

"Vietnam Syndrome" Haunts U.S. Rulers

U.S./UN Get Out of Somalia Now!



U.S. Army Cobra assault helicopter terrorizes Somali children in Mogadishu.

Eldon/Reuters

After months of gunning down Somali women, children and men, U.S./UN troops finally found out on October 3 what it's like to be on the receiving end, and Washington is still vibrating from the repercussions. Following the disastrous raid by elite U.S. Rangers on Mogadishu's Olympic Hotel, during which three UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters were shot down by Somali militiamen, thousands of Somalis—mostly women and children—in the nearby Bakhara Market came under U.S. attack.

Over 300 Somalis were massacred and at least 700 wounded by U.S. Cobra helicopter gunships and ground troops during the 15-hour bombardment. "There were hundreds, hundreds," said a relief worker, "women, children, all with awful wounds." But the Somalis fought back, pinning down the Rangers for hours before UN reinforcements arrived. The U.S. death toll of 18 troops killed and 85 wounded was slight compared to the butchery inflicted on the Somalis (which certainly doesn't bother the Pentagon).

But it caused many Americans to have flashbacks to the U.S. defeat in Vietnam.

The image of a dead Ranger being dragged naked around Mogadishu by triumphant Somalis was humiliating to the U.S. military, and the carnage shocked a lot of Americans who still had naive illusions in a "humanitarian intervention" in Somalia into seeing that the U.S. was not wanted there. Even before the October 3 debacle, sentiment was running high on Capitol Hill for getting out of the Somali "quagmire." And as we go

to press, it is reported that the U.S. is pulling the 750 Rangers from Somalia as part of an informal truce in their undeclared war.

The White House blamed everything on UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali's obsession with hunting down Somali clan militia chief Mohamed Farah Aidid, and the media dutifully went after the designated scapegoat. Clinton's personal choice to run the "UN" military operation. *The New York Times* continued on page 8

Down with Army Death Squad Regime!

Haiti: U.S. Gunboat Diplomacy

Aristide, Front Man for Washington

OCTOBER 18—In a classic example of "gunboat diplomacy," the imperialists have sent a flotilla of six U.S. and three Canadian warships into Haitian waters to pressure the puppet military regime to step back into line. The blockade is supposed to enforce an embargo on oil and military supplies decreed yesterday by the United Nations Security Council. President Clinton also sent troops to the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba and beefed up the Marine contingent at the

U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince.

The imperialists' threatening moves came after Clinton pulled back some 200 U.S. and Canadian troops aboard the USS *Harlan County* because of a rowdy demonstration by some 50 armed supporters of the military regime screaming, "We are going to turn this into another Somalia!" The troops were sent as part of a deal to restore elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office. Despite its embarrassment over last week's incident, U.S. rulers have never been that gung-ho for the populist priest Aristide. And Washington is hesitant to take even minimal casualties, as the Pentagon's humiliation in Somalia has set off an uproar

continued on page 9



U.S. Imperialists wave Big Stick.

U.S. Navy



Defeat Prop 174! For the Separation of Church and State!

California Public Schools Under Attack

In California's November special election, the term "pro-choice voter" has acquired a sinister new meaning that includes Christian fundamentalists and a host of right-wing ideologues. They're all rallying behind Proposition 174, the so-called "Parental Choice in Education Amendment," which promises to wreck the already crippled public education system. The proposed amendment to the state constitution would provide "vouchers" for every school-age child (K-12). These vouchers, valued at about \$2,600 per year—half what is currently spent educating each child in the state's public schools—would then be sent to public, private or religious schools to pay tuition.

Backers of the voucher plan are taking advantage of the justifiable and widespread dissatisfaction with the public school system by pledging to "save money" and "eliminate bureaucracy." A glaring indication of the severity of the crisis is that public schoolteachers disproportionately send their own kids to private schools. Perennial budget cuts and years of conscious malign neglect dating back to the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 have left California schools understaffed and on the verge of bankruptcy. If passed, Prop 174 would siphon an additional \$1.3 billion out of public education to subsidize students in private schools, most of whom don't need a subsidy anyway! The im-



L.A. teachers strike of 1989 won broad support. Needed now: a statewide teachers strike backed up by the power of all labor to save California schools.



TROTSKY

Trotsky on the Chinese Revolution

Leading into and summarizing the experience of the Russian Revolution of 1905, Trotsky developed his program of permanent revolution: that the revolutionary seizure of power by the proletariat, leading the peasantry, is the only way to resolve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which become inextricably intertwined with the socialist expropriation of the bourgeoisie. This was confirmed by the 1917



LENIN

October Revolution, underlining the crucial role of the leadership of a Bolshevik vanguard party. The disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, in which Stalin reverted to the Menshevik policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie—i.e., Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang—proved (in the negative) the general validity of this perspective for the colonial and semicolonial countries in the imperialist epoch. Trotsky addressed this question in *The Third International After Lenin*, his comprehensive critique of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country."

The first stage of the Kuomintang was the period of domination of the national bourgeoisie under the apologetic label of a "bloc of four classes." The second period, after Chiang Kai-shek's *coup d'état*, was an experiment of parallel and "independent" domination of Chinese Kerenkyism, in the shape of the Hankow government of the "Left" Wang Ching-wei. While the Russian Narodniks, together with the Mensheviks, lent to their short-lived "dictatorship" the form of an open dual power, the Chinese "revolutionary democracy" did not even reach that stage. And inasmuch as history in general does not work to order, there only remains for us to understand that *there is not and will not be* any other "democratic dictatorship" except the dictatorship exercised by the Kuomintang since 1925. This remains equally true regardless of whether the semi-unification of China accomplished by the Kuomintang is maintained in the immediate future or the country is again dismembered. But precisely at a time when the class dialectics of the revolution, having spent all its other resources, clearly and conclusively put on the order of the day the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, leading the countless millions of oppressed and disinherited in city and village, the E.C.C.I. [Executive Committee of the Communist International] advanced the slogan of a *democratic* (i.e., bourgeois democratic) dictatorship of the workers and peasants....

The key to the situation lies precisely in the fact that the task of winning the movement of the poor peasants already fell entirely upon the shoulders of the proletariat, and directly upon the communist party; and that the approach to a genuine solution of the bourgeois-democratic tasks of the revolution necessitated the concentration of all power in the hands of the proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1928)

mediate result would be a shift of revenue away from poor school districts toward private schools in affluent areas, with black and other minority students getting the extremely short end of the stick.

The voucher system is being pushed by an army of ultrarightists whose program is to liquidate public education and undo the constitutional separation of church and state. Drooling over the prospect of state-funded church schools, the religious right has adopted the voucher initiative as a modern-day crusade against "secular humanism," the teaching of evolution and sex education. Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition has kicked in \$100,000 toward pro-voucher ad campaigns, and is hosting \$50-a-plate banquets to pay for more than four million voter guides. Robert Simonds of the ultraright "Coalition on Revival" aims to "replace all public local schools" with private Christian campuses by the year 2000 and has founded "Citizens for Excellence in Education" to raise funds for the initiative. At one church-sponsored voter drive, a pro-voucher zealot raved to the *Oakland Tribune*, "America was considered a Christian nation, and we were gracious enough to let other people come here as guests. We should not let public schools say you can be neutral about religion."

The Democratic Party "opposition" to the initiative is trying to outdo the religious right in racist demagoguery. Since any private school with at least 25 students would qualify to receive state funding and there are no criteria for curricula or faculty credentials, Los Angeles State Senator Diane Watson conjures up the spectre of the "Crips" and "Bloods" street gangs starting their own voucher schools. "What's to keep them from getting a school together and teaching their children to use weapons?" asked Watson in a cable TV call-in debate. None of the draconian cuts in the state's education budget could have passed without the approval of the Democratic Party's majority in the State Assembly.

The teachers unions have buried themselves in a "Committee to Educate Against Vouchers," where they make common cause with the employers—the California State Board of Education—as well as state officials, Democratic Party politicians, People for the American Way, the Church State Council and the Business Roundtable! The Committee's primary objections are that teachers at voucher schools require no credentials, that voucher schools would be virtually impossible to regulate, and in a calculated appeal to conservatives they argue that the voucher system "creates pressure for a major tax increase."

Against a background of rising unemployment and anti-immigrant hysteria,

the education ax in California will cut particularly viciously at minorities, the poor and school employees unions. The teachers unions—CTA, CFT, CSEA and CSCSE—have come under increased attack as voucher proponents blame the overworked and underpaid teachers (who don't want to take salary cuts) for the crisis in education. But the unions have politically disarmed before the battle by tying themselves to the bosses' Democratic Party and limiting themselves to "fighting" the onslaught against public education at the ballot box. A fighting labor movement could make short shrift of Wilson's killer cuts—and win thousands of unorganized workers, including many undocumented immigrant workers, to its ranks. When the Los Angeles teachers struck in 1989 they drew the enthusiastic support of thousands of students and community residents angry at the cutbacks and destruction of public education.

Proposition 174 should be defeated overwhelmingly at the polls, but voting "no" is not enough! Surveys indicate that it will probably fail this time around, but a revised edition is likely to appear on the ballot next year. Having gauged public opinion, the forces of reaction have a much better idea of exactly what they can get away with in this period. What is urgently needed is a broad social struggle—a statewide teachers strike, backed up by the power of all labor, to save California schools. To organize such a struggle requires forging a new class-struggle leadership in the union movement to break with the Democratic Party exploiters. In this epoch of capitalist decay, it is no less true than it was in Karl Marx's time that it is the communists who fight for universal public education. For the right of free, quality public education for all! Not a penny for the church and private "academies"! Defeat Prop 174! ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Stockton: Longshore Mass Picket Shuts Down Port

ILWU Union Tops Scuttle Solidarity Action With Teamsters

OAKLAND—On October 8, longshoremen shut down all Northern California ports and poured into Stockton to join the picket line of Teamsters Local 439, whose 60 members are striking Continental Grain. Over 300 members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), including busloads from the Local 10 hall in San Francisco, came to stop Continental's use of scabs to load wheat on a ship at the struck facility. The massed pickets put a stop to Continental's scab operation—even state grain inspectors refused to cross their line. As the grain sat in nearby silos one Teamster quipped, "Maybe we'll have to pour milk on it and eat it for dinner."

Continental Grain is part of the world's second-largest grain and commodity empire with estimated sales of \$15 billion. After six years without a raise in pension or health and welfare and after working without a contract since March 1, the Teamsters who operate the Stockton mill went on strike last week over medical benefits and an arrogant company demand for a steeper multi-tier wage structure. New employees would take more than three years to reach top wages instead of the current 30 days!

