

Clarence Thomas: Anti-Abortion Hanging Judge Confirmed

Sex, Race and Reaction

On October 15, black reactionary Clarence Thomas was narrowly approved for a seat on the Supreme Court. Thomas replaces Thurgood Marshall, one of the leading lawyers of the civil rights movement, a prominent liberal and the first black on the high court. The drive of the Reagan/Bush administrations to pack the court with conservatives has already gutted prisoners' rights and opened wide the floodgates to the racist death penalty. The 1980 Republican convention vowed to eliminate women's right to abortion by appointing "right to life" judges. Now, with the "god squads" on the streets besieging clinics and Thomas on the Supreme Court, after years of whittling away at the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion they're gearing up to throw it out. But the issue won't be settled by the judges in their black robes.

The 52-to-48 Senate vote was preceded by a sordid "hearings" circus, marked by cynical use of the race card by an administration which got elected using the vicious "Willie Horton" racist fear-mongering campaign, and now ohscenely poses as champion of the black man. The bizarre week in Washington was a televised orgy of prudery and prurience in the service of racism and sexism. It was a peculiarly American saga, focusing a harsh glare upon the workings of bourgeois politics in its palpable decay. It was a "Capitol mud bath," as one reporter described it. European



Berry/Boston Globe



Starr/Picture Group

Bush pushes through nomination of black reactionary Clarence Thomas, who is "personally" not "bothered" by the racist death penalty.

observers shook their heads in disbelief at the tawdry spectacle of politics as soap opera. Millions of Americans were disgusted, while the hearings' TV ratings swamped the baseball playoffs.

What we found most disgusting was how the real crimes of Clarence Thomas—a certified enemy of black rights and women's rights, a Reaganite right-

winger who had chopped away at and subverted even the most minimal equal rights laws, a black front man for white supremacy whose associates, as we noted in our last issue, are tied to the bantustan governments of apartheid South Africa, a hanging judge who is "personally" not "bothered" by the racist death penalty—were covered up.

Although pitched over the question of "sexual harassment," in fact the fight on Thomas' nomination was over abortion rights. Those for abortion were against Clarence Thomas, those against it were for him on the Supreme Court. While the feminists looked forlornly to the Democrats, on issues from busing to

continued on page 4

Ominous Racist Vote for KKK Duke

Louisiana Elections

In the October 19 gubernatorial primary in Louisiana, the KKK/Nazi fascist David Duke came in a close second, capturing 32 percent of the vote and securing a place in the November 16 runoff election. There Republican Duke will face Democratic former governor Edwin Edwards. The incumbent governor, Buddy Roemer, a former Democrat who switched earlier this year to the Republicans and was backed by the White House, came in third in the open (non-party) primary. While George Bush will try to distance himself from Duke, there is a "gentlemen's agreement" among the candidates of the capitalist parties to play down the sinister politics of this pin-stripe fascist with a yuppie facelift. And no wonder, Duke's drawing card is that he says "out loud" what the "mainstream" racist politicians say in the back rooms.

Make no mistake about it, this KKKer in a suit is a deadly threat to blacks, labor and all those the fascists target. The bourgeois media are playing this as quirky Louisiana politics. But Hitler got his start in the reactionary backwater of Bavaria.

The vote for Duke is a reflection of the right-wing climate that has been fostered by both the Republicans and Democrats. The "former" Ku Klux Klan "grand wizard" wants to project himself and his brand of fascist electoral politics nationally, claiming to be "the first Republican candidate that actually bridges the gap between fiscal conservatives and labor." In fact, much of Duke's support comes from the middle-class white suburbs of largely black New Orleans, and from rural backwaters in the Bible Belt north of Baton Rouge.

continued on page 9



Volker Hinz

WV Photo

Duke in Klan robe, 1979. Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League sparked mobilization against Duke appearance in Boston last March.

Stop Frame-Up of South African Union Leaders!



Jay Naidoo



Moses Mayekiso



Sydney Mufamadi

On October 15, a Johannesburg court convicted Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); Sydney Mufamadi, the federation's assistant general secretary; and Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the metal workers union and a leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP), on frame-up charges of kidnapping and assaulting an undercover cop. Sentences have not been announced but could range from probation to life imprisonment.

The outrageous charges arose when COSATU officials discovered a black plainclothes policeman lurking outside

the union federation's Johannesburg offices on 28 August 1990. Fearing the police were about to launch an action against the federation, unionists detained the cop, Monge Maleka, and immediately called a news conference. Maleka admitted to the reporters that the police had sent him to the COSATU building to spy on Geraldine Fraser, a member of the African National Congress and SACP, who had an office in the same building. Five hours after he was discovered Maleka was released. At the end of the press conference, police stormed the building and arrested the three union officials.

South Africa's white-supremacist regime is seeking to shackle the powerful black unions—the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. This isn't the first frame-up for Mayekiso, who spent two and a half years in prison on bogus sedition and subversion charges for his leadership role in the 1986 Alexandra township revolt. An international campaign won his freedom in April 1989. Now workers around the world must again rally to defend Mayekiso, Naidoo and Mufamadi and all victims of apartheid repression. We print below a protest sent on October 20 by the Partisan Defense Committee:

Ambassador
South African Embassy
Washington, D.C.

The arrest and conviction of trade-union officials Jay Naidoo, Moses Mayekiso and Sydney Mufamadi is an outrage. The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges be dropped.

Photographs of President De Klerk shaking hands with Nelson Mandela fool no one. The real face of racist apartheid

is revealed in the growing mountains of corpses in the townships—victims of Inkatha terror spurred on by police provocateurs—and in the cop murder of ANC youth leader Gaborone Xinhua last Sunday.

The South African government is as dedicated as ever to preserving white supremacist rule, founded on the slave labor of black workers and enforced by police-state terror. On the outlandish charge of "kidnapping" an undercover cop who was suspiciously lurking outside their offices—i.e., for holding and questioning him before a press conference—Naidoo, Mayekiso and Mufamadi are threatened with life imprisonment! You seek to intimidate the powerful black labor movement into submission. You will not succeed.

We join with workers around the world to protest this latest outrageous attack on the South African workers. We demand that all charges be immediately dropped.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein, for the
Partisan Defense Committee



TROTSKY

Stalinism vs. Leninism

In pushing the lie that communism is dead, the imperialists and their apologists falsely identify Stalinism with authentic Leninism, the program on which the workers of Russia seized power in the October Revolution of 1917. In fact, it was the Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky which carried forward the banner of Leninism, fighting tooth and nail against the Stalinist usurpers. To consolidate the rule of the bureaucratic caste which politically expropriated the Soviet proletariat in



LENIN

1924, Stalin not only unleashed brutal repression against the Trotskyist Opposition, he went on to exterminate virtually every surviving participant in the Bolshevik leadership of 1917, finally assassinating Trotsky himself in 1940. Speaking at the time of the bloody Moscow purge trials of the late 1930s, Trotsky underscored the visceral hostility of the Stalinist bureaucracy to the ideals of October.

The October Revolution proceeded under the banner of equality. The bureaucracy is the embodiment of monstrous inequality. The revolution destroyed the nobility. The bureaucracy creates a new gentry. The revolution destroyed titles and decorations. The new aristocracy produces marshals and generals. The new aristocracy absorbs an enormous part of the national income. Its position before the people is deceitful and false. Its leaders are forced to hide the reality, to deceive the masses, to cloak themselves, calling black white. The whole policy of the new aristocracy is a frame-up. The new constitution is nothing but a frame-up....

When the Stalinists call us "traitors," there is in that accusation not only hatred but also a certain sort of sincerity. They think that we betray the interests of the holy caste of generals and marshals, the only ones capable of "constructing socialism," but who in fact compromise the very idea of socialism. For our part, we consider the Stalinists as traitors to the interests of the Soviet masses and of the world proletariat. It is absurd to explain such a furious struggle by personal motives. It is a question not only of different programs, but also of different social interests, which clash in an increasingly hostile fashion....

The fundamental acquisitions of the October Revolution, the new forms of property which permit the development of the productive forces, are not yet destroyed, but they have already come into irreconcilable conflict with the political despotism. Socialism is impossible without the independent activity of the masses and the flourishing of the human personality. Stalinism tramples on both. An open revolutionary conflict between the people and the new despotism is inevitable. Stalin's regime is doomed. Will the capitalist counterrevolution or workers' democracy replace it? History has not yet decided this question. The decision depends also upon the activity of the world proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "I Stake My Life!" (February 1937)

Flogged for Not Wearing the Veil, Now Denied Asylum

Stop Canada Deportation of Iranian Woman!

TORONTO—The racist Canadian government is about to deport a 40-year-old Iranian woman who fled her country after being savagely flogged by Islamic fundamentalist thugs. In June 1988, "morality police" of the Iranian "Revolutionary Guards" raided a birthday party at a private home. They dragged off "Mrs. A.," tied her hands to a table and viciously whipped her 35 times across her back and buttocks with a thick wire cable. Her "crime"? Not wearing a veil. But the Canadian government says this woman cannot have asylum.

In May 1990, a Toronto refugee tribunal declared that Iran's barbarous "dress code" does not "violate internationally accepted standards" and that Mrs. A.'s brutal whipping was "not exceedingly harsh." Her desperate appeal for asylum was flatly turned down because Iran's laws "did not deprive the claimant of an essential and inalienable human right." As the *Toronto Star* (11 October) reported:

"The woman also lost her job, but the treatment doesn't amount to persecution because authorities were simply enforcing Islamic law, board members Anthony Sarzoni and Stephen Ng ruled. "The fact that she could not choose the style of her dress and her amusements certainly imposed limitations, though not serious enough to find that they violate internationally accepted standards," the board said."

Mrs. A. has been arrested in Toronto and faces imminent deportation. Her husband, a political opponent of the Iranian theocracy, and their children have gone into hiding. Like the Islamic fundamentalists who have stalked noted

author Salman Rushdie, Canada's cops are hunting for them. The Trotskyist League of Canada demands immediate and unconditional asylum for Mrs. A. and her family!

This is only the latest racist and anti-immigrant atrocity perpetrated by Canada's rich white rulers. During World War II, declaring "none is too many," the government closed the borders to Jews fleeing Hitler's Holocaust and interned thousands of Japanese Canadians in concentration camps.

Five years ago all the federal parties, including the social democrats of the NDP, whipped up an anti-immigrant hysteria over the arrival of Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Sikhs fleeing murderous terror in their homelands. Today the government plans the deportations of thousands, including Iranians, Caribbeans, Africans, Central and South Americans.

And instead of their previous policy of *drugging* those who are being deported, the government has decreed a new "humane" policy of shackling and gagging them! Only days ago, a cabinet aide called the only black member of parliament "Sambo," and another government MP labeled a female member a "slut."

