

## Jackson Fronts for Dukakis and the Dixiecrats

# Democrats' Racist "Unity"

Every four years, according to the rituals of American capitalist "democracy," millions of voters are trooped to the polls to pull the lever for one or the other of the bosses' parties. Through an elaborate yearlong process of caucuses, primaries and conventions, with endless star-spangled hoopla, they try to sell to the workers, poor people, blacks and other minorities the illusion that they are deciding which of the bourgeois politicians is going to run the country (that is, to rule over us on behalf of the ruling class).

So last week the Democrats named their standard-bearers: Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis for president and Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen for veep. The technocrat and Dixiecrat will now square off against the Republicans—George Bush and X—in what is being touted as the war of the nerds. (Despite all the glitz for TV, half of America switched off the networks during the weeklong yawn in Atlanta.) And from now until November we will be bombarded by the spectacle of the candidates trying to outdo each other in saber rattling and pandering to racism.

Dukakis laid it out in his acceptance speech: "We're going to build the kind of America that Lloyd Bentsen has been fighting for for the past 40 years." Bentsen's America is one where agribusiness barons like his daddy built their fortunes from the sweat of Mexican farmhands. With 50,000 acres of crop land and citrus groves, where unions have been kept out for the past 50 years, "Big Lloyd," the grandee of the Rio Valley, is today estimated to be worth \$50 to \$100 million. Bentsen Country is where a black man like Loyal Garner, Jr. gets bludgeoned to death in an east Texas jail and the killer cops go free.

The Democrats' "Southern strategy" is an attempt to "out-Reagan" Reagan. When Dukakis' managers picked a running mate to the right of George Bush, and didn't bother to inform runner-up Jesse Jackson, the "perceived insult" to the black Democrat was no accident. It was a message to the several million people who voted for Jackson in the primaries. It was intended to tell them who was running things, that blacks and labor would have to "eat it." Dukakis & Co. are banking on the "lesser evil" shell game of the partner parties of racist American capitalism.

Yet they still have to get them to the polls. So Jesse Jackson "made up" and got his spot on network TV for a "unity" appeal. All his talk about "common ground," about the patches of his grandmother's quilt, his rhyming rhetoric about going from the outhouse to the White House, is just sucker bait to

### Labor, Blacks—Break with Democrats! For a Workers Party!



P.F. Bentley



AP

Boston/Austin racist axis—Dukakis and Bentsen (left) and their front man Jesse Jackson.

get the oppressed to vote for their oppressors. But Jackson's hype may not be enough to pull out the black vote this time around. When Dixiecrat plutocrat Bentsen was nominated by acclamation there were angry shouts of "no!" around the hall.

After nearly eight years of Reaganism, there's a lot of people in this country who are fed up with the "new greed" and Rambomania. But then after the Vietnam War and Watergate, people had had it with the Nixon Republicans. So in '76 they voted in Democrat Jimmy Carter, and what did they get? Carter went after the miners strike with Taft-Hartley injunctions, presided over the 1979 Greensboro massacre of blacks and leftists, initiated Cold War II against the Soviet Union over Afghanistan and with his "human rights" rhetoric set up the death squad junta in El Salvador.

The Democrats pose as the "people's party" of American capitalism, the phony "friends" of labor and blacks. From the FDR New Deal coalition in the '30s to Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" today, it's the American version of the popular front. By channeling black

and working-class anger into capitalist politics and blocking militant mass struggle, the popular front paves the way to bloody defeat. Jesse Jackson may be plenty annoyed at Dukakis' snub. But that's nothing compared to what happened to Salvador Allende, who played out the popular-front scenario to the end in Chile, and was the first victim of the 1973 Pinochet coup.

During the primaries, we wrote:

"Now there's a lot of energy going into the Jesse Jackson campaign. Young black college students and ghetto youth alike are proud to see a black man for the first time ever as a serious contender for president.... But come this summer and fall, there are going to be a lot of upset people around when they figure out that 'Jackson action' means being herded to the polls as voting cattle for the same old Democratic Party of strikebreaking, racist terror and imperialist war."

—"Jesse Jackson, Racism and the Democratic Party," WV No. 451, 22 April

We told the truth while the reformist left was stumping for Jackson. So now there are a lot of upset people who feel jobbed, and the key task is, as we wrote then, "to break the chains that bind the black masses and workers to their capitalist masters through the Democratic Party."

### "Nuke 'em" Duke and the Dixiecrats

Ronald Reagan, in his weekly radio address, tweaked the Democrats after their convention: "You'll never hear that 'L' word—liberal—from them. They've put on political trench coats and dark glasses and slipped their platform into a

plain, brown wrapper." In the last 20 years, the Democrats have lost every presidential election except one, when Jimmy Carter barely beat Gerald Ford (who couldn't chew gum and walk at the same time). So this time they were determined to shake off their image as the party of "special interests" (labor, minorities) and heighten the "comfort level" of the Democratic campaign.