Local 54 longshoremen who work dockside at the Continental terminal refused to cross the Teamsters picket line on October 7. The company proceeded to load the grain using management personnel. The Pacific Maritime Association employers and coast arbitrators, well aware that the recent sellout longshore contract was voted down by Bay Area longshoremen and fearing widespread labor disruption, told Continental to stop loading the ship. But when work continued, hundreds of longshoremen the next morning shut down the port of Stockton and all Northern California ports. At the Stockton picket line, one worker saw our supplement "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!" and told a *Workers Vanguard* salesman, "I've got a proposal: 500 bats, three balls and no mitts!"

Among the Continental strikers were women from Teamsters Local 601 who have been on strike for two years against Diamond Walnut, a Stockton growers cooperative and the world's largest supplier of walnuts. The company replaced the strikers with scabs and the Teamsters leadership's only response was a worthless consumer boycott. Under the government-installed regime of "progressive" Teamsters International president Ron Carey, the scabs are in, the workers are still out. One woman Teamster told *WV*: "Continental thought that the women would be willing to cross a picket line after the experience of losing their jobs at Diamond Walnut. But they were wrong!"

Longshore mass picket outside Continental Grain mill shut down port of Stockton, October 8.



By afternoon, ILWU International president David Arian was on the cellular phone to Local 10 president George Romero trying to call off the job action. But Romero's plea to go back to work to avoid an injunction and possible fines against the union fell on deaf ears. Longshoremen came out to *win this strike*, not just for a one-day action turned into a ritual of labor solidarity. One ILWUer appealed that they needed to keep the ports shut down and the picket line up to prevent the cops from running scabs past the Teamsters. Surrounded by angry longshoremen, the rump of the Local 10 Exec Board on the spot flipped around 180 degrees and passed a motion to stay out until the Teamsters got a contract from Continental, and to call on longshore locals up and down the coast to join the action. This motion was passed by acclamation in a meeting of the more than 200 longshoremen on the line.

But no sooner had the longshoremen dispersed that afternoon, than another rump Local 10 Exec Board meeting (on the bus going home!) overturned the membership's decision, relying on a court injunction against Continental using non-union labor to load the ship for now. The next day, longshoremen were dispatched to work the California ports. Teamsters bureaucrats are enforcing an injunction limiting picketing at the mill, which is running as non-union truckers deliver corn and pick up tapioca. "We need the longshoremen," said one striker. Teamsters from all over the valley, including the giant Safeway warehouse in Tracy, must be mobilized in mass picket to shut Continental down!

The key to winning against Continental Grain is real labor solidarity—spreading the strike to its other facilities in Tacoma and Portland, and for Teamsters, railroad workers and longshoremen to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) its products. In the Pacific Northwest, the grain operators have been on the offensive against the

ILWU. Peavey Co. in Kalama, Washington, a grain subsidiary of food industry giant ConAgra, unilaterally imposed a contract last July slashing longshore manning scales by 50 percent. The employers smell blood.

In his column in the *ILWU Dispatcher* (20 September) Arian writes that in three years the union could see a 20 percent decline in membership "under the worst scenario." He ought to know! The recent contract agrees to help the bosses "modernize" operations—i.e., slash jobs and work rules that stand in the way of greater profits. Rather than fight for longshore jobs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, Arian proposes to organize other workers to keep his dues base. This will lead to the kind of deadly raiding which is destroying union conditions at East and Gulf Coast ports, where ILA tops have just extended the contract. On the fruit docks in Philly, ILA dock workers have been replaced by Teamsters and other unions and pay scales slashed.

Reds built the ILWU in sharp class battles like the 1934 SF general strike. But the decades-long retreat by the "progressive" union tops—first Harry Bridges, then Jimmy Herman—in the face of the employers' offensive threatens to turn into a rout under Arian. For years the union tops blamed every defeat on the anti-labor policies of Reagan/Bush—preaching things will be different with a Democrat in the White House. Now under Clinton they pursue the same slavish policies, hiding behind the bosses' anti-labor laws and injunctions. The one-day ports shutdown once again demonstrates the power of the integrated labor movement. But to wield that power a leadership is needed that transforms the unions from agencies for policing the workers on behalf of the capitalists into organizations for waging class struggle, a leadership fighting to build a workers party against both wings of the "property party" on a program for a workers government.

S.F. Newspaper Bosses Declare War on the Unions

SAN FRANCISCO—With the contracts of eight unions set to expire on November 1, the bosses at the San Francisco Newspaper Agency (SFNA) are gearing up for war. The agency publishes two papers under a "joint operating agreement": the afternoon *Examiner*, fiefdom of William Randolph Hearst III and flagship of the notorious reactionary Hearst clan for three generations; and the morning *Chronicle*, owned by the wealthy Thieriot family. They hope to take advantage of the economic slump to get rid of the unions which stand in the way of unfettered exploitation and profit. Hundreds of jobs, wages and working conditions are on the line.

A new "management team" has been brought in to do the dirty work. John Sias, formerly of the Reaganite anti-labor ABC/Capital Cities media empire, was brought in as *Chronicle* CEO. James Hale, once a union-busting executive at the *Kansas City Star*, was brought out of retirement to head the SFNA. And the company has hired the notorious union-busting Tennessee law firm of King and Ballow, which was used by the Tribune Company, owners of the New York *Daily News*, whose 1990 attempt to smash the unions ran into stiff resistance in a months-long strike.

The Hearst & Co. media trust's first target is the Newspaper Drivers Union, Teamsters Local 921. SFNA bosses want to replace them with "independent contractors" who don't get regular wages or benefits. The first to go are more than 900 kids who work with the Teamsters to deliver papers—starting with 300 youths

in the largely Hispanic Mission district.

In another provocation, on September 20 SFNA summarily fired 12 union janitors represented by SEIU Local 87 at its Army Street printing plant. The company announced it had cut a deal with Teamsters Local 665 to cover janitors at its three printing plants, and would fire 40 members of SEIU Local 1877 in Richmond and Union City in October. New janitors supposedly "represented" by Local 665 were to be paid \$5.95 an hour—less than half what the fired janitors made—and had to pass a racist "language screening test" aimed at purging immigrants, especially Latino workers. Local 665 is reportedly backing away from this sweetheart contract, under pressure from the SF Central Labor Council.

The *Chronicle* is also threatening to get rid of 15 percent of its reporters and clerical staff, represented by the Newspaper Guild, and eliminate the union composing room. In negotiations with the typographers union, BATU Local 21, the SFNA proposes to accelerate "buyouts" to cut union members by 50 percent, eliminate "substitute" workers hired through the union and hire 75 part-time "composing room associates" at \$7.25 an hour, less than half of union scale and without pension or health plan! This is the bitter fruit of decades of attrition packages and so-called "guaranteed lifetime jobs" deals by the Local 21 bureaucrats, letting hundreds of union jobs go down the drain without a fight.

Local 21's social-democratic officials have set up a "Preparations Committee" which includes perennial Workers World Party candidate Gloria La Riva and small-time bureaucrat Fred Ferguson (now running for secretary-treasurer of Local 21), a real sleazeball who is best known for trying to throw the retirees off the

union's health plan last year. But rather than a bureaucratic committee to do donkey work (e.g., "organize participation in Joint Conference of Newspaper Unions called actions"), what's urgently needed in this life-and-death battle is to call a mass meeting of all unions and workers at the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* to elect a strike committee and hammer out a program to win a strike.

There's only one way to stop the Hearst & Co. media barons: *Strike together to shut down the Chronicle/Examiner—including especially their newer color plants in Richmond and Union City—with mass pickets and plant occupations to stop scab operations, and mobilizing Bay Area labor to heat back strikebreaking company goons, Mayor Frank Jordan's SFPD cops and the bosses' courts.* In order to forge a fighting alliance with black and Latino workers, the wretched history of job-trusting by the historically white craft unions (with their aging membership) must be overcome. There should be one industrial union of all newspaper workers, and a fight to integrate the workforce through union recruitment and training of minorities.

Newspaper unions are under siege across the country as media moguls introduce new technology and play on divisions between the once-strong craft unions. In bitter strike battles at the *Chicago Tribune* (1986), the New York *Daily News* (1990-91) and the *Pittsburgh Press* (1992) newspaper workers have shown their willingness and ability to fight, only to be sold down the river by union bureaucrats who fear above all any real use of union power, because they are wedded to the bosses' profit system and its Democratic Party front men. We need a multiracial, class-struggle workers party with a program to fight for workers power! ■

Stalinism and Counterrevolution in China

New York, New York
26 September 1993

Tokyo, Japan
8 September 1993

Dear Workers Vanguard,

In the China article (WV No. 582, 13 August) there was a confusing formulation concerning Mao's façade "bloc of four classes," which was initiated upon the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949. The sentence in question reads:

"After it took power, the CCP [Chinese Communist Party] initially banned strikes and for several years maintained a 'coalition government of four classes' including representatives of the bourgeoisie." (emphasis added)

This sentence is open to misinterpretation and confusion that the Chinese bourgeoisie had real "representatives" in the government which ensued from the revolution, following three years of bloody civil war. The Maoists hold this "bloc of four classes" up as proof of Mao's theory of New Democracy, which they claim resurrected Lenin's policy of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." But Lenin's formula was explicitly aimed against the Menshevik policy of coalitionism, and he abandoned that slogan in April 1917.

In fact, during the Civil War (1946-49) all sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie and the imperialists gave military support to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) against the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Liberation Army (PLA). For that reason, the Civil War destroyed the Chinese bourgeoisie as a politically organized class, reducing them to atomized property owners. Despite "the bloc of four classes" rhetoric, the early Maoist regime did not share power with any section of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The government power was clearly in the hands of the CCP, and most important, the state power was based on the unquestioned military dominance of the PLA. The bulk of the bourgeoisie fled to Taiwan.

Was the New Democracy (a rewrite of the Stalinist two-stage revolution program) or Trotsky's Permanent Revolution proven to be correct in China 1949? In spite of the Maoists' best wishes for a "democratic dictatorship" there was none. Trotsky predicted the outcome in *Third International After Lenin*, which is quoted in our pamphlet *The Stalin School of Falsification Revisited*:

"The third Chinese revolution, despite the great backwardness of China, or more correctly, because of this great backwardness as compared with Russia, will not have a 'democratic' period, not even such a six-month period as the October Revolution had (November 1917 to July 1918); but it will be compelled from the very outset to effect the most decisive shake-up and abolition of bourgeois property in city and village."