In the framework of the "New World Order," especially since the imperialist war against Iraq, these racist, sexist bigots have no difficulty enforcing the reactionary anti-woman "laws" of the Islamic theocracy. The Trotskyist League says: *Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!* ■

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 Jorge Ramirez

CIRCULATION MANAGER Karen Veldez

EDITORIAL BOARD George Foster, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Reuben Samuels, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamborg

The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

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 (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 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

No. 537

25 October 1991

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Bosses, Finks and Cops Witchhunt UAW Workers

OAKLAND, California—On September 27 narcotics cops and FBI agents swooped down on second shift workers at the New United Motor Manufacturing (NUMMI) plant in Fremont and arrested five workers on charges of sale and possession of illegal drugs. Two more were arrested three days later. The company openly engineered the dragnet—one "team leader" announced that 88 people in all would be busted. A local Fremont, California newspaper, the *Argus*, reveals the "six-month" company/police investigation included the hiring of a link from "Business Risks International" who posed as a worker, spying on union members in the plant and on union property across the street.

On the night of the bust, narcotics squad cops paraded throughout the plant wearing "Police Department Narcotics" T-shirts and brandishing pistols. They opened lockers, infuriating workers. One of those arrested in the parking lot was reportedly surrounded by cops, who impounded his car. They later had to let him go because they didn't have any evidence. Another worker said that one of those caught in a sting operation was taken to Labor Relations, where the union *committeeman* was *complicit* in getting him to sign a "voluntary" quit form.

UAW Local 2244 members must demand that charges be dropped against those arrested in this cop/fink witchhunt, and that NUMMI rescind all the suspensions and firings! A good protest walkout would give the company the message loud and clear.

The capitalists' "war on drugs" has nothing to do with safety and everything to do with policing and intimidating the workforce—blacks and Hispanics most of all. It gives the bourgeoisie someone to hang for their deadly factories, trains and planes. This witchhunt is the escalation of the intimidation posed by "random" drug testing to a new level—and you can bet the UAW International was in on it. It is the "war on drugs" as out-and-out union-busting—and it threatens workers in auto and everywhere.

When the NUMMI plant reopened in 1984 on the grave of the former GM plant, it was touted as a "showcase" of the "team concept" of production, a joint venture between GM and Toyota in which there would be a new level of "cooperation" (read class collaboration) between the UAW and management. Really this was just old-fashioned speedup with a new cover, as we warned at the time:

"The present union leadership of the 'reconstituted' Local 2244 at GM/Toyota was hired *before* the plant opened so they could screen new applicants and weed out former union militants, leftists and workers with medical problems. For production workers it's work like hell.... It was the givebacks extracted by Chrysler and the UAW tops in 1979 which began a wholesale assault on industrial unionism in this country.... The UAW tops, led by Fraser, became outright *cops* for the capitalists."
—WV No. 459, 12 August 1988

Since the UAW here has a history of *screening applicants for the company*, they were "in the dark" about the fink as much as Reagan was on Iran/contra. But trying to get the UAW bureaucrats to say something

Thousands of Steelworkers rally for Ravenswood strikers in Charleston, West Virginia last December.



on the witchhunt is like trying to get Clarence Thomas' "views" on abortion. When George Nano, chairman of the local bargaining committee, finally spoke to WV, he claimed to have no prior knowledge of the cop finks in the plant. As for those arrested in the witchhunt, Nano said, "Our position is that they're entitled to due process" and "we've filed grievances." Thanks a lot—they'll end up like every other grievance on safety, line speed and harassment—in the trash.

The bulk of the Local 2244 leadership, including president Charlie Curry, come from the "People's Caucus," linked to New Directions, the housebroken national UAW "opposition" which postures as an alternative to the gang in Solidarity House. But from anti-Mexican and anti-Japanese protectionism to the "war on drugs," the New Directions operation is the twin of the pro-capitalist misleadership which has decimated the UAW for the auto bosses. What NUMMI workers need is a leadership dedicated to class struggle instead of bedding down with the bosses, a leadership that will tell NUMMI and their "union" stooges: cops/finks out!

Ravenswood Aluminum: Too Hot to Handle!

The strikers call it "Fort RAC." The West Virginia plant on the Ohio River north of Charleston, with a boarded-up administration building, surrounded by eight-foot-high fences topped with barbed wire and lit up by high-powered floodlights, is the site of an almost yearlong strike by 1,800 members of United Steelworkers Local 5668 against the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation. The company was acquired in 1989 in a highly leveraged buyout (that is, they financed the purchase by loading up on debt) from Kaiser Aluminum. The new owners include one Marc Rich, a billionaire metals merchant and arms dealer.

When the union contract expired last November 1, the Steelworkers refused RAC's "final offer" which would have wiped out COLA and a bonus system that accounted for 10 percent of take-home pay. The company responded with a mass firing, and brought in scabs, housing them in trailers on the plant grounds.

The menacing goon squad at Fort RAC is from Vance Security—the same outfit used against the Pittston and A.T. Massey miners, which is staffed by mercenaries from the U.S. dirty contra war against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. Of course the company, courts and cops enforce limitations on picketing, as the USWA tops wait in vain for the government's labor board to rule on "unfair labor practice" charges.

Over the last year there have been numerous solidarity rallies, where miners, auto workers and other steel workers have turned out, only to hear useless speechifying from the union bureaucrats and their friends in the Democratic Party. Instead of militant solidarity *action* by transport workers and unionists in the plants where Ravenswood aluminum is used, refusing to handle the scab aluminum, the USWA and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats beg Congress for legislation against "replacement workers" and crawl around the country with their "corporate campaign." This is the same losing strategy which sent the Hormel and Greyhound strikes down in flaming defeat.

Instead of leafletting NFL games begging fans not to buy beers in Ravenswood aluminum cans, it's time to give Rich and his thugs a taste of labor's power. Anheuser-Busch breweries from Newark to St. Louis are run by Teamsters—well, those cans are *too hot to handle!* When RAC's aluminum shows up in auto plants anywhere, it should be turned into scrap! But that means refusing to play by the bosses' rules; breaking with the Democrats, and fighting to win by using the class-struggle tactics that built the unions in the first place!

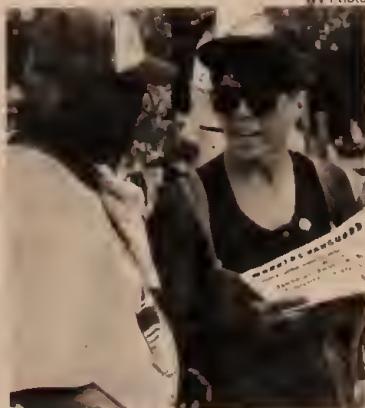
This summer, USWA International reps and local leaders of the RAC strike traveled to Zug, Switzerland to track down Rich for negotiations. Rich is on the lam with a \$750,000 reward on his head, wanted by the Justice Department on over 60 counts of tax fraud. (Despite this, Rich's Clarendon Ltd. metals company was given contracts worth millions of dollars to supply nickel and copper to the U.S. Mint.)

There is a bizarre irony here: we wonder if the USWA delegation in Zug met with the canton's minister of justice and police, who happens to be a member of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. This outfit is represented in the U.S. by Socialist Action, habitual water boys for the union bureaucracy. Apparently their "comrade cop" hasn't seen fit to deport Mr. Rich. ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

Final Totals

Local	Quota (in points)	Total Sold	%
Atlanta	225	281 ½	125
Boston	260	323 ½	124
Chicago	500	587	117
Cleveland	100	132 ½	133
Los Angeles	300	479 ½	160
New York	1,140	1,413 ½	124
Oakland	800	996	125
San Francisco	300	715 ½	239
Washington, D.C.	150	170 ½	114
At Large	275	428 ½	156
National Total	4,050	5,528	136



Subscribe Now!

Name _____
Address _____
Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____ 537

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

Thomas...

(continued from page 1)

abortion to strikebreaking this capitalist party demonstrated again that it shares the basic program of racist, sexist, anti-working-class reaction with its Republican counterpart.

We're now in the third term of Reaganism, yet a solid majority of the population still strongly supports abortion rights. When there's an election centered on the issue of abortion, the "pro-choice" candidate usually wins—as the Republicans are finding out to their chagrin.

What's needed are mass mobilizations of labor, women and minorities to put a stop to the anti-abortion crusade in the streets. A workers party must be forged which will champion the cause of all the oppressed and lead a fight for "Free abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all!"

Hearings Circus

Following Thomas' nomination, there was an initial set of hearings in September in which the White House correctly calculated the Democrats wouldn't dare give a hard time to a black candidate, no matter how conservative. Despite a paper trail documenting his view that abortion was against "natural law," Thomas brazenly stonewalled, claiming he couldn't remember anything, his previous written statements and speeches



Anita Hill is savaged by Republican hatchet man Orrin Hatch for accusing Thomas of sexual harassment.

Lopez/NY Times Photos



Democrats are manifestly not the equals of their Republican colleagues in slime.

After Anita Hill's detailed and graphic testimony, the Senators all duly professed shock. But Thomas, instead of his usual "can't remember," simply announced he would not answer any questions about his personal life. And when he denounced the hearing as a "high-tech lynching for uppity blacks," that was it. The Democrats clammed up. After a White House strategy session, the Republicans launched a character assassination campaign to destroy Hill's credibility. She was articulate and exuded credibility, so they sought to discredit her in the method of rape trials,

two white women—whose plush quarters in the Senate Office Building are staffed by a small army of young women who slave for them around the clock—sitting in moral judgment on a black man and a black woman. But then Thomas was handpicked by the patrician George Bush, the preppy killer of tens of thousands of Iraqis, who (but for the anti-discrimination laws he's trying to overturn) certainly would never let the likes of Thomas or Hill into his country club, or for that matter the Skull and Bones Society at their mutual alma mater, Yale.

It's been noted how many of the players in this drama came out of Yale Law School—not only George Bush, Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill but also Thomas' defender Arlen Specter, Thomas' mentor John Danforth, Thomas' egomaniacal buddy John Doggett... and the Kennedy staffer who first got the story from his old classmate Hill. *Newsday's* Reno commented that Yale seems to have been "churning out whole graduating classes full of career-obsessed twits." The hearings provided insight into the layer of "buppies" (black yuppies) who signed up with the Republicans and made it into the mid-upper strata of the Reagan/Bush apparatus, always looking out for Number One. Hill was part of this crowd, too. And as *Village Voice* columnist James Ridgeway skeptically wrote:

"Then we have the idea that Anita Hill, a student and protégé of failed Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork and a polished graduate of Yale Law School—one of the more sophisticated educational spas in the country—is just a little ol' barefoot Baptist girl from Oklahoma who was undone by her superior's sexist comments. Can you imagine her shock: the man she had been helping to undercut sex and race discrimination rules in the workplace since she'd left the ivy walls actually harbored less than p.c. attitudes toward women!"

