Country Day School) of "Poppy" is wildly appropriate for this ex-kingpin of the drug-running CIA.

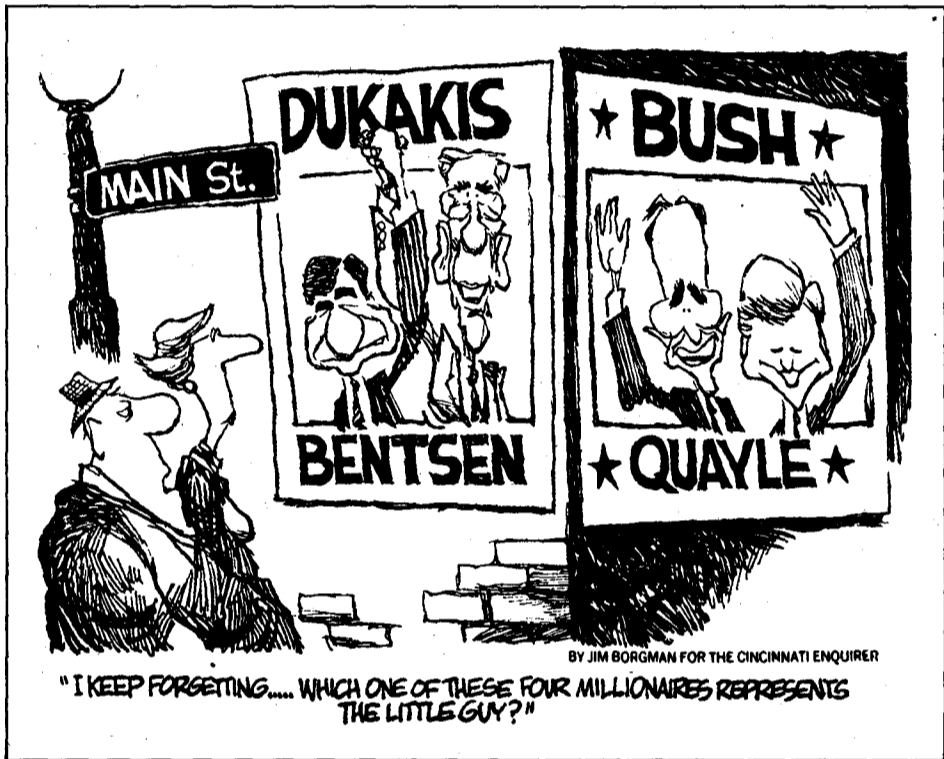
And Teddy Kennedy taunted Bush over Reagan's Iran/contra scandal with the repeated query, "Where was George?" One might just as well ask, where were Teddy and the Senate Democrats supposedly overseeing CIA operations? They deliberately looked the other way when it was obvious that the White House was defying Congressional bans on contra aid, not to mention putting off inquiries into the CIA/

torate. Essential points of agreement include:

Military buildup and confrontation. Reagan pushed through a trillion-dollar military buildup, including the "Star Wars" first-strike Strategic Defense Initiative, all in the name of fighting the "evil empire." With this came repeated military adventures ultimately aimed at provoking the Soviet Union, from the bombing of Libya and the invasion of Grenada to the naval incursions in the Black Sea and the KAL 007 spy plane disaster.

Bush promises more of the same. As if to emphasize continuity in this policy, Dukakis chose as his running mate Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who has backed Reagan down the line over military policy, especially on contra aid. The Democrats' main tactical difference is that Dukakis wants a "Conventional Defense Initiative," a buildup of high-tech "smart" weapons to be used against the Soviets in Europe (*Navy Times*, 22 August).

Among Dukakis' key military advisers is Robert J. Murray, who was dean of the Naval War College in the Reagan years of 1981-83, while Bush has brought on board Zbigniew Brzezinski, who served President Carter. Even the



contra drugs-for-guns operations (on assurances given to them by one Lt. Col. Oliver North).

But the media's frenzy over Quayle's hypocrisy backfired as the polls swung back to Bush, who escalated his flag-waving counterattack by taunting Dukakis for his 1977 legal stand against a bill forcing teachers to lead their classes in the Pledge of Allegiance. Columnist Russell Baker joked that "Bush planned to knock Dukakis out of the race in the first debate by inviting Dukakis to join him in singing the second verse of 'The Star Spangled Banner'."

The reason there's no serious debate is that the two parties have reached a *consensus* on an anti-working-class program at home and an anti-Soviet war program abroad, but of course they can't say that explicitly to the elec-

Nation crowd of liberals, desperately trying to find a reason to vote for Dukakis, glumly notes, "It's clear now that under Dukakis or Bush the cold war is likely to be carried on—by other means, if not the old means" (Andrew Kopkind and Alexander Cockburn, "Mike Dukakis's Political Economy," *Nation*, 16 July).

Racism and the growth of fascist terror. The Reagan/Bush administration has fostered the growth of Klan/Nazi terror as the Meese "Justice" Department spent eight years tearing down the limited legal gains of the '50s and '60s civil rights movement. Governor Dukakis was already on the racist bandwagon in the mid-'70s when he came out for "separate but equal" schooling during the Boston busing crisis. Bush's attempt to court Hispanic Americans, now a significant section of the electorate, backfired when he introduced to Reagan the children of his Mexican daughter-in-law as "the little brown ones."

Meanwhile Dukakis has been trying to make Jesse Jackson take a back seat on the Democratic bus in order to cater to the racist vote: Jackson was told by Dukakis aides "not to campaign in Mr. Dukakis's behalf in several states where their polling indicated he would alienate more voters than he would attract," especially Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Michigan "except for Ann Arbor" (*New York Times*, 1 September). And when Dukakis campaigned in Philadelphia, Mississippi in mid-August, he deliberately avoided mentioning the 1964 Klan murder of three

Zionist pig Ed Koch and Jesse Jackson "bury the hatchet" in display of Democratic Party's racist "unity."



civil rights workers there. The partner parties of racist American capitalism are both enemies of oppressed minorities.