The Permanent Revolution was confirmed by the events both objectively (concerning the social revolution), and in the negative sense, subjectively; that is the absence of a revolutionary Trotskyist party leading the revolution. Thus, as is stated in the same WV article:

"Despite the enormous gains of the 1949 Revolution, the Chinese workers state was deformed from its inception, ruled by a nationalist bureaucracy that prevented the worker and peasant masses from exercising political power."

Communist regards,
Keith Markin

Dear Comrades,

In the section on minorities in the article "Explosion Builds in China" in WV No. 582, we mention the May protests which occurred in Tibet in the context of the national question.

I do not want to ignore the real Han chauvinism which does exist, nor that there is a real national question among the many nationalities that China encompasses, but my understanding of the most recent demonstrations was different than "...protests against inflation that quickly took on political demands against the central government, as 4,000 Tibetans attacked police and Han Chinese businessmen who have flocked to this remote mountain area in search of quick riches."



In 1989 protests, workers hold Mao portraits as rebuff to "capitalist roaders." Sign on left reads, "Older Big Brother Is Angry," a reference to the working class.

Coinciding with these most recent protests was a very public international campaign by the Dalai Lama, including a highly publicized meeting with Clinton and Gore in Washington and an appearance at the UN conference on "human rights" in Geneva.

Historically Tibet has been an embryo of counterrevolutionary activities to overthrow the Chinese Stalinists and destroy the Chinese deformed workers state. I would think that many of the protests in Tibet that are called in the name of fighting Han chauvinism are either moves to attain independence and restore the "god-king...who gives all the answers as well as asks all the questions" or could be manipulated for that purpose.

Communist greetings,
Jeanne

Hong Kong
26 August 1993

To: Workers Vanguard
Letters to the Editor

The *Workers Vanguard* article, "Explosion Builds in China," demonstrates the correctness and clarity of applying both Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, on the progressive role of the proletariat in transforming society and the concomitant need for a vanguard party, as well as understanding the deadly nature of Stalinism, when changes to a backward society are advanced by a na-

tionalistic peasant-oriented bureaucracy, which wraps itself in the red banner of October whilst it systematically smothers the proletariat, in whose name it rules!

But we are seeing a more assertive proletariat across China, resisting the "reforms" of the Stalinist sellouts in Beijing through strike actions and underground trade-union formations. The recent strike during June and July at the Beijing Cooling Machine Factory exemplifies the growing resentment of the workers to the quickening slide towards capitalist counterrevolution. The factory, which employs over 1,000 workers, saw men and women workers shoulder-to-shoulder with retirees raising a picket line at the front gates of the factory (they were denied a permit to hold street demonstrations by the police).

The factory's parent company threw

up in May 1989 and subsequently crushed in the June 4 massacre, was recently thrown out of China when he crossed the frontier between colonialism and the very deformed workers state at the Hong Kong/Shenzhen crossing.

Han, the darling of the colonialists of Hong Kong, who cherishes the democracy and trade-unionist rights he fights for in China (yet connives with the comprador-like Chinese bourgeoisie of Hong Kong against organising workers in Hong Kong textile, domestic workers, truckers, etc.) displays a syndicalist outlook, at best, and a blind belief in the generosity of capitalism.

We have not heard any statements from him about defending the gains of the 1949 revolution and the planned economy—or extending the influence of the proletariat to guarantee these preserves of socialism. Where does Han Dongfang look for inspiration? In the working class? In Leninism? The *South China Morning Post* (22 August) provides a clue: "I prayed every day hoping Jesus Christ can always come along with me, so that when I face a harsh situation I can handle it in a calm way." Do we need a photograph of Han Dongfang kissing the ring of Archbishop Carey before he will be exposed as the agent of western imperialism that he is?

In a declaration of the Preparatory Committee of the Beijing Free Trade Union, dated 16 January 1992, besides relying on the International Labour Organisation (ILO) as its mentor, in Article 3 (*We are Now Organising Free Trade Unions*), it states from the very first sentence who their model and mentors are:

"Ten years ago, the Solidarity Union was set up in Poland. They have now won their crucial victory. Now, a free trade union is also being set up in China. Ten years later, we will also win our victory.... What does it matter if the authorities refuse to recognise and authorise our own union.... Didn't the Polish Solidarity get banned and suppressed ten years ago? What were the results? Solidarity won, and their oppressor fell. The Chinese free trade union will definitely succeed, and those who suppress the free union are also destined to fall."

These are the enemies of the proletariat, the entire working class and peasantry, and are the agents of capitalist counterrevolution. We have the experience of Poland and the correct programme that exposed Solidarity for what it was. The imperialists also have a robust experience. Only the Spartacist League/International Communist League analyzed the events correctly. To this day, the Revolutionary Communist Party of China—a.k.a. *October Review*, in Hong Kong, the Chinese section of the USec (Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat")—refuse to admit their mistakes about Solidarity. The RCPC is very active in China today, but they are supplying the same mistakes and illusions in forming independent unions extraneous of the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. These are mistakes that will lead to WV's summation (in the negative) that:

"The contradictions of the 'socialist market economy' will be resolved either by the intervention of the working class to stop capitalist restoration and extend socialist revolution to the rest of Asia, or by the destruction of the workers state and the transformation of China into a superexploited neocolony completely subordinated to world imperialism."

With communist greetings,
Ron F.

WV comments: Han Dongfang already stands exposed as a willing instrument of imperialism. Like his role model, Lech Walesa, he has been underwritten by U.S. agencies and "labor" fronts. Han has received the AFL-CIO's "George Meany Human Rights Award" and the "Democracy Award" of the National Endowment for Democracy, and attended the recent Geneva "human rights" conference on behalf of Washington (AFL-CIO News, 26 July and 23 August). ■

Yeltsin Tightens Grip of Repression

In the days following the October 4 "Bloody Monday" massacre which left the Russian parliament building a charred skeleton, would-be czar Boris Yeltsin has rammed through a series of measures aimed at terrorizing the population and outlawing all opposition to his imperialist-dictated "free market" austerity. Thousands of police and troops roam through Moscow, randomly stopping and hijacking cars, breaking up even the smallest street-corner discussions, assaulting and arresting people at will. While the Western press claims the streets of the Russian capital are quiet, the reality is that Yeltsin's minions have been busy, mainly under cover of night, carrying out a reign of terror. Dozens of people have been killed or wounded by the trigger-happy cops.

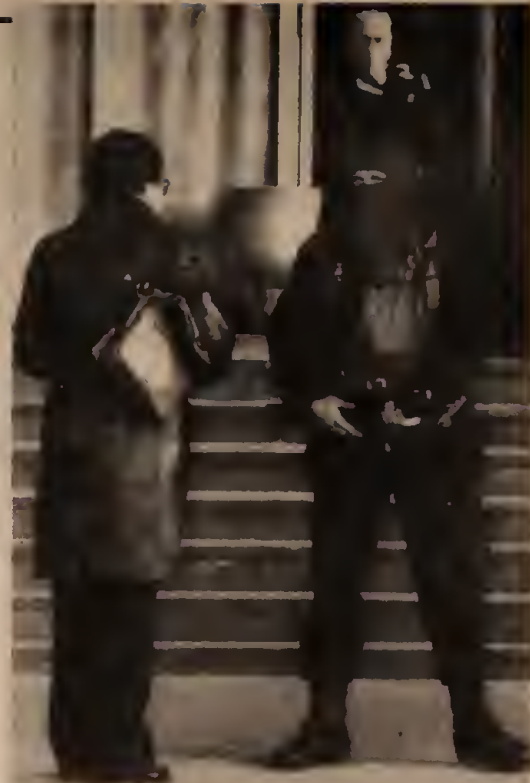
A racist hysteria has been whipped up against darker-skinned people from Central Asia and the Caucasus, who are reviled by Russian racists as "blacks" and turned into scapegoats for the astronomical rise in street crime which has accompanied the restoration of capitalism. Moscow authorities seized on the state of siege to launch a pogromist dragnet, officially expelling over 3,400 non-Slavic people and terrorizing at least 10,000 more into leaving in the space of a week. Police have indiscriminately broken into hotels and apartments and ransacked street markets which are predominantly run by Central Asians and Caucasians, beating people,

under Brezhnev and jailed for 13 months then. But I was never beaten like that then."

Yeltsin has proceeded apace to impose his presidential dictatorship. Rutskoi, Khasbulatov and other arrested leaders of the parliamentary opposition face up to 15 years' imprisonment. The Constitutional Court has been suspended; local and regional councils have either been disbanded or had their powers stripped in favor of "governors" handpicked by the Kremlin. All but a handful of regional councils have knuckled under to Yeltsin's decree for December elections to a rubber-stamp "Duma"—the name of the tsarist autocracy's sham "legislature"—which is now to be combined with a plebiscite on a new "constitution" handcrafted by Yeltsin's coterie. Not only will these elections be thoroughly rigged but, as one provincial official put it, they will be "elections under the barrels of machine guns."

As we noted last issue, Yeltsin's storming of the Russian White House was the opening shot of "a bonapartist regime aimed at brutally suppressing any kind of resistance to 'free market' immiseration." In the aftermath, Yeltsin decreed an end to government bread subsidies, jacking up the price severalfold. The new state budget mandates the closure of 30 percent of all industrial enterprises, which will mean millions of layoffs. One of Russia's new *biznez* elite crowed: "I would be happy if Yeltsin

Yeltsin cracks down. Masked police outside the Itar-Tass press agency in Moscow.



Ramsey/Reuters

tional Communist League (ICL) raised the call: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution!" We wrote that Soviet workers should have mobilized in defense of the social foundations of the degenerated workers state and torn down the Yeltsin barricades of counterrevolution.

In contrast, the Rabochaya Demokratiya (Workers Democracy) group, affiliated to the British Militant tendency and the U.S. Labor Militant, literally clambered to join the assorted capitalist-restorationist scum atop Yeltsin's barricades. Now (at an October 6 Labor Militant forum at New York City's Hunter College), they try to hide their earlier support to the Yeltsinite "democrats" by arguing that under capitalism there can be no real democracy and that Yeltsin is out to establish a capitalist dictatorship. But only a few months ago, at a Militant summer school in Britain, spokesman Elizabeth Clarke still maintained that the main task in August 1991 was to defend the "tiny beginnings of democracy" by siding with Yeltsin.

