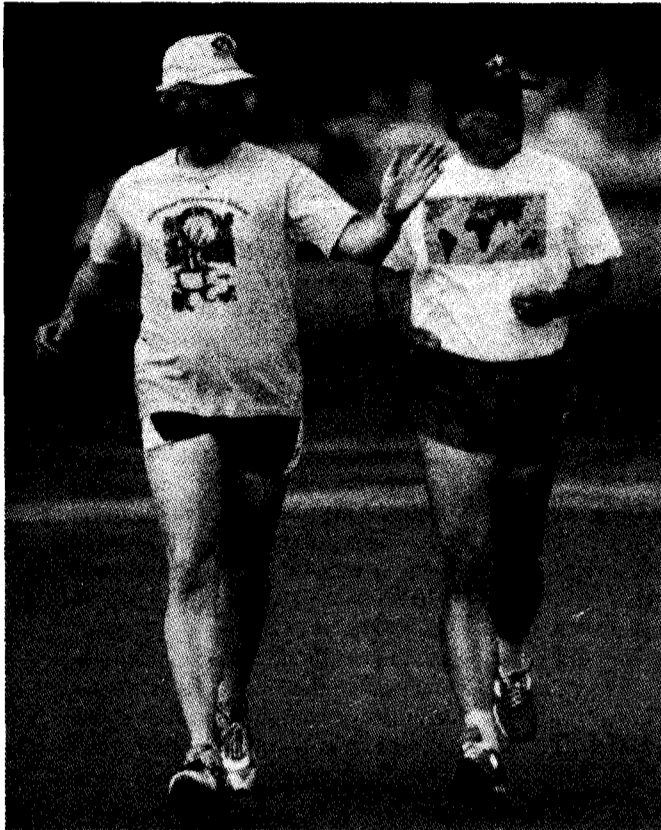


Left Hand of Capitalism Slaps Blacks, Labor

Yuppie Democrats Hit NYC



Clinton and Gore run for the racist vote in the 'burbs, while the barrios and ghettos seethe with anger. Right: Dominican protesters in Washington Heights following cop killing of José García.

With all the fanfare and balloons that \$10 million can buy, the red, white and blue Democratic National Convention played at the Madison Square Garden July 13-16. But before the team of "New South" yuppies could launch their bid to compete with Bush for the suburban backlash vote, the convention was threatened by an outbreak of angry urban unrest. A week earlier, the Dominican community of Washington Heights, in upper Manhattan, erupted in fury over the pointblank police execution of 23-year-old José "Kiko" García

For a Fighting Workers Party!

by an undercover cop. Crowds of protesters took to the streets, while a police army of over 2,000 riot cops occupied the community. The National Guard was put on alert.

But the host Democrats kept the lid on. Mayor David Dinkins pounded the pavement of Washington Heights, and the protests subsided before the confab

actually got underway. The homeless community in and around Penn Station was removed. The union tops kept their promises of labor peace in the prep work at the Garden. So the Dems succeeded in pasting a fake happy face on the Big Apple. The made-for-TV production got the cold shoulder from the networks, and it was beat out by *Revenge of the Nerds*,

Part III in the ratings. But they nominated William Jefferson Clinton and Albert Gore, Jr. without incident, and this "double dose of Southern baby boomers" (*New York Post*) soared in the presidential polls, the biggest "post-convention bounce" in memory.

The convention was carefully scripted to deliver the message that the Democratic Party had "finally gotten the New Deal out of its system" (*Newsweek*). They pieced off Jerry Brown and Jesse Jackson with a few minutes' speaking *continued on page 7*

Supreme Court Upholds Ban on Abortion Pill

RU 486: French Women Got It, We Want It!

The Supreme Court escalated its assault on the right to abortion July 17 by ruling, in a seven-to-two decision, to uphold the government's confiscation of RU 486, the "French abortion pill," from a pregnant woman who brought it into the country for her own use. RU 486 is by far the safest, most private and least expensive method of abortion, because it does not entail anesthesia or surgery. That's why the opponents of women's rights fear it so—they can see the day coming when

medical technology defeats the reactionary mobs besieging the clinics and effectively makes abortion available to all. So in the name of the "family values" ballyhooed by both capitalist parties, and ignoring ample scientific evidence showing RU 486 to be safe, the bigots in black robes endorsed the orders of the Bush administration, which had customs agents put on a special watch for Leona Benten, seize her pills and refuse to give them back.

The Court's five-to-four decision last month on the Pennsylvania anti-abortion law claimed to uphold the con-

stitutional right established by the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling, while gutting it in practice by allowing a slew of restrictions. Through mandatory waiting periods and parental consent requirements, bans on state funding and the absence of health facilities that perform the simple medical procedure, abortion is placed beyond the reach of young women, poor women, women living in rural areas and urban ghettos, while affluent suburbanites and yuppies can always find the way to avoid unwanted children. The decision on RU 486 lets *continued on page 11*



Reyes/Oakland Tribune
Leona Benten defied government ban on abortion pill.



Honor Vincent St. John, IWW Labor Rebel

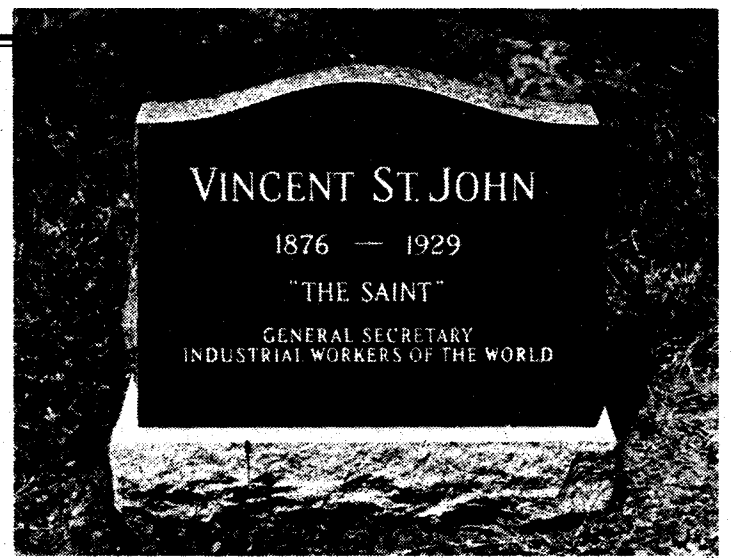
Last year an appeal was issued by the Vincent St. John Memorial Fund, co-chaired by Archie Green and Joyce Kornbluh. "Sixty two years ago," they noted, "one of the greatest labor organizers this country ever produced" died in poverty and obscurity and was buried in an unmarked grave, without ceremony, in Oakland, California." The group proposed to erect a simple red granite headstone which would memorialize the life of St. John, a real working-class hero.

The fund quickly collected more than it needed from enthusiastic subscribers, among them the Prometheus Research Library (archive and library of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S.). And so last month, on June 21, a couple dozen of labor's partisans gathered in the Oakland Public Cemetery at the newly marked grave.

On the headstone was inscribed:

Vincent St. John
1876-1929
"The Saint"
General Secretary
Industrial Workers of the World

It was a refreshingly open gathering of people from different backgrounds and tendencies of the working-class movement who came together for a brief tribute. There were some elderly people—children of the old "Wobblies"—and some young people, a couple of women whose parents were Wobs, while others were connected to the Communist Party. IWW and Lenin buttons were sprinkled in the group. Two senior AFL-CIO reps seemed to give the official nod to the occasion, and the head of the gravediggers union was present. Representatives of the Spar-



no credit

tacist League, the Trotskyists, were welcomed in the IWW's non-sectarian spirit. It was an open free speech meeting and a real honor—one can only regret that labor's masses have by and large been cut off from this tradition by decades of bureaucratization and witchhunting.

The IWW believed in the class struggle, and St. John was a founder and key organizer in the crucial years 1906-1914. A miner by trade and also one of the founders of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), he is irrevocably linked to the heroic struggles of that period, from Coeur d'Alene in Idaho to Colorado's Cripple Creek. One mine owners' detective agency complained in 1906 that St. John was causing "more trouble in the past year than any twenty men" in the Colorado mining district, and would soon "have the entire district organized." James P. Cannon, who was himself an on-the-road Wobbly organizer and went on to help found the American Communist Party and later the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., fondly recalled:

"The Saint," of affectionate memory, was a wonderful man to learn from. He was short on palaver and had some gaps in his theory, but he was long on action and he was firmly convinced that the water is the only place where a man can learn to swim. His way of testing, and also developing, the young militants who grew up under his tutelage was to give them responsibility and shove them into action and see what happened. Those who acquired self-confidence and the capacity to make decisions under fire on the spot, which are about 90 percent of the distinctive quality of leaders and organizers, eventually received credentials as voluntary organizers. Thereafter they enjoyed a semi-official status in the strikes and other actions which marked the career of the I.W.W. in its glorious heyday. The shock troops of the movement were the foot-loose militants who moved around the country as the scene of action shifted."

—"In the Spirit of the Pioneers," *Labor Action*, 28 November 1936, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator* [1958]

When the first general president of the IWW, Charles Sherman, arrived at the second convention in 1906 with a program limited to industrial unionism, St. John in alliance with socialist Daniel De Leon led a successful fight to oust the Sherman forces because, he explained simply, they "were not in

accord with the revolutionary program of the organization." Years later Cannon remarked wryly that Sherman thus became "the first, and...so far the only, union president on record to get dumped because he was *not* a revolutionist." He added, "There will be others" (*The First Ten Years of American Communism* [1962]).

This disgust for trade-union reformism and bureaucratism was the healthy side of Wobbly-style syndicalism, as was their disdain for the ballot-box "socialists" of the De Leon ilk. After World War I, the British Communist Party was pretty much stillborn as a result of its exclusion of the Celtic anarcho-syndicalists. In contrast, the American CP managed to incorporate some of the Wobblies, and was far richer for it. The famous Wobbly slogan, "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All," became the watchword of the International Labor Defense, founded by the early Communist Party on Cannon's initiative.

Cannon relates that he made persistent efforts to recruit St. John to the Communist movement around 1920, "and almost succeeded; I didn't know how close I had come until later, when it was too late." They had stayed up all night talking at the cottage of Carlo Tresca and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in Staten Island. When Flynn later came over to the CP and was working with Cannon in the ILD, she recalled that he nearly convinced St. John that night. But "jail and prison had taken their toll"; he was a bit tired and it was a little late for "the Saint" to start over again, Cannon observed regretfully.

The 1917 Bolshevik October Revolution taught the new generation of working-class militants that it was not possible to simply combine the tasks of trade unionism and a revolutionary party in "One Big Union." What was needed was a party of professional revolutionaries, a Leninist party, at the head of the working class fighting to bring down capitalist rule and forge a workers state. Fueled by the Bolshevik experience, the Communist Party grew and the IWW faded into the twilight. Today we Trotskyists seek to continue that vital Leninist heritage, later trampled by Stalinism. But it is undeniable that the lead-ass, bureaucratized labor movement today badly needs an infusion of St. John's spirit of unflinching class struggle. ■



no credit

Dedication of headstone at the grave of Vincent St. John in Oakland, June 21.

The Democratic-Republican Shell Game



TROTSKY

With the Democrats' nomination of two Southern white so-called "moderates," they are trying to shed their image as a party catering to blacks and labor. In order to divert the radicalization of the working class during the Great Depression of the 1930s, Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt formed an American version of the "popular front" by welding together the party's historic base in the white-supremacist South with the



LENIN

newly organized labor movement in the North. In the mid-1950s James P. Cannon, the founding leader of American Trotskyism, pointed out that the "strongest opposition to the civil rights program, and the strongest support to anti-labor legislation in recent years, has come from labor's 'partners' in the Democratic-labor coalition." More generally, Cannon explained how "lesser evil" bourgeois politics helps perpetuate capitalist exploitation and racist oppression.

What is this American two-party system, which so many people think is a matter of our will and our genius and can endure forever?... What we have in this country are not two separate class parties, but two factions of the same ruling class—the Republican faction and the Democratic faction. This was a very good and convenient system for rich and stable American capitalism. From one point of view, it flexibly contained the antagonisms within the capitalist ranks. It gave a political expression for the conflicts of interests between different factions and sections of the capitalist class itself. In another respect, the two-party system, expressing the interests of two factions of the ruling class, but pretending to represent all the people, was an excellent safety valve for popular discontent.