Austerity, protectionism and union-busting. The breaking of the PATCO air traffic controllers union back in 1981 was Reagan's signal that it was open season on the labor movement. Subsequent hard-fought strikes by copper miners in Morenci, Arizona and by meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota were defeated with the aid of the National Guard called out by liberal Democratic governors. While over a fifth of all the delegates at Atlanta were union members, Dukakis is going out of his way to avoid identification with labor or blacks ("special interests" in Reaganspeak).

Attacking the Reagan/Bush economic record, Dukakis pushed a "new economic patriotism" when he spoke to the AFL-CIO, complaining that the U.S. trade deficit with Japan had tripled under Reagan. This Japan-bashing is preparation for a racist trade war with Tokyo (which ultimately leads to a shooting war). Dukakis also put in a good word for "our courageous and determined Polish brothers" in Solidarność. This was applauded by the anti-Communist fat-cat bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO, who funneled millions of CIA dollars to the only "union" Reagan loves.

Domestically Dukakis can be accused of plagiarizing "free enterprise" Reaganomics, at most preferring more traditionally conservative "balanced budget" panaceas. One of his top economic advisers, Lawrence Sum-

mers, was a member of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers. Dukakis forces crushed Jackson's proposals to (slightly) tax the rich to pay for social welfare programs. There will be no FDR-type New Deal under Dukakis: the so-called Massachusetts Miracle of growth relied heavily on the Reagan military buildup to fuel the high-tech war industries on Route 128.

When all is said and done, it may be that Dukakis & Co. are following the advice of Wisconsin Senator Proxmire, who intimated: "You will not get one in 100 to admit it, but the best thing that could happen to the Democrats might be to lose the next presidential election." Proxmire was predicting a new depression. Already Paul Erdman and a host of bourgeois economists and soothsayers are predicting a "crash of '89." And the Democrats certainly don't have a program to prevent it or fight it any more than the Republicans do.

For the working class and minorities, the '88 election serves to emphasize the dead end of bourgeois politics, padlocked by the two capitalist parties. For American workers, who have seen their wages steadily slashed over the last 15 years; for black and Hispanic minorities trapped in the impoverished ghettos and barrios, targeted by racists in white sheets and blue uniforms; for all the victims of decaying American capitalism, the way out is through forging a class-struggle workers party to lead the struggle for proletarian revolution, championing the liberation of all the oppressed. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office:

Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

New York

Box 444, Canal St. Sta.
New York, NY 10013
(212) 267-1025

Atlanta

Box 4012
Atlanta, GA 30302

Detroit

Box 441794
Detroit, MI 48244

Norfolk

Box 1972, Main PO
Norfolk, VA 23501

Boston

Box 840, Central Sta.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-3928

Ithaca

Box 6767
Ithaca, NY 14850

Oakland

Box 32552
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 839-0851

Chicago

Box 6441, Main PO
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 663-0715

Los Angeles

Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta.
Los Angeles, CA 90029
(213) 380-8239

San Francisco

Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101
(415) 863-6963

Cleveland

Box 91037
Cleveland, OH 44101
(216) 881-3700

Madison

Box 2074
Madison, WI 53701
(608) 251-6431

Washington, D.C.

Box 75073
Washington, D.C. 20013
(202) 636-3537

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto

Box 7198, Station A
Toronto, Ontario M5W 1X8
(416) 593-4138

Police-State Olympics...

(continued from page 1)

home team—or suddenly reaching for a stick of gum.”

The entire 600,000-man South Korean army as well as the 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there will be placed on full alert during the games. A squadron of U.S. fighter planes has been moved from Japan to Korea, a U.S. Navy carrier task force will patrol offshore and AWACS aircraft will be flying overhead. The North Korean regime (which has refused to participate in the Seoul Olympics) rightly called the games “undisguised war maneuvers.”

To hold the Olympics in Seoul is itself a Cold War provocation. For it was on the Korean peninsula in 1950 that the Cold War turned into a hot war. It was here that U.S. imperialism moved to “roll back Communism,” beginning with North Korea, only to be stopped by the Chinese army backed by the Soviet Union. The American Caesar, Douglas MacArthur, suffered the most humiliating defeat of his career when the Chinese Red Army crossed the Yalu and smashed the U.S. Eighth Army. In response MacArthur wanted to bomb China. U.S. president Harry Truman vetoed this move, fearing it would trigger World War III by provoking Russia. Ever since the 1953 truce, the totally militarized Korean peninsula—divided between the “free world” military dictatorship in the South and the grotesquely deformed workers state in the North—has been a trip wire for World War III.

For decades anyone in South Korea who even spoke of reunification risked imprisonment, torture and assassination. But today popular sympathy for reunification, spearheaded by the militant student protests, is so intense that even the U.S. puppet regime of Roh Tae Woo is paying lip service to it. In July Roh announced an opening to the North, permitting trade, family visits and student exchanges. In late August South Korean politicians and North Korean bureaucrats met at the Korean War truce village of Panmunjom, but their talks went nowhere.

The notion that reunification can be achieved peacefully under the banner of “democracy” is a liberal nationalist pipe dream. The national and social liberation of the Korean people requires revolutionary reunification—proletarian socialist revolution against the Cold War neocolony in the South, proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist regime in the North.

South Korean Working Class Shows Its Power

For decades South Korea has been ruled by a succession of generals trained and selected by the Pentagon. Follow-



Combative South Korean proletariat has the power to overthrow Cold War police state.

George Mitchell

ing last year's months-long labor and student revolt, the military regime in Seoul has taken on a parliamentary façade. A majority in the impotent National Assembly is now held by liberal opposition parties led by Kim Dae Jung and Kim Young Sam. While the feuding Kims don't like one another, both are currently on amicable terms with President Roh, who was trained for the job at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and later with the U.S. forces ravaging Vietnam. The so-called “democratization” of South Korea is pure hype. With its weak native bourgeoisie, its huge and combative proletariat and radical student movement, this Cold War front line state can exist only as a military dictatorship (open or disguised) or it won't exist at all.