"Anti-Porn" Feminists Join Bible Bigots

And then we have the feminists who pander to the most reactionary prejudices of this society—pushing the same "anti-pornography" garbage as the Bible bigots who are trying to close down abortion clinics. The feminists join them in crusades to close down movie houses and ban *Playboy* or *Hustler*. NOW thought

they could nail Clarence Thomas for going to X-rated movie houses as a law student! The hearings were a Moral Majority morality play, a soap opera of puritanical mores for the masses purveyed by their cynical rulers. On camera they profess outrage over the boss allegedly talking dirty to Miss Goody Two-Shoes, Gary Hart's presidential bid is sunk by his shenanigans with Donna Rice, they're "shocked" at Virginia Senator Charles Robb playing beach blanket bingo with beauty queen Tai Collins. As far as we're concerned it's not the peccadillos of the bourgeoisie that we care about, but their crimes against the working people, against women and blacks, against Vietnam and Iraq.

It says something about the end-of-the-20th-century American social climate that we Marxists are fighting to defend many tenets of the *bourgeois* revolution—the separation of church and state, rights of privacy, etc. "Womanizing," drinking, smoking (grass or tobacco), buying dirty books, gambling—these are not crimes. As we wrote in our 1987 *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of Indiana booksellers charged in an "obscenity" case, "Laws against gambling and various sexual practices reflect official puritanism allied to organized religion, which acts as an important ideological pillar of capitalism, convincing the masses there can be no happiness this side of the grave."

We agree with Betty Dunklee, the 62-year-old home health care worker who told the *New York Times* (14 October). "Who cares if Clarence Thomas looked at pornographic literature?" Her advice was that the next guy who gets nominated for something "ought to say, first thing: 'I get drunk. I smoke pot. And I chase women. Any other questions?'"

The question of sexual harassment is another matter, and it's a very real issue. In the wake of Hill's account of her experience, women's rights groups say their phones are ringing off the hook. Hill's dignified, articulate testimony certainly struck a nerve among women. (At the same time, anti-discrimination lawyers report that many women who have brought cases are trying to get confidential settlements, wanting to avoid the vilification that Anita Hill faced, and



David Vito

New York rally in 1989 opposes Supreme Court's onslaught against abortion rights.

were irrelevant. And the Democrats just ate it.

They knew Clarence Thomas was an enemy of black rights. They knew his track record as head of civil rights at the Department of Education and then as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), where his job for the Republican administration was to systematically dismantle the legal and administrative framework for any recourse against racist discrimination in the schools and on the job. The Democrats never asked about this. They hardly touched the death penalty.

But as the Senate was about to rubber-stamp him, with most of the Democrats voting "no" for form's sake, the whole process exploded over charges of sexual harassment. From the outset, it must be said that we don't know what went on between Clarence Thomas and his then-assistant, Anita Hill, now a university professor of law. Sexual harassment cases are often enormously ambiguous precisely because there are seldom witnesses, and in cases like Hill described, interpretation can depend a lot on the situation and the individuals involved.

And in any case, this was hardly the crucial issue. The most telling display of Congressional impotence is that Thomas' transparent amnesia and ultra-rightist positions didn't cause a ripple. Moreover, they had earlier circular-filed Hill's charges. And when they took up the issue, after a leak produced an outcry from the bourgeois feminists and other professional women, it soon became a mutual mudslinging contest in which the

explaining her cool delivery as "arrogance," questioning her mental stability, suggesting it was "a fantasy," she was a "vengeful woman" who had been "spurned," etc.

Smear jobs, sexist and racist stereotypes, revolting hypocrisy—it turned people's stomachs, even as their eyes were riveted to the spectacle on their TV screens. The spectacle of the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee sitting in judgment on somebody's moral character: when Teddy Kennedy called the Republicans' tactics "shameful," Orrin Hatch shot back, "If you believe that, I know a bridge in Massachusetts I can sell you," a reference to Chappaquiddick, where Kennedy walked away from a car accident leaving his staff aide Mary Jo Kopechne drowned. On the Republican side, Orrin Hatch, the witch-hunter from Utah, waving *The Exorcist*. And arch-segregationist Strom Thurmond, posing as a defender of blacks. Columnist Robert Reno recoiled at the sight of:

"Strom Thurmond—who once received 39 electoral votes running for president on a platform that people the color of Clarence Thomas should not be allowed to sit in a white toilet or at the front of a bus—gallantly defending Thomas' right to sit in splendor in that great marble chamber where only one black man has sat before."

—*Newsday*, 16 October

The Senate is "the last plantation." This notorious millionaires' club is also an exclusive "old boys' club." Both supporters of Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas bridled at the spectacle of this corrupt fraternity of 98 white men and

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

- 1A. Title of publication: *Workers Vanguard*.
- 1B. Publication no.: 098770.
2. Date of filing: 1 October 1991
3. Frequency of issue: Bi-weekly (except 2nd issue in August and with 3-week interval December).
- 3A. No. of issues published annually: 25
- 3B. Annual subscription price: \$7.00
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007
6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Company, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Editor—Jan Norden, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Managing Editor—None.
7. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: Not applicable.
10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no.

copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 19,000; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 13,311; (2) Mail subscription, 2,524; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 15,835; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 324; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 16,159; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,841; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 19,000

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 20,000; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 13,880; (2) Mail subscription, 2,197; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 16,077; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 350; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 16,427; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 3,573; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 20,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete

(Signed) Jan Norden, (Editor)

expecting a backlash as a result of Thomas' victory.) Even if all Hill said is true, her experience is a shallow reflection of the blatant sexual discrimination and sexual harassment of women at the workplace.

Very often, sexual harassment is not ambiguous at all, it is blatant and concerted—for instance, the New York Fire Department, where the first women firefighters faced a campaign of harassment intended to drive them out. And the *New York Times* (20 October) notes that when women first began working in the coal mines in the early 1970s, "like their male colleagues, they were stripped down and slathered in axle grease in a primitive hazing ritual. Unlike the men, they were spread-eagled and tied to wooden supports."

What doesn't get talked about is the situation of working women, desperately in need of a job just to make ends meet, many of them single mothers working at minimum wage in the most dangerous conditions, where the supervisor fires anyone he doesn't consider pretty enough or pliant enough. As Ridgeway pointed out, "In truth this soap opera before a live audience has actually obscured the real politics that underlie women's issues in the United States. In 1959 there were 22 million women in the labor force, accounting for 33 per cent of all working Americans. By 1991, working women numbered some 57 million, or 45.5 per cent of the labor force, accounting for three-fifths of the increase in the civilian labor force since 1979." And as American capitalism has waged war on the unions to create a more "flexible," cheaper labor force, part-time non-union women workers often fill what were once full-time unionized jobs. Moreover, as Ridgeway notes, this has broader social ramifications:

"This trend in the changing nature of the work force has been accompanied by a reduction in social welfare programs as part of the New Right agenda of the Reagan years. As a result, welfare becomes workfare; there are cuts in child care, a weakening of the health-care system, reduced access to and increased cost of affordable housing, a worsening of public transit—on which working people depend to travel to work—an increase in the cost of energy, and constant harassment of women by the Right's ongoing intimidation of their reproductive rights."

We would only add that every one of those Reagan cuts in social programs has been voted for by a Democratic Congress.

The feminists' concerns arise from the attempt of a layer of professional women to integrate themselves into the upper layers of the American capitalist power structure. But this is a racist, sexist society. Questions of sexual harassment and treatment on the job are really questions of power. And they won't really change until there is a fundamental change in society itself. In a revolutionary setting, sexual harassment will get short shrift as the working class and the oppressed set out to create a society based on real equality.

America: It Always Comes Back to the Black Question

It was notable that while the Clarence Thomas hearings exploded over sex, they zeroed in on the question of race. That is the way of things in this deeply racist country, where the black question is the key to the American workers revolution. The Clarence Thomas affair served to split blacks and women, two key constituencies of the Democratic Party, and also sharply posed sex and class divisions among blacks.

Many black people were disgusted by Thomas' cynical use of the race card on behalf of George Bush. The demagogic purpose was to guilt-trip the Senate liberals, and it worked. But this is extremely dangerous territory. Many worried about the consequences of high-impact TV coverage retailing racial stereotypes about "oversexed black men." The black community was split, for instance between some black men

who felt "maybe this is a sister who doesn't want to see a black man get ahead," and others saying that appeals to race are no cover for harassing women ("Blacks Say the Blood Spilled in the Thomas Case Stains All," *New York Times*, 14 October).

Predictably, black conservatives leapt to Clarence Thomas' defense. Interestingly, the swing votes were Southern white Democratic Senators (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana) responding to post-civil rights era "moderate" blacks, the constituency that Virginia's black Democratic governor Doug Wilder, a supporter of the death penalty, bases himself on and without which white Democrats can't get elected in the South. The *Washington Post* (16 October) noted that Thomas'



April 1989 Chicago rally opposed racist death penalty. Supreme Court refused to stay legal lynching of black Georgia prisoner Warren McCleskey (right).

that the Supreme Court was refusing a stay of execution to Warren McCleskey, whose landmark legal battle underlined the racist character of the death penalty. McCleskey was strapped into the electric chair and murdered on September 25. Thomas complains about a "high-tech lynching," but he has no problem with racist legal lynching by the state. Nor do the Democrats.

On the day that Clarence Thomas was confirmed, *Daily News* sportswriter Mike Lupica did a good thing. He went up to Planned Parenthood in the South Bronx to talk to Dr. Irving Rust, who has been with the clinic for the past 15 years. What does this all mean for the young black women in the waiting room at 149th and Cortland Avenue? asked



Karas/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

nomination "split core Democratic constituencies, pitting blacks against feminist groups," which will serve to further shred the Democratic Party.

The Chicago black newspaper, the *Defender* (14 October), supported Thomas with a front-page headline, "High-Tech Lynching." In contrast, the *New York Amsterdam News* (19 October) ran a stinging front-page story, "Black Skin, White Mask! Who Is the Real Clarence Thomas?," slamming the hypocrisy of this enemy of black rights claiming to be the victim of a racist lynching:

"Neither Judge Thomas, who in many respects is a reprise of the Willie Horton caper, nor Professor Hill, who is being touted as the Rosa Parks of sexual harassment, is representative of mainstream Black American working men and women. They are members of the Black elite, DuBois' 'Talented Tenth,' who climbed the ladder of success from humble origins, a minority within a minority...while the vast majority of Black Americans continue to live the horrors of the American nightmare. "Though secure within their niche of the Black bourgeoisie, there are some differences between Judge Thomas and Professor Hill that go beyond sex. Judge Thomas personifies power without respectability, and Professor Hill reflects respectability without power. And you need not be reminded who will be the eventual winner in capitalist and sexist America."