When people got fed up with the administration power, they could always find relief for their dissatisfaction. The traditional American slogan always was, "Turn the rascals out." The only alternative, however, was to put another set of rascals in. That never did much good, but it gave the people a little satisfaction without disturbing the bourgeois rule....

This political shell game was possible in its purest form only as long as capitalism was strong and secure and ascending in a stable capitalist world, and when there was no labor challenge to the capitalist rule in the country. Those conditions are fading away....

The workers, under such conditions, must and will turn to militancy and throw up leaders of a new mold, just as the workers in the thirties threw up new trade-union leaders out of the ranks. And it is in just such a situation, when class collaboration is out the window and the class struggle is on the agenda, that the supreme expression of the class struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party, will get a hearing and become the mentor of the militant new staff of leaders arising out of the shops and the factories.

—James P. Cannon, *America's Road to Socialism* (1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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24 July 1992

Counterrevolution and Nationalism in Yugoslavia

Melbourne, Australia

To Workers Vanguard:

Defend the Yugoslav workers state!
Smash the Chetniks and Imperialism!
For Political Revolution in Belgrade and throughout Yugoslavia!
Down with the Traitor Milosevic! For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!
For a Multination Revolutionary Party!
Not Serb against Moslem and Croat but Class against Class!

In 1937 Stalin murdered the party and purged all components of the state including 25,000 officers of the army. In the words of Trotsky "the Soviet bureaucracy has adopted the political methods of fascism." In the same year James Burnham, a member of the Political Committee of the SWP, "questioned the fundamental principle of the Fourth International that the Soviet Union is a workers' state which, although degenerated under the Stalinist regime, must be unconditionally defended against imperialist attack by the world working class." A reasonable argument could be made that the workers state in the Soviet Union was smashed and a nascent bourgeois state (i.e. State Capitalism—bourgeois state, nationalised property, elements of planning) now existed. This theory of State Capitalism (as bureaucratic collectivism) has been disproved by Marxist theory and events but continually rises in different forms, the statement "Milosevic now stands at the helm of a nascent bourgeois state" being one of them.

Yugoslavia has been a workers state. Has it gone through a qualitative change to become a bourgeois state or states. A workers state is the dictatorship of the proletariat while a bourgeois state is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The two (states and) dictatorships are obviously clearly mutually exclusive, irreconcilable and totally antagonistic. One cannot change into the other but one must smash, crush and destroy the other. The bourgeoisie cannot rule through a workers state or modify it to make it a bourgeois state any more than the workers can use, modify or transform the bourgeois state. As Trotsky expressed his argument against the "Democratic Centralists" over the nature of the Soviet Union in 1926-27 "although the elements of dual power had indubitably begun to sprout within the country, the transition from these elements to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie could not occur otherwise than by means of a counter-revolutionary overturn." The use of C.I.S. to describe the Soviet Union does not signify that the Soviet has been transformed by a bourgeois hegemony—so too with Yugoslavia.

The statement that "The multinational Yugoslav deformed workers state, forged by...Tito...has been destroyed in a welter of fratricidal bloodletting" [WV No. 553, 12 June] contains a good deal of truth but not the whole truth. The workers' state as it was no longer exists. The question remaining is: Has the Serbian bureaucracy and its officer corps transformed itself into a bourgeoisie and bourgeois state, the workers state into state capitalism and its bonapartist dictatorship (of the proletariat) into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. This is some Cliffite fantasy. The existence of the Serbian bureaucracy, the Stalinist army, the working class oppressed under Stalinism but not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie proves that a workers state exists even if very different from Tito's original

workers state. If the Soviet workers state was not destroyed in 1937 surely the Yugoslav workers state still exists even if it can't properly be called Yugoslav.

According to the *Economist*

"The anti-Milosevic forces...are middle class.... Their dislike of the ruling regime has still failed to filter down to Serbia's workers and peasants, some of whom were shown on state television holding pro-government demonstrations during the church protest march....

"Yet the regime is getting nervous. Armed militia now roam the streets of Belgrade...arms are reportedly being given to Mr Milosevic's supporters. All this gives rise to fears of civil war within Serbia itself. But, short of a massive upheaval or a coup, the mechanism to oust Mr Milosevic is unclear."

As the Bolsheviks defended the Soviets, which supported their gaoler [jailer]

would undergo the restoration of capitalism by one historical path or another. In his main polemic against the theory of bureaucratic collectivism, Trotsky wrote:

"Marxists never believed that an isolated workers' state in Russia could maintain itself indefinitely. True enough, we expected the wrecking of the Soviet state, rather than its degeneration; to put it more correctly, we did not sharply differentiate between those two possibilities. But they do not at all contradict each other. Degeneration must inescapably end at a certain stage in downfall."

—"The USSR in War"
(September 1939)

This prediction has now come to pass. Degeneration ended in downfall. Capitalist counterrevolution has taken place throughout East Europe and is well

linist castes. As we analyzed in our two-part article "East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution" (WV Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April), the new regimes in East Europe have through purging the old state apparatuses cohered nascent bourgeois states. The Yeltsin regime in Russia has not yet brought the army into line and, moreover, the coming mass unemployment imposed under the dictates of Western finance capital could provoke major working-class struggle. The existence of capitalist-restorationist governments in a fractured workers state is a highly contradictory and therefore highly transitory condition. Unless such regimes are overthrown, they will sooner rather than later hammer together bourgeois states, which will eventually reintroduce private property in the means of production.

In the specific case of Yugoslavia, the national question is key to understanding the establishment, the preservation for several decades and present destruction of proletarian state power. After World War I, the Western imperialist victors formed the Yugoslav bourgeois state by attaching the south Slav regions (Croatia



Time



Der Spiegel

Serbian commandos (left) desecrate Islamic mosque in Bosnia. Croatian National Guard (right), military arm of fascist Tudjman regime. Fratricidal nationalism has destroyed Yugoslav deformed workers state in welter of atrocities.

Kerensky, from the fascistic Kornilov, allowing them to smash Kornilov and overthrow Kerensky so the advanced workers will defend the workers state, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, so they can overthrow it by political revolution.

"The workers will say: 'We cannot cede to Hitler the overthrow of Stalin; that is our own task.' During the military struggle against Hitler, the revolutionary workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comradely relations with the rank-and-file fighters of the Red Army. Whilst arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage."

—Trotsky, "The USSR in War"
(italics in original)

No position must be surrendered until it is irrevocably lost.

With comradely greetings,
Steven King

WV replies: Before taking up the specific case of Yugoslavia, we must consider in more general terms the question of capitalist counterrevolution in bureaucratically ruled workers states. The difference between Trotskyism and the exponents of "state capitalism" or "bureaucratic collectivism" is not that we believe the Stalinist bureaucracy is irrevocably committed to preserving proletarian state power and collectivized property. The Cliffites and Shachtmanites maintained that Stalin's Russia was a new historic form of exploitative class society. Trotsky maintained it was a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the degeneration arising from the pressure of world imperialism. But he did not stop at this static definition of the USSR. He insisted that unless the Stalinist bureaucracy was overthrown through a proletarian political revolution, the Soviet Union

under way in Russia. The first step was the replacement of the Stalinist regimes by capitalist-restorationist governments. The second step has been the purging of the governmental bureaucracy, including the military and police apparatuses, of elements considered unreliable in defending a new bourgeois order. Trotsky predicted in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1936):

"If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party."

Throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union, bourgeois-restorationist forces have overthrown the ruling Sta-

and Slovenia) of the defunct Austro-Hungarian empire to the kingdom of Serbia. During most of the interwar period, the Yugoslav Communist Party militantly championed the right of national self-determination—i.e., secession—for Croatia and also Macedonia. The Communist Party was the only party whose leadership and membership were drawn from all major nationalities and which had some authority and support in all regions of Yugoslavia.

It was precisely the pan-Yugoslav character of Tito's Communist Partisans which enabled them during World War II to wage an effective armed struggle against the German and Italian occupying forces, the clerical-fascist Croatian Ustasha and the Serbian royalist Chetniks. In the context of the Soviet Red Army victory over Nazi Germany, Tito's Partisans came to power and

continued on page 5

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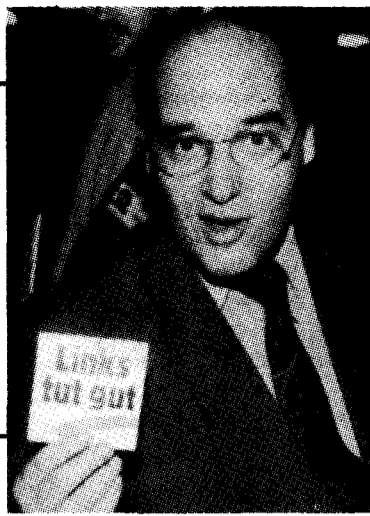
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From the People Who Brought You Capitalist Anschluss



Werek
Gregor Gysi

Bitterness Fuels New East German "Popular Front"

Not West vs. East vs. Immigrants, But Class Against Class!

In mid-July, a group of 69 prominent personalities largely from East Germany announced the formation of the "Committees for Fairness." This regional popular front was spearheaded by Peter-Michael Diestel, until recently a leading member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and Gregor Gysi, head of the Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS—successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of East Germany). Diestel, then a member of the extreme-right DSU (German Social Union) was interior minister (in charge of the police) in the counterrevolutionary government which

presided over dismantling the East German deformed workers state, the DDR. Other endorsers include the writer Stefan Heym, playwright Heiner Müller, Lutheran bishop Gottfried Forck, and Humboldt University rector Heinrich Fink, as well as former West Berlin mayor Heinrich Albertz and the editor of the Berlin rad-lib daily *Tageszeitung (taz)*.

While today they present themselves as defenders of the East German population, which has been devastated by the annexation (*Anschluss*) of the DDR by capitalist West Germany, all of them, right- and left-wingers alike, supported

reunification in 1990. Thus the statement of the Committees for Fairness says: "The destruction of our industry and agriculture, mass unemployment, unbearable rent increases, unfairly low wages, the closing of social, scientific, cultural and athletic organizations, the selling off of what was once 'people's property,' rejection of our right to occupy apartments, houses and land and demoralization of people in the East, especially women, have destroyed many hopes that were raised by German unification."

Diestel was chucked out of the Brandenburg state leadership of the CDU by Kohl earlier this year for opposing the witchhunt against former members of the East German Security Ministry. It's a sign of the times that this well-known rightist politician should gain popularity by defending the Stasi! In an example of the violent and racist hatreds spawned by capitalist reunification, last week writer Heym, a former DDR dissident who like PDS leader Gysi is Jewish, was brutally beaten by an anti-Communist fanatic in a West German hotel restaurant. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) have fought against anti-Semitic, anti-foreigner smears and terror and against the victimization of the PDS, as part of a revolutionary class opposition to the Fourth Reich of German imperialism.

The SpAD uniquely fought against the imperialist takeover of the DDR, "with no ifs, ands or buts." While the PDS was trying to cut a better deal with CDU chancellor Kohl, the SpAD ran in the March 1990 DDR elections under the slogan "No to Capitalist Reunification!" warning of the misery that destruction of the workers state would bring. Interestingly, while the myriad forces supporting reunification remain to this day almost exclusively East or West groups, the SpAD is building an internationalist workers party embracing East and West and immigrants on a program of common class struggle. The following article is translated from *Spartakist* No. 96, June-July 1992, published by the SpAD.

* * *

Since capitalist reunification a wave of mass unemployment, racism and the oppression of women has inundated the former DDR. But despite all the capitalists' triumphal cries about the "death of Communism" the giant ÖTV [public employees] strike in Germany, following the mass disturbances in Los Angeles, has struck a blow to the "New World Order." The CDU and SPD are well

aware of the rage and bitterness they have ignited among the workers. In addition to the strike, they were also put in a panic by the Berlin district elections, where the PDS got 30 percent of the votes in the eastern part of the city.

In the West, on the other hand, for the PDS the result of the vote was a flop. Without influence on the workers, the reformists have nothing to sell out and are therefore totally worthless to the bourgeoisie. However, Gysi sees in the outrage and widespread "nostalgia for the DDR" a market niche for the PDS. Now he wants to throw himself into the arms of the revoltingly reactionary DSUer Diestel in an "Eastern Movement." This is a maneuver aimed at deceiving the East German workers.