In addition to heralding its phony “democratization,” propagandists for U.S. imperialism point to South Korea as a great success story of “free enterprise” capitalism. But the South Korean “economic miracle” is based on subjecting workers to the highest rate of exploitation in the industrial world. An American liberal who visited a Seoul factory last year wrote to the *New York Times* (5 January):

“Conditions were reminiscent of the 19th-century Lawrence, Mass., textile mills. Teen-age women, recent arrivals from the countryside, work 13-hour days, 6-day weeks, for 65 cents an hour. They live in hostels above the factories, 10 to a room, returning half their wages to the American-owned company for ‘room’ and meals.”

Business Week points out that South Koreans work over the course of a year 40 percent more hours than Americans and 25 percent more hours than Japanese. At the same time, South Korea's

industrial plant, heavily financed by American and Japanese capital, is among the world's most advanced. The result is bloated profits for the *chaebols*—the huge state-sponsored monopolies like Hyundai, Daewoo and Samsung—and their Wall Street and Tokyo backers.

Until last year independent trade unions in South Korea were effectively suppressed. The only legal unions were company unions under the umbrella of the state-sponsored Federation of Korean Trade Unions, which enforced labor discipline hand in glove with company goons, the KCIA spy agency and riot police. This corporatist straitjacket was ripped apart by a massive strike wave centering on the notoriously reactionary Hyundai empire (see “South Korea: Strikes Shake Dictatorship,” *WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987).

Again this spring a strike wave involving over a thousand separate industrial actions shook the *chaebols*. The core of the South Korean industrial proletariat went out—auto workers at Hyundai and Daewoo, shipbuilders at Samsung. At Hyundai Precision and Industry Co. strikers held eleven executives, including the founder's son, hostage in the company compound for seven days. Throughout South Korea workers took on the *kudasan*, the bosses' paid goons and strikebreakers.

The strikes ended with wage increases averaging 20 percent. Even the *Wall Street Journal* conceded that the *chaebols* could easily absorb the additional labor costs. Profits are expected to increase by 30 percent this year, while South Korean companies routinely achieve double-digit gains in labor productivity. Nevertheless, the Korean bourgeoisie and their imperialist overlords have to be nervous about the emergence of a combative and independently organized proletariat. They are sitting atop a volcano.

Imperialist agencies are working overtime to co-opt and control the new South Korean unions. Thus last winter the AFL-CIO sponsored “training sessions” for union leaders at various South Korean universities. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy is notorious as an instrument for CIA-backed intervention to smash labor militancy throughout the American empire—while pushing racist, anti-Asian protectionist chauvinism at home.

South Korea's new unions are admirably combative but at present remain narrowly economist in their demands. Yet just to exist requires a direct struggle with the state. Any serious struggle to put an end to the series of brutal dictatorships which have ravaged the country since the postwar American occupation must point to a workers revolution

and, in turn, to a struggle to smash the Cold War partition of Korea along the 38th parallel while defending North Korea against imperialism.

For the Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

The question of reunification has been placed on the center stage of South Korean political life with the militant student protests beginning last June. University students planned to march to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ, actually one of the most militarized zones on the face of the planet). At Panmunjom they were to meet with a delegation from the North's Kim Il Sung University to demand co-sponsorship of the Olympics, the ouster of U.S. troops, and reunification of the country.

As the students prepared to march from Seoul's Yonsei University and ten other campuses, they were surrounded by 60,000 riot police equipped with armor-plated vans shooting rapid-fire tear gas grenades. Courageously, the students fought to break out of the police cordon, hurling rocks, bricks and firebombs while chanting “Down with the military dictatorship!” and “Drive out the Yankees who enforce the partition of our land!” The march to Panmunjom, however, was stopped by the massive use of police-state repression. And when onlookers protested the brutal treatment of the students, police tossed tear gas grenades into the crowds.

A few days later as a sop the Roh regime permitted a thousand students to stage a ceremony near the North Korean border, where they prayed for the reunification of their country. But neither the riot police nor tame pray-ins have dampened the student movement for reunification. In August South Korea's campuses were again battlegrounds between Roh's police and student protesters trying to march to the border.

The Western press and the Seoul regime describe the student protesters as radical extremists and leftists. However, the protesters appear to express liberal illusions in pure, classless “democracy” as well as resurgent Korean nationalism, directed centrally against the United States. The *New York Times* (10 June) quoted one student leader:

“Our ultimate goal is not just blind unification, but achieving sovereignty under an independent regime... We have realized we can't have true democracy with a regime represented by military force and manipulated by a foreign invasive force—the United States.”

Along the same line, the *San Francisco Examiner* (15 June) quoted Kim Jeunggi, who originally proposed the march to Panmunjom:

“The division of our land by superpowers, spearheaded by the United States,



Der Spiegel

Special commando unit trains for Seoul Olympics. Spectators had better not make any sudden moves.

has brought immeasurable trials and tribulation to our people. We have now reached a point in our history when we ourselves must get rid of the barbed wire fence that divides our land."

That the students are marching against American imperialism is a good thing, and it is true that the U.S. is a barrier to reunification. However, the Cold War division of Korea is rooted in the class war of world capitalism against the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. A nationalist program can neither understand the division of Korea nor mobilize the forces necessary to overcome it. The students' courageous attempt to march to Panmunjom defied the anti-Communist hysteria of Seoul's rulers and the U.S. masters. But the students surely wouldn't like North Korea if they ever got there.

The other side of the students' just hatred for U.S. imperialism and its local puppets has been a tendency to prettify conditions across the 38th parallel. "Campus bulletin boards are filled with photographs of life in North Korea, including some of women working in key positions, and messages condemning America," reported the *San Francisco Examiner*. The relative social equality forged in the North on the foundation of a collectivized economy contrasts starkly with the filthy rich bosses side by side with extreme poverty in the capitalist South. And the advancement of women is a critical question in Korea, so recently a peasant/feudal society in which women were routinely bought and sold as wives, and where today women workers get paid half their male counterparts' wages.

Nonetheless, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is a far cry from a workers paradise or an egalitarian society. On the contrary, Kim Il Sung & Son run the most grotesque Stalinist regime in the world. Officially proclaimed Great Leader and Sun of Mankind, Kim has created a personality cult which makes Stalin look like a modest soul. The comparison which comes to mind is the deification of the old Roman emperors. The Great Leader has set out to create a dynasty by naming his son, Kim Il Jung—officially known as "the dear leader"—heir apparent. Government workers devote a month a year to studying the writings of Kim & Son, whose contributions are elevated far above those of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Little is known about the North Korean economy since the regime publishes no usable economic data. We do know, however, that much of the scarce foreign exchange is spent on full-page ads in the Western press glorifying the Great Leader.