The article by Don Rojas and Herb Boyd noted that "this affair has not only raised some critical issues about sexual harassment in general but has also exploded the myth of Black homogeneity and Black unity." They add: "Black America, like White America, is divided along class and gender lines, and this obviously reflects the prevailing pattern of social relations generic to American capitalism."

"Supreme Disaster for Poor Women"

In the end, the storm over Clarence Thomas and sex harassment changed very little in terms of the Senate vote. Liberals voted against him, conservatives voted for him. And since liberals are in the minority in this country, they lost. But the grotesque spectacle will have ramifications in lots of other ways. Bush and the White House gang were more triumphant than they've been since the days of Desert Storm. To the discomfort of the Supreme Court judges, they

swiftly swore in Thomas on the South Lawn before the Republican inner circle and with the Marine Band. The Republicans are already gearing up for the '92 elections in which they intend to use the disaster the Democrats made out of the Thomas hearings, along with the rest of the "sleaze factor": the S&L scam, Congressional bounced checks ("Rubbergate"), etc.

Bush & Co. have a clear reactionary social agenda, and as usual they get down and dirty to win. They have taken the measure of the Democratic gutless wonders, who are perpetual losers because the liberals have no fundamental differences with their more resolute rivals in reaction. In the aftermath of their victory with Thomas, the Bush

administration openly joined forces with the Operation Rescue bigots to argue before the Supreme Court that blocking abortion clinics does not violate the "KKK act" because it isn't "discriminatory"—they want to keep everyone out. In writing of the anti-abortion siege of Wichita, we warned that reliance on the capitalist courts and laws would only rebound against supporters of women's and minority rights.

While the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee didn't nail Clarence Thomas for being "pro-life," the Republicans made very sure he was pro-death. Their bloodhound Arlen Specter, a former prosecutor in Pennsylvania (where crusading black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row), pushed for an unequivocal statement from the nominee that he considered the death penalty constitutional. Thomas assured Specter, saying, "There is nothing that would bother me personally about upholding it in appropriate cases." This grotesque spectacle was played out at the very moment

Lupica in his column, titled "Supreme Disaster for Poor Women." The dedicated black doctor said of George Bush and his black hatchet man:

"They don't understand what a time bomb the abortion issue really is. They have all forgotten the way it was before *Roe vs. Wade*. Well, I haven't forgotten. I had just become a resident then. And all the beds that are filled with AIDS patients now were filled back then with women who had had septic abortions. "You knew this was going to be the kind of nominee Bush would come up with, you just didn't know he'd be black. Now the court will be 6-to-3 against abortion for sure. *Roe vs. Wade* will be gone within a year. Then they'll push the whole abortion issue back to the states. And poor women, the women in these rooms right now, will be back behind the streets, the way they were in the good old days. And Clarence Thomas will be part of that."

But it doesn't have to come to that. All defenders of women's rights must join in mobilizing a class fight against a return to the era of the coat hanger and the lynch rope. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116 • (212) 732-7860

Atlanta Box 4012 Atlanta, GA 30302	Detroit Box 441043 Detroit, MI 48244	Norfolk Box 1972, Main PO Norfolk, VA 23501
Boston Box 390840, Central Sta Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-3928	Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta Los Angeles, CA 90029 (213) 380-8239	Oakland Box 29497 Oakland, CA 94604 (510) 839-0851
Chicago Box 6441, Main PO Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 663-0715	Madison Box 1492 Madison, WI 53701	San Francisco Box 77494 San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 777-9367
Cleveland Box 91037 Cleveland, OH 44101 (216) 781-7500	New York Box 444, Canal St. Sta New York, NY 10013 (212) 267-1025	Washington, D.C. Box 75073 Washington, D.C. 20013 (202) 872-8240

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

Toronto Box 7198, Station A Toronto, ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138	Vancouver Box 2717, Main P.O. Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353
Montréal C P Les Atriums, B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5	Edmonton PSSE P.O. Box 9605 Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3

Young Spartacus

We Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Part One of this article (see Workers Vanguard No. 536, 11 October) discussed how the working class of Russia took power in October 1917 in the name of the world socialist revolution. But as the postwar revolutionary wave that swept across Europe was defeated, the first workers state in history was isolated and under assault. No less than 14 capitalist armies invaded the Soviet Republic to try to strangle the Russian Revolution in the cradle.

With Trotsky at the head of the Red Army, the imperialist invaders and White Guards were defeated. But Russia

PART TWO OF TWO

emerged from the Civil War utterly decimated. Marx envisioned building socialism and expanding human freedom on the basis of material plenty, taking off from the most advanced productive levels of capitalism. Isolated and still a predominantly peasant country, Russia proved an unforgiving laboratory for the socialist experiment. Industrial production was gutted. Workers left the cities to search for food in the countryside. Yet another revolutionary upsurge in Germany in 1923 went down in defeat. The failure of the revolution to spread internationally sharply exacerbated the economic scarcity produced by seven years of imperialist war and civil war. Hunger devoured the optimism of the first workers state and a wave of despair swept the country and even the Bolshevik cadre, especially after Lenin's death in January 1924.

Under these conditions a conservative bureaucracy led by J.V. Stalin emerged and usurped political power from the



Spartacist contingent at January 26 San Francisco demonstration against Persian Gulf War. Spartacist banners include: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!"

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

proletariat. Trotsky forged the Left Opposition to fight the increasing bureaucratism and for an industrialization policy to save the country from economic ruin. A timeworn refrain from the bourgeoisie and the social democrats is that "Leninism inevitably led to Stalinism." This myth is immensely useful to the bourgeoisie to deter working people and

radical youth from seeing the Russian Revolution as a model and to promote despair of social change because "degeneration is inevitable" and "power corrupts."

The critical instrument for the success of the revolution was the Bolshevik Party, representing the conscious organization of the working class. Far from acting as the continuator of Leninism, Stalin had to destroy the Bolshevik Party in order to consolidate a political counterrevolution and to prevent Trotsky's Left Opposition from mobilizing the most conscious fighters to steer the revolution back to its original course. First party democracy and debate was banned, Trotsky was exiled, and eventually every single original member of the Bolshevik Central Committee was eliminated, until Stalin the executioner alone remained. You wouldn't know it from reading *The Gulag Archipelago* by the tsarist crackpot Solzhenitsyn, but it was the Communists and Red Army officers who were rounded up by Stalin in the hundreds of thousands and thrown into prison camps across Siberia!

To secure and defend the privileges it derived from its position atop the Soviet workers state, the bureaucracy had to suppress internal working-class opposition while seeking to appease hostile imperialism by renouncing the program of international socialist revolution. Turning Marxism on its head, in 1924 Stalin proclaimed the "theory" of "socialism in one country" and later that socialism had been achieved within the borders of the Soviet Union! "Socialism

in one country" was not only a utopian impossibility but a *policy of betrayal*. In exchange for the vain hope of easing the imperialists' hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy opposed and thwarted socialist revolution everywhere else. The bureaucracy did not restore capitalism, yet it undermined the economic gains of the revolution—collectivized property and a centralized planned economy.

From the earliest days of the Revolution the Bolsheviks had made good on their promise for an expansion of human freedom in all spheres of life. Women in Soviet Russia had the right to free abortion on demand before women in the West even won the right to vote. The Bolsheviks struck down all laws against homosexuality, granted freedom to oppressed nationalities, and wiped out the anti-Semitic pogromists. Now Stalin reversed many of these gains as he consolidated his nationalist, bureaucratic regime. The old crap of anti-Semitism was revived to go after Trotsky as a Jew; Great Russian chauvinism was revived to keep the minority republics in line; the cult of the family was restored as a means of instilling authority and stifling freedoms for women and youth.

The Export of Betrayal

The Communist International became a slavish transmission belt for the conservative policies of the Kremlin (and was eventually disbanded by Stalin as a gesture of good faith to the imperialist Allies in the Second World War).



Wide World

Leon Trotsky in 1917, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Writing from prison in August 1917, Trotsky said: "Having thrown off the fetters of capitalist government, the revolution would become permanent—that is, continuous. It would apply the state power, not in order to consolidate the regime of capitalist exploitation, but in order to overcome it. Its final success on this road would depend upon the successes of the proletarian revolution in Europe."

Contrary to the imperialists' propaganda image of the Red Russian bear gobbling up the globe, Stalin rolled over for the bourgeoisie and became the gravedigger of revolutions. In the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Stalin subordinated the independent class interests of the proletariat to an alliance with the bourgeois-nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek, who then slaughtered the Communist workers. In Germany in the early '30s, rejecting Trotsky's urgent calls for a workers *united front* against fascism, Stalin allowed Hitler to come to power without a shot being fired. The panic-stricken Comintern then lurched to the right in 1935 with the policy of a "People's Front," the shackling of the working class to the "democratic" wing of the bourgeoisie. By the time of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38, the Stalinists acted as outright strikebreakers in the name of the Popular Front, strangling a proletarian insurrection and paving the way to decades of Francoist dictatorship.

In the U.S., where for the first time the multiracial working class organized together in forming the big industrial unions of the CIO, the Communist Party pursued a popular-front alliance with Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. During the Second World War the CP ran point for the government against "unpatriotic" social struggle. It opposed the national march on Washington for black equality, scabbered on the brave miners strike which broke the "no-strike pledge," hailed the A-bombing of Japan, refused to protest the racist internment of Japanese Americans, and cheered the jailing of Trotskyists under the Smith Act for "sedition" (which was next used against the CP).

Contrary to the bourgeois and Stalinist myth that World War II was a "war for democracy" against fascism, it was an interimperialist war for world domination, including control of the colonies, and an imperialist drive to smash the Soviet workers state. Rebuffed by the "democratic" imperialist powers, Stalin had faith in his 1939 pact with Hitler and ignored warnings of the Nazis' impending attack. The Soviet people paid dearly for this—well over 20 million died in World War II. The heroic citizens of Leningrad (not "St. Petersburg") endured a 900-day siege by the Nazis. In dire straits, Stalin had to bring back Red Army officers from the Siberian prison camps to fight Hitler. It was the Soviet citizens and Red Army who *despite Stalin* crushed the Nazi regime and freed Europe from the nightmare of fascism.

As for the "democratic" imperialists, they raced to Berlin only when it became clear that the Red Army might get there first. And when they arrived, the U.S. recruited every Nazi war criminal they could to work for them instead of Hitler against the "Bolshevik menace." The U.S. set up the "rat line"—an escape route for hundreds of Nazis who were given new identities and employed for NASA's rocket program or funneled into Latin America to train the secret police and *contra* scum in the techniques of Hitlerite torture.