Diestel, who was top cop for de Maizière [the Christian Democrat who presided over the demise of the DDR], wants to use this to "prevent a massive, destructive attitude of protest." Gysi is sucking up to him, while simultaneously admitting whom this lash-up is directed against: "Many areas simply couldn't be discussed, for example, at present the topic of Paragraph 218 [the anti-abortion law in Germany's criminal code], and on an ongoing basis of course the question of foreigners" (*Berliner Zeitung*, 4 June).

Whether an Eastern party or movement, the result would be a regional-nationalist association splitting the workers into East and West. And immigrant workers? An Eastern party would be aimed directly against them, and more generally against precisely what the capitalists and their Social Democratic minions fear most: joint struggle by East and West. Only a few weeks ago, the strike of the West German workers against the Kohl administration aroused the solidarity of their East German colleagues, as demonstrated by the East Berlin transport workers with their one-day wildcat strike. But whereas Gysi is aiming at dividing them, what the workers need is a common revolutionary workers party to lead the struggle to bring down the Kohl government.

What is concealed behind the "nostalgia for the DDR" so feared by the CDU and SPD is the rage and disappointment of millions of East German workers over the terrible effects of *Anschluss*. Forty years without unemployment—this was one of the gains of the DDR workers state, despite the Stalinist deformation. When in the fall of 1989 the masses went out onto the streets "for a better socialism," this marked the beginning of a political revolution. In January of 1990 the Spartakists initiated an anti-fascist demonstration against the desecration of the Soviet memorial in Treptow.

Against his will, Gysi stood up there alongside the Spartakists Renate Dahnhaus and Toralf Endruweit, looking down at the gigantic mass of a quarter-million people, and what he saw was the spectre of an impending civil war. A massive counterrevolutionary assault was the response to Treptow. Under the aegis of Gorbachev/Modrow [then East Germany's prime minister], the PDS initiated the surrender of the DDR to capitalism, which was then carried forward by Diestel and de Maizière. The Spartakists, on the other hand, threw all their forces into the fight against capitalist reunification.

Counterrevolution turned the lives of citizens of the former DDR topsy-turvy. Securing one's own existence, never at issue in the DDR, is today the all-consuming question. Through Diestel's rightist demagoguery the workers are to be steered onto a regional-nationalistic course. But they will be unable to defend themselves as long as they fail to ally with their militant Turkish and Kurdish, Vietnamese and Mozambican fellow workers against the exploiter class. Defending the interests of the workers, whether in Halle or Hamburg, requires a revolutionary party embracing all of Germany.

Why does Gysi want to set the PDS apparatus in motion for make-work

Der Spiegel and Anti-Semitism



With the reassertion of German imperialism's ambitions over Europe has come a vile resurgence of overt anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant racism. While fascists march through the streets, even "respectable" bourgeois organs flaunt German chauvinism. Over the last couple of years, the liberal/social-democratic weekly *Der Spiegel* has run a series of articles with inflammatory covers against immigrants, Gypsies, etc. One of the first came two weeks after the massive Treptow anti-fascist protest in East Berlin, when the 15 January 1990 cover of *Der Spiegel* featured a sinister photograph of PDS leader Gregor Gysi, who is of Jewish origin, with the caption "*Der Drahtzieher*"—"The Manipulator."

Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany denounced this anti-Semitic smear job on Gysi, noting that "the syphilitic chain reaches up to the 'distinguished' *Spiegel*" (*Spartakist* No. 77, 9 October 1990). Now the media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) has done a real service, reporting in the July/August 1992 issue of its journal *Extra!* the sinister origins of *Der Spiegel*'s "Manipulator" cover: this slogan "appeared on an infamous Nazi propaganda poster, featured in Frankfurt's Jewish Museum, over a caricature of a 'Jewish capitalist.'" Another confirmation of our insistence that the Fourth Reich is the continuator of the Third.

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 3)

reunified Yugoslavia as a bureaucratically deformed workers state with a federated governmental structure.

However, imperialist pressure on this backward Balkan country regenerated Serbian and Croatian nationalism within the Titoist-Stalinist bureaucracy. Given the extensive interpenetration and the relative balance of forces between the major republics, a breakup of Yugoslavia along national lines had an *objectively counterrevolutionary dynamic*: it would not lead to separate Serbian or Croatian deformed workers states. In this context it was inevitable that Serbian and Croatian nationalist elements in the bureaucracy would make common cause with reactionary nationalist forces, including fascists and émigrés.

Tito was able to hold together the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia only by continually suppressing Serbian and Croatian nationalist tendencies while at the same time carefully balancing national interests and claims. The top commanders of the Yugoslav People's Army were deliberately selected from all major nationalities, although the officer corps as a whole was 60 percent Serbian. Following Tito's death, the Yugoslav bureaucracy splintered along national lines. The central government became progressively weaker while substantive political and economic power passed into the hands of the governments of the national republics.

In the wealthier northern republics, Croatian and Slovenian nationalists, both within and without the bureaucracy, demanded increasing autonomy, eventually culminating in secession. Since a large proportion of ethnic Serbs lived outside their "own" national republic, resurgent Serbian nationalism demanded the redrawing of the republican borders to create a Greater Serbia. The internal boundaries of Yugoslavia were deliberately drawn by Tito to undercut Serbian dominance, a condition for maintaining a united workers state. So it was clear from the outset that the Serbian nationalist drive, on which Slobodan Milosevic rode to power in 1987, pointed straight to counterrevolution.

Serbian expansionism in turn fueled the extreme nationalists in Croatia and Slovenia, who came to power in late 1990. This set the stage for the nationalist/communist wars, beginning last summer, which destroyed Yugoslavia.

Steven King is arguing that the Serbian bureaucracy (a) is still intact and (b) cannot become a capitalist-restorationist regime. Let us examine this argument. First, it is unclear whether King believes that all of Yugoslavia as it existed before last year's war is still a workers state, or that Serbia is still a workers state while Croatia and Slovenia are something else. Croatia and Slovenia have their own armed forces and are internationally recognized as independent states, including by Milosevic's Serbia. What then is their class nature?

Now if King denies in principle that elements of the Serbian Stalinist bureaucracy can transform themselves into a capitalist-restorationist regime, the same logic applies to Slovenia. The head of the present Slovenian state, Milan Kucan, was the former head of the League of Communists in that republic, i.e., the principal leader of the Slovenian component of the bureaucracy. Even the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman—a former general in the Yugoslav army turned anti-Communist

the Milosevic regime has now selected as its new prime minister a *millionaire Serbian émigré businessman*, Milan Panic, who is an American citizen. This move was doubtless partly motivated to gain Washington's goodwill, and indeed he received a special dispensation from the Bush administration to become prime minister of the rump Yugoslavia.

This brings us to the Yugoslav People's Army, whose national and therefore political character was transformed by the war with Croatia. First, practically

volunteer units under army command, giving them the same status as the regular forces.

It is obvious that this transformation of the Yugoslav People's Army has nothing in common with Stalin's purge of the Red Army in 1937-38. Stalin targeted those commanders, such as Marshal Tukhachevsky, who had independent authority and could therefore form a locus of opposition to his regime. Many of the officers purged but not executed, such as the Pole Konstanti Rokossovski, were reinstated into the Red Army high command when Nazi Germany invaded in 1941. Stalin's purge changed neither the multinational composition nor political character of the Soviet armed forces. There would be an analogy with Yugoslavia only if Stalin had purged the Red Army of all non-Russians while at the same time incorporating into its ranks and command structure émigré White Russian counterrevolutionaries. That such a policy would have been inconceivable at the time simply underscores the *difference* between the Soviet Union under Stalin and Milosevic's Serbia.

In his letter Steven King presents himself as an intransigent defender of the Soviet Union and the other bureaucratically ruled workers states. Yet he quit our tendency at the beginning of the 1980s specifically in opposition to our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" which expressed military support to the Soviet Union in a *progressive war* against imperialist-backed Islamic reactionaries.

Steven King asks rhetorically: "Has the Serbian bureaucracy and its officer corps transformed itself into a bourgeoisie and bourgeois state." Well, elements of the former Serbian bureaucracy have transformed themselves into a capitalist-restorationist government, and some Serbian officers in the former Yugoslav army have become the military agency of the nascent bourgeoisie. The formation of an actual bourgeoisie—i.e., private owners of the principal means of production—will require several years. As Trotsky wrote: "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" [November 1937]).

The transformation of the rump of the former Yugoslav army into a reactionary Serbian nationalist force is especially clear in the present communalist bloodbath in Bosnia. As we wrote a year ago at the beginning of the Serbia-Croatia war which destroyed Yugoslavia (WV No. 531, 19 July 1991):

"Today, the peoples of Yugoslavia and throughout East Europe face ruthless oppression and exploitation at the hands of resurgent bourgeois nationalist forces manipulated by American and West European imperialism. Only a return to proletarian internationalism, to the principles of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, can save the workers and peasants of East Europe—from the Balkans to the Baltic—from a new wave of communalist massacres and nationalist wars." ■

nationalist—in Croatia retains a large percentage of the old bureaucracy.

It's possible that King's views on Yugoslavia are influenced by Western imperialist propaganda which usually portrays Milosevic as "still a Communist" while his Slovenian counterpart Kucan is presented as a newfound believer in "democracy" and the "free market." The Kucan regime in Slovenia and Tudjman in Croatia have openly declared their aim is to restore capitalism and subordinate their states to Western imperialism, specifically the German Fourth Reich. Since Milosevic did not find an imperialist sponsor for a Greater Serbia, he retained the "socialist" label (until recently) while calling for a "market economy."

Nonetheless, the Milosevic regime was inherently counterrevolutionary since its drive for a Greater Serbia necessarily incorporated, especially into its armed forces, reactionary nationalist groups. A key Milosevic ally in the war with Croatia was Vojislav Seselj, chieftain of the Serbian irregular forces known as "Chetniks" after the anti-Communist monarchists in World War II. The new Serbian constitution adopted in April conspicuously dropped the designation "socialism" from the state, and

all non-Serbs in leading positions were driven out last fall. This included the Croatian head of the air force, Anton Tus, the Macedonian commander of the First Military District, Aleksandr Spirkovski, and his Croatian chief of staff, Adrija Silic. The latter two were old-line Titoists and staunch pan-Yugoslav patriots. The purging of non-Serbian officers was paralleled by mass desertions of non-Serbs from the ranks. This March, spokesmen for the army admitted that no more than 6,000 non-Serbs or non-Montenegrins were left in a force of over 100,000.

Then this May, Milosevic carried out a purge of the top army command that eliminated the remaining old-liners, including many Serbs (see "Yugoslavia Ripped Apart in Nationalist Bloodbath," WV No. 553, 12 June). At the same time, right-wing Serbian irregulars were incorporated into the "Yugoslav" army. These developments are laid out in some detail in an article by Misha Glenny in the *New Statesman* (5 June) and in a 15 May *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report* on "Military-Political Affiliations in the Yugoslav Conflict" by James Gow. The latter reports that last December a decree by the rump Yugoslav presidency placed all Serbian



Muzej Il Zaspjedanja AVNOJ-a, Jajice

Tito's Communist Partisans in WW II aboard captured tank. To Yugoslav villagers, red stars on the caps meant protection from pogroms carried out by Serbian Chetniks and Croatian Ustasha.

measures to assist Diestel? Following *Anschluss* the DSU co-founded by Diestel was ground up due to deep internal divisions between the fascists and the Christian Democrats. Now the "Duce [Mussolini] of Brandenburg," as *taz* calls Diestel, is looking for a means to exert pressure to obtain a share of the power for himself.

Today the PDS is the target of the SPD-led anti-Communist witchhunt, although it is cooperating as much as it can, from handing over its treasurer on down to witchhunting its own ranks. The anti-Stasi campaign is directed against anything that recalls the DDR, out of revenge for the victory by the Red Army over the Nazi regime. Its aim is to eradicate socialist consciousness among DDR workers and to prevent joint struggle in East and West.

The SPD Social Democrats have so far been unable to gain a foothold in the ex-DDR because, acting as conquerors, from their easy chairs in the Treuhandanstalt [the state agency charged with liquidating the former collectivized property] and the trade unions, they have suppressed and betrayed every workers struggle. It is they who are carrying out the elimination of jobs. It is because PDS Berlin state chairman André Brie is still dreaming of a sellout to his dream partner, the SPD, that he warns against "East German populism." But the criminal role of the SPD consists precisely in maintaining the division of the working class between East and West and inciting each part against the other, and both against immigrants. And that's just what Gysi intends to do with his dirty alliance with Diestel in the East.