If South Korea's student nationalists prettify North Korean Stalinism, they view the Soviet Union as the other "superpower" responsible, along with the U.S., for the division of their country. But such an equation is radically and dangerously false. The Soviet Union is the military/industrial bulwark of all those countries where capitalism has been overthrown. Only fear of war with Russia prevented U.S. imperialism from A-bombing China in the Korean War, and reunifying Korea as an American neocolony. Opposition to U.S. imperialism means defense of the Soviet Union as well as North Korea and all the other deformed workers states.

Korea must be reunified through proletarian socialist revolution in the South—the only way to smash the generals and *chaebols* and break the hold of U.S. imperialism—and proletarian political revolution in the North based on workers democracy and internationalism. A unified Korean workers state would have an enormous impact on the Chinese deformed workers state and on imperialist Japan, which ruled Korea as its colonial master for the first half of the 20th century, and could thus ignite the working classes throughout East Asia. ■

Picket Lines Honored

S.F. Hospital Workers

Back Bosses Down

SAN FRANCISCO—In a powerful act of labor solidarity, 1,700 SF hospital service workers refused to return to work after ending their three-week strike against Affiliated Hospitals, pledging to stay out until the hospital bosses settled with striking nurses. The service workers, members of Service Employees (SEIU) Local 250, struck on July 26 against the hospital administration's attempts to gut medical coverage, cut paid sick days and impose a wage freeze. They were joined on August 2 by 2,000 members of the California Nurses Association (CNA).

In early August, with the strikes threatening to spread to San Francisco General Hospital, Democratic mayor Art ("Austerity") Agnos moved in to "mediate" a settlement. Agnos, friend of Bay Area labor officialdom, is out to impose a wage freeze and layoffs on city workers. He was able to get SF General nurses to swallow a contract which does nothing about the horrible overcrowding and rotten health care at the public hospital. The health-for-profit hyenas who run Affiliated hoped to wear down the service workers, but the nurses' walkout forced them to withdraw their takeaway demands. Despite a miserly bonus payment in lieu of a wage increase, the Local 250 contract was ratified on August 15.

But the militant service workers—70 percent minority and more than half women—refused to cross the nurses' picket lines, vowing to stay out until the CNA also settled. The Local 250 leadership knew the nurses were voting on a proposed contract in two days, and thought their militant posture would be cheap. (During the strikes the union tops let the picket lines leak like sieves, as the hospital recruited scab nurses from across the country and about 100 service workers scabbed.) But the nurses, taking advantage of the critical national nursing shortage, voted down the contract offer of 20 percent over three years by a two-to-one margin. And the Local 250 members stuck to their guns and stayed out.

The self-styled "professionals" in the CNA leadership invited Local 250 to



Striking nurses picket San Francisco hospitals.

cross their lines, as the CNA has routinely done to other hospital workers. Although SEIU local leaders had agreed to this stab in the back, the vicious hospital administrators stiffened their spine by insisting that scabs would be given seniority over returning strikers. But as soon as an arbitrator ordered the hospital to recall by seniority, the union tops rushed to get strikers back to work. On August 28, the nurses, angry but with no alternative to the CNA sellouts, finally accepted a 21 percent wage hike

over 34 months. Despite the wage gain, the hospitals got a three-year contract separating by nearly a year the expiration dates of Local 250 and the CNA.

All too often mutual scabbing has knifed strikes, while union misleaders honor strikebreaking injunctions handed down by the capitalist courts. It wasn't playing by the bosses' rules or liberal Democrats that beat back the Affiliated bosses. It was the Local 250 members' adherence to the principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." ■

Moral Majority Bigots...

(continued from page 6)

As part of the Reaganite onslaught against "secular humanism," the top echelons of the anti-abortionists have also launched a virulently anti-Semitic campaign against the movie, *The Last Temptation of Christ*. Recently an insurance company canceled fire insurance for a Montgomery, Alabama theater that was going to show the film—a virtual invitation to a firebombing. When the film opened in Atlanta, some of the anti-abortionists took the day off to go protest at the theater where it was showing and listen to Pat Boone railing against Jews. (The theater got a bomb threat, too.)

The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League appealed to Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, of all people, to condemn anti-Semitism—in effect asking the perpetrators to condemn them-

selves along with their pogromist followers. Pat Robertson replied saying that the movie had to be seen as "a Jewish affront to Jesus Christ," and telling the head of the ADL to "exercise your influence with Lew Wasserman and others at MCA to eliminate this affront to Christianity before trouble begins" (*New York Times*, 24 August). What "trouble" could Robertson be talking about? Another *Kristallnacht* pogrom? A lynching, like Leo Frank, the Jewish factory supervisor in Atlanta who was strung up by the Klan in 1915?

From the speedup on death row to targeting AIDS victims and pregnant teenagers, the Reaganite "hit list" keeps getting longer. And it's no accident that the Democratic Party chose the Deep South to hold its convention, or that Dixiecrat plantation owner Lloyd Bentsen is Michael Dukakis' V.P. The Democrats and Jimmy Carter's racist, strike-breaking "human rights" regime paved the way for the all-sided onslaught against the workers by the Reaganites. The anti-abortion terrorists and their

collaborators are driving sex education from the schools. Their answer to teenage pregnancy and AIDS is "just say no." Meanwhile, single mothers and their children are rapidly becoming an ever larger percentage of the ranks of America's poor and homeless—the old sexist joke about "keep 'em barefoot and pregnant" has been raised to the level of a program by key sectors of the American ruling class.