Stalinism as a Regime of Crisis

Trotsky did not foresee the inherently unstable Stalinist bureaucracy lasting for as long as it did. The enormous wave of Soviet patriotism and smashing the Nazis gave the bureaucracy a legitimacy it had never previously held. Assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940, Trotsky did not and could not have predicted that. But he warned that the Soviet bureaucracy could not indefinitely continue the balancing act of resting on the workers property forms which issued from the 1917 Revolution while bowing to world imperialism. In light of the galloping counterrevolution in the Soviet Union today, Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the nature of the Soviet state in his book *The Revolution Betrayed* reads like it was written yesterday.



Yevgeni Khaldei

Despite Stalin's wrecking, the Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Reich and freed Europe from scourge of Nazism. Soviets raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 1945.

Against renegades who claimed the bureaucracy was a new ruling class, Trotsky wrote that the revolution had been betrayed but not overthrown. He argued that either a revolutionary workers party would overthrow the bureaucracy, or the bourgeoisie would overthrow the Soviet ruling caste. But supposing the bureaucracy continues at the head of the state, he wrote:

"Even under these conditions social relations will not jell. We cannot count upon the bureaucracy's peacefully and voluntarily renouncing itself on behalf of socialist equality. If at the present time, notwithstanding the too obvious inconveniences of such an operation, it has considered it possible to introduce ranks and decorations, it must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations.... Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class."

This is exactly what is happening in the Soviet Union today. A section of the Stalinist bureaucracy has become the junior partners of Western capitalism. Privileged bureaucrats, black marketeers and Soviet "yupskies" seek to enrich themselves by selling the people's property to Wall Street—this is the logical

culmination of "socialism in one country." It is a counterrevolution from the top down

Better Red Than Dead

Much can be learned about the difference between a socialist revolution and capitalist counterrevolution even in the symbolism of two examples. The reactionary mobs mobilized by Yeltsin pulled down statues of Felix Dzerzhinsky and Yakov Sverdlov, two men from deeply oppressed minorities in the tsarist prison house of peoples who became Bolsheviks and led the multi-ethnic Soviet working class. Dzerzhinsky was a Pole who became the first head of the Cheka—the "sword of the revolution" whose job was to mop up the counterrevolutionaries. Sverdlov was a Jew who became the first president of the Russian Republic—leader of a land that had previously been swept by anti-Semitic pogroms. To underscore the promise of equality embodied in these examples, consider what the parallel would be in racist America: an American socialist revolution places a black communist at the head of the state and appoints a Hispanic woman as chief of police to clean out the remaining nests of KKK and Nazi scum.

Bush hails the "Russian Revolution of 1991" which smashed statues of Dzer-

zhinsky and Sverdlov and Lenin. Bush cheers Baltic independence as a "triumph of democracy" when a first act of "free" Lithuania was declaring a blanket amnesty for every war criminal and collaborator of the German Nazi occupiers! Scandalously, Bush is joined by ostensible "leftists" in rooting for the counterrevolution sweeping across Eastern Europe and now the Soviet Union. "State Department socialists" like the International Socialist Organization and even would-be Castroites like the Socialist Workers Party vicariously leapt to Yeltsin's barricades. Currents in the Communist Party fleeing Stalinism's *rigor mortis* have bolted to imperialism's camp. Uniquely the Spartacist League fights against illusions in any wing of the bureaucracy and for the independent mobilization of the working class to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble—and we mean all of 'em, including their "left" pompom girls. As we wrote in "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (WV No. 533, 30 August):

"A call for workers militias to smash the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite demonstrations was certainly in order. But if the Emergency Committee had consolidated power, it would have attempted to disband any such workers militias, which would otherwise have inevitably and rapidly escaped its political control. The last thing these degenerate Stalinists wanted to see was the independent mobilization of the working class."

We are dedicated to the task of reorganizing a Leninist-Trotskyist party to mobilize the Soviet working class in defense of the October Revolution. The Soviet workers have not entered the field of battle yet. But if the situation looks grave at present, it is also true that the counterrevolutionary governments are extremely weak. They can't count on the armed forces (which they're seeking to massively purge) to break strikes against capitalist austerity. Many Soviet workers believe that the country belongs to them and have a deep commitment to egalitarianism which must be rooted out for capitalism to be implanted.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. Our tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is a link in the indispensable chain of continuity and past experience which the

continued on page 8

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS

 RYKOV Shot	 BUKHARIN Shot	 SVERDLOV Dead	 STALIN Survivor	 ZINOVIEV Shot	 KAMENEV Shot	 TROTSKY In Exile	 LENIN Dead
 KOLLONTAI Missing?	 URITSKY Dead	 KRESTINSKY Shot	 SMILGA Shot	 NOGIN Dead	 DZERZHINSKY Dead	 BLINOV Disappeared	 SOKOLNIKOV In Prison
 LOMOV ?	 SHOHYAN Dead	 BERZIN ?	 MURANOV Disappeared	 ARTEM Dead	 STASSOVA Disappeared	 MILUTIN Missing	 JOFFE Suicide

The Central Committee of The Bolshevik Party in 1917

American Trotskyists' *Socialist Appeal* (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of Bolshevik leadership of October Revolution.

Socialist Appeal

On campuses across the country, an ideological witchhunt against the left is under way. "Political Correctness" is the name given to the speech codes, sensitivity training and other academic ploys which amount to covering up increasingly violent attacks against minorities. These codes are a misguided and ineffective attempt to stem the tide of violence by banning racist, sexist and homophobic epithets and "politically inflammatory speech." Right-wing demagogues and the hourgeio media have jumped on the "anti-PC" bandwagon with fervor, denouncing "left-wing McCarthyism" that has ostensibly turned the campuses into "concentration camps." Through these tactics the right seeks to encourage racist violence and to banish leftist thought from the ivy-covered sanctuaries, going after courses in black history or women's studies.

Much has been made of the zealous, often ridiculous excesses of "PC." At Hampshire College in western Mass. (where I am a student), a professor from Latin America who taught Hispanic literature was almost fired amid accusations that his curriculum was too "traditional" and he was too inaccessible to Hispanic students. While on the surface the "PC" crowd may seem to be progressive in nature, in actuality "PC" encourages and makes a virtue out of the sectoralist retreat many oppressed groups have been pushed into in these conservative times.

The administrations put on a happy face for the students, hoping to forestall—and disarm—the inevitable conflicts between increasing numbers of right-wing, even fascist, youth and the legitimate grievances of minority groups. At elite, predominantly white institutions like Dartmouth, right-wingers from the *Dartmouth Review* ceaselessly challenge minority students' right to an education. Racist threats and physical violence on campuses nationwide have spurred enrollment at black colleges and all-black dormitories at "integrated" schools. This climate is leading to a nationalist

Letter on "PC"

mood which even includes extolling the virtues of segregation. The accept-the-status-quo Nation of Islam and other sundry nationalists become attractive and get a hearing like never before. But these separatist stances are more survival tactics than quirky preferences, as some of the media would have us believe.

The "PC" crowd's protective wing doubles as a leash: despite "PC" codes, racism hasn't stopped—it has grown

most of the "PC" student government) for defending our public forum against an attack by these thugs! Some protection! "PC" caters directly to impotent sectoralist politics, not militant self-defense.

The trademark of "PC" politics is exclusive, sectarian organization of blacks, feminists and gays which undercuts a united-front defense. The administration uses "PC" talk to appease both the right wing and their targets. They

at our Boston demonstration against KKKer David Duke said, "Genocide Is Not Debatable!" But in the realm of "PC," all of this is just an intellectual exercise. At UMass-Amherst the Young Americans for Freedom invited an anti-gay bigot in response to Gay Pride Week. Competing sectarianisms and lack of solidarity have taken a toll: at the University of Maryland, the Black Student Union invited anti-Semite Farrakhan, while the Jewish Student Union brought Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane (subsequently assassinated) in response.

As communists, the Spartacist League seeks to be the "tribune of the people." We offer a solution and address the special oppression which minorities, women and gays face in today's rightward-leaning society. The liberals' alternative? Group discussions of "classism" instead of an alliance with the workers movement; "consciousness-raising" sessions with racists instead of fighting racist attacks. Racism, sexism and homophobia are not a mind game; they are the ideological tools of oppression and violence. What these goody-two-shoes liberals don't realize is that behind the rose-tinted rhetoric of "Diversity" and "Tolerance" there's blood already spilled. For every "racial awareness" seminar, there are hundreds of cases of racist threats and brutality—some perpetrated by the graduates of these impotent gab fests! For all the lip service paid to every Gay Pride Week, hundreds of students are in the closet, living in fear of anti-gay violence. The right wing sneeringly characterizes the "PC" crowd as a "tyranny of the weak" and screams about "the victims' revolution." But their liberal counterpart ensures that the right's targets are exactly that: weak victims.

Comradely yours,
Craig G.

Editor's note: We refer readers to our Young Spartacus article "Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been... 'PC'? Racism and Witchhunts on Campus" (Workers Vanguard No. 533, 30 August).

UMass
Amherst,
March 1989:
Spartacus
Youth
drew 200 to
speakout in
opposition to
right-wing
Minuteman
thugs.



unhindered. At UMass-Amherst (considered a "PC" haven by some) there have been racist attacks on black students, death threats against a gay student leader and increasing activity among the ultrarightist Young Americans for Freedom sect called the "Minutemen." The result? People threatened by the violence retreat to their own collectives and appeal to the administration for protection and legitimacy. It was revealed that the Minutemen had connections with the Ku Klux Klan—and yet the Spartacus Youth Club was kicked off campus by the administration (with the compliance of

encourage oppressed groups to develop no-struggle, no-solution conclusions. Racists are given a "no pranks" slap on the wrist, but are allowed—even encouraged—to further develop their strategies within the established code. By reducing these issues to a "free speech" debate the liberal administrations and their "PC" cothinkers give tremendous mileage to the right.

To "balance" out the free speech debate, administrations invite racists to spew their filth, making universities a place where bona fide flagburners and Pentagon mass murderers advocate genocide as an "opinion." As a banner

Communism...

(continued from page 7)

workers movement needs to guide present and future battles. As Lenin said, a revolutionary party must serve as the collective memory of the working class. With the prolonged stagnation of the socialist and labor movements, other purported socialist organizations have howled to the pressures, abandoned defense of the Soviet Union and tailed the "liberal" wing of their own bourgeoisies. By contrast, our small forces have achieved modest but exemplary successes because we have stayed true to our political program.

In the recent Persian Gulf War, when other "leftists" pressured the Democrats (who supported the war) or even endorsed the United Nations starvation sanctions against Iraq, we took a side for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and the military defense of Iraq. We have protested every move by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American masses. Members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs raised thousands of dollars for defense of Sandinista Nicaragua and served on work brigades there as a concrete expression of solidarity and our call to complete, defend and extend that revolution. Our comrades of the Spartacist Workers Party of Germany were the *only* party to unambiguously fight against capitalist reunification. Our comrades in the newly founded Spartacist Group of Poland were won to the program of Trotskyism in the battle against the drive for capitalist restoration led by Solidarność.