Likewise, the Cliffite "state capitalist" International Socialist Organization (ISO) today concedes that the capitalist "market has brought mass unemployment and massive price increases" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1993). But when Yeltsin was the "democratic" hero of the day, the ISO hailed the "Russian Revolution 1991" and cheered that "Communism Has Collapsed." They blithely denied that the "introduction of the market" would "be a fundamental leap backward or counter-revolution" (*Socialist Worker* leaflet, 2 September 1991).

Somewhat to the left of these outfits, the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) claimed to oppose Yeltsin in August 1991, even while arguing that Soviet workers should have heeded his call for "strikes against the coup" (*Fighting Worker*, September 1991). At the time, they noted that Yeltsin's victory had "put the restoration of capitalism on the agenda as never before," yet two years later they still continue to argue—on the basis of a Labourite fetish with nationalized industry—that Yeltsin's Russia remains a degenerated workers state! Try to explain that to the Russian workers who watched in horror as Yeltsin's tanks rumbled down the streets of Moscow and who now face wholesale factory closures and mass unemployment.

As we wrote almost a year ago, "The period of open counterrevolution ushered in by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist counter-coup in August 1991 has, in the absence of mass working-class resis-

tance, culminated in the creation of a bourgeois state, however fragile and reversible" ("How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled," *WV* No. 564, 27 November 1992). We also warned that the new capitalist rulers would have to move toward naked bonapartist dictatorship to enforce "free market" immiseration on the Soviet masses. That is the import of Yeltsin's coup. But while the bloody butcher is firmly in the saddle for now, there is nothing yet approaching a stable capitalist class.

Numerous accounts make it clear that the army high command hesitated until the last minute in deploying troops for the storming of the "White House," for fear of igniting a civil war which would have split the military and the state apparatus down the middle. Even within Yeltsin's own camp there has been splintering, as evidenced by the resignation last week of his longtime aide and deputy prime minister Sergei Shakhrai. Meanwhile the Russian population is horror-struck at the bloodbath which was unleashed on the streets of their capital. The London *Financial Times* (5 October) noted: "Many ordinary people, by their testimony on the streets, find Mr Yeltsin threatening—both because he has smashed the countervailing power and because he ploughs on with reforms that they cannot understand and from which they do not benefit."

But the workers can look to nothing which even approximates a proletarian leadership. Despite its claimed membership of 600,000, the Communist Party-Russian Federation (KP-RF)—the largest of the remnants of the decomposed Stalinist bureaucracy—was nowhere to be seen in the two weeks leading up to Yeltsin's Bloody Monday. KP-RF leader Gennadi Zyuganov denounces the ban on his organization by proclaiming himself a "true centrist"! Similarly, when the newspaper *Rabochaya Tribuna* (Workers Tribune)—which is published jointly by the former official FNPR "trade union" federation and the corporatist union of industrial managers—was banned, a spokesman protested: "This newspaper has done its best to keep workers off the streets" (*Financial Times*, 6 October).

What the Soviet workers need is a Bolshevik party committed to the struggle to sweep away Yeltsin and all the would-be exploiters through socialist revolution. End the ban on all newspapers and organizations! Free all anti-Yeltsin political prisoners! Stop the racist dragnet against non-Russian minorities! Down with would-be czar Boris, tool of the Western banks! ■



Bodies piled up in front of Russian parliament as hundreds were killed in Yeltsin's "Bloody Monday" massacre.

Der Spiegel

stealing their possessions and dragging the victims off to be loaded onto trains and planes out of the city.

The shell-pocked "White House" stands as a stark reminder of what Yeltsin has in store for any who would defy him. One German newspaper noted that while "the official toll of fatalities is consistently corrected downward, Western sources speak of 500 to 1,000 dead" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 11 October). Hundreds more were dragged off for "interrogation" and torture. Some Yeltsinite "democratic" forces have demanded a ban on all communist symbols. (In our last issue, we incorrectly reported that this ban had already been implemented.) Even tame social democrats like Boris Kagarlitsky, whose Party of Labor is modeled on its parliamentarist British namesake, were arrested and brutally beaten by OMON riot police before being released. Kagarlitsky later said: "I was a dissident

became a dictator like Pinochet for a year or two to make Russia safe and to give the economy a chance to grow."

The hypocritical cynicism with which Clinton and other imperialist leaders embraced Yeltsin's bloody bonapartist coup as a step toward "democracy" was breathtaking even to a section of the American public. One caller to CNN's *Late Edition* (3 October), who described himself as a conservative and a Republican, pointedly asked how the Congress would feel if Clinton ordered it dissolved and surrounded it with troops!

Today even the rad-lib *Nation* (25 October) observes that "Capitalism is re-entering Russia dripping with blood." But two years ago, when Yeltsin carried out his pro-imperialist counter-coup in the face of a bungled putsch by recalcitrant Gorbachevites, all manner of liberals and fake-leftists joined the imperialists in hailing it as a "democratic revolution." Uniquely, we Trotskyists of the Interna-

Young Spartacus

May I Show You This Article?

The Anti-Sex Code at Antioch College

The bourgeoisie's "family values" campaign has landed radical feminists in bed with the Moral Majority at Antioch College in Ohio. Whipping up hysteria around the "issue" of date rape, Antioch administrators are kicking in bedroom doors of students who have gone to college precisely to get away from parental snooping. With feminists cheering them on, the administration has implemented an outrageous *in loco parentis* anti-sex policy thinly veiled as simple concern about sexual violence. In Antioch's would-be new sex utopia, all Little Red Riding Hoods will be protected from the big bad wolves in the forest.

Sexual offenses as defined in Antioch's new "Sexual Offense Policy" include: "Insistent and/or persistent sexual harassment...emotional, verbal or mental intimidation or abuse found to be sexually threatening or offensive...unwelcome and irrelevant comments, references, gestures or other forms of personal attention which are inappropriate and which may be perceived as persistent sexual overtones or denigration." So if someone *thinks* they might have been harassed or raped, then by definition they *have* been. Beware, all those looking for a good time on Saturday nights: This anti-sex witchhunt has a whole inquisition structure ready to go. You could get suspended for a minimum of three months simply for having asked someone out on a date!

These regulations set up an absurd maze of verbal "rules of engagement." Karen Hall, Antioch "advocate" for the policy, lectured an audience: "Each step of the way, you have to ask. If you want to take her blouse off, you have to ask. If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask.

If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask" (*New York Times*, 25 September). So if you engage in fully consensual sex but don't talk much, your college career could go up in smoke. Which reminds us—the guidelines say even verbal consent is impossible under the influence of alcohol or drugs. So say two people decide to get really stoned and screw each others' brains out—they could *both* be expelled as rapists!

In the eyes of American racists, one of the worst "crimes" a black man can commit is sleeping with a white woman. Antioch's policy is not only sexist and anti-sex, it reads like it comes out of the Jim Crow South, where "reckless eyeballing"—a black man even so much as looking at a white woman—could get a black man lynched. In Katie Roiphe's book, *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus* (Little, Brown and Company, 1993), the author tells how a female student at George Washington University fabricated a story of having been raped by two black men just to emphasize the seriousness of rape. How about the seriousness of the lynch mob that could have ensued?!

These guidelines are inspired by anti-sex feminists like Andrea Dworkin, who insists that heterosexual sex is defiling, degrading and dehumanizing to women, and Catharine MacKinnon, the grande dame of the anti-pornography movement (supported by right-wing racists like Jesse Helms), who states: "Politically, I call it rape whenever a woman has sex and feels violated." Campuses are painted as hotbeds of sexual assault, with blue lights and newly installed emergency phones, distribution of whistles, lists of men accused of date rape, graffiti on bathroom walls like "Sex is Rape," "Sex is Death," "No such thing as safe

Campus "Sexual Assault Peer Educators" enact "date rape" at Brown University. Note telltale evidence of demon drink (beer bottles) on table.



Peterson/Saba

sex." At Harvard University, any sexual contact between students and professors (or graduate TAs) has been formally banned, with enforcement based on a spy system: all "illicit liaisons" must be reported on pain of sanctions (*Playboy*, November 1993).

Author Katie Roiphe rightly criticizes feminists who see heterosexual sex as the central mechanism of the subjugation of women, yet her own liberal feminism blinds her to the source of women's oppression: the patriarchal family under capitalism. Women are still forced to stay out of the workforce to raise children, still forced into domestic slavery, and this, not heterosexual sex, is what provides the *material* basis for women's oppression. The date rape hysteria echoes the continuing hysteria over "child abuse" which targets day care: Sorry moms, but you'd better quit your jobs, run home and keep your kids locked up too. And behind the furor over date rape is a drive to scare women back into the sexually segregated conformist social

mores of the '50s.

The underlying assumption here dates back to the Victorian era—that women don't like or want sex, that sex is dirty, violent, something that only men want and are constantly forcing upon women one way or another; in short, that good girls save themselves for marriage and bad girls get raped. Antioch's "PC" sex canon sends the message that sex and men are things that women need to fear and avoid at all costs; that sex and men can provide no ecstatic pleasure but only danger, misery and victimization. Certainly, rape and sexual assault are violent, brutal crimes committed against women. But this policy has nothing to do with such violence. Rather it is a puritanical onslaught on a basic facet of human interaction—namely sex.

Believe it or not, some women really do like to screw, and in general kids just want to have some fun. Government, parents and "loco parentis" prying college officials: get out and stay out of our bedrooms! ■

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At Large	375	439	117
National Total	4,800	5,574½	116

"Take Back the Night" Posse

RWL Racist Vigilantism


BERKELEY—Black students at the University of California at Berkeley suffer endless harassment, from the racist cops and the administration to mace-spraying shopkeepers. Last week—a special police-sponsored "Campus Safety Week"—black Cal students were threatened again when posters appeared around campus describing a "light-skinned black male, mid-20s, 5'8"-5'11" tall, 180 pounds" who is being sought for allegedly attacking several women around campus.

Was this an "APB" issued by the campus cops? A call for a posse organized by local racists? No, it's the latest "movement" of the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC), front group of the misnamed Revolutionary Workers League. On October 14, NWROC held an "anti-rape" pep rally for a racist manhunt on campus and took to the streets in "Take Back the Night" feminist vigilante style.

Move over, thugs in blue uniforms—these law-and-order "socialists" are mobilizing "militant action" to do the job for you! NWROC's "description" of the alleged attacker—taken straight out of the police blotter—is so broad and non-descript that every black male on the Berkeley campus must fear for his life to leave his dormitory!