The courts, the government and their shock troops *have no business* interfering in an individual's decision over whether or not to have a baby. The Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky denounced abortion bans as "a foul police interference in what is to every woman the most intimate sphere of life" (*The Revolution Betrayed*). What's needed is a workers party that will act as a tribune for all the oppressed of society, mobilizing the power of labor to defend the abortion clinics and beat back the state's assault on our democratic rights, as part of the fight for a workers government. No to the partner parties of racist American capitalism! Free abortion on demand! ■

The Case of Al Sharpton, FBI Fink

Last January *Newsday* dropped a bombshell with its exposé that New York black activist preacher Rev. Al Sharpton was an FBI informer. Sharpton didn't even deny it—he admitted in an interview with the paper that he let the feds install a tapped phone in his home, that he carried a concealed microphone at times, and had accompanied “wired” undercover cops to meetings with people the feds were trying to entrap. He admitted that he finked on two black Brooklyn politicians, Congressman Major Owens and state assemblyman Al Vann, back in 1986 when the Reagan/Meese gang was investigating “vote tampering.” At the time, Sharpton was working for Owens’ campaign opponent, Roy Innis, notorious as a recruiter for the South African-backed UNITA terrorists in Angola.

According to *Newsday* (20 January), Sharpton began informing for the FBI in 1983, after getting caught in a “sting” operation where he was allegedly videotaped during a cocaine deal with a narc posing as a South African businessman. This type of dirty set-up is a favorite of the G-men for going after everyone from troublesome politicians to maverick auto maker John DeLorean. Sharpton says he only informed on organized crime and drug dealers, but never finked on any “leaders in the movement.” Who knows? Sharpton admits he secretly worked with the FBI, whose bloody tracks lead from the murder of civil rights workers in the South to the assassination of Black Panther leaders in the North. The political police of racist American capitalism are a deadly threat.

Sharpton was working with the feds just when the notorious FBI/NYPD “Red Squad” was born again as Mayor Koch and NYPD Commissioner Ben Ward’s “Black Desk,” planting informers in black community meetings, tracking black militants and taping black radio WLIB. And Sharpton wasn’t just wired—the man was a walking provocation. In 1986, he tried to whip up a pogromist backlash against Arab shopkeepers in Harlem (for supposedly selling drug paraphernalia). That same year he backed Reaganite Senator Alphonse D’Amato for re-election (while D’Amato was describing blacks living in housing projects as “animals”). Moreover, it appears the FBI wasn’t the only agency Al Sharpton did dirty work for. Columnist Warren Hinckle reports:

“Sharpton’s role is troubling as much for his background as his style. His immediate background has been re-



Al Sharpton’s vigilante-style “anti-drug” antics set up black community for more cop terror.

vealed to be that of an FBI informer. His past background, according to intelligence sources, is that of a CIA contract agent who was involved in destabilizing the Manley regime in Jamaica.”

—*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 March

Predictably, the bourgeois media had a field day, while black establishment outfits like the NAACP hinted that the Sharpton revelations showed “black militants,” notably lawyers Maddox and Mason, were just provocateurs. On the other hand, several NYC black papers alibied Sharpton in the name of black solidarity. The former New York Eight—who had been allied with Sharpton, Maddox and Mason, and were themselves the main target of the NYPD witchhunt—initially supported cop informer Sharpton, then backed off as the revelations continued. One Harlem community meeting broke up as activists stormed out chanting, “Wired up and can’t tape no more!”

The obscene debate over “collaborating with the collaborator” spread to the pseudo-socialist left, many of whom had participated in Sharpton’s provocative stunts, such as leading black demonstrators into the white racist enclave of Bensonhurst. The Socialist Workers Party, which published a lead photo of this poisonous demagogue in the *Militant* (15 January) just days before the revelations, belatedly ran a red-faced column about the danger of government finks. The cynical con artists of the Morenoite Internationalist Workers Party lined up hard with Sharpton, running a full-page article defending the

cop, claiming “Sharpton, Maddox and Mason have promoted the use of militant tactics...” (*Working Class Opposition*, March 1988). And Lenora Fulani’s New Alliance Party has gone whole hog with Sharpton over the murky Tawana Brawley affair, staging a joint rally outside the Democratic Party convention in Atlanta.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has come out against Sharpton, in order to defend black establishment figures allied with liberal governor Mario Cuomo. CP leader Jarvis Tyner writes in a pamphlet, “Al Sharpton: Government Agent—Not Civil Rights Leader”:

“If you listen to what he was saying, the main target of Sharpton’s attack was always the Black elected officials. And it follows that this so-called civil rights leader went to the FBI and Justice Department to frame up two of the most progressive Black politicians we have in this town, Congressman Major Owens and State Assemblyman Al Vann... He was an agent provocateur.”

The point of Tyner’s pamphlet is that all those who break with the black establishment and mainstream black elected officials are...cops! And while they come out against penny-ante cop Sharpton, the CP is campaigning for the Democratic ticket of Michael (First Strike) Dukakis and Lloyd (Nuke North Korea) Bentsen as U.S. top cops of the world.

It’s grotesque: the CP cop-baits “militants” while the NAP parades with cops in the name of “militancy.” And they both support Jesse Jackson, who says the fight against racist terror is history, who says not to mobilize against the

KKK but join the Reagan anti-drug crusade, who tells blacks: don’t fight, vote Democrat. It is the bankruptcy of all wings of black leadership, from Democratic Party BEOs to black nationalists, which has created the vacuum for the most grotesque demagogues like Al Sharpton and the sinister anti-Semite Farrakhan (the man who wanted Malcolm X dead) to step into. For Sharpton is not alone.

Take Sonny Carson, who joined with the New York Eight to form the Black Men’s Movement Against Crack, whose raids, like Sharpton’s, fall in behind the anti-drug witchhunt. Carson’s stock in trade is “off the pig” rhetoric usually hurled during protests which are surrounded by trigger-happy cops. Less well-known is his role as quartermaster for brutal Liberian dictator Samuel Doe. According to the *New York Times* (6 July 1987), Carson commutes “between New York and Liberia, where his company has built a network of PX’s for the Liberian army.” While opponents of Doe’s regime are summarily executed, Liberia today is the only country in West Africa that allows U.S. military aircraft to refuel on 24 hours notice.