While other leftists issue futile appeals



Spartacus Youth Clubs brought students from up and down eastern seaboard and the Midwest to unite with integrated labor movement and stop the KKK fascists in Philadelphia, November 1988.

to the ruling class and its government to "fight" racism and sexism, we've actually done what they said couldn't be done: organized minorities, women and gays alongside the powerful, integrated labor movement in massive, united-front labor/black mobilizations that have spiked fascist provocations in cities across the United States, from Washington, D.C. in

1982 to Philadelphia in 1988. This is putting into action our understanding that in this deeply segregated society, the fight against racial oppression is key to the American socialist revolution.

We have gained a hearing and respect among significant strata of the most class-conscious working people, especially black workers, who consider our

newspaper their newspaper. The disproportion between our small forces and our tasks can be resolved through international regroupments with forces who want to fight for genuine communism and through the recruitment of young fighters won to communism from our intersection with their struggles.

A little class struggle could really shake things loose in this country and open up the opportunity for revolutionary intervention. Bush's "unipolar" world stands on one shaky leg. The ruling class has bankrupted the industrial capacity of this country. The picture of runaway shops, a declining unionized workforce and the intensification of police repression in the ghetto wastelands across this country is matched by the export of American manufacturing and exploitation of workers in low-wage countries. The American ruling class is quite prepared to shore up its anemic economy through imperialist war to protect its investments abroad and clobber its more robust rivals, principally Japan.

This situation cries out for a party based on the Bolshevik program of international class struggle. If you want to do something about the racism and oppression endemic to this system, if you want to eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation, if you want to put an end to the brutal starvation and degradation imposed on millions in this country—and billions around the world—by a tiny minority of profit-gouging capitalists, then it's time for you to check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs and join us in the fight for a socialist future—the only future for humanity. ■

Duke...

(continued from page 1)

To the extent this anti-labor race-hater has won working-class votes, it is due to the treachery of the union leadership, which has shackled the workers to the union-busting Democrats/Dixiecrats.

Before all-white revival tent audiences, Duke spews out a litany of racist buzzwords, railing against affirmative action and castigating the "massive welfare underclass" as the supposed cause of "crime, tax waste and the decline of education." Founder of the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," he advocates forced transfer of all Jews to Long Island and Manhattan, Cajun Catholics in the Gulf Coast parishes better be nervous about Duke, given the history of KKK anti-Catholic bigotry. Duke portrays himself as in the forefront of anti-Communist reaction, likening support to him with "what's happening in Eastern Europe," and welcomes being called "the Boris Yeltsin of American politics." Yeltsin is a pseudo-populist chauvinist demagogue who hobnobs with the Russian fascist Panyat, and spearheads counterrevolution which would return to the days of pogroms and enslavement.

Duke sees his electoral forays as a launching pad for a national fascist movement. Recently he was applauded by white students at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge as he promised to make LSU lily-white again. But other students carried signs denouncing him as a "Nose Job Nazi" (*Washington Post*, 15 September). In 1969, Duke was known as the "Nazi of LSU." This Hitler-lover went on to become "a media-sharp stormtrooper for racist reaction

who expanded the Klan's influence from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, New England and California," as the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a leaflet mobilizing for a March 1991 demonstration in Boston which drew 1,500 to protest Duke's appearance there. Duke also organized a vigilante "Klan Border Watch" targeting immigrants from Mexico, and ran for president in 1988 on the ticket of the fascist-infested Populist Party.

The respectable bourgeois press paints Duke as a "former" KKKer and Nazi turned "populist" and "maverick" Republican. He may have exchanged his brown shirt with swastika and Klan robes for a three-piece suit, but his genocidal politics haven't changed one iota. Speaking in 1986 to a Nazi at the Institute for Historical Review (which spreads the Big Lie that the Nazi Holocaust never happened), Duke said: Jews "deserve to go into the ashbin of history.... I would suggest that you don't really talk much about National Socialism...publicly, too much" (*New York Times*, 16 October).

What Duke hammers away at publicly is the same reactionary agenda being pushed by Bush & Co., giving it a raw racist edge. His scathing attacks on affirmative action mirror the White House campaign against racial "quotas." The degeneracy of bourgeois politics today was driven home by the fact that Governor Roemer's unsuccessful veto of a virulent anti-abortion bill (which would sentence doctors to ten years of hard labor) was denounced by both Duke and Democrat Edwards. While KKKer Duke supported Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court, James Meredith, who integrated the University of Mississippi only to become an aide to racist Sen-

Down With Racist Monument!

Last month, the federal government threatened to cut off hundreds of thousands of dollars to the mainly black New Orleans city government for failing to meet a September 1 deadline to put back up a white-supremacist monument. The obelisk "commemorates" the 1874 defeat of a 3,000-strong black militia of freedmen at the hands of a White League led by Confederate officers. It was removed during river-front construction begun in 1989, but the black Democratic mayor agreed under pressure from federal and state officials to replace it when the work was completed.

The monument obscenely celebrates the Confederacy, chattel slavery and the victory of Jim Crow over Radical Reconstruction, as was made explicit in a 1934 inscription saying that the 1876 election "recognized white supremacy and gave us our state." While this inscription is to be removed, the federal and state governments' demand to restore the monument is a provocation recalling Reagan's salute to Nazi SS troops at Bitburg. Not surprisingly, in 1989 KKKer David Duke staged a fascist rally to "defend" the statue. This monument to racist rule has got to go!

ator Jesse Helms, has endorsed Duke. Duke baits Edwards as a "strong member of the NAACP," but the Democratic standard-bearer says the choice is over who can "bring stability."

Edwards, who has been the target of several federal probes, captured the pervasive corruption of Louisiana politics, boasting that the only way they'll get him is if they catch him in bed with a "live boy or dead girl." With a lock on more than 90 percent of the black vote, this man who would be kingpin will now cater even more strongly to the racist vote. Edwards has also been endorsed by the United Teachers of New Orleans, which has been fighting Roemer's attempts to gut the union through a new "teacher evaluation" system. The solidly integrated UTNO, which fought a hard strike in the fall of 1990, and the rest of the labor movement are shackled by the union bureaucrats' support to the Dem-

ocratic Party. The way to fight Duke is with hard class struggle. Not the Democrats but a fighting workers party!

A class-struggle workers party would mobilize labor/black defense against fascist attacks, as the Spartacist League and PDC did to oppose KKK/Nazi incursions in cities from Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia to Atlanta and San Francisco. A workers party would lead the fight to organize the non-union South, appealing to workers in unions such as OCAW, Mine Workers, Teamsters and other transport unions to wage a campaign on the scale of that which organized the CIO in the 1930s. The power of organized labor must be mobilized to aid union organizing such as the Mississippi Delta catfish workers, to smash Klan terror and to sweep away the Dukes and the racist system for which they are the shock troops. And that requires above all a revolutionary leadership. ■

Hospitals...

(continued from page 12)

overburdened emergency rooms, sometimes waiting 24 hours or more to see a doctor—usually a resident working up to 108 hours a week. Sometimes the patients don't live that long.

The horrific conditions at Kings County in Brooklyn, which treats over 195,000 patients a year, and at Harlem Hospital, the only hospital left in the central Harlem ghetto, have been known for years. But the latest round of budget slashing has brought the situation to the breaking point. Of the 3,500 staff members at Harlem Hospital, 150 have been laid off this year. Maybe that's why it took them nearly a week to find Clarence Pompey, the 73-year-old man who vanished from his room and was found dead in a steam shaft. Harlem Hospital now faces loss of its accreditation pending the outcome of a federal inspection.

All these investigations will most likely blame individual doctors and nurses for the negligence which led to patients' deaths, as happened in the 1984 case of Libby Zion, daughter of columnist Sidney Zion, and of Andy Warhol, both of whom died in the private New York Hospital. After that, the state issued regulations limiting residents to 80 hours a week. But an exemption was made for emergency rooms.

The real villains are the banks and financiers and capitalist politicians who've bled the city white. This year the budget-cut murderers cut more than \$170 million from the municipal hospitals, laying off hundreds of hospital workers. Since the 1975 "fiscal crisis," more than 40 city hospitals have been closed, including Sydenham Hospital, the only other hospital in central Harlem.

At the same time, the AIDS epidemic, tuberculosis and other (mostly preventable) diseases have ravaged the increasingly impoverished black and Hispanic communities. As poverty and desperation have increased, so has violent crime. During the month of August, the number



Harlem hospital workers protest life-threatening cutbacks.

WV Photo

of stabbing and shooting victims treated at the Kings County ER showed an increase of nearly 30 percent over the previous year.

Of course, the critical condition of medical care is a national problem as well, in a country where millions have little or no medical insurance. As private hospitals engage in the practice of "dumping" uninsured patients, more and more inner-city hospitals are closing their emergency rooms: in Los Angeles, Centinela Hospital closed down its 24-hour emergency center and opened a profit-making sports medicine center.

But nowhere is the gap between rich and poor more blatant than in New York City, where ambassadors, capitalists and foreign royalty can rent luxury suites at Columbia-Presbyterian and be waited upon by tuxedoed waiters at high tea, while a black woman in labor is denied a bed at Harlem Hospital, and is forced to deliver on a stretcher on the floor of the admissions room.

As the economy has nose-dived in the present "recession," conditions in health care, housing and education for the black

and Hispanic poor of New York have worsened dramatically. Under black Democrat Dinkins, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, the homeless are being driven out of the subways, abandoned buildings and vacant lots. Entire shantytowns, like "Dinkinsville" on the Lower East Side, have been bulldozed, the inhabitants forced onto the streets to face the cold winter.

Meanwhile, the police continue to routinely shoot down unarmed minority youth. The racist cop who murdered black grandmother Mary Mitchell last year just got off free.

New York City is the focal point of capitalist decay. As the city's bridges crumble due to maintenance cutbacks, a subway train plows into girders at Union Square for lack of automatic brakes, and last week a water main burst in midtown, creating a "Niagara Falls" on 42nd Street. After \$430 million and 4,300 teachers were cut from the city's already strapped school system, classes are so overcrowded that students are fighting over chairs, and some kids still don't have any textbooks!

With American capitalism facing deep economic crisis, the poor are considered simply a surplus population, and social programs including welfare are considered a waste of money. The ruling class is obviously hoping that unemployment, poverty, starvation and disease will wipe out the problem, while black and Hispanic elected officials keep the lid on social struggle. When over 6,000 city workers got the ax last June, Local 420 of AFSCME District 37 held a "prayer vigil" outside Harlem Hospital, concluding "only prayer is the answer to help save our jobs."