Since Hoyerswerda, where a fascist-led pogrom against immigrant workers took place last fall, the PDS has been playing up its role as "preserver of law and order" for the Fourth Reich, calling for more police (who then showed up to deport the victims, the immigrants). Now they're defending Berlin chief of police Schertz, whose motto is, "Chasing the shell-game players away isn't enough." A racist consensus for witchhunting asylum-seekers extends to the Greens, the SPD and the CDU, and the PDS is going along with this. Only a few months ago the PDS paper *Neues Deutschland* was whipping up racist hatred against the immigrant shell-game players; recently it provided former SS officer Schönhuber, leader of the Republikaner fascists, with a platform for his witchhunting of immigrants.

Gysi needs this popular front with even the East German shadow of the bourgeoisie to prevent the tens of thousands who see themselves as socialists and still look to the PDS from embracing the alternative of a revolutionary workers party once class struggle intensifies. Already in 1990 he warned against founding a new leftist party: "I guarantee to you that those who will then play an active role in it will all come from amongst the extremists—Spartakists in love with organization, Trotskyists, etc., while the others bide their time. Then this will certainly not turn out the way you wanted it to" (*taz*, 29 October 1990). What the Spartakists want is a revolutionary workers party as part of a reformed Fourth International, to carry the struggles of the workers to victory. ■

Pittsburgh Drivers Strike: All Out to Stop the Scab Press!

Teamster newspaper driver Rich O'Malley said "they're trying to start a war." After keeping the *Pittsburgh Press* and *Post-Gazette* shut down for two months, Teamster Local 211 is facing a watershed in the strike—the bosses have announced plans to resume publishing the *Press* as early as July 24. The Pittsburgh Press Company has begun recruiting scabs on the East Coast and has brought in strikebreaking "security" thugs.

This is a battle that labor had better win—from the coal miners of western Pennsylvania to the unemployed steel workers of the Mon Valley and the Ravenswood aluminum workers, labor should ring the downtown production plant with mass pickets and send the scabs and goons packing! O'Malley, who has 27 years as a driver, told *Workers Vanguard* that if the company starts the presses, "We've got the Pirates. This city is known for hardball."

The Scripps-Howard-owned Pittsburgh Press Company, which also publishes and distributes the afternoon *Post-Gazette* under a so-called joint operating agreement, has targeted Local 211 with destruction, ordering the elimination of 450 out of 622 jobs. The paper's new distribution network will also wipe out thousands of youth carriers, replacing them with desperate unemployed workers paid \$200 a month!

The Press Co. is also out to slash pension and health benefits. And if the Teamsters are beaten, over 1,200 workers in nine other unions, whose contracts have also expired, will be next. Yet the ten-member union Unity Council running the strike has kept picket lines away from the *Press* headquarters, and refused to call out the other nine unions.

The *Press* bosses have been distributing a scab rag called the *Allegheny Bulletin* by mail a few days a week. The *Post-Gazette* has been faxing news and sports sheets to a thousand companies, and satisfying their readers' craving for obituaries by running them with somber music on television.

The unions' Unity Council has countered with the *Greater Pittsburgh Weekly*, a 32-page tabloid with a circulation of 300,000, distributed by former Press Co. youth carriers. But strike organizers are relying on capitalist advertisers to fund the strikers' paper, while pushing a consumer boycott of stores that advertise in the *Allegheny Bulletin*.

A real strike paper would be a political strike organizer, enlisting solidarity in action from the rest of the labor movement and minority communities. And a class-struggle leadership would shut down the scab *Allegheny Bulletin*, which is brought into the Pittsburgh area by UPS Teamster drivers!

Before the *Press* bosses try to start production, the strikers should occupy the plant and seize the presses. This would electrify the Pittsburgh labor movement and the militant miners for miles around. Teamsters, do your stuff! After years of the steel bosses padlocking plants, this strike is a chance to bring much-needed class struggle to Pittsburgh.

Philly City Workers Picket Union-Busting Democrat

Two hundred angry city workers from Philadelphia, members of AFSCME District Councils 33 and 47, came to New York last week, where they held a noisy picket outside Mayor Edward Rendell's hotel during the Democratic Party convention. The bureaucrats of the NYC Central Labor Council had pledged that they would enforce "labor peace" during the convention. But Philly unions, who are under the gun, sent four busloads of AFSCME members to demonstrate against "Fast Eddie."

Elected in January, Rendell is demanding 15,000 AFSCME workers take \$100 million a year in wage and benefit cuts, with the threat of big layoffs if the unions refuse to fork over the givebacks. He is pushing "privatization" of city services, starting with the elimination of 1,700 union sanitation jobs, as well as custodial and health care jobs. Five thousand city workers rallied outside City Hall June 29 to protest the city's attack. But under a Pennsylvania state labor board ruling a strike has been postponed 60 days for "fact finding," putting it back to the end of August when the teachers' contract also expires.

There is no escaping the confrontation with Rendell.



Bryant/Philadelphia Tribune
Philly workers chant "Down with Rendell!" outside Democratic Party mayor's convention hotel.

As Philadelphia district attorney in 1985, Rendell prepared the arrest warrants against the MOVE organization and was among the officials who planned the murderous assault on their Osage Avenue home. He ran for mayor on a "get the unions" program. During the recent strike of Hospital Workers Local 1199C, an AFSCME affiliate representing private hospital workers, Rendell's cops arrested almost 200 strikers. Philly unions are up against a certified anti-labor Democrat.

But the AFSCME tops are loyal to their capitalist phony "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. The International endorsed right-to-work Arkansas governor Clinton early on; he repaid the favor by kicking them in the teeth at the AFSCME convention, vowing to slash hundreds of thousands of jobs! These bureaucrats will bury labor struggle to keep things quiet for Clinton. Philly workers badly need a class-struggle workers party that will fight to win!

Compromised "Victory" in Summit Hospital Strike

OAKLAND, California—The six-week strike of 1,700 workers against the Summit hospital administration ended this week when management accepted a federal mediator's proposal which had been endorsed by the five striking unions. The hospital bosses had clearly miscalculated in provoking the strike, which began May 26 when the hospital dug in over the unions' demands that they have common contract expiration dates and be able to honor each other's picket lines in future disputes.

The new contract approved by the workers incorporates this basic union right. With Summit's losses running at \$1 million a week and many outpatients refusing to cross picket lines, scabberding hospital director Ken Jones was faced with mounting pressure from community politicians and groups who feared the loss of black Oakland's only remaining private hospital. "This is union power," chanted 200 strikers when they heard

the news. But in a dangerous capitulation, the union tops gave up on common contract expiration dates, inviting the hospital to play one union against the other. Hospital workers need a single union, from technicians to food service workers to nurses!

The much-ballyhooed deal also tacks dangerous restrictions onto the right to strike, writing into the contract an elaborate procedure for compulsory federal government intervention before any strike is allowed. As five union officers (representing the Nurses Association, Service Employees, Office and Professional, Hotel and Restaurant and the ILWU) admitted in a July letter to the hospital urging acceptance of the mediator's scheme, the unions made a "major concession" by agreeing to "roadblocks that do not exist in any other Bay Area hospital before a union can strike."

These include "mandatory intervention" by federal mediators 60 days before a "dispute," a month-long "board of inquiry" and ten days' notice before striking. The deal would "retain our fundamental right to respect each other's picket lines," the officials note, but they add, "be assured that right is rarely used." Unfortunately they are all too sincere in this assurance, as the last decade of union defeats from PATCO to Greyhound can testify. The sellout labor bureaucracy "preserves" the right to strike by...making sure it isn't used.

It's necessary to restate an elementary Marxist proposition, learned through bitter class struggle: the state is not a "friend of labor" but the executive committee of the capitalist class. Railroad unions had this fact shoved in their faces last month when Bush and Congress quickly passed a bipartisan back-to-work order at the behest of the railroad companies. James P. Cannon, leader of the American Trotskyists who led the Minneapolis general strike of 1934, explained the role of government "mediation":

"A favorite trick of the confidence men known as federal mediators in those days was to assemble green strike leaders in a room, play upon their vanity and induce them to commit themselves to some kind of compromise which they were not authorized to make. The federal mediators would convince the strike leaders that they were 'big shots' who must take a 'responsible' attitude.... We despised them and all their wily artifices and tricks, and their hypocritical pretenses of good fellowship and friendship for the strikers. They were nothing but the agents of the government in Washington, which in turn is the agent of the employing class as a whole."

—The History of American Trotskyism [1944]

In contrast, said Cannon, "in Minneapolis the militancy of the rank and file was not restrained but organized and directed from the top."

This class-struggle approach contrasts with the strategy of the union officials at Summit. Instead of calling all labor out to build mass picket lines to stop the scabs, the bureaucrats went scurrying to every imaginable politician from Jesse Jackson to Oakland mayor Elihu Harris. Picket lines were left to languish as the union tops started winding up the weak-kneed consumer boycott campaign which has become the hallmark of every strike the labor traitors have knifed in the back, from Hormel to Greyhound. Fortunately the hospital administration suffered a collapse of will.

Labor tops like Owen Marron, head of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, boast "this is the greatest union victory in the Bay Area in decades." Maybe it compares favorably to the string of defeats engineered by these windbags in recent years. What's needed to win strikes, particularly in weak service sectors like hospitals, is the mobilization of raw labor power by a new class-struggle leadership with a program and the determination to wield it against the bosses and their government. ■

Summit Hospital workers faced down bosses, but union bureaucrats trapped membership in web of federal "mediation." Right: Jesse Jackson pushes prayer vigils and Democratic Party.



Electoral Apartheid in NYC

Back in the early 1800s, Governor Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, seeking to give his party the most favorable voting block possible, redrew the boundaries for Essex County in the shape of a salamander. The term coined for this creative sport was "gerrymandering," and it retains its popularity today. Federal courts, basing themselves on the 1990 census, have been ordering legislatures across the U.S. to redraw Congressional districts—supposedly to bring them in line with their ethnic and racial compositions. The 1990 census systematically and massively undercounted minorities and the poor, to the tune of several million people, even refusing to use Spanish-language forms! Elbridge Gerry would have been amazed at the results: the 1992 version of gerrymandering can only be termed electoral apartheid.

A prime example is New York City, where the redistricting mandated by the Federal Voting Rights Act has brought forth a couple of truly bizarre creations designed to produce a Jewish district (the 8th) and a Hispanic one (the 12th). The 8th includes the West Side of Manhattan, then jumps the East River heading south along the Brooklyn docks, shooting inland along a corridor barely one street wide to pick up Borough Park, and then down Ocean Parkway to "Little Odessa" on Brighton Beach and Coney Island. With the heaviest concentration of votes on the Upper West Side, home of the popular front and an assortment of causes, this seems a safe seat for liberal Manhattan Congressman Ted Weiss.

But at its very southern tip, the Eighth

includes the home of Congressman Stephen Solarz, the unofficial spokesman of the Israel lobby on Capitol Hill. Solarz, a Democratic super Cold Warrior, previously relied on a base among Orthodox Jews in Brooklyn, but most of them were assigned to another district to provide a safe seat for Charles Schumer. Left high and dry without a district, but with a fat \$2 million campaign war chest, the largest of any incumbent in Congress, Solarz decided he would run in the 12th. This triborough hydra takes in Loisaída (the Lower East Side) in Manhattan and Los Sures (Williamsburg) in Brooklyn, both heavily Puerto Rican, along with Jackson Heights and Corona in Queens, with their big South American and Central American population.

These grotesquely shaped districts, which look like a psychologist's ink-blot test, are a deliberate attempt by the Republican legislature to torpedo white liberals while exacerbating racial tensions among Hispanics, blacks and Jews. A similar process is taking place nationwide. In California, the *Los Angeles Times* (26 August 1991) commented: "The emerging Republican strategy works this way: Ethnic minority groups want their voting power concentrated in districts that will allow them to elect representatives of their choice. If they succeed, adjacent districts would have fewer minority voters—reducing the potential for Democratic victories."