The RWL's quest to collar a black man accused of rape conforms to a despicable tradition of American racism. The Confederacy-loving epic movie *Birth of a Nation* depicts as heroic the Ku Klux Klan's birth "in defense of white womanhood" against "black rapists"; the black Scottsboro Boys in the 1930s fought for their lives against a racist Southern lynch mob that accused them of raping two white women; 14-year-old Emmett Till was lynched in 1955 for the "crime" of "reckless eyeballing" a white woman; and convicted black rapist Willie Horton epitomized George Bush's racist 1988 election campaign aimed at beefing up the forces of state repression.

**DEMONSTRATE AND MARCH AGAINST
RAPE AND ASSAULT
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14
NOON, SPROUL PLAZA
MEET BEHIND THE FOUNTAIN**



Last week, ten women were attacked within a ten-block radius of the UC campus. The attacker, described as a light-skinned black male, mid-20s, 5'8" - 5'11" tall, 180 pounds, has targeted mainly Asian-American women. So far, all victims have managed to report him, after they were grabbed at the hips and waist. Women, students, and campus workers must build a movement to stop attackers and racist, sexist cops and show that we will enforce our right to walk the streets free of fear and blame.

This means no reliance on the racist, anti-woman administration, who will not take serious action against rape and harassment cops, who will harass students and homeless people in the name of "protection" courts, who place the woman on trial and convict in less than 5% of cases.

Only militant action can make sexual harassment and assault unacceptable. We must demand and organize student-run defense guards to confront assailants and give women the power to guarantee their own safety, independent of racist, sexist administration, courts and cops.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS ORGANIZING COALITION - NWROC
labor donated (415) 267-3067 10/11/93

RWL's NWROC issued this leaflet calling for a racist manhunt on the Berkeley campus.

The RWL's crusade occurs in a context of escalating police attacks on blacks at UC Berkeley. Black teenagers who used to enjoy coming to this area on weekends have found Telegraph Avenue sealed off by armed cops manning barricades to keep them out. The cops were supported by the campus newspaper, which railed against teenage "rat packs" (!) from "Richmond and Oakland" (*Daily Californian*, 1 October). Some years ago a black fraternity dance was viciously raided by campus cops, who just staged a repeat performance last month and attacked Latino students in MEChA at a party on campus.

Although NWROC postures as the most sexually liberated, most defiantly

pro-gay radicals around, NWROC's campaign to ensure women's "safety" just puts a "radical" veneer on racist vigilantism and the anti-sex and anti-crime hysteria sweeping the campuses. For instance, NWROC has issued a questionnaire on sexual assault and harassment at UC Berkeley with a gamut of questions like, "Would you consider it rape if she let him pay for the date?"—which harken back to the movies of the '50s that preached "safe dating." The survey also asks students to rate the safety and rape services on campus—which are run by the cops!

The RWL's penchant for attaching themselves as the "militant" tail to whatever is moving in society has in the past

led them to bloc with reactionary forces like the anti-woman anti-Communists of Polish Solidarność. Now with their plunge into the anti-crime hysteria on campuses, the RWL/NWROC is playing with dangerous calls for vigilantism that serve as an extralegal prop for the racist authorities and to egg on a lynch mob.

This is an offshoot of the wave of bourgeois hysteria that has swept California in the wake of last year's L.A. upheaval over the acquittal of the racist cops who brutally beat Rodney King. In Beverly Hills, "armed response" signs have replaced those for liberal causes, and in the Berkeley "Copwatch" coalition you find radlibs and reformists defending "non-brutal" cops and declaring, "We are not anti-police" (see "BT and the Cops," *WV* No. 583, 10 September). So now the RWL joins the equally misnamed "Bolshevik Tendency" in pandering to "law and order" racism.

As we wrote in "Rape and Bourgeois Justice" (*Young Spartacus* No. 29, February 1975): "Within the confines of capitalist society and through the 'justice' of the bourgeois state, the search for an equitable administration of justice for the crime of rape is caught in a maze with no exit. Each proposed solution, from legal reform to direct vigilante retribution, runs into flat contradictions arising out of the intersection of sex, race and class in this capitalist society."

Capitalist society—its forced poverty, rigid family structure, hypocritical strait-jacket morality—breeds the poisonous frustrations that explode in violence. Socialist revolution alone can create the economic basis to replace the patriarchal family, liberate women and do away with the inequalities and pathology of capitalism in its death agony. The Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to build a revolutionary workers party that defends the interests of *all* the oppressed in fighting for a workers state where men and women of all races will stand in full equality. ■

Feds, Fascists and Gun Control

Oakland, CA
13 October 1993

Dear Editors:

There has been considerable discussion in the Berkeley-Oakland Spartacus Youth Club over the article "Feds Set Up Fascist in Idaho" (*WV* No. 579, 2 July). Some of us at first didn't understand why we should even care about an incident where fascist nuts are set up and attacked by the state. During the discussion, however, it became clear that this was yet another case of state murder in the course of an attack on the right to bear arms. While the SYC fully affirms the line of the article, some youth comrades think that the article was unclear in its tone and presentation, and did not sufficiently highlight the necessary conclusions from the brutal events that took place in the isolated mountains of Idaho.

The article stated that the bourgeoisie seeks "to keep its fascist dogs of war on a short leash." We should be explicit that the state is not going all-out to bust up gangs of fascist killers. The tragic deaths of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina at the hands of the FBI—"infiltrated" KKK in 1979 illustrate quite clearly that the state will even aid the fascists to go after their real enemies—communists

and the labor movement. Why then did the state set up Randy Weaver? Not because the BATF [Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms] butchers of Waco were in any way concerned about his Hitlerite proclivities, but because his two sawed-off shotguns violated the sanctity of the state's monopoly on firearms. When the BATF shot Weaver's 13-year-old son in the back, there was return fire which killed one of the BATF marshals. Under fire from the bourgeois state, Weaver defied the authority of the BATF. This is the "crime" for which Weaver is being prosecuted, and for which his wife and child have paid their death sentences.

The point that the feds were after Weaver solely because he exercised his right to bear arms was not driven home in the way we would have liked. When the state can blow away people or organizations with impunity for exercising their right to bear arms, we communists have cause for alarm. We know that the big guns of the bourgeoisie are trained on the exploited and oppressed working class, especially blacks and other minorities. As we seek to organize the multiracial proletariat for the dismantling of the bourgeoisie, it is of strategic importance that we defend uncondition-

ally the legal right to bear arms. Seeking complicity from the public for its perennial "gun control" campaign to disarm the population, the bourgeoisie (spearheaded by the liberals) has directed its initial attacks on the fringes of society. From the Branch Davidians to the fascist survivalists in Idaho, the bourgeoisie is gunning for "extremists" who are "hostile to law enforcement."

For our opposition to state murder, the centrist Revolutionary Workers League baits the SL for "defending fascists and right-wing cults." The RWL doesn't see the state as the main enemy, so they can forgive the massacre of the Weaver family as a justifiable act "against fascism." The program implicit in such a line of reasoning is a "militant" twist on the liberal call for the state to "ban the Klan," in this case calling on the state to "blow away the Klan." The RWL, which to date has not gone into print on the Waco holocaust, certainly has a touching, if not blind, faith in Big Brother Bill to watch out for them. Do these self-proclaimed "Leninists" really believe that the bourgeois state is here to defend them from Nazis and armed religious sects?

The Democrats are notorious for putting on a "humanitarian" façade while

carrying out brutal oppression. Clinton/Reno slaughtered 86 men, women and children in Waco under the cynical pretext of "stopping child abuse." Clinton sends more troops to Somalia to "feed" bullets and bombs to starving Africans. Now, a mother, her 13-year-old son and his dog are dead in the name of keeping Idaho safe for democracy.

We can afford no illusions that the state gunned down Weaver's family because it was "concerned" with the cultivation of fascist ideology in the Idaho mountains. It was yet another instance of the state's attack on the Second Amendment, which supposedly guarantees our right to bear arms. As Frederick Douglass put it, when agitating for blacks to join the Union Army to crush the racist Confederate army of slaveholders:

"Remember that the musket...is better than all mere parchment guarantees of liberty. In your hands the musket means liberty; and should your constitutional right at the close of this war be denied...your brethren are safe while you have a Constitution which proclaims your right to keep and bear arms."

But the only rights the working class, especially the black working class, has are those it is able to defend by mobilizing its social power against attacks from the bourgeois state. If we are unable to defend our right to bear arms, our brethren—the working class, blacks, and the specially oppressed—are far from "safe" in this wretched decaying society.

Comradely,
Berkeley-Oakland SYC

Somalia...

(continued from page 1)

(9 October) gleefully reported that after the UN distributed wanted posters advertising a \$10,000 reward for the capture of Aidid, Somalis responded in kind: "Within days, rough photocopied handouts offered \$1 million to anyone who handed over the United Nations special envoy in Somalia, Adm. Jonathan Howe, referred to in posters and known throughout Mogadishu as Animal Howe."

Howe once called the Somali operation a "blueprint" for the New World Order. But the stunning recrudescence of "Vietnam syndrome" left the administration's foreign policy of "multilateralism" in tatters. Speaking at the United Nations September 27, Clinton declared, "If the American people are to say yes to U.N. peacekeeping, the United Nations must know when to say no." He reportedly told the UN chief "that he had a political problem, that there is a perception on Capitol Hill from watching CNN that every Somali wants the Americans to leave, and that he had to do something" (*New York Times*, 29 September). But Clinton's "Boutros made me do it" defense just made him look ridiculous.

In late September, after Somalis shot down another Black Hawk and jubilantly displayed the crew's charred remains, Congress overwhelmingly passed a resolution threatening to cut off funds if Clinton didn't cut back the Somalia operation. This time the administration made a show of strength, quadrupling the number of U.S. military personnel in the arena to over 20,000, but simultaneously declared that they would not undertake offensive operations and announced a March 31 exit date. Meanwhile, Aidid (suddenly transformed from "warlord" into "general" in the media) has become a folk hero in Somalia, and is cleverly exploiting the rift by sponsoring mass rallies demanding "Boutros-Ghali down! UNOSOM down!"

The Spartacist League declared from the beginning that the U.S./UN intervention was a new colonial occupation of black Africa by Western imperialists, and has initiated and participated in protests in many cities calling for "U.S./UN Butchers Out of Somalia!" We pointed out, "Who could expect 'humanitarianism' from the bloodyminded would-be masters of the world who reveled in the wanton slaughter of more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians in the one-sided Persian Gulf 'war'?" (*WV* No. 567, 15 January). The fig leaf of "humanitarian" famine aid fell away, and using the new imperialist code word of "saving failed states," Somalia was seen as a test case for a post-Cold War strategy for U.S. world hegemony. Now they're scrambling for damage control.