But the minority workers of America won't have a prayer if they don't fight back against this racist capitalist system which is carrying out organized genocide. The largely black and Hispanic hospital workers have strong union organizations (AFSCME Local 420 led by Jim Butler and Local 1199 led by Dennis Rivera). Yet Butler and Rivera are close political allies of Democrat Dinkins. So they hold their members back from fighting the cuts.

To turn ghetto hospitals into places where people are healed to live rather than being left to die means a struggle against this whole rotten system, both Democrats and Republicans, and to build a revolutionary workers party in a fight for socialist revolution. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area

Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (510) 839-0851

Chicago

Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City

Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below
Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

and last Friday there was a powerful illustration, as over 100,000 Haitian working people demonstrated in the streets of New York against the coup. By its sheer numbers, the dense sea of laboring people that poured into the Wall Street area swept the financiers, fat cats and yuppies off the sidewalks and from the steps of the Stock Exchange.

It looked like a general strike of the city's strongly proletarian and plebeian Haitian population, except that instead of mobilizing against the class enemy, the march was overwhelmingly dominated by illusions in Aristide and his preaching of conciliation. Some signs even called for democracy in Haiti in the name of Bush's "New World Order." As if to confirm these deadly illusions, another march has been called in Washington this very afternoon to put pressure on the U.S. government and the OAS. But let me just ask you a simple question: Can anyone here possibly believe that George Bush will do anything for you?

Aristide had responded to the coup by making the rounds of the UN, the OAS and Bush's White House. But many in last week's demonstration were in no mood to curry favor with the imperialist jackals. One demonstrator carried a sign reading "Bush the Problem, AK-47 the Solution." Any U.S.-sponsored intervention, whether it is through diplomatic maneuvers, military invasion or the announced economic boycott, will only be aimed at further shackling the Haitian masses—as well as furthering the U.S. mobilization to roll back the gains of the Cuban Revolution.

I want to insist on the link with the question of Cuba because, as you certainly know, Bush's interest in Haiti these days has a lot to do with crushing the gains of the Cuban Revolution, wiping it out, assassinating its leaders, and extirpating its memory. Because this is U.S. imperialism's "backyard." But more than that, Bush proclaimed, after he reduced Iraq to a pile of rubble, that the "New World Order" means that

Inauguration of new puppet president Joseph Nérette with bloody strongman, General Raoul Cedras (right).



Andrew Innerarity

In a way, both have actually happened! It is not with particular gratification that we note that our warning has proven correct. What is important is to understand why we were able to see clearly when all the others who claim to uphold Marxism were caught up in the wild enthusiasm for "Titid." In refusing to go along with what we knew was a recipe for defeat, we were basing ourselves on the struggle by Marxists—that is, Trotskyists—against the popular front.

The popular front is a reformist strategy which consists of tying the working masses to the so-called "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. Again and again the strategy of the popular front has led to defeat, because it demobilizes the workers, undermines their class consciousness, and sets them up for bloody repression by their class enemy. In the Chinese Revolution of 1927 the powerful proletariat was chained by Stalin's Comintern to the so-called "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeois Kuomintang, who then turned on the workers and slaughtered thousands. In Chile in the early '70s, Salvador Allende led the workers into an alliance with Christian Democrats, setting them up to be smashed by Pinochet's bloody coup.

Aristide's coalition is a popular front which unites workers organizations like

coup which overthrew him! It is a cruel illusion to pretend that part of the Haitian bourgeoisie, or its sadistic killers in uniform, can be won over to the side of the masses in the drive to root out the Tontons Macoutes. Complicity in unspeakable crimes is widespread at all levels of the Haitian elite, both in the army and among the bourgeoisie. When Aristide and his leftist supporters lead the masses in search of "progressive" bourgeois and "democratic" officers, they are leading the masses into a suicidal dead end.

The program we counterpose to the popular front is inspired by the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Kerensky and the Mensheviks put together a class-collaborationist coalition between the working-class parties and the bourgeoisie. Lenin insisted on a policy of absolutely no political support to Kerensky's coalition government. Against the Menshevik program of allying with the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie, Lenin counterposed the independent working-class struggle for power—"All Power to the Soviets!" (soviets are councils of workers and soldiers).

What is necessary is international working-class struggle. Since the fall of Duvalier, the working class in Haiti has repeatedly made its preponderant social weight felt through general strikes—often for political demands—which have brought the country to a standstill. However, the weakness of the working class, largely confined to public transportation, small manufacturing and state-owned industry like electrical power generation, is a reflection of Haiti's dreadful poverty.

Haiti is a largely peasant country with large numbers of unemployed poor in the cities as well. The working class will place itself at the head of the peasants and other oppressed in forming a workers and peasants government, but it centrally needs reinforcement by the proletariat internationally.

The overwhelming bulk of the Haitian working class is in the diaspora, concentrated in the working class of North America and in the Caribbean. In the neighboring Dominican Republic, Haitian workers toil under slave conditions in the *bateys* (living quarters in the cane fields). Yet the real power of Haitian workers is in North American cities like Montreal, New York and Boston, where they are integrated into the proletariat. This was underscored in the hard-fought strike last year of Haitian textile workers at Domsey in Brooklyn—and it was hammered home in last week's massive demonstration against the coup.

These workers can be a living bridge between the revolution in Haiti and revolutionary working-class struggle throughout the continent. However, this cannot be achieved through simple trade-union struggle. It requires a revolutionary internationalist party, modeled on Lenin's Communist International.

No to U.S. Intervention in Haiti!

As Aristide extends his hand to Bush, asking U.S. imperialism to help restore him to power, the reaction of the Haitian left has been evident disorientation. The

Haitian left is so locked into support for Aristide that even a group like *Haiti Progrès*, which has taken a stand against U.S. or UN intervention in Haiti, cannot find it in themselves to criticize their hero. In fact their political support for Aristide is more like religious adulation at times.

U.S. imperialism already directly intervened in Haiti in 1915 and was responsible for setting up what Graham Greene, in his novel *The Comedians*, called "the nightmare republic." Americans can read the novel; Haitians had to live it. The U.S. military regime in Haiti was, according to one historian, "probably the bloodiest in all of the Caribbean" (Donald Schulz and Douglas Granham [eds.], *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America and the Caribbean* [1984]).

The occupation of Haiti by the U.S. Marines provoked a national uprising. The rebellion of the *chacos* (peasant bands), led by Charlemagne Peralte, lasted for five years before it was drowned in blood. Against Haitian peasants armed with ancient pistols, cutlasses and flintlocks, the U.S. military unleashed light tanks, machine guns and bombers loaded with incendiaries. Thousands of Haitian peasants were slaughtered; the total number of U.S. deaths was four.

U.S. military commanders turned the whole country into a "free-fire zone," carrying out what one marine commander described as "practically indiscriminate killing" of the population. The Marines recruited an army of desperate killers and sadists, called the *gendarmes* (later changed to the *Garde*), to replace the former Haitian army which was simply dissolved. Together the Marines and their *gendarme* lackeys marauded the countryside butchering the population. The academic histories of Haiti and the U.S. occupation don't give a real sense of the sheer horror of what the Marines inflicted on that country. So I went back to the journalism of the time to see what dispatches got through the almost total military censorship.

In particular there is a document, written by Haitian nationalists and presented to the U.S. Congress, which documents atrocities—only a minute fraction of the total—committed by the U.S. Marines (*Nation*, 25 May 1921). Going over this list of names and places, one gets a sense of the special horrors that racist U.S. imperialism reserved for the descendants of Toussaint L'Ouverture's army of liberated slaves: an entire family wiped out, an old man murdered and mutilated, a blind man's head cut off and his child's as well, an invalid murdered, a man strung up and burned alive, a man tortured with a red-hot iron, another entire family wiped out.

This document reveals that the U.S. military set up concentration camps, or transformed existing prisons into veritable death camps. These are the so-called "democratic" imperialists that Aristide is now turning to for help. And the *gendarmes* are the predecessor of the army that Aristide hopes to "democratize."

State and Revolution

Now I want to say a word about that fellow who was carrying the sign calling for AK-47s. He has certain illusions too, but they are more interesting than placing confidence in U.S. intervention. At least this is a man with a healthy respect for a tool that doesn't keep jamming. The AK-47 was the weapon of choice in guerrilla struggles from Vietnam to Central America, and it was used by the Cuban troops that drove apartheid troops out of Angola. But it is not enough to take up the gun, as the tragic defeat of Charlemagne Peralte underlines—you also have to understand the question of state power.

In his classic work *State and Revolution*, Lenin quoted Engels on the nature of the state. Engels said that the state is essentially the repressive force of the dominant class, the army, police, prison system—he used the expression "armed



Gentile/Newsweek

Populist priest Aristide campaigning for president last December.

Washington has a free hand. With the ascendancy in the Soviet Union of Yeltsin and those who would openly fight for the restoration of capitalism, the U.S. imperialists figure it is now open season on anyone who stands in their way.

Popular Front Means Workers' Blood

We have been meeting with a number of Haitian militants over the past weeks. What I want to do is deal with some of the political questions that have come up. Following Aristide's landslide victory last winter, we wrote:

"Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown...."

—WV No. 517, 4 January

the CATH trade union and the Committee Against Repression/*Haiti Progrès* with political representatives of the Haitian bourgeoisie in the National Front for Change and Democracy (FNCD) along with the section of the Catholic church which espouses "liberation theology" (called "Ti Legliz" in Haiti). This coalition is based on a reformist program of trying to achieve "democracy" in Haiti by channeling the just rage of the masses into parliamentary politics. The idea is to use the massive popular support for Aristide to "pressure" a wing of the military into introducing "democratic" reforms and extirpating the Tontons Macoutes (deposed dictator Duvalier's army of thugs).

Aristide even declared that he "loves" General Cedras, who presided over the

bodies of men." This is why it is impossible to significantly change society through elections—these "armed bodies" remain untouched. As Lenin explained, the central task of socialist revolution is the destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement with a workers state.

We have been meeting a number of Haitian militants since the coup who are convinced that the key problem is the destruction of the bourgeoisie's repressive apparatus. But they invariably conclude: "So Aristide should have purged the officer corps, armed the masses, etc." In other words, instead of breaking with the popular front, the masses should seek to pressure it further to the left.

Many Haitian militants have been going back over the history of Allende's Chile—and indeed the parallels with Aristide's Haiti are striking, as we pointed out in our last issue of *Workers Vanguard*. In June 1973 Allende brought into his cabinet the "constitutionalist" general Pinochet to supposedly head off a coup attempt, just as Aristide named Cedras to head the army for the same reason. Both Allende and Aristide were victims of the so-called "democratic" officers they were courting (although unlike Aristide, Allende did not make it out alive).