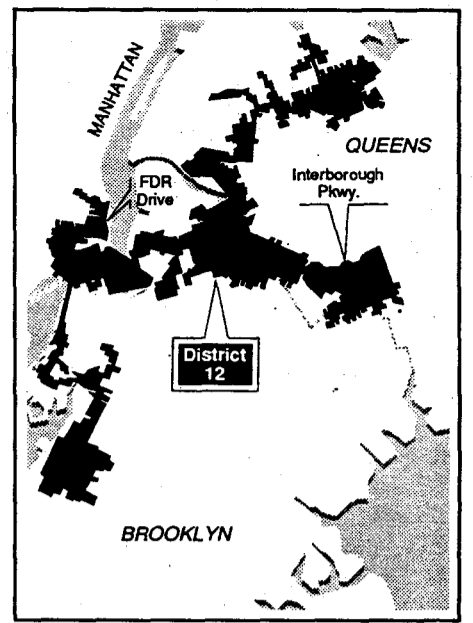
All the vagaries of racial politics collide in the squabbling over these district lines. While Hispanics are the largest group in New York's 12th, many are "illegals," so that professionals calculate

it takes 65 percent Hispanic population to guarantee a Hispanic seat. So with Solarz hornoring in, more than 300 Latino delegates at the Democratic National Convention caucused to claim the 12th District as "theirs." Hispanic politicians in New York favored a federal plan that would have given the growing Hispanic population three districts from the redistricting, while black incumbents favored the state legislature's plan which gave them more safe seats.

Under the guise of "representative" voting, reactionary sections of the ruling class are setting the stage for an anti-Semitic backlash and black-Hispanic clashes over election spoils. The electoral apartheid being engineered from the 12th District in New York to school districts in L.A. adds another catalyst to the explosive mix of racial and class oppression that leads to race riots.

Despite some gains over the years at integrating the workplace and schools, there is severe segregation in housing. In 1991, the largest study of housing discrimination ever completed for the federal government showed that NYC was the worst of 25 major metropolitan areas in housing discrimination against blacks and Hispanics. In the outer boroughs it's done by real estate agents "red-lining" minorities. And in the Public Housing Authority discrimination against minorities was official policy—for years, tens of thousands of blacks and Hispanics were kept out of mostly white public housing developments by quotas.

This is the racist system in which Democratic politicians do their wheeling and dealing. Dennis Rivera, head of the



Newsday Map

Choose one: This is (a) the trajectory of the bullet(s) that killed JFK; (b) a degenerated Mandelbrot fractal; (c) the 12th Congressional District.

overwhelmingly black and Hispanic 1199 hospital workers union and vice president of the New York State Democratic Party, is busy trying to be the kingmaker for the 12th District. Rivera provided key manpower and financial backing to elect black "Democratic (Party) Socialist" David Dinkins mayor in 1989. Since then, Dinkins has presided over the gutting of city social programs and attacked city workers unions.

Rivera and his fellow labor lieutenants of capital continue to tie minorities and the working class to the capitalist Democratic Party, while setting different sectors of the oppressed against each other. We fight to unite the working class in a common class struggle against the bourgeoisie's divide-and-rule schemes. ■

Democrats...

(continued from page 1)

time. Jackson called for turning "pain into partnership," and plugged his Rainbow Coalition's trillion-dollar "Rebuild America Plan," designed by investment banker Felix Rohatyn and to be paid for by looting pension funds (as Rohatyn did with NYC in the '70s). "We should use the workers' money," said Jackson. Teddy Kennedy delivered a eulogy to Bobby. And New York governor Mario Cuomo was brought on to denounce "the politics of decline, decay and deception" and nominate his old foe Clinton. "Tonight they said goodbye to liberalism," commented ABC.

Clinton mounted the podium to deliver a scripture-studded acceptance speech. He stole the "New Covenant" from the New Testament. In a long-winded peroration dripping with "family values," he paused to highlight the Democratic platform's plank against "dead-beat parents" by threatening to "force" fathers to "take responsibility" (i.e., pay "child support" to the state!). He paused again to emphasize that while he's "pro-choice," "Hear me now: I am not pro-abortion." While he didn't equal Perot's performance at the NAACP convention and say "you people," Clinton did manage to speak for 54 minutes about America without once mentioning the word "black" or "African American."

On foreign policy, perhaps harking back to JFK, who campaigned against Nixon for being soft on Castro (and thereby set the stage for the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Cuban missile crisis that nearly blew up the world), Clinton went after Bush for being insufficiently pro-Israel. His running mate Gore was so anti-Palestinian in his '88 run that he was dubbed "the Senator from Likud." Gore is also a certified Cold Warrior, supporter of the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, and the two of them were early supporters of Bush's "Desert Slaughter" against Iraq. Appealing to labor on the

basis of poisonous protectionism, Clinton rang the gong of jingoism, calling on American corporations to produce American jobs.

Looking for the "women's vote," the Democrats had lots of window-dressing at the convention. Texas governor Ann Richards and ex-Representative Barbara Jordan gave high-profile speeches. To demonstrate "family values" (and soften Hillary Clinton's image as the "yuppie wife from hell"), the Democratic PR persons released what was purported to be Mrs. Clinton's recipe for chocolate chip cookies (using nutritionally correct vegetable shortening, rather than Barbara Bush's butter recipe). Gore's wife "Tipper" gained her own notoriety for launching the Parents Music Resource Center, which seeks censorship of music and television for "violence" and "sex." She's also the author of *Raising PG Kids in an X-Rated Society*.

Above all, Clinton posed himself as the champion of the "forgotten middle class," and his whole campaign has been to replicate the Republicans' "Southern strategy." Not surprisingly, the Democrats' "double bubba" campaign platform sounds very much like the Republicans'. Vowing to "break the stranglehold" of "special interests," code words for blacks and labor, Clinton is pitching to reclaim the so-called "Reagan Democrats." And when the right-wing corporatist technocrat Perot pulled out of the race hours before Clinton's acceptance speech (crediting a "revitalized Democratic Party"), Clinton made a special appeal to Perot's "army of patriots for change."

So the biggest news item wasn't what happened in Manhattan, but rather a hastily called press conference in Dallas announcing the withdrawal of Perot. We wrote earlier of this "would-be 'man on a white horse,'" that "If he did get a lot of votes, 'responsible' sectors of the ruling class would find myriad ways to seek to pull the plug on this quirky fast-buck artist" ("The Sinister Ross Perot," *WV* No. 553, 12 June). So when his campaign

manager borrowed from the Republicans (he ran Reagan's campaign in 1984) resigns, complaining that Perot wasn't spending enough money, and a "senior advisor" opines that this Simon Legree wasn't prepared for how "dirty" the campaign would be, you had to wonder: what did Bush and his pals at the CIA have on Perot?

Long ago, Clinton summed up his campaign: "If we lead with class warfare, we lose"—as if the Democrats ever were for class struggle. From the time of Franklin Roosevelt, this historic "people's party of American capitalism," has posed as the party of the "little guy," the "friend of labor," in order to tie the working class and minorities to their exploiters. Now, after 12 years of Reaganism,

Clinton is saying that there will be no more populist appeals, such as the occasional "soak the rich" calls for higher capital gains taxes, to cover the Democrats' votes for the Bush-Reagan "soak the poor" slashing of social programs. AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland was closer when he complained a few years ago that the corporations were waging "one-sided class war" on working people. But whose fault is it that this war is "one-sided"?

Today the Democrats seem intent on showing that there is about a nickel's worth of difference between the partner parties of capital. With a "soft cop-hard cop" division of labor with the Republicans, one emphasizing the "carrot" of

continued on page 8

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In Defense of Dick Fraser

In a recent column by Clara Fraser, dizzily titled "Thelma and Louise 'R' Us" (*Freedom Socialist*, May-July 1992), the guru of the Seattle-based "socialist-feminist" group seeks to refurbish her woman-warrior credentials by digging up yet again her decades-old 1967 divorce. Fraser, who appears to have based her entire political career on her divorce, writes, "Because I labeled his behavior as political treachery, my ex became a martyred hero to most of the Left." After she got through with her "then-husband," Clara Fraser would have us believe, "that well-known leader was not a leader much longer."

Well, a lot of people did feel sorry for Dick Fraser over the divorce proceeding. After all, who among us would really want to have endless documents written about our own experiences in this everyday, yet ever painful, process? But the larger truth Clara Fraser is still trying to bury is that Richard Fraser was a well-known leader of the socialist movement before Clara Fraser, and his

powerful contributions will be remembered long after.

Dick Fraser's original contribution to Marxist thought in this country, his theory of revolutionary integrationism, took on the central question of the American revolution, the struggle for black liberation. As we stated in our 1988 obituary statement: "Comrade Fraser was not only a cherished friend but a theoretical mentor of the Spartacist League.... Dick Fraser was a co-reporter on the black question at our founding conference in 1966." A senior leader of the Spartacist League noted, "We've had our differences, but when he drifted back into our orbit again he was readily received, deeply respected and seriously listened to." After his death in late 1988, a memorial meeting we organized in Los Angeles brought out scores of people, including many veterans of the socialist and Trotskyist movement.

The Freedom Socialist Party National Committee sent a statement at the time, noting "[Dick] Fraser's profound Marx-

ist analysis in Revolutionary Integration is destined to become one of the most powerful weapons in the arsenal of U.S. radicals.... The FSP parted ways with Dick in a serious, bitter and well-known struggle over women's rights. Still, we pay respect to him today for his positive contributions to the movement as writer, speaker, teacher, historian and leader who never relinquished his socialist goal." Myra Tanner Weiss, a former longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, and Dorothy Ray Healey of the Democratic Socialists of America, also sent commemorative statements.

In her recent column, Clara Fraser opines, "It is time for gender mau-mauism. Time for women guerrillas, 20th-century Amazons, mad shrieks of protest." Somehow we feel we aren't alone in disputing this ridiculous statement, and in insisting that the record be kept straight. Rehashing old history may be one of the few pleasures of getting older, but willfully rewriting it is another matter. It seems Clara Fraser's been



The Fraser Family

Dick Fraser, veteran Trotskyist.

watching so many Hollywood movies lately she can't tell fact from fiction. She seems to equate world history, Mike Tyson and her ex.

We're really not interested in getting into a shooting match with Ms. Seattle Six-Gun. But really, "Thelma and Louise 'R' Us"? In your dreams, Clara. ■

Democrats...

(continued from page 7)

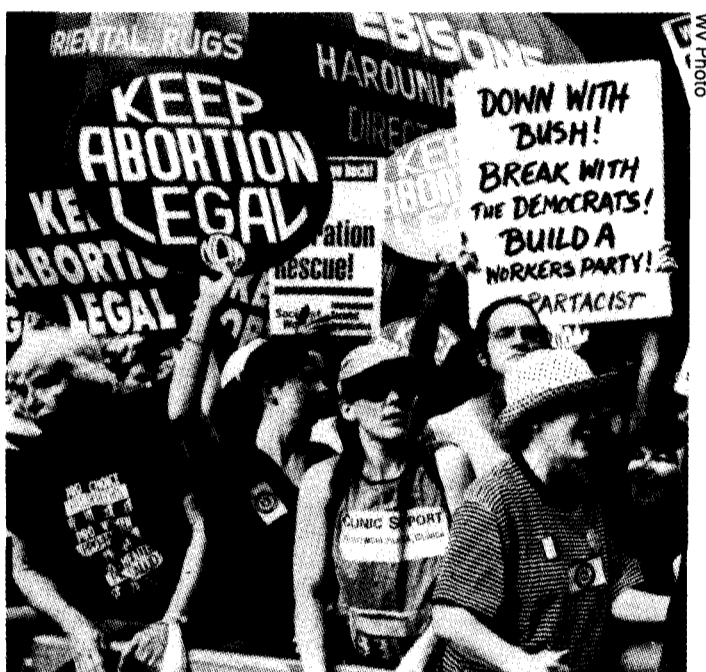
programs to buy off mass discontent by bribing a layer of "leaders," the other openly wielding the "stick" of repression, the "two-party system" puts a "democratic" façade on the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. What the working people, black and Hispanic poor urgently need is a multiracial workers party with the internationalist program to sweep away this racist capitalist system that spells misery for the millions of exploited and oppressed.

Social Explosion in Washington Heights

While stars-and-stripes bunting was being draped across Midtown Manhattan, residents of the Upper West Side were waving the red, white and blue Dominican flag in angry protests over the cop killings of José García and Dagoberto Pichardo. Washington Heights was already inflamed over years of police brutality organized out of the 34th Precinct, presently under federal investigation for "corruption" (read: drug dealing), which acts like an occupying army in the heavily Hispanic area. Patrol cars were burned and an effigy of a cop torched, but what really set the thugs in blue swinging was when demonstrators tried to block off the George Washington Bridge. Were the racist cops worried about getting out of the Manhattan war zone to their leafy suburban homes in lily-white Rockland County in time for dinner?