Black Man's Burden

The repulsive racism inherent in the assumption of the "white man's burden" to bring "commerce, Christianity, and

When he's a U.S. ally.

The shifting fortunes of U.S./UN intervention in Somalia have starkly exposed the media manipulation of labels and imagery in the service of imperialist foreign policy. When Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein attacked Kuwait in 1990, suddenly this one-time American ally became a "new Hitler." Ever since the Somali would-be strongman Mohamed Farah Aidid was put on Washington's hit list last June, the press has routinely referred to him as a "warlord," conjuring up images of degenerate criminals beyond the pale of "international law" who should be mercilessly crushed. When Aidid proposed a truce last month, the *New York Times* (12 September) reported that "Somali Warlord Is Said to Want Peace Talks." But after the U.S. debacle in Mogadishu, the *Times* (10 October) headlined, "A Truce Is Offered by Somali General to U.N.-U.S. Forces."

Of course Aidid is a warlord, just like the score of other clan-based leaders of armed bands and militias in Somalia. In China during the 1920s and '30s there were a host of such warlords, many of them allied with one or another imperialist power, others with the Kuomintang. Aidid was a main protagonist in the all-sided butchery of the 1991-92 battle for Mogadishu. Now that he has regained respectability, Aidid is sometimes referred to as a "clan leader." Actually, he and his rival for control of Mogadishu, Mahdi, are both part of the Hawiye clan, but belong to different sub-clans (Mahdi is an Abgal, while Aidid belongs to the Averghedir [or Habr Gedir], and his real power base is the Aer sub-sub-clan). In any case, this former chief of police of Mogadishu is not a traditional elder; the spiritual leader of the Aers was blown

civilization" (as King Leopold II of Belgium used to say) to the "benighted black tribesmen" of Africa has been glaringly evident from day one of the U.S./UN occupation of Somalia. The current scandal in Canada over the racist atrocities committed by Canadian "peacekeepers" is a prime example. Last month, a military Board of Inquiry report quoted an officer saying that he had come to Somalia "to shoot me a nigger."

This is hardly surprising in light of revelations last spring that the Canadian forces in Somalia were rife with genuine Klan-type fascists, including a Corporal Matt McKay, who belonged to a neo-Nazi group in Winnipeg and sported swastika tattoos. In addition the army tolerated "The Rebels," an "informal" group within the 2 Commando unit which uses a U.S. Confederate flag as its emblem. Four Canadian soldiers are currently facing charges of murder and torture after beating a Somali man to death in Belet Huen, where

When Is a Warlord Not a Warlord?



Der Spiegel

Somalia's Farah Aidid (above) and Angola's CIA-backed Jonas Savimbi.



Mark Peters

away in July when the U.S. attacked a meeting of Averghedir elders.

But the use of such loaded terminology as "warlord" is highly politicized. Thus the American imperialists never call the various thugs they have supported in Africa "warlords"—a prime example being Savimbi in Angola. Aidid's case was complicated by the fact that he was originally Washington's ally (in fact, Aidid's son is an American soldier who went in as a Somali interpreter with the original U.S. troops). The conscious rhetorical manipulation was recently noted by the *Washington Post* (7 October), which reported that "When the American-led mission began last December, U.S. dip-

lomats and senior officers banned their troops from calling him 'warlord.' They honored him instead as a 'faction leader' and escorted him in ceremonial motorcades around the Somali capital."

The media, like the troops, are just following orders. Who's respectable and who isn't is a matter of high policy. Today it's "Mr. Aidid." (Of course, the *Times* once referred to "Mr. Hitler.") For our part, we recognize that Aidid is no anti-imperialist (he has always been friendly with his former patron, Italy, and is now offering to become Washington's man again), but we're glad to see Aidid's fighters giving a hard time to the Yankee imperialists, the main enemy of mankind. ■

the Canadian troops are stationed.

From the port of Kismayu, where the Belgian UN troops are stationed, have come hair-raising tales of atrocities: killing hundreds of unarmed Somalis, throwing children into the Juba River to drown, soldiers screaming "white power!" and hurling racist epithets at Somalis, as well as manhandling and raping Somali women, including hospital patients. One witness to the Belgians' barbarity noted, "I don't think their behaviour was unique to the Belgians, although their history in Belgian Congo is not in their favor" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 25 July).

The Belgian colony in the Congo was notorious for its officials' brutality and bloodthirstiness toward the indigenous peoples. In order to squeeze the most out of his share of "this magnificent African cake," Belgium's King Leopold II imposed forced labor. Over the next 50 years, the Congolese population was reduced by at least 8 million. In 1902, the British, whose rubber trade was suffering due to Leopold's sharp business practices, launched an investigation which caused an international outcry against the horrors of the "Congo Free State," shocking the world with descriptions of "village after village burnt and looted, the men taken off as slaves, the women and children hacked to death."

The Belgians were hardly unique. In 1901, during the Boer War for control of South Africa, British general Kitchener burned out farms and imprisoned more than 150,000 Afrikaner and Afrikaans-speaking coloured women and children in concentration camps; thousands died of starvation and exposure. A couple years earlier, Kitchener slaughtered thousands of Sudanese in retaking Khartoum. In the 1920s, the French writer André Gide traveled to the French Congo on an official mission and reported back a devastating picture of "this frightful regime, this shameless exploitation" (Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa* [1991]).

This was the brutal reality of colonial rule throughout the continent. Native peoples were divided by arbitrarily drawn boundaries, as with Somalia, which was carved up between the British, French and Italians. Internally, the colonial authorities played one tribe off against another in the tradition of "divide and rule." And when they decided, in the face of the post-WW II colonial independence movement, to end direct colonial rule, they placed their neocolonial satraps at the head of the new artificial states. When faced with a serious challenge, the UN was brought in for cover—as in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire), where UN "peacekeepers" were used to oust radical independence leader Lumumba (who was then assassinated by the CIA).

Somali Debacle Revives "Vietnam Syndrome"

The "American century," proclaimed by victorious U.S. imperialism at the end of World War II, was buried in the swamps of Vietnam. A couple of years ago, as U.S. war planes and missiles devastated Iraq, the American ruling class triumphantly declared that the "Vietnam syndrome" had at long last been overcome. But now the "New World Order," announced by Bush at the onset of the Gulf War, has been trashed in the streets of Mogadishu. "It's Vietnam all over again," exclaimed right-wing Democratic Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina. In the wake of the Somali debacle, Washington got the jitters about making Haiti "safe for democracy." And even *New York Times* columnist Anna Quindlen, the voice of yuppie feminism, saw that obviously "We won't be sending American troops to Bosnia any time soon after this, that's for certain."

While Nazi Germany and Hirohito's Japan were formidable imperialist powers, Saddam Hussein's Iraq was a poor Third World country whose military force was vitally dependent on Soviet support. However, in 1991 the disinte-

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(Signed) Jan Norden, (Editor)

Haiti...

(continued from page 1)

in Congress and in the American population against foreign military adventures.

The imperialist intervention in Haiti is being touted by the administration as a blow for "democracy" against Haitian strongman General Raoul Cédras and the other military rulers who two years ago carried out a coup against the populist priest Aristide. But the last time the U.S. went into Haiti, it ravaged the country and massacred thousands during the military occupation of 1915-34. As with the slaughter of hundreds of Somalis in the name of "humanitarian aid," the racist U.S. overseers are using "human rights" rhetoric to cloak a policy which means increased oppression and immiseration for the Haitian masses.

It is not clear at this point if Washington will be able to enforce the July 3 Governor's Island agreement to reinstall Aristide by October 30. That accord, brokered by the Clinton administration under the auspices of the UN, sought to avoid a settling of accounts by the Haitian masses with the uniformed killers. The deal stipulated that Cédras would resign in mid-October as head of the armed forces, along with the sinister Port-au-Prince police chief Colonel Joseph Michel François. The UN called off its oil embargo and began putting together a 1,300-member intervention force to "retrain" the police and "professionalize" the army.

As his part of the bargain, Aristide early this month declared an amnesty "for political infractions committed during the period from 29 September 1991 to 3 July 1993." However, Cédras is now refusing to step down until a "general amnesty" is approved by the parliament.

Since they threw out Aristide, the military butchers have engulfed Haiti in a bloodbath which has left some 3,500 dead. And following the July accord, Colonel François (a graduate of special training at Ft. Benning in Georgia) greatly increased the numbers of civilian paramilitary "attachés," distributing machetes and guns to these thugs on a vast scale. Yet the U.S. continues to wrench Haitian refugees by the hundreds from their boats and force them back into the vortex of repression. (Cuban refugees, in contrast, are welcomed with open arms.)

Prominent Aristide supporters have been greeted with a wave of murderous violence. In early September, five people were killed and 31 wounded when Evans Paul, elected mayor of the capital before the coup, tried to reclaim his office. Then Antoine Izméry, a prominent Aristide supporter, was hauled out of church by attachés and—as nearby police looked

on—forced to his knees in the street and coldly executed by a bullet to the head. (A millionaire food importer, Izméry bankrolled Aristide's 1990 election.) Last week, Aristide's newly appointed justice minister and his two aides were gunned down in the street.

The military was the essential prop underneath the 30-year dictatorship of "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier. As the Duvalier regime was tottering, the Haitian masses struck out against agents of the dictatorship in a wave of retribution, called "déchoukage" (Creole for "uprooting"). But it will take nothing less than a social revolution to root out the inhuman brutality and vast corruption that permeates Haitian society. Aristide, this proponent of "liberation theology," far from seeking to mobilize the Haitian masses against their hated oppressors, is now cooperating with Washington in pushing a policy of "reconciliation" with the Duvalierist butchers.

In August, at the behest of the State Department, Aristide named as prime minister Robert Malval, a wealthy publisher from an aristocratic family. The previous month Malval organized a "Haiti/Government/Business Conference" in Miami, where some 200 Haitian and U.S. businessmen, World Bank officials, and Democratic Party luminaries heard Aristide call for "political stability," "economic growth" and "reconciliation."

In the days after Malval was sworn in (at the Haitian embassy in Washington), the new prime minister made clear what the Aristide government meant by "reconciliation." At the investiture of his cabinet, Malval called for "all exiles without exception to return to the country" (*Haiti Progrès*, 8 September). And in the following days, Malval dotted the i's and crossed the t's: "If the Duvalierists want to create a legal political party, it would be a good thing for the country to encourage them" (*Haiti: Resistance & Democracy Bulletin*, 1 October).