The sham of reactionaries posing as black militants is not limited to New York City. In Atlanta, former MLK lieutenant and black city councilman Rev. Hosea Williams today backs Ronald Reagan and boasts, “I have a key to the White House now” (*Atlanta Constitution*, 9 February 1987). In 1984 Williams supported a \$96,000 pension for ax-wielding, segregationist ex-governor Lester Maddox. And the prototype for the black reactionaries with progressive veneer is CORE’s Roy Innis, who in 1975-76 recruited black American vets to fight alongside CIA-funded rebels and South African troops in Angola and later recruited mercenaries for Uganda’s bloody dictator Idi Amin.

The very existence of this layer of black demagogues now posing as “militants” reflects the profound crisis of black leadership. The armies of homeless on the street corners, the black youth without jobs or hope, the mounting cop terror from Texas to New York, the KKK lynchers mobilizing in Chicago, the white racist backlash in Yonkers—this situation cries out for revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League puts forward a program of struggle in defense of the oppressed black population, fighting for mass labor/black mobilization to smash racist terror, for school integration and integrated affordable housing for the poor, linking the impoverished ghetto masses with the social power of the organized working class in the cause of black liberation through socialist revolution. ■

Fulani...

(continued from page 5)

diverting the workers’ movement for independent political action into the channel of bourgeois politics dressed up with radical demagogy which cost nothing. That is what we have to say, and that’s what we have to fight—vigorously and openly, and with no qualifications at all. We have to be 100% anti-Wallacites.”

—“Election Policy in 1948.” *ibid.*

In particular, Cannon emphasized that Wallace’s “peace-loving” rhetoric could in its way serve as a means of gearing up the American people for war with the Soviet Union:

“Wallace’s policy can be just as much a preparation for war as the Truman-Marshall program. Just as much. It is a matter of opinion as to which is the most effective way of preparing war against the Soviet Union—whether by an outward effort to reach agreement by concessions in order to prepare better and put the onus of responsibility on the Soviet Union before the fight starts, or by the rough and tumble ‘get tough’ policy of Truman and [secretary of state] Marshall.”

And just a few years later Wallace re-

joined hands with Truman in supporting U.S. forces in the Korean War, that is, the major military showdown between Western imperialism and the Sino-Soviet bloc in that period.

Cannon shot down the argument that the Progressive Party was not really a bourgeois party on account of Stalinist organizational dominance in it. He noted that Wallace himself had made the decisive counterargument: the Communists were supporting his program, not the other way around. Thus Cannon insisted:

“We must denounce the Stalinists for once more betraying the independent class party of the workers and selling it out to bourgeois politicians, in the hope of exerting a little pressure in Washington in the interest of Kremlin diplomacy.”

Today, these same Stalinists (in some cases literally the same people) are selling out to bourgeois politicians—Dukakis, Bentsen and Jesse Jackson—compared to whom Henry Wallace comes off looking like a flaming red.

Two Tails on the Democrats

As for the New Alliance bunch, when you strip away their rad-lib electoral

trappings you find frenzied rhetoric reminiscent of Lyndon LaRouche back when he was vowing to physically liquidate the CP in one month. Following an attack on the NAP in the *People’s Daily World*, William Pleasant responded in the *National Alliance* (9 June) with an avalanche of putrid racist epithets against New York State Communist Party leader Jarvis Tyner, labeling him “the Skunk,” “Jiveass” and “B.O.” Tyner. This is *Klan* rhetoric.

And when we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* (No. 458, 29 July) that the NAP is a “dubious outfit on the fringes of the Jackson campaign,” and warned that supporting Fulani would be “an eccentric act, irrelevant to the future of the American proletariat,” William Pleasant replied in a piece titled “Two of a Kind—Clowns and Geeks, Stalinists and Trotskyists” (*National Alliance*, 18 August) which reeks of moral degeneracy. Along with typical “Spart”-baiting about “ultra-leftism,” the NAP writes:

“Maybe Trotsky was right about Stalin—so what?! He got an icepick buried in his brain in 1940 and there is still no independent working class political party in the U.S., except the nascent NAP.”

The cynicism of the NAP knows no bounds. With the New Alliance, hold on to your wallet, and watch your back.

With the Communist Party, in contrast, what you see is pretty much what you get—a deeply reformist Stalinist party that’s been a transmission belt within the workers movement for the sellout policies of the Kremlin and an apologist for the “liberal” bourgeoisie for some 60 years. Communism it isn’t. As Cannon said of the CP’s attempt to continue the Roosevelt popular front in the Wallace campaign:

“I don’t know of any effort made by the Bolsheviks to maneuver within the parties of the bourgeoisie... What was the meaning of the great slogan, ‘All Power to the Soviets?’ What was the meaning of the slogan, ‘Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers?’... They were all class slogans designed to split the workers’ parties entirely away from all collaboration with bourgeois politicians.”

Today the urgent task is still to forge a multiracial vanguard party capable of leading the working class to power, sweeping the bosses and the opportunist tails on the Democratic Party into the dustbin of history. ■

New York...

(continued from page 16)

fence to get back in the park; foot police swarmed in behind, beating them. No one was safe. Residents were pulled off their stoops. A policeman jammed his nightstick into the spokes of a passing bike and the rider was clubbed by several cops. A student emerging from the Rocky Horror Picture Show was dragged by his hair, tossed against a car and into the gutter. Reporters for the *Daily News* and the *Times* were punched and shoved. Eventually, 450 cops joined the attack and a spotlight-equipped police helicopter hovered at rooftop level.

It was a full-scale cop riot. At first Koch and his black police commissioner Benjamin Ward stood four-square behind their uniformed thugs. But millions of New Yorkers soon saw what really happened. Clayton Patterson, a community artist, recorded the assault with his video camera and showed it to reporters. Paul Garrin, another freelance video cameraman, filmed the attack from atop a van and was then hauled down and beaten by the cops. Clips of the brutal police onslaught were aired on TV all week. Patterson courageously refused to turn his film over to a grand jury, saying he feared Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau was too close to the cops:

"You had that guy uptown who was beat up by the cops on videotape, and the victim ended up getting prosecuted—it's all starting to sound too much like South American dictatorships."