While the cops' protection outfit, the PBA, was denouncing Mayor Dinkins for expressing concern for García's family, the *New York Times* (9 July) chimed in with a disgusting racist editorial, "It's Not the Rodney King Case," denigrating the victim's Dominican hometown of San Francisco de Macoris as a haven for drug dealers: "Drug money from Washington Heights has transformed the farm town of San Francisco de Macoris into a mini-Beverly Hills, filled with Mercedes Benzes, discos and satellite TV dishes." Of the victim, the *Times* comments: "He, too, came from San Francisco de Macoris. He was shot in a building on West 162nd Street, in the heart of the drug bazaar." So, the editorial haughtily implies, José García presumably deserved what he got—a bullet in the back and another from a gun barrel held to his stomach!

The *Times* (8 July) reported that "the Police Department's Internal Affairs Di-



Abortion rights defenders outside Manhattan clinic which had been targeted by Operation Rescue during Democratic convention.

vision had been aware for more than a year of allegations that Officer O'Keefe had stolen drugs and money from drug dealers in Washington Heights." O'Keefe is no aberration. It's only a matter of time until another trigger-happy cop guns down another unarmed black or Latino in the hellish, impoverished inner city. The war on drugs is a war on blacks and Hispanics trapped in the ghettos and barrios without jobs or even hope for a job. "Kiko" García peddled clothing on the sidewalks and lived in a one-bedroom apartment with his mother and family. His life was worthless to the killer cops of the 34th Precinct who are the armed fist of the state—paid thugs

to terrorize and beat into submission the victims of capitalist oppression.

While Bush has been talking about prosperity just around the corner, official unemployment around the country increased to 7.8 percent in June. In New York State, the jobless rate shot up to 9.2 percent, one of the highest in the country, and in New York City it was already 11.5 percent in May. Teenage unemployment in the city was 29.8 percent during the first quarter of 1992, and close to 50 percent for black and Hispanic youth. NYC has lost 142,000 jobs in the last year alone, but that only begins to plumb the depths of the economic devastation. The most startling

statistic recently was that for New York City youth between ages 16 and 19, only 12.6 percent, *one in eight*, has a job! This is compared to 37 percent nationally. Compared to 1980, today in NYC three times as many people are in jail, three times as many families are homeless, and over the last decade 26,000 New Yorkers died of AIDS. This is the morphology of a dying system.

The crisis of NYC reflects the crisis of American capitalism itself. The crumbling infrastructure, the segregation and police occupation of minority neighborhoods, the unemployment and hopelessness of the down and out who live on the mean streets of New York is obvious to all, despite the attempts to paint the Big Apple red for the Democrats. To make life livable for the workers and minority poor will indeed require *class war*, a war against the banks who suck hundreds of millions of dollars in "interest income" off this city alone; a war against the capitalists who have been shutting down industry en masse to flee to low-wage, non-union havens where they can raise the rate of exploitation (and their profits); a war against the capitalist politicians, Democratic and Republican, white and black, who carry out the bourgeoisie's dirty work, turning the cities into wastelands of human degradation.

Break with the Democrats! We need a workers party that acts as a tribune of the people, championing the cause of the oppressed, a vanguard party that acts as the general staff to wage the class war through to victory of the socialist revolution. ■

Prometheus Research Series

A memorial to comrade Richard S. Fraser (1913-1988), who pioneered the Trotskyist understanding of the black question in the United States.

After joining the Trotskyist movement in 1934, Fraser was an organizer and union activist for close to 30 years and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee for 25 years. During internal debates in the SWP in the 1950s he developed and fought for the programmatic perspective of Revolutionary Integration, while the majority, with George Breitman as its spokesman, tailed the liberal pacifist/Democratic Party leadership of the civil rights movement and soon capitulated to black nationalism.

The bulletin contains material reflecting the entire span of Fraser's political life, including his seminal 1953 lectures, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution."

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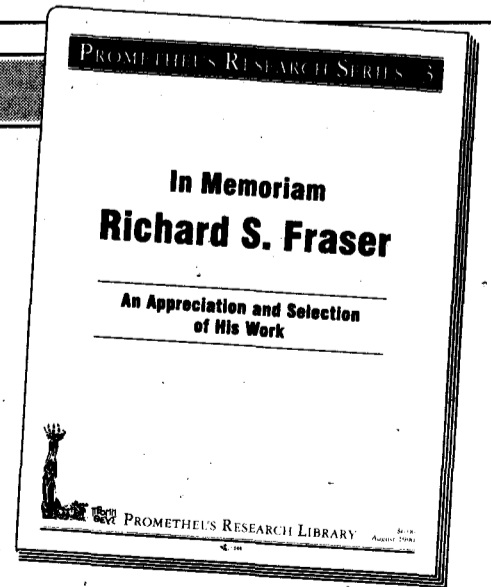
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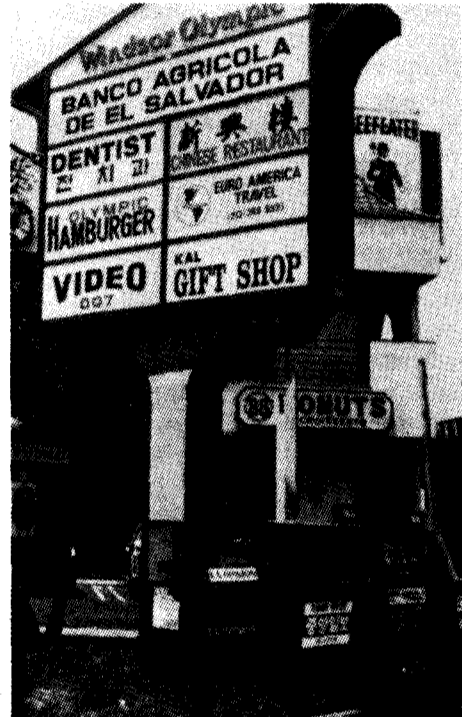
Los Angeles...

(continued from page 12)

Chavez Ravine, which like Bunker Hill had been one of the proposed sites to build public housing, were driven out of their homes to pave the way for Dodger Stadium.

Meanwhile blacks and other minorities were prevented from moving to other neighborhoods by Jim Crow housing legislation and deed restrictions providing for the "exclusion of all non-Caucasians from occupancy, except as domestic servants." Sometimes non-Christians were banned as well. In 1964, when the civil rights movement was protesting against Jim Crow segregation in the Deep South, Proposition 14, which voided California's "fair housing laws," was passed. Nine months later Watts exploded.

The liberal pacifism and legalism of the civil rights movement had no answer to the oppression of blacks outside the South who had formal "legal" equality but, as in Watts, were brutally terrorized by racist cops, segregated in impoverished ghettos ridden with unemployment and despair. Black oppression is rooted deep in the social and economic structure of American capitalism and can only be



Robert Morrow

Multi-ethnic Los Angeles. More than 80 languages are spoken by school children in L.A.

solved through a thoroughgoing socialist revolution. The young black militants who broke with King's cringing pacifism to embrace the slogan of "black power" represented the best of a generation. But they never found the bridge to the program of a revolutionary integrated struggle for workers power.

Aftermath of Watts

The L.A. rulers used the Watts riot to whip up a white racist "law and order" frenzy. LAPD chief Parker took to the airwaves to warn: "It is estimated that by 1970, 45 percent of the metropolitan area of Los Angeles will be Negro. If you want any protection for your home and family...you're going to have to get in and support a strong police department. If you don't, come 1970, God help you." This was echoed by the McCone Commission, headed by ex-CIA chief John McCone, in its "investigation" of the Watts upheaval. The Commission's report predicted "that by 1990 the core of the Central City of Los Angeles will be inhabited almost exclusively by more than 1,200,000 Negroes."

The Watts rebellion and the racist alarmism of the McCone Commission spurred the creation of the "Committee of 25," representing the interests of the biggest Downtown L.A. corporations. As Mike Davis puts it in his essay "Chinatown, Revisited?" (*Sex, Death and God in L.A.*) the Committee of 25



Der Spiegel

Thousands of black and Hispanic youth and working people were rounded up in racist police dragnet after L.A. exploded in outrage.

"was the closest thing to an 'executive committee of the bourgeoisie' that Southern California had seen since the class wars of the 1930s." Although opposed to black Democrat Tom Bradley when he ran for mayor, they came to see in this ex-cop the man they needed for the job of redeveloping L.A.'s Downtown as a fortress against the hideously oppressed minorities that surrounded it.

Bradley's 1969 mayoral campaign had been backed by more farsighted sections of the bourgeoisie, particularly represented by Westside Jewish liberals. They recognized the need to have a black mayor to keep the lid on. Although defeated in that bid by fellow Democrat and racist populist demagogue Sam Yorty, in 1973 Bradley was elected with the money and enthusiastic backing of the Westside establishment and the *Times*, and the votes of the city's black population. Various rad-libs and reformists, with the Stalinists of the Communist Party in the lead, hailed Bradley's election as a victory of a great "progressive coalition." But as we wrote at the time:

"The ruling class didn't have to fear that Bradley's election might lead to the frustration of 'rising expectations' (the usual bourgeois explanation of ghetto rebellions); Bradley gave oppressed blacks nothing to expect. The rulers understand that, in addition to maintaining a facade of representative democracy, a moderate black politician obedient to the dictates of finance capital can often be an effective vehicle for containing and channeling the militancy of labor and oppressed minorities."

—WV No. 26, 3 August 1973

An ex-LAPD lieutenant who campaigned in his uniform and openly appealed to the forces of "law and order," Bradley paid back his minority constituents with even more poverty and deprivation. While programs for the poor received nothing from the city's revenues, his administration gave developers massive tax breaks for the "renewal" of Downtown and other real estate speculation which earned them vast fortunes.

Even the miserable federal and county aid for social programs was overwhelmingly diverted to redevelopment. As one black resident of South-Central commented bitterly during the 1992 upheaval, "Having a black mayor didn't make any difference. Everything was the same. If it had been a white mayor, it would have been the same."

Capital of the Third World

By 1990 the Downtown citadel, whose development had been spurred by the racist alarmism of the LAPD and the McCone Commission, was surrounded not by blacks but by a "second city" of over one million impoverished Spanish-speaking immigrants. At the time of the Watts rebellion, the population of greater L.A. was 85 percent white; by the time of the 1990 census it was 40 percent Hispanic, 37 percent white, 13 percent black and 10 percent Asian. As an article in the *Village Voice* (9 June), entitled "The First Multicultural Riots," noted:

"After the 1965 Watts riot, politicians made pious promises to improve conditions in the inner cities.... Instead, whites moved wholesale to the western part of the city or plowed over desert land in all directions to build new, homogeneous (read: lily-white) suburban communities. The new suburbs are self-incorporated and have rules to keep 'undesirables' from moving in.

"That left the city to the terribly poor and the terribly rich, who built up walls, set up sophisticated electronic surveillance systems, and hired private police to protect them. Los Angeles reemerged just a scant 10 years later as an even more segregated city of isolated communities."

An article in the *New York Times* (28 June) noted that this election year the most common sign on the front lawns of Hollywood Democrats, who were the main force behind the election of Bradley in 1973, wasn't "Vote for Clinton" but "Armed Response."