In the atmosphere of U.S.-sponsored "reconciliation," the most notorious Tontons Macoutes butchers have been flocking back to Haiti. Prosper Avril, the bloody dictator ousted by a mass upsurge in 1988, returned to Port-au-Prince the very afternoon of Malval's investiture. The notorious torturer Frank Romain has been making frequent trips from his exile in the Dominican Republic. And *New York Newsday* (17 September) reports: "There have been rumors that former dictator Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier might return to live in Haiti after seven years of exile in the south of France. Malval said that Duvalier could return, but that if he did, criminal charges might be filed against him."

The Duvalierists are clearly mobiliz-

ing on the ground. The siege of Sarajevo and the tens of thousands of refugees fleeing the killing fields of Bosnia became grim symbols of the new world disorder.

While Washington politicians and the American media engaged in anti-Serbian warmongering, U.S. imperialism edged up to the Balkan cauldron but refused to jump in. The Pentagon brass knew that they couldn't replay the Gulf War scenario in Bosnia. The Balkan conflagration made a mockery of the American rulers' global pretensions. So lame-duck president Bush, backed by Clinton, decided to demonstrate that the U.S. military could still play cops of the world by going into Somalia, a wretchedly backward East African country racked for years by clan warfare.

If Pentagon generals had little stomach for fighting the Serbian forces in Bosnia, U.S. rulers assumed they could easily overawe and overpower African clan warriors. The *New York Times* (13 June) remarked caustically last spring: "Does it mean that peacekeepers will be prepared to take decisive military action only when the adversary is a hapless, ill-trained rabble, like General Aidid's militia, and that Washington and its allies



AFP

Haiti Progrès

Ousted Haitian president Aristide does Clinton's bidding, even though imperialist commander in chief locked up Haitian refugees in U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo naval base.



ing in the expectation of sharing—or openly taking—power. On September 22, the recently formed Duvalierist FRAPH (Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress) demonstrated to celebrate the anniversary of the beginning of François Duvalier's reign of terror. At the demonstration, white doves were released as a symbol of "reconciliation," while a FRAPH leader burned a red flag. Holding up a U.S. flag, he screamed, "Here is the flag we like!" A week later, the FRAPH organized a demonstration on the anniversary of the military coup that threw out Aristide. And on October 7, the "attachés" used mass terror to impose a "general strike" against the return of Aristide which shut down Port-au-Prince and much of the countryside.

Aristide's support for U.S./UN military intervention in Haiti has thrown some of his supporters into turmoil. *Haiti Progrès* (14 and 28 July) speaks of "capitulation." Referring to Aristide's July letter to UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali formally requesting that a "multi-national force of about a thousand men" be sent to Haiti, it

concludes: "President Aristide has thus crossed the line and given in to the strong pressures of Clinton." Yet these leftists reverentially tailed Aristide as he accepted Washington's forced return of Haitian refugees, as he refused to oppose the U.S. blockade of Cuba, supported the imperialist embargo against Haiti and made it clear he would be the flunky of Bush and Clinton. *Haiti Progrès* remains tied to the class-collaborationist strategy of pressuring Aristide, helping to demobilize and sap the masses' will to fight.

Haiti has long been the most destitute country in the Western hemisphere, which has led to the diaspora of hundreds of thousands of Haitians to be found today in North American cities from Montreal to Miami. The Haitian emigrant workers can be a vital bridge to the powerful American working class. Yet to make this link requires not the nationalism of Aristide's leftist supporters, which has reached an abrupt dead end, but a revolutionary internationalist perspective, of building a Leninist-Trotskyist party as a section of a reformed Fourth International. ■

grating Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy headed by Gorbachev abandoned its Iraqi client to the predations of the Pentagon. The easy U.S. victory in the Gulf War was also conditioned by Washington's limited aim of retaking the oil sheikdom of Kuwait. Had the U.S. army occupied Iraq and installed a puppet regime in Baghdad, this could have provoked a fierce national liberation struggle and large numbers of GIs returning home in body bags.

Six months after the Gulf War, Boris Yeltsin—Washington's man in Moscow—seized power from the enfeebled Kremlin oligarchy as the Soviet degenerated workers state broke up into hostile nationalisms. The triumphalism of the American ruling class knew no bounds, envisioning a "one-superpower world" built on the "death of communism." However, this triumphalist mood palled as the counterrevolutionary breakup of Yugoslavia ignited a series of fratricidal nationalist/communist wars in the Balkans—first between Serbia and Croatia, then among the Serb, Croat and Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia. UN resolutions, threats of NATO military interventions and imperialist economic sanctions against Serbia had little effect on the

will continue to shrink from more difficult challenges, like quelling the fighting in Bosnia?" But Aidid's militia turned out to be pretty tough customers in their own right. "We just didn't expect to meet the kind of resistance that we did," lamented a UN military official. Washington did not foresee the deep hatred of the Somali masses for what was so clearly a new Western colonial occupation.

The strong and spontaneous "let's get out of Somalia, now" mood in this country is not simply a response to the two dozen American deaths there. What we are seeing is a popular reaction to the domestic costs of imperialist militarism (albeit contaminated in this case with racist and chauvinist disdain for black Africans). Even before the recent debacle in Somalia, *Newsweek* (23 August) observed that "most Americans, after four decades of the cold war, are more than ready to lay down the burdens of global leadership." The failed military operation in the Horn of Africa provided an opening for an outpouring of discontent over the sorry state of American capitalist society.

Popular pressure could force the U.S. to withdraw from a marginal country like

Somalia. The whole operation was only intended as a display of "superpower" showmanship, and Clinton has promised to get out in six months. But it would be naive liberal idealism to think that Washington's foreign and military policies are guided by public opinion polls, even when these cannot be effectively manipulated.

The U.S. military must strive to act as cops of the world because the Wall Street banks and Fortune 500 corporations exploit the working people of the world. Since the late 1970s, American multinationals have increasingly shifted their manufacturing operations to low-wage Third World countries, especially in Latin America and East Asia. And the collapse of Soviet power has brought to the fore the intensifying conflicts between U.S. imperialism, the German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc.

Only if the capitalist bloodsuckers who run this country are overthrown by the working class, allied with the black and Hispanic poor, can the drive toward a new world war be halted and America's productive resources be used to provide a decent life for working people here and also for the impoverished toilers of Africa, Asia and Latin America. ■

NYC Elections...

(continued from page 12)

the interests of the property party. NYC is the linchpin of world capitalist finance and generates enormous amounts of income tax, yet it is in perennial financial crisis. Today even the most basic defense of minorities and working people requires challenging capitalist property rights. We need a workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed in a revolutionary struggle for power.

Campaigning for Cop Power and Race War

The mayor's man, Harlem ward boss Congressman Charles Rangel, said Giuliani's only got one thing going for him—he's white. Clinton broached the taboo subject without mentioning the "R" word while columnists noted that black mayor Dinkins is in danger of losing to a crazed Reaganite in a city where registered Democrats outnumber Republicans five to one. Giuliani hit back with campaign ads calling his opponents racists, saying he's just talking about being "tough on crime," the danger of the "squeegee pests" cleaning windshields on the Bowery, the "threatening" homeless heggars, and every other codeword you can think of. Giuliani is running as the Great White Hope of Canarsie, the backlash candidate of white ethnic resentment, the "NIMBY" (not-in-my-back-yard) candidate of arrogant yuppies, the candidate of racist cop power.

Giuliani is the quintessential G-man. As a top Justice Department official in the early '80s under Reagan and Meese he "personally oversaw the repatriation of Haitian exiles back into the waiting arms of the Tontons Macoutes" when the Duvaliers were still in power, and had even "traveled to Haiti and come back saying 'repression simply does not exist now'" (*Nation*, 21 June). In '89 he signed on racist bigot Jackie Mason (who called Dinkins "a fancy *schvartze* with a mustache") to push the "three C's" of his campaign: crack, crime and corruption. This time around, it's uglier than ever and the slogan is "cops, cops, cops."

On October 8 during a protest against a police "tag and tow" operation against double-parked cars in heavily Dominican Washington Heights, a cop was killed by a 30-pound bucket of spackle tossed from a rooftop. Giuliani went ballistic, vituperating against "urban terrorists" and denouncing those who double park as "drug dealers." The head of the Housing PBA threatened to "level" and "firebomb" the neighborhood. These are the streets that exploded in anger in July 1992, when José García was shot down at pointblank range by a notoriously racist cop. García was one of some three dozen Hispanic men and many blacks who have been shot down by the NYPD in the last three years.

The centerpiece of Giuliani's campaign for cop power is "Crown Heights." It has been over two years since the explosion of rage after a young black child was run down and killed by a reckless driver in a Hasidic motorcade careening through this predominantly black Caribbean section of Brooklyn. That same night, a gang of black youth criminally stabbed another member of the Luhavitcher Hasidic sect, Yankel Rosenbaum, who died after suffering gross medical neglect at Kings County Hospital. Since then, Zionist leaders and right-wing politicians in New York have waged a relentless campaign for *race war*. Angling for enough Jewish votes to add to his "white ethnics" from the outer boroughs, Giuliani is pushing hard to portray Dinkins as an anti-Semite.

Last fall, when the black youth accused of Rosenbaum's murder was acquitted in a jury trial, Hasidim took to the streets, egged on by Senator of Sleaze Al D'Amato and Giuliani. As this gang spoke from the podium of a Crown Heights rally, "Wanted for Murder" post-

ers picturing Dinkins were distributed. The Zionists' deadly provocations included a march on the mayor's home with a coffin fitted for Dinkins! For the Zionists and law-and-order politicians, it wasn't enough that *hundreds* of black youth were arrested and many, includ-

ously, some of Giuliani's Hispanic supporters are former members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (including Ninfa Segarra and Willie Nieves, who was formerly Dinkins' Hispanic affairs coordinator). But many Hispanics are closely tied into the Democratic machine via city

Mayor David Dinkins pushed through largest-ever increase in cop forces, while slashing education and social services.

Manning/NY Times

City Sun



ing black reporters, were beaten. They wanted blacks in Crown Heights to be treated like Palestinians in the Occupied Territories: shot down in the streets.