What Aristide is being asked to agree to now as a condition of being put back in some semblance of power is precisely the kind of guarantees that Allende signed. And if Aristide signs that paper, he should put red blood in the pen because that's what this is all about. We have often marched in demonstrations with the sign "Popular Front Means Workers' Blood," because illusions in the popular front mean that the workers will pay with their blood.

Aristide's supporters say that his coalition was not really a class-collaborationist popular front because it did not include a major bourgeois party. But the bourgeois politicians in the FNCD, such as the rich merchant Antoine Izeméry, had an importance which extended well beyond their limited support among the bourgeoisie. They were an important symbol, a guarantee to the bourgeoisie that as long as they were present in Aristide's coalition it could not be pressured into overstepping the bounds of minimum reforms. In Spain in the 1930s, where a similar small group of bourgeois lawyers and politicians was a key component of the popular front, Trotsky called them the "shadow of the bourgeoisie."

Liberation Theology

However, even without the presence of the FNCD, the chief guarantee that Aristide and Ti Legliz will not overstep the bounds of capitalism is their direct tie to the Catholic church. Aristide's leftist supporters pretend not to notice that the Catholic church has a defined class character. It is one of the bastions of the capitalist order. Those like Aristide who seek a radical democratic transformation of society while remaining within the framework of the church must inevitably run up against the fact that it is a bourgeois institution.

In a sense the "best" that could be expected from radical priests in the struggle against the bourgeoisie was seen in Nicaragua, where "liberation theology" priests participated in the armed struggle which in 1979 brought down the Somoza dictatorship. Yet from the start they exerted a constant pressure to avoid a revolutionary overturn of capitalism. Prominent Christians like Fernando Cardenal and Miguel d'Escoto, organized in the FSLN-initiated group *Los Doce* (the Twelve), were a key component of the cement which bound the Sandinista guerrillas to prominent bourgeois figures. Once in power, the petty-bourgeois Sandinista forces sought for years to steer a "middle road" and avoid expropriating the bourgeoisie, and the priests in the Sandinista regime consistently blocked with openly bourgeois forces to favor a definitive consolidation



"Smash the Coup! Workers to Power!" says Spartacist sign at UN demonstration, October 1. More than 5,000 copies of Spartacist literature have been bought in recent weeks by Haitians demonstrating against the coup.

of capitalism, as finally took place last year.

The preaching by "liberation theology" of reconciliation and "love thine enemy" inevitably translates into class collaboration. In a situation of explosive social tensions, this religious moralism is a deadly danger for the struggling masses. Radical priests in Haiti, their vision blurred by religious conciliationism, have in the past led their followers into deadly confrontations unprepared. In the summer of 1987 hundreds of peasants organized by Ti Legliz were murdered near the town of Jean-Rabel by a private militia of Tontons Macoutes. In July of that year some 2,500 peasants organized in the cooperative Tet Ansanm were on their way to a reconciliation party. But before they got there, they were trapped and murdered. The mass grave had already been dug.

The martyrs of the "liberation theology" movement who braved torture, rape and death at the hands of the brutal U.S.-sponsored military regimes have been legion, from Camilo Torres who died in 1966 while fighting on the side of Colombian guerrillas, to the Jesuit priest Rutilio Grande who was murdered in Salvador in 1977, and even including the archconservative Archbishop Romero of San Salvador, who was gunned down in 1980 by the fascistic forces of former intelligence officer Roberto d'Aubuisson. Already in 1980 author Penny Lernoux estimated at some 200 the number of Latin American religious figures who had been tortured, killed or "disappeared."

Yet the fact that the "liberation theology" movement has had hundreds of martyrs is not unrelated to the fact that, advocating conciliationism and universal brotherhood between the classes, it goes against the laws of history. The barbaric rulers of Haiti, who soak up superprofits while paying their workers less than they spend per day on cocktails, are not going to give up their privileges out of charity. The long-suffering working people of Haiti have no need for more martyrs. They need revolutionary power and the overthrow of the vicious capitalist system. For all his good will and undeniable courage, Aristide is betraying his followers and leading them to slaughter like a Judas goat.

Pouvoir Ouvrier!

The Haitian experience underscores the fact that the struggle for social justice and the most basic democratic gains of the bourgeois revolution in countries which suffer the yoke of imperialism requires challenging the foundations of the capitalist order. This is the lesson of the Russian Revolution, where working-class power simultaneously achieved basic democratic gains and broke with capitalism to set up a planned economy—and to lead that, you need a Bolshevik party. This understanding is summarized in Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution.

Yet the cruel underdevelopment and violently brutal repression in Haiti have tended to blur class differentiation and

undercut class struggle. This is fertile soil for the radical populism put forward by Ti Legliz. It also causes many mass upsurges to be focused on exacting just revenge against individual Duvalierist killers through "Pè LeBrun"—the burning tire "necklacing"—without directly confronting the capitalist class. Comrades, the enemy is not only the pig spy who you see every day, it's also the Michelin company who manufactures the tires!

As we wrote in our last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, under revolutionary leadership the working class would organize people's tribunals to root out the Tontons Macoutes as part of the struggle for proletarian power. In the absence of a strong working-class axis there is a real danger that, as the army launches indiscriminate massacres and the masses respond with an orgy of "necklacing," this already tortured country could be engulfed in a bloodbath without opening the road to liberation of the masses.

But above all, the way forward will not be found in the nationalist search for a "Haitian solution" propounded by Aristide and his leftist supporters. The struggle against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses must be seen as part of an international class struggle against imperialism in which Haitian workers in the cities of North America can play a key role. Haitian nationalists are forever lamenting the fact that the Haitian diaspora exists. Comrades, it is very good that you have this diaspora! It internationalizes the struggle of Haitian workers, gives them social power and helps forge an international vanguard directly linked to the U.S. proletariat, which has the power to bring imperialism to its knees.

The Haitian people do not have to stand alone. But what is necessary is an internationalist perspective. The U.S.

empire has attracted like a magnet its colonial slaves, who make up a significant fraction of the U.S. proletariat. In addition to the more than 300,000 Haitians in New York there are over half a million Dominicans, close to two million Puerto Ricans, plus tens of thousands of Salvadoran refugees from death squad terror. These workers from Yankee imperialism's Caribbean "backyard" can cement a link to the rest of the American proletariat, black and white.

The Haitian revolutionary masses, who in the 18th century burst the chains of slavery, were the vanguard of the Americas—and the experience of that revolution is today, two centuries later, still deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Haitian masses. That revolution had enormous international significance. Itself part of the French and American bourgeois revolutions, the Haitian Revolution served as a beacon, inspiring slave revolts throughout the Americas. The bourgeois nationalists in Haiti hold up Dessalines as their hero, precisely because he presided over the throttling of the revolution. We look to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was an internationalist, who understood the necessity of revolution in France and elsewhere.

Haitian workers throughout the diaspora are today a vital link between revolutionary class struggle in Haiti and throughout the Caribbean, and the North American continent. Organizing the most conscious elements into an international Bolshevik party, a Trotskyist party, is the task the International Communist League sets itself in the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution, and I hope that some of them are in the audience here today.

A bas l'impérialisme! Pouvoir ouvrier en Haiti et aux Etats-Unis! ■

A Spartacist Pamphlet \$1.00

Spartacist Pamphlet

Black History and the Class Struggle

No. 6

Contents:

- Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution
- Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop the KKK
- Mumla Abu-Jemel Speaks from Death Row
- Battle of Christiana—A Blow Against Slavery
- Melcolm X on Klan Terror
- Genocide U.S.A.

\$1 (32 pages)

Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10116

Order from/make checks payable to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

WORKERS VANGUARD

New York: Mammoth Protest Against the Coup

Haitian Workers: Fight for Power!

We print below an edited version of a Spartacist forum by Bruce André in New York City on October 18.

The arrogant killers who threw out President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and took power in a coup last month have been glorying in their unlimited power to humiliate, abuse and murder. Prominent Aristide supporters have been arbitrarily arrested and an OAS delegation was run out of the country practically at gunpoint. But the military's real bloodlust has been turned against the helpless population, which has been gunned down in the streets by the hundreds.

Since the coup, the imperialist overlords in Washington have been acting as if the question of who rules in Haiti will be decided "at the top," by their negotiations with the Haitian military and

various Latin American governments. Aristide says he's pleased because Haitian businessmen are starting to feel the squeeze from the U.S.-sponsored economic boycott of Haiti. But an article in yesterday's *New York Times* from the Haitian town of Jérémie reports that the population is preparing to hold out against army terror and has been carrying out a general strike since the coup.

The news from Jérémie points to what is needed: hard working-class struggle. In Haiti, even though the working class has homogeneity and social weight, it is extremely small. Yet the Haitian working class has strength in the cities of North America where Haitians are heavily concentrated in the proletariat. We have repeatedly insisted on this, *continued on page 10*



October 11—Over 100,000 Haitian protesters tie up Wall Street, financial center of world capitalism. WV Photo

WARNING: NYC Hospitals Dangerous to Your Health

Even as Mayor Dinkins had his photo op at the Kings County Hospital bedside of Yankel Rosenbaum, the Australian Hasidic student knifed by black youths in the August 19 Crown Heights riot, the injured man was bleeding to death from an untreated stab wound. An hour later, he was dead.

On October 7, as the investigation of Rosenbaum's death continued, prominent black civil rights lawyer William C. Chance, Jr., an old friend of Dinkins, bled to death from a peptic ulcer in the Harlem Hospital emergency room, after waiting 18 hours for treatment.

Chance, a former member of Harlem Hospital's community board, probably thought he'd be well taken care of there. Instead, he was told to go home because there weren't enough beds: after he refused he was then ignored until he collapsed, another victim of the hellish New York public hospitals. Hundreds of mourners attended Chance's funeral in Harlem, at which Dinkins promised a thorough inquiry into his death.

Because of these highly publicized deaths, attention has suddenly focused on the disaster of New York's public

hospital system, the largest in the country. In addition to the Rosenbaum and Chance probes, four other deaths in the last two months are under investigation. In one case, the Brooklyn D.A.'s office is considering murder charges after Roger Wade, a mentally ill prison inmate (serving 25 years for selling two \$5 vials of crack) was choked to death while being "restrained" by eight untrained Kings County nurse's aides.

Last week Dinkins announced a major investigation of the city's hospitals, in an attempt to "restore" public confidence in the system. Ludicrously,

the mayor proclaimed at a press conference that former Manhattan Borough president Percy Sutton, who "has the capacity to go to almost any hospital he wishes," went to Harlem Hospital for tests and is now "terrific."

But the deaths of Rosenbaum and Chance are only the cases you hear of. Every day thousands of poor and uninsured New Yorkers seek help from the public hospitals, which are their only source of medical care for everything from ear infections to cancer to gunshot wounds. They fill the already

continued on page 9