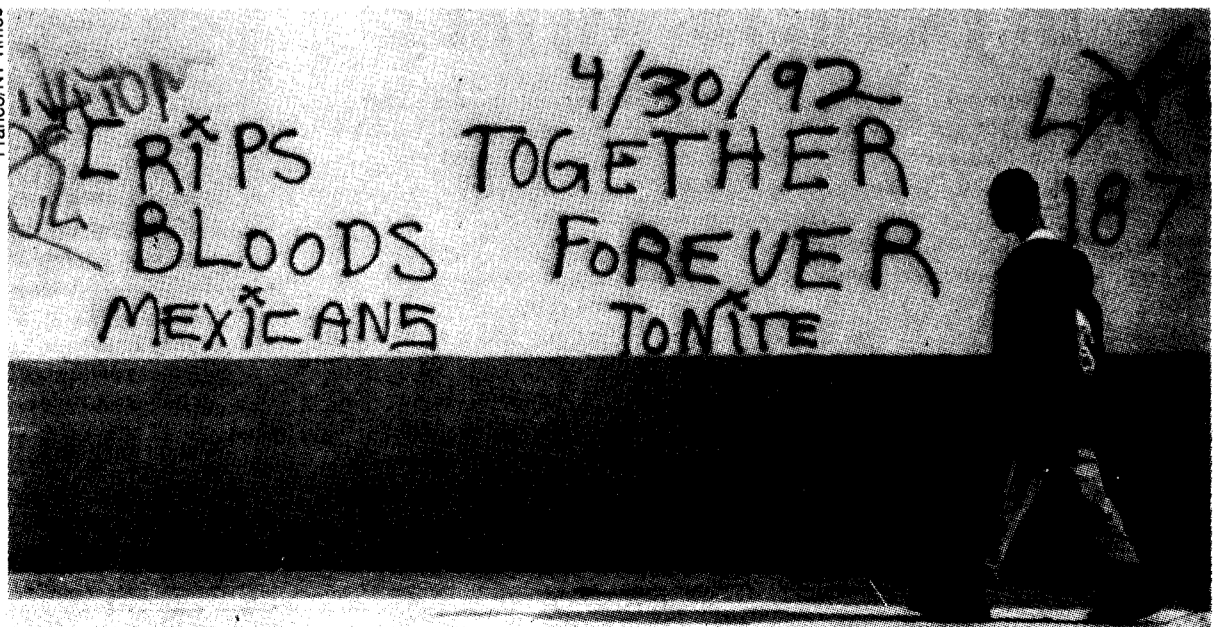
Today in Watts and South-Central L.A. the population is more than half Latino. One demographic researcher commented, "If you take the past 27

years, I would challenge you to find any other place of equal poverty that has experienced such dramatic economic and demographic change" (*New York Times*, 15 May). While the city's aerospace industry was a big recipient of the Cold War II military buildup against the Soviet Union, its population was also swelled by desperate refugees from death squad terror and murder in Central America—the front line of the "war against Communism" in America's backyard. Some 300,000 Salvadorans—close to 10 percent of the entire population of that country—sought refuge in Los Angeles.

While there are long-established Mexican communities such as East L.A., over the last decade the neighborhoods of Pico-Union, Koreatown and the vast South-Central district have filled up with Central Americans and Mexicans, many of whom paid coyote smugglers their last savings to bring them across the border to *El Norte*. Yet once arrived in the "land of opportunity," they found their opportunities severely limited. The poverty rate in Watts is three times the national average and higher than 1965. If statistics show the median household income has risen slightly, it's only because many immigrant families are crammed in two and three to a house, and impoverished "illegals" don't answer the knock of the census taker. The looting during the recent explosion in South-Central was more like the 1989 hunger riots in Caracas than what the bourgeoisie calls a "race riot."

An example of that was the June 1943 "Zoot Suit" riot in Los Angeles. For a week, war-drunk sailors and soldiers went on a racist rampage against young Mexicans (and blacks) in downtown L.A., while the LAPD regularly arrested natty dressed minority youth. Mobs brandishing clubs careened through Chavez Ravine and other barrios. They had intended to continue through the black district, but as Carey McWilliams notes

continued on page 10



Franco/NY Times

LAPD nightmare: gang truce in the wake of L.A. riots.

Los Angeles...

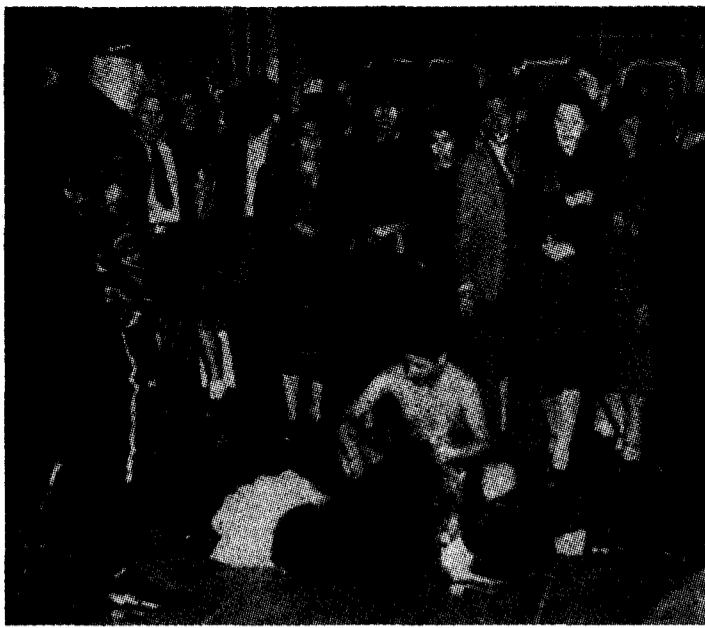
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in *North From Mexico* (1948), "Learning that the Negroes planned a warm reception for them, the mobsters turned back." The lynchings had been whipped up by the Hearst press, which following their vicious campaign to lock up Japanese Americans in concentration camps then made Mexicans the next target of their xenophobia. As shown in Luis Valdez' movie *Zoot Suit*, sensationalist coverage of the "Sleepy Lagoon murder" case was wielded to whip up hatred of "pachucos" (gang members).

During and after the war, Mexican labor was brought in under the *bracero* program, and then expelled in 1954 in "Operation Wetback." In recent years immigration has swelled as a result of the U.S.-engineered Mexican "debt crisis" which has sent living standards plummeting. Today Los Angeles has the second-largest Mexican population after Mexico City. Desperate Latino and Asian undocumented workers supply the superexploited labor for the garment, furniture and plastics sweatshops that now occupy the sites of the former rubber, steel and auto plants. With the destruction of manufacturing in L.A. during the 1970s and '80s, blacks in South-Central were mostly driven out of unionized jobs. In Vernon, the industrial heartland of Southeast L.A., 80 percent of the workforce in the garment industry is undocumented and all work for minimum wage.

As David Rieff commented in his book *Los Angeles: Capital of the Third World*:

"For all L.A.'s tradition as an anti-union town, nothing quite like it had been seen



1943 "Zoot Suit" riots were a racist pogrom by L.A. cops and club-wielding U.S. sailors against Mexicans and blacks.

in the city, or anywhere else in the United States, since the rise of the trade union movement more than a century earlier. This was the employer-employee relationship as the late nineteenth-century plutocrats envisaged it in their most extravagant moments, a throwback to the last American gilded age...when Jay Gould boasted that he could buy one half of the American working class to kill the other half."

While they pointed to the mass immigration to Los Angeles over the past decade as a symbol of the city's "vitality," the wage-gouging sweatshop bosses and parasitical speculator "developers" who run L.A. have counted on playing the vast, multi-ethnic minority populations off against each other.

Asians were upheld as the "model minority." The entrepreneurial skills of

Korean and other Asian small shopkeepers were pointed to as the guarantee of L.A.'s prosperity as the "capital of the Pacific Rim." Beginning in 1970, immigration from South Korea took off. In the past decade the Korean population of Los Angeles County has more than doubled, from 60,000 in 1980 to 145,000 in 1990. Most were urban, educated professionals who saw little opportunity in South Korea. Although they arrived with some personal savings, most "got ahead" by having their whole families work 16 hours a day in the small retail businesses they ran in south L.A.

Rising resentment against Korean shopkeepers—crystallized by the 1991 murder of black teenager Latasha Harlins by a Korean store owner, and inflamed by black nationalist demagogues who aspire to be the exploiters of "their" ghetto market—was brought home in blood and fire during the recent upheaval. Conspicuously staying out of the area during the early hours as South-Central burned, the cops clearly wanted to inflame interracial hostility and violence, particularly between blacks and Asians. Meanwhile, most Asian immigrants are among the miserably exploited, who are a sizable proportion of the sweatshop labor.

Employers have used undocumented Hispanic workers as a battering ram against the few jobs that blacks had held onto. For example, in the early 1980s an SEIU local of black janitors who cleaned downtown high-rises was smashed and replaced with non-union, minimum-wage immigrant labor. And while the bosses brutally exploit desperate "illegal aliens," holding the threat of deportation over their heads, they fan the flames of racist reaction against Hispanics and Asians with anti-immigration hysteria and virulent Japanese-bashing. Now black nationalists and businessmen are demanding that Hispanic workers be driven out of jobs in the reconstruction sites.

Within the logic of capitalism, the smaller the pie, the more brutal the struggle for a piece of it. And as decaying capitalism's pie shrinks rapidly, the struggle is the fiercest among those for whom society makes it hardest to survive. For the racist rulers, pitting the oppressed and exploited against each other is an essential prop to maintain their increasingly decrepit system of raw exploitation. That is why they were so shaken by the *multiracial* character of the upheaval that erupted in L.A. following the acquittal of the racist cops who savagely beat Rodney King. They are haunted by the spectre of integrated class struggle.

For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!

In the aftermath of the L.A. upheaval, an article by Mike Davis in the *Los Angeles Times* (15 May), titled "To Restore Hope to Lost Generation, Talk to the Gangs," and a column by radical jour-

nalist Alexander Cockburn (*San Francisco Examiner*, 20 May) recommended a program put forward by the Crips and the Bloods under the slogan "Give Us the Hammer and the Nails, We Will Rebuild the City." The two formerly warring gangs offer to eliminate drug dealing and gang warfare in return for \$3.7 million in schools, hospitals and other social and reconstruction programs in South-Central. In exchange for the money, the Crips and the Bloods offer themselves as part of a new force to police the area.

Davis argues, "Like the 1965 Watts riot, this conflict has united warring gangs around a vision of black power and community self-determination." Following the recent L.A. conflagration, gang members have appeared on many TV talk shows where they have been quite articulate in expressing the poverty and degradation that is everyday life for blacks in South-Central—contradicting the image of drug-deranged, inhuman outlaws portrayed by the bourgeois media and the LAPD. But the Crips and the Bloods are a far cry from the former gang members of the '60s, like "Bunchy" Carter and Jon Huggins, who in the aftermath of Watts founded the L.A. branch of the Black Panther Party.

The Panthers expressed a gut-level hatred for the whole system of racist, capitalist "Amerikkka," and they were met with the full force of the state. As opposed to the black cultural nationalists who pimped off the "war on poverty" programs of the '60s, the Panthers initially fought to remain independent of the bourgeois establishment. In contrast, the Crips and the Bloods are quite conscious that what they want for themselves is to cash in on the L.A. riots. Recently, the two gangs announced the formation of their own new non-profit corporation, whose main trade will be selling gang truce T-shirts. As the secretary of the new Crips-Bloods organization, Hands Across Watts, put it: "It's straight economics. I make money off of you, you make money off of me. It's either join the system or get rolled over by it. That's the American way" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 July).

Davis himself notes in an article in *The Nation* (1 June), "The only national leader whom most Crips and Bloods seem to take seriously is Louis Farrakhan, and his goal of black economic self-determination is broadly embraced.... At the Inglewood gang summit, which took place on May 5, there were repeated references to a renaissance of black capitalism out of the ashes of Korean businesses. 'After all,' an ex-Crip told me later, 'we didn't burn our community, just their stores.'" Louis Farrakhan—the man who wanted Malcolm X dead and who praised Adolf Hitler as a "great man"—carries the ideology of black nationalism to its most reactionary conclusions. This has gained



PDC spokesman Benito Montgomery addresses rally of striking drywall workers in Santa Ana, California.

¡Viva la Huelga! No Deportations!

Victory to the California Drywallers Strike!

SANTA ANA, California, July 14—Five hundred striking construction workers, their families and supporters rallied at the courthouse here today against cop strikebreaking. The drywall workers, overwhelmingly Mexican immigrants, are fighting for union recognition and justice for their jailed *compañeros*, 49 of whom are being held by the INS at the Terminal Island detention center under threat of deportation.

The hated *migra* immigration cops are on a binge of union-busting deportations from the Bay Area to the Mexican border. The drywallers were seized by the INS following the mass arrest of 153 strikers by Orange County sheriffs in Mission Viejo on July 2.

Misdemeanor trespassing charges are still pending against 111 workers, who were originally charged with "kidnapping" for convincing a few scabs to go home!

A spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee addressed the rally, calling for solidarity action by Los Angeles-area labor: "The unity and determination you have shown must serve as a call to the integrated labor movement—longshore, aerospace, Teamsters, hotel/restaurant and janitors who are here today—to come out and fight shoulder to shoulder to defeat *migra* union-busting."

Free all the strikers! Drop the charges! No deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! ■

broader currency today, as in the L.A. movie *Boyz n the Hood*, which compares the hero to Farrakhan and is infused with his "black capitalist" message.