—*New York Times*, 4 September

The vicious treatment routinely meted out to blacks and Hispanics was suddenly headlining the 6 o'clock news. And between the ACLU and legal aid lawyers, more than 100 charges of police brutality were filed. So Koch and Ward had to change their tune. An NYPD report criticized some police brass for "administrative lapses." The net result: a deputy chief retired, the number two commander transferred, two street cops put on desk duty. Don't hold your breath for more: until last May, the commander of the Civilian Complaint Review Board's investigative staff was none other than Thomas Darcy, the on-site commander of the Tompkins Square cop riot.

A lot of the community ire was directed at yuppie professionals moving into the area. The grand finale to the all-night battle came when protesters rammed a police barricade through the brass and glass front doors of the Christadora House, a 16-floor condo containing apartments which sell for up to \$1 million. The developer is a notorious slumlord who also manages the Bronx building where six people were incinerated last month when an after-hours club burned down in a suspicious fire.

Liberals and reformists like to blame the decay of the cities on "Reaganism" and vow that things will be different if Dukakis wins in '88. But for the last eight years, Democratic mayors have been trying to out-Reagan Reagan in their attacks on municipal unions,

That same day he publicized a letter imploring New York Yankees owner (and convicted Watergate felon) George Steinbrenner to accept a \$90 million gift from the state and city for a new parking garage, restaurant and stadium boxes in exchange for an agreement not to take his ball club out of town.

In recent months Koch tried (unsuccessfully) to ban hot dog vendors from midtown. He's also going after corner newsstands, which are not only where most New Yorkers get their daily paper but are neighborhood social institutions besides. In the name of improving sidewalk traffic flow, new city guidelines threaten to drive 80 percent of the 300 remaining stands off the streets. No doubt that's exactly what Koch wants, since the print media are increasingly hostile (unlike TV which continues to

that she talked to herself and used the street for a toilet. Boggs shot back: "Provide public facilities." After a court battle she won her release from Bellevue.

Now influential New York establishment figures are wondering out loud if Koch shouldn't be checked into Bellevue himself. After being re-elected in 1985, Koch declared that "while it was the people who elected me, it was God that selected me" (*New Yorker*, 23 March 1987). Lately, contemplating a fourth term as mayor, he said maybe he'd stay in office forever.

Koch and his cossacks are the instruments of bourgeois rule in the financial center of the capitalist world, in a period where the program of the ruling class is to take back those minimal gains won by the working people through past strug-



UPI Ruiz/Picture Group

As tens of thousands are forced to live in NYC's mean streets, Mayor Koch blasts New Yorkers for giving money to the homeless.

minorities and the poor. Reagan's America is perfectly embodied in Koch's New York. A few years ago Reagan claimed the homeless are homeless "by choice." Now Koch declares the unemployed just "don't want to have to work."

Koch positively grooves on screwing people. Last month the mayor announced plans to reduce the number of beggars by calling on New Yorkers to stop giving donations to panhandlers.

provide a platform for the bigmouth mayor).

Ed Koch has always gloried in being gross. Recently subway riders were inflicted with the mayor's mug saying "I want you to have my baby," in posters encouraging support for city foster care. But Koch has a special meanness toward the homeless. Last winter he spearheaded a roundup of bag ladies on the Upper East Side, going after a black woman, Billie Boggs. Koch complained

gles. This is the program of Reagan as well. In New York, the takebacks and cutbacks, the racist attacks and cop terror, didn't begin with Koch, and they won't end by putting in another Democrat, black or white.

What's needed is a revolutionary workers party that will sweep away a truly vicious ruling class that callously tramples on our rights, our livelihoods and our lives. As for Koch, he will end up in the pooper-scooper of history. ■

Yonkers...

(continued from page 16)

housing, to be scattered around white areas. But on August 1, they voted 4 to 3 to reject the second phase of the federally ordered plan, to construct 800 moderate-income apartments which would be part of larger, mainly "market-priced" complexes built in predominantly white areas. The council vote was a last-ditch stand calculated to spark a racist backlash—and they're getting it. The four city councilmen gloat in their national notoriety, waving telegrams from every racist anti-busing bigot in the country.

Governor Cuomo calls for "understanding" the racist bigots, claiming race isn't the issue but "class," and stating: "I don't believe that people would object to Lena Horne. I don't think they would object to Harry Belafonte. I think they're afraid of poverty" (*Daily News*, 6 August). So this liberal hero baldly defends the country club set keeping out the poor. In capitalist America, ever since slavery, race and class oppression are intertwined, with blacks on the bottom. Now Cuomo claims Yonkers is just suffering from "esthetic misunderstanding" about the housing designs!

The U.S. Supreme Court has now agreed to hear the bigots' appeal, thus putting on hold Cuomo's cynical ploy to remove the four city councilmen from office in order to save these racist pigs

from the consequences of their bigotry. As journalist Murray Kempton pointed out:

"...the new development would be set on its way; and then the Yonkers Four could run for re-election innocent of this infamy and be triumphantly re-elected....And then they would go peacefully back to deceiving the voters."

—*Newsday*, 28 August

Yonkers rests uneasily between the devastation of the Bronx to the south and the wealthy white suburbs of the rest of Westchester County to the north. Many residents are lower-middle-class or working-class whites who fled New York City. One white Yonkers resident angrily said, "When the Bronx was burning, the Irish, Italians and Jews all came to east Yonkers. I won't live next to a housing project." But who burned the Bronx? It was landlord arson-for-profit. Many blacks and Hispanics, too, would desperately like to escape the city—abandoned burnt-out ghettos in which capitalism and racism have kept them imprisoned.

The Yonkers city council is playing on the fears of working people who've put all their small savings into their homes. But it's not blacks threatening them—it's the banks with their mortgages, the landlords and real-estate sharks who really own their homes. And now rampant rent-gouging and real-estate speculation have made NYC a place where only the very rich can afford to live, even as thousands of homeless crowd the streets—the bitter result of Koch, con-

do king Donald Trump and the Rockefellers' plans to "gentrify" the city.