A lot of black nationalists and so-called "leftists" have fed into the racists' deadly game. From Sonny Carson's anti-Korean boycotts to FBI fink Al Sharpton's march on a Crown Heights synagogue, they set black youth against Jews and Asians, in a bloody confrontation that black people can only lose in this deeply racist country. As we said in "Death in Crown Heights" (WV No. 533, 30 August 1991):

"This intercommunal war in Crown Heights is dead wrong, deadly dangerous and must be stopped. The Jewish community is *not* the enemy of black people, despite the slanderous poison spread for years by anti-Semitic black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, and most recently CUNY professor Leonard Jeffries (and despite that walking incitement to anti-Semitism, loudmouth racist ex-mayor Ed Koch)."

After eight years of in-your-face racism from Mayor Koch, Dinkins was elected in good part because he was perceived as bringing some civility to NYC politics. "After Koch, people don't want mayors practicing primal scream therapy at them," one observer commented (*Newsday*, 7 October). Dinkins was put in a bind when Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan scheduled a rally at Yankee Stadium for October 31, just three days before the elections. This would have required the pro-Israel mayor to spend the rest of his campaign repeatedly denouncing Farrakhan's anti-Semitic remarks, risking losing substantial numbers of black votes. Farrakhan conveniently canceled.

This year the Republicans are making a big play for the Hispanic vote, seen as a key "swing" constituency. In 1989, when Dinkins beat out Giuliani by 2 percentage points, Hispanic voters went for the black Democrat by almost two to one. Trying to turn this around, Giuliani signed on Herman Badillo as his running mate for comptroller. (Badillo was paying hack for getting mixed by black Democrats in 1985.) He's also buying Hispanic support from the gang of conservative Catholics organized by Cardinal O'Connor to drive out the reform schools chancellor Fernandez and his "Rainbow" curriculum. Scandal-

ously, some of Giuliani's Hispanic supporters are former members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (including Ninfa Segarra and Willie Nieves, who was formerly Dinkins' Hispanic affairs coordinator). But many Hispanics are closely tied into the Democratic machine via city

Selling Sacrifice

Four years ago "Democratic Socialist" Dinkins was endorsed by the *New York Times*, as the candidate who could "sell sacrifice" to the poor. And he did. Welfare rolls in NYC have climbed to almost 1.1 million, over a quarter of a million more than four years ago. The population of the city shelters continues to grow, as almost 400,000 jobs have been wiped out in the city. The combined police forces of NYC are now over 37,000, and under Democratic governor Cuomo the prison population of New York state has doubled in the last ten years. Unemployment for youth is the worst since records were kept, and the only "growth industry" in New York is prisons.

Meanwhile, the Dinkins administration has bulldozed shantytowns like "The Hill," an encampment at the foot of Manhattan Bridge that had been home to over 50 homeless for a decade. The city has gone to federal court to try and get *begging* declared outside the First Amendment, so the NYPD can legally roust the poor. And as Emergency Assistance Units became crowded with homeless families unable to get into an overcrowded shelter system, City Hall simply closed them down, telling the homeless to double up in someone's apartment.

As "fiscal constraints" lead to the slashing of city services, an orchestrated campaign has "discovered" that helping the poor is bad for them. In a grotesque piece redolent of fascism in *New York Magazine* (20 September), Pete Hamill lays out his final solution to the homeless problem, based on "tough love": "Police would move through the streets. They would pick up the homeless.... The basic principle is quarantine." Homeless would be imprisoned for a year at closed military bases, staffed with "tough military veterans," where "security would be very tight, to prevent the entry of contraband liquor and drugs.... Those who protested violently against the quarantine conditions would be charged with crimes of violence." In (unconscious?) imitation of the slogan over the entrance to Nazi concentration camps, "Arbeit

Macht Frei" (Work Makes You Free), Hamill says "All must acquire an understanding of how essential work is to a human life."

"Liberal" Hamill wants to lock up the homeless for a year, Giuliani wants to throw them out of the shelters onto the streets after a 90-day limit. This would get rid of *half* of the 24,000 homeless who use the city shelters each night. Like newly elected Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan, Giuliani wants to privatize everything from the JFK airport to the city hospital system, and even turn over some schools to private contractors. Denouncing New York as "a model of the old USSR" (*Newsday*, 16 August), Giuliani says that under him the city will be "closer to the U.S.A.," starting with his threat to wipe out 35,000 city jobs.

The labor bureaucracy is the backbone of the Democratic Party machine in New York, but the heavily black and Hispanic city workers, who turned out to elect Dinkins four years ago, aren't so quick to buy the lie that a vote for Dinkins will save jobs. In 1990, less than a year after he was installed in office by the popular front of union tops, black misleaders and bankers, Dinkins presided over thousands of city layoffs and massive cuts in social services. Having sold sacrifice to the masses, Dinkins' support is still solid on Wall Street. Again this year, financier Felix Rohatyn is in Dinkins' corner.

Along with the top capitalists, reformist leftists are up to their necks as usual in the pop front, chief among them the Communist Party and their social-democratic split, the Committees of Correspondence. The CP crows mindlessly about "the great victory of 1989" while bragging that "a section of real estate and financial figures" like Rohatyn have backed Dinkins. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, using the same "fight the right" rhetoric, calls in effect for a vote for Dinkins, saying "a vote against the Republican candidate is a vote against racism" (*Workers World*, 7 October). This is the classic logic of the "popular front," and it has paved the way for Giuliani.

Liberal black Democrat Dinkins was put in office because the ruling class feared that the black ghettos and Hispanic barrios could explode. Dinkins' 1989 campaign was virtually run out of the offices of Rivera's 1199 union hall. Today his administration is manifestly bankrupt and his minority and labor support has been ground down and demoralized. Those are the conditions in which an open right-wing, racist, anti-labor zealot has been able to thrive.

The New York City elections come in the context of national political trends, in which not only the Republicans but yuppie Democrats run for office by ostentatiously aiming their pitch to the white middle class. As the *Washington Post* (17 October) recently noted, after more than a decade in which the major American cities had black mayors, they are now being replaced by more "pro-business, anti-crime" right-wing whites (Tom Bradley replaced by Riordan in L.A., Harold Washington replaced by Richard Daley, Jr. in Chicago, Wilson Goode replaced by Ed Rendell in Philadelphia). The White House was so concerned that they brought in Bill and Hillary Clinton to stump for Dinkins. But the Democrats have nothing to offer, except that Dinkins isn't Giuliani.

From the unions to the ghettos and barrios, New Yorkers are angry and looking for a way out. But it won't be through the Democrats, one of the partner parties of decaying American capitalism. Four years ago, *Workers Vanguard* warned that "a black Democrat in City Hall will not, and cannot, reverse the tide of racist terror and union-busting." What we need is a workers party to mobilize the power of the working class in alliance with all the oppressed to tear down this whole racist capitalist system and construct an egalitarian socialist society. ■

(continued from page 12)

The huge outpouring on October 16 reflected widespread outrage throughout the country over the deadly rise in fascist terror, including the murder of black student Stephen Lawrence in April. When the BNP scored an electoral victory in

"Now is the time to drive the fascists off the streets, out of the minority areas! Avenge Quaddus Ali and every victim

For months, the ANL has been pouring all its energies into vivid pleas to the Bexley council Conservatives—who appeal to the same racist constituency as the fascists—to shut down the BNP headquarters. Under immense pressure from thousands of young people who want to clean out the fascists, the ANL and YRE leaders talked out of both sides of their mouths, calling for militant action against the BNP while pleading with or petitioning the capitalist state. On the one hand, the chief political force behind the YRE, the *Militant* (8 October) of Peter Taaffe, declared: "Militant Labour does not depend on or want the state to ban the BNP." Yet a week later,

"The labour movement needs a revolutionary leadership which fights as hard and as long for working-class victory as Thatcher fought for her despicable, parasitic capitalist class. The workers, the women, the black, Asian, Jewish and gay targets of BNP terror need a *workers government*, so that all people can have a decent and secure life, in a society free of exploitation and racism." ■

Cops' Candidate Giuliani vs. Bankers' Friend Dinkins

NYC Elections: Police Terror and Racism

Is there anything in American politics that is not about race? Certainly not the New York City mayoral election.

The New York City election campaign really opened a year ago, on 16 September 1992, when 10,000 armed thugs broke through police barricades and swarmed onto the steps of City Hall, screaming threats at NYC's first black mayor, David Dinkins. The police did nothing, because the racist goons were the police. And on the podium, whipping the NYPD into a frenzy, was the cops' mayoral candidate, Rudolph Giuliani. The sinister former federal prosecutor is widely, and rightfully, feared by the minority and working people of New York, who know that if he is elected November 2 it's a green light to the killers in blue.

Countering Giuliani's accusation that he is "soft on crime," liberal Democrat Dinkins brags that as mayor he has brought about the largest increase in the police force in NYC history, adding over 6,000 cops. Carrying out the dictates of the bankers who back him, he has implemented thousands of layoffs of city workers. In 1989, Dinkins promised Wall Street that blacks, Hispanics and the unions would "take it from me," and for four years he has dished it out. Today, union leaders and black clergy are again peddling the lesser-evil politics that has kept the masses tied to the "people's party" of American capitalism.

But it is the capitalist system that produces double-digit unemployment with no jobs for youth, that breeds racist terror and relies on the army of cops to protect

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Rudolph Giuliani whips up armed racist cop mob that besieged City Hall in September 1992.

Tens of Thousands March to Stop BNP Fascists London Cops Protect Fascists Against Anti-Racist Protesters



London, October 16—Riot police attack anti-racist militants.

OCTOBER 18—More than 50,000 people marched through southeast London two days ago in the largest anti-fascist demonstration in Britain in two decades. As protesters attempted to follow the march route to the fascist British National Party (BNP) headquarters, hundreds of riot cops blocked their way, wading into the crowds with batons flailing and following up with charges by police on horseback. Dozens of marchers were taken to hospitals with blood streaming from their heads. But for two hours, outraged anti-fascist militants stood their ground against the racist thugs in blue, forcing the cops to pull back several times under a hail of sticks, rocks, bricks and paving stones. Police dragged off 31 of the anti-fascist protesters.

Just four weeks earlier, on September 19, hundreds of anti-racist protesters succeeded in breaking through a police cordon in the East End's Brick Lane to land some solid blows against a handful of the BNP scum. The BNP's race-hate "newspapers" and a huge Union Jack were ripped out of their hands and burned. The fascists were pelted with rotten fruit, eggs and bottles, leaving several of the would-be Hitlers sprawled on the pavement. This militant rout of the fascists, largely organized by the Anti Nazi League (ANL) and Youth Against Racism in Europe (YARE), marked the first time in 15 years that the BNP thugs had not been able to stage weekly race-hate provocations there.

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