From Booker T. Washington on, sections of the black petty bourgeoisie have had aspirations to be the exploiters of "their own" people. Farrakhan is a sinister demagogue whose "empowerment" rhetoric and program match that of the Reaganite right, from black businesses to "anti-drug" repression. He also sneers that "women, gays, lesbians and Jews have taken advantage of civil rights laws, antidiscrimination laws, housing laws," and looks back with nostalgia to segregation, lamenting that "throughout the South the economic advancement that we gained under Jim Crow is literally dead" (*Nation*, 28 January 1991). And while the Crips and the Bloods offer themselves up as auxiliaries to the LAPD in policing the ghettos, Farrakhan's "Nation of Islam" is in line for a contract from the Bush administration to operate as the security force in an L.A. housing project, as they earlier did in the Mayfair Estates in Washington, D.C. (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 July).

The Crips and the Bloods' idea that somehow they are going to "get theirs" by joining the system in racist capitalist America is not only reactionary but totally utopian. The forcible segregation of the black population in this country

at the bottom of the economic ladder is an essential part of the bedrock of American capitalism. Fantasies of getting rich by selling T-shirts only feed into the plans for minimum-wage, non-union "enterprise zones" being pushed by both Bush and the Democrats. There is no separate road to equality for the oppressed black masses in the United States apart from an integrated class-struggle fight to bring down the capitalist system which is the source of black oppression.

For many ghetto youth, the idea that the power of labor can be mobilized on behalf of the oppressed, not to mention in defense of the unions themselves, seems bizarre. This isn't surprising, given recent experience. It's not that there haven't been hard-fought labor battles in this country over the past decade. But they have been repeatedly stabbed in the back by the bosses' labor lieutenants in the leadership of the trade-union movement. The job-trusting AFL-CIO tops who scream about immigrant workers stealing "our jobs" presided over the destruction of the unionized manufacturing plants that are now the sites of Third World sweatshop labor in L.A. Yet the racist, pro-capitalist labor fakers are not identical with the union movement, which is based on millions of working men and women.

White workers from Hormel meat-packers and Pittston coal miners to



Popular 1990 strike by heavily minority teacher assistants in L.A. schools. Latino hotel workers, janitors and construction workers have also waged sharp union struggles recently.

middle-aged Middle American Caterpillar workers have struck against the capitalists, who exploit them just as they keep black and Hispanic workers and poor locked in misery. Recently in L.A., Latino workers have been at the center of a series of labor struggles. In 1989, the hotel workers fought to defend their union against the giant Hyatt chain. A year later the mainly Latino janitors waged a militant strike which faced down police attack and won union recognition. Recently, during the state of emergency in L.A. the janitors union held a march of several hundred from their union hall protesting the racist cop terror of the LAPD.

These workers can be a vital spark for the North American working class, many having experience of militant class struggle and more open to internationalist ideas because of their origins. Yet most are in a very precarious position, subject to deportation and employer blackmail. The labor movement must

demand full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers. And Latino workers must resist the treacherous appeals of aspiring bourgeois politicians who would pit them against blacks. Historically and today, black oppression in this country built on slavery is key to ruling-class domination of the workers and poor. During the L.A. upheaval the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League demanded that the powerful L.A. unions such as longshore, aerospace and city workers organize work stoppages and mass mobilizations to solidarize with and defend the black community.

What is desperately needed is common class struggle to unite organized labor with all strata of the oppressed against their common capitalist oppressors who have impoverished and brutalized the working people who built the wealth of this country. This requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party to act as a "tribune of the people." ■



Cartoon captures Martin Luther King's cringing pacifism that supported brutal repression of the 1960s ghetto explosions.

RU 486...

(continued from page 1)

the hypocritical mask drop, showing the hard ideological split on the high court, with only 83-year-old Harry Blackmun (the author of *Roe v. Wade*) and John Paul Stevens dissenting.

The ban on importing RU 486 is strictly political, without the slightest medical or "legal" justification. The Food and Drug Administration did not present a shred of evidence to back up their assertion it was for "health reasons." They vaguely cited the need for more testing, although the pill has already been safely used by 110,000 women in Europe. The ban even violated the government's own law that "guidelines" for importing unapproved drugs require public notice and provisions for public comment. The "French pill" is not available in the U.S. due to the intersection of the profit motive and reactionary politics. The French pharmaceutical house which makes RU 486, Roussel Uclaf, has not requested FDA approval and is not seeking to market the pill in the U.S. out of fear that right-to-life fanatics will boycott all the firm's products.

Under existing law the FDA has the power to prevent unapproved drugs from entering the U.S., but in practice it doesn't try to stop all unauthorized drugs at the border. After a public outcry, it issued guidelines in 1989 allowing individuals to bring some unapproved drugs

into the country for personal use, ranging from skin treatments to AIDS and cancer drugs. To get around this, the FDA issued a "special alert" banning the import of RU 486. It was this that Leona Benten and her lawyers were challenging when she tried to bring the pills through customs at Kennedy Airport July 1. When a U.S. district court judge in New York ruled against the government's arbitrary seizure, the administration appealed and Justice Clarence Thomas intervened to take it directly before the Supreme Court. The two recent abortion decisions exposed the charade that this far-right Bush appointee didn't have a position on the right to abortion.

Leona Benten, the gutsy young woman who defied the Bush White House, the Supreme Court and the bible bigots in agreeing to be the test case for RU 486, is a 29-year-old social worker from Berkeley, California. She has been active in struggles for homeless rights, against police harassment and over AIDS. Until a few weeks ago she was working at Shelter, Inc., a Richmond homeless center which was closed down for lack of funding. Finding herself unemployed, she also discovered she was pregnant. Benten called the Women's Choice Center in Oakland to make an appointment for an abortion, and agreed to become the "test case" for RU 486. "I did this because it needed to be done and because it was easier for me than for a lot of other women," she told the *Oakland Tribune* (16 July).

Benten obtained a prescription for RU

486 in New York, and accompanied by Abortion Rights Mobilization director Lawrence Lader she flew to London where they picked up the pills. Being pregnant, nauseous and about to be thrust into the limelight made everything worse: "The whole experience was horrible," she said, "I was sick, throwing up on the plane and had jet lag from not being able to sleep for three days. Then I had to face all those reporters." Asked if she planned to have children some day, she replied, "I'd rather adopt." "I'm interested in being part of a family," she added, "but I'm not going to nuclearize. I don't feel it's healthy."

Both the Philadelphia abortion clinic case (*Pennsylvania v. Casey*) and the import of RU 486 were brought to court by the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy, abortion rights lawyers who recently split out from the ACLU. The strategy of feminist activists has been to exploit the contradiction between the Republican White House's anti-abortion stand in an election year and voters who are overwhelmingly for the right to abortion. It was no accident they sought a test case by attempting to bring the pills through Kennedy Airport on the eve of the Democratic convention at Madison Square Garden. And the (much watered down) "Freedom of Choice Act" is supposed to come to a vote in Congress on the eve of the Republican convention. This is all consciously intended, of course, to garner votes for the Democratic ticket.

The fate of women cannot be left to

the racist courts or the partner parties of capitalism. While bourgeois feminists chanted "We will remember in November" in demonstrations outside clinics from Manhattan to Milwaukee and conventioners chanted "Pro-choice, pro-Clinton," the Spartacist League called to "Break with the Democrats, build a workers party!" We have insisted that the struggle for abortion rights must include the call for free safe abortion on demand, free health care for all, if it is to mean anything for those who need it the most. From Germany and Poland to Afghanistan to the U.S., we fight for the freedom of women from social oppression: *For women's liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Racist Cop Bonapartism vs. Minorities, Immigrants, Labor



Kaul/L.A. Times

L.A. Flashpoint U.S.A.

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard No. 555, 10 July.

On April 29, the racist rulers of America watched their TV sets in horror and fear at the multiracial explosion of outrage which engulfed the streets of South-Central Los Angeles. In an elemental way the eruption in L.A., which was echoed in integrated protests and upheavals across the rest of the country, was a revolt against a system which has condemned the working class, minorities

PART TWO OF TWO

and poor to minimum-wage exploitation, unemployment lines, soup kitchens, broken unions, broken lives. As we noted at the time, "The match that lit up L.A. has burned a gaping hole in the New World Order that is widening with each passing day. From the White House to the California state house, America's rulers know they are *all* guilty, and they're nervous as hell."

The glamour capital of the U.S. is now seen worldwide as the symbol of the desperate conditions of life for impoverished blacks and Latinos in America. The first installment of a special six-part series in the *Los Angeles Times* (11-16 May) titled "Understanding the Riots," opined: "The date could be August, 1965, when Watts first erupted. But this is April, 1992, the verdict is in, and the eyes of the world are watching.... How did Los Angeles reach the point of crisis—again?"

On 11 August 1965 the black population of Watts in South-Central L.A. erupted in outrage against their systematic brutalization by the police, temporarily driving the cops out. At the time, bourgeois journalists nervously described it as the beginning of the "second Civil War." The National Guard was called in. As Gerald Horne, author of the upcoming book, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the Meaning of the 1960s*, commented: "It took 15,000 troops to subdue Watts and South Central



Malmin/L.A. Times

City of Rage. U.S. Army, National Guard and LAPD occupied L.A. ghetto to suppress Watts rebellion of 1965, and again this year to squelch upheaval after the racist acquittal of cops who beat Rodney King.

Los Angeles in 1965, which is more than it took to subdue the Dominican Republic."

Coming a year after the Harlem police riot, the explosion in Watts presaged the ghetto upheavals that would spread through the inner cities of America. Martin Luther King Jr. came out endorsing the brutal cop/Guard suppression of the black rebellion, in which 31 blacks were killed: "It was necessary that as powerful a police force as possible be brought in to check them" (*New York Times*, 16 August 1965). The spirit of King's pacifism was captured in the Black Muslims' famous cartoon, captioned: "If there is any blood spilled in the streets, let it be *our* blood!"

For black militants across the country, this graphically demonstrated what the preachers' policy of turn-the-other-cheek "nonviolence" really meant: support for the racist capitalist order. In the context of growing opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam, this would soon lead to a

split in the civil rights movement and the emergence of the "black power" wing.

The Watts upheaval grew out of a background of rising black unemployment and a rigid pattern of segregation going back decades which kept blacks out of houses, schools and jobs outside of "their" neighborhoods. Many Southern blacks had immigrated to Los Angeles at the time of the Second World War, when the city was a center of war production. The Roosevelt administration enforced "fair employment" orders on government contractors, war industries and unions to make up for the labor shortage. But when the war ended, thousands of blacks were driven out of their jobs.

Rigidly segregated in South-Central L.A. on one side of Alameda Street, which came to be known as the "Cotton Curtain," blacks were kept out of the higher-paying jobs in the auto, steel and rubber factories on the other side of the

street. On the other side of the "Cotton Curtain" lived Southern white workers, many of whom had also come to L.A. during the war. It was a line that blacks were not to cross. Any who tried were set upon by white gangs with names like the "Spookhunters." But the top enforcer of segregation was the LAPD under Chief William Parker.

Brought in to combat corruption in the LAPD following the "Brenda Allen" scandal of the late 1940s (where the cops were exposed as being on the protection payroll and client list of a local madam), Parker militarized the LAPD. He modeled them on the Marines, in line with his conception of the cops as the "thin blue line"—the last line of defense for (white) "society."

A viciously right-wing puritanical bigot and self-proclaimed white supremacist, Parker waged war on "race mixing." Cops were sent in to drag white women out of black bars on Central Avenue. According to one black businessman, during the 1950s L.A. cops blockaded his record store warning whites to keep out because "it was too dangerous to hang around black neighborhoods."

Parker was the enforcer of the L.A. rulers' viciously racist, anti-labor social order. As one observer described it, Parker "was to the Los Angeles oligarchy what the army in El Salvador is to its oligarchs, the enforcer of their rigid social views" (John Gregory Dunne in the *New York Review of Books*, 24 October 1991).

In 1953, the LAPD chief supplied "crime statistics" to bolster the *Los Angeles Times* crusade against public housing as evidence of "creeping socialism." Parker ranted that public housing would lead to "jungle life." Under a *Times*-sponsored mayor, plans were laid and carried out to level Bunker Hill, where poor Mexican Americans and whites crowded together in ramshackle rooming houses, and use the site for luxury redevelopment. Residents of

continued on page 9