There is resentment among some white residents against Manhattan judges and rich liberals from lily-white suburbs attacking Yonkers for segregation. Yonkers accounts for only 25 percent of Westchester County's population, but has 43 percent of its publicly assisted housing. Meanwhile, neighboring Bronxville, Hastings-on-Hudson and Scarsdale have excluded blacks entirely for decades and have not even a single unit of public housing. There is also a lot of bitterness over this minimal housing plan among blacks on Yonkers' southwest side, where federal high-rise housing projects have been systematically neglected.

Decent housing and education are basic rights for everybody. And segregated housing means segregated schools. The fight for busing and its extension to the suburbs is a key element of the fight for equality for blacks and other minorities. Ironically, there already is a lot of "busing" from NYC to Westchester, but it's the rich white kids from Park Avenue who ride the Metro North to elite academies. Black and Hispanic youth should have the same opportunity for a quality education. But they'll never have equal opportunity as long as they're locked up in impoverished ghettos and barrios. We're fighting for integrated schools and integrated housing, and it's going to take a socialist revolution to achieve it.

NAACP leaders have noted that the "Yonkers Four" racist city councilmen are seeking to become the "Bull" Connors of today. Analogies are being made to the early struggles of the civil rights movement—Little Rock, Birmingham, Selma. But the civil rights movement foundered when it went North, because it had no answer to oppression of blacks in the ghettos, which is based not on Jim Crow laws but rooted in the economic bedrock of American capitalism. M.L. King's "open housing" struggles went down to defeat in Cicero and Chicago, as "Boss" Daley's Machine showed that the Northern Democrats, no less than Southern Dixiecrats and Goldwater Republicans, were die-hard defenders of the racist status quo.

You can't crack the hard-core racism crystallized in Yonkers with the methods of the liberal civil rights movement: reliance on the Democrats and the courts. The battle over busing in Boston, where liberals Kennedy and Dukakis defended "neighborhood schools," showed that. And looking to the party of Cuomo and Koch, or to the Reagan/Rehnquist Supreme Court—enemies of the oppressed—will not advance the fight for equality. The Spartacist League fights on the program of revolutionary integrationism, for forging a Trotskyist party through hard battles against segregated schools and housing, for labor/black defense against racist attack, for proletarian revolution to smash the racist capitalist system. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Ed Koch: Enemy of the People of New York

For six weeks the heat and humidity beat down on New York City in the worst summer in more than 30 years. Emergency rooms filled up with victims of the heat. Runners dropped dead in Central Park races. The beaches were closed due to pollution from raw sewage and medical waste that washed up, including AIDS-contaminated blood. The homeless sought relief from the heat on air-conditioned subway cars, just as poor people used to ride the Staten Island ferry all night. Sweltering New Yorkers could hang out in the public parks, sip a few beers, listen to their boom boxes, hope for a breeze.

Tompkins Square Park in the East Village is one such refuge. It's a gathering place for moms and kids, elderly Poles and Ukrainians, young Puerto Ricans, '60s burnouts, '80s punk rockers, chess players, Rasta ganja dealers, street people, muggers and about 150 homeless generally clustered around the band shell. Everyone in a New York state of mind. To put it another way, it's just the sort of place that NYC mayor Edward I. Koch wants to close down. In early August, Koch's cossacks tried to do exactly that, touching off a battle between the police and the community which went on until dawn.

Hizzoner and his cops vowed to enforce the universally ignored 1 a.m. curfew in city parks. Upscale yuppies who have recently moved into the area were complaining about late-night noise. City authorities were going to make this the front line of the bipartisan "war on drugs." Residents of *Loisaida* (Lower East Side) were fighting a war against "gentrification" that was driv-

NYPD Wild in the Streets



New York Post

ing up rents and driving them out. There had been protests all month, culminating in a demonstration called for 11 p.m., August 6.

The NYPD was ready and waiting for them. Police captain Gerald McNamara told reporters, "It's time to bring a little law and order back to the park and

restore it to the legitimate members of the community." As protesters gathered, carrying a banner which read "Gentrification Is Class War," the cops were removing their badges or covering up their badge numbers. Nearly 100 police on foot and on horseback sealed the park. But they retreated as fire-



Peter LeVasseur

Hundreds of NYPD cops run amok, assaulting protesters and passers-by in Tompkins Square Park, August 7.

crackers went off, bottles were thrown, and marchers advanced. McNamara called for reinforcements, including SWAT cops.

Just before 1 a.m. the mounted cops charged. They chased protesters up Avenue A. Demonstrators scaled the
continued on page 15

Smash Segregated Housing, Integrate Westchester Schools!

Racist Backlash in Yonkers

Yonkers, just north of New York City, has become a national symbol of racist backlash and segregation. A majority of its city council, backed up by mobs screaming "Save Yonkers," continues to defy a federal court order to abolish a 40-year pattern of segregation in housing and schools. Bigwig politicians from Cuomo on down wring their hands and squirm, and suddenly the press is full of "crisis" talk because Yonkers faces bankruptcy as contempt of court fines levied by Judge Leonard Sand will soon reach \$1 million a day. Yet nobody was talking "crisis" as the fight of blacks for decent housing and education in Yonkers went on for decades. We say it's just too damn bad for the racist city fathers, who after all squandered over \$10 million of taxpayers' money fighting the desegregation suit.

The Democratic Party honchos are oozing sympathy for the Yonkers segregationists, while trying to deny racism has anything to do with it. But as Winston Ross says, "It's race." Ross

filed the complaint 13 years ago that finally led to federal judge Sand's 1985 decision ordering a housing and school integration plan. Ross grew up in a black section of Yonkers, where at the end of his dead-end street there was a six-foot strip of "border" land owned by the neighboring white Homefield association, to keep out blacks.

Ross went to a public school that had been integrated in the 1930s but due to redistricting was black by the time he attended. When he and his wife tried to buy a house on the white east side, real-estate brokers never had anything available. The lengthy federal court suit, which was brought in the last days of the Carter administration, heard overwhelming testimony about Yonkers' segregation, which has kept blacks, and public housing, penned in the southwestern area across the Saw Mill River Parkway from the white east side.

Last January after years of stalling, Yonkers' city council finally approved a token 200 units of low-income public
continued on page 15



Maiman/Syigma

Racist mobs unleashed by Yonkers city council.