But swilling Bentsen-style "Southern comfort" may not go down well in November. Black people in particular have been the bedrock support of the Democratic Party, and this ticket is pretty hard for blacks to swallow. In 1981, the first year of the Reagan administration, the *Congressional Quarterly* rated Bentsen the Democratic Senator most supportive of the president. This multimillionaire "Texas Tory" has received more funding from the corporate political action committees than any other member of Congress. And for good reason.

Lloyd Willard Bentsen, Jr. has been one of the chief cover-up artists for the Reagan White House. In his book *Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987*, Bob Woodward writes that as a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, the wealthy businessman Senator Bentsen covered for CIA chief and Wall Street lawyer-profiteer Bill Casey, squashing an investigation into Casey's illegal stock-trading.

Bentsen is a real Cold Warrior, a die-hard supporter of aid to the contras in Nicaragua and to South African puppet Savimbi in Angola, and of military sales to the bloody Pinochet junta in

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Turmoil at the Top in Gorbachev's Russia

Perils of Perestroika

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# PDC Partisan Defense Committee

## CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

### Lexington Women Win Case Against Hellhole Prison

Underneath the Federal Correctional Institution in Lexington, Kentucky is the female High Security Unit (HSU), a barbaric dungeon designed to quarantine, torment and degrade political prisoners. In a lawsuit brought by inmates Silvia Baraldini, Susan Rosenberg and Sylvia Brown, in Washington, D.C., federal district judge Barrington Parker on July 15 ruled authorities could not use prisoners' political beliefs as the basis for placement in the HSU, and ordered Baraldini and Rosenberg transferred to regular prison cells.

The Lexington HSU, like its counterpart at Marion, Illinois, is a prototype psychological torture chamber, designed for political opponents. The Gestapo would have approved. Video

surveillance follows their every step—even to the shower stalls. Every private act is monitored by a guard. Officials restrict prisoners to one 15-minute phone call with their lawyers each week and one family visit per month. Inmates are denied access to the prison library, and reading material is censored by prison officials. To provide a 20th century veneer to this medieval torture chamber, the prisoners are provided a television set.

Lexington's human guinea pigs are subjected to high-tech barbarism using "Clockwork Orange" behavior modification methods, foremost being sensory deprivation. The five women prisoners at Lexington are confined to subterranean white tombs under glar-



Alejandrina Torres



Susan Rosenberg



Silvia Baraldini

ing white fluorescent lights 23 hours a day. Mandatory prison garb is bleached colorless. The prisoners are forbidden to hang pictures to cover the glaring white walls and three of them report seeing black spots on those barren walls.

Susan Rosenberg reported how the HSU was "designed to destroy those who are in it, psychologically and physically.... They are trying to drive us completely out of our minds." Not surprisingly, each of the women has manifested severe medical and psychological problems including marked weight loss, loss of appetite and inability to keep food down, dehydration, heart palpitations, insomnia and obsessive anxiety.

Silvia Baraldini describes herself as an anti-imperialist activist. She was convicted on RICO conspiracy charges arising from the 1981 Brink's armored car robbery in Nyack, New York. Susan Rosenberg, long a target of the FBI and cops, is serving 58 years on charges of possession of arms and explosives. Previously she was indicted on conspiracy charges for alleged participation in the 1979 prison escape of Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesimard), and in the 1981 Brink's robbery. The charges were dismissed for lack of evidence.

Another of those held in the Lexington dungeon is Alejandrina Torres, allegedly a member of the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN, who was convicted in 1985 of seditious conspiracy and possession of weapons and explosives. Torres, who considers herself a prisoner of war, did not join the lawsuit because she refuses to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the American courts over her. She remains in the HSU.

The government has not announced whether it will appeal. Lexington's HSU was already scheduled to close with the opening of a larger version in Marianna, Florida. These barbaric institutions must be shut down and plowed under. The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a donation to support the continuing legal fights against these monstrous cages, noting:

"These hideous products of the government's phony drive against domestic terrorism have only one purpose: to terrorize political opponents of government policies.... Like the resurrection of sedition prosecutions, increasing use and expansion of these prisons is integral to the government's intensified efforts to legalize left wing political opposition, the domestic component of its anti-Soviet war drive."

Kentucky miner Paul Smith continues to fight against a company/state conspiracy to lock him up for life. In January miners Darryl Smith, David Thornsby, Donnie Thornsby and Arnold Heightland were railroaded on federal charges of interfering with interstate commerce, conspiracy and firearms violations in connection with the 1985 shooting death of a scab coal truck driver near a struck mine owned by Samoyed Energy, and are serving 35 to 40 years in the federal pen. Their cases are on appeal. In a separate trial the jury acquitted Smith of the same charges, but before he could leave the courthouse he was arrested on state murder charges. He now faces a lifetime in jail. Smith's trial awaits the court's ruling on his motion to dismiss the charges on



WV Photo  
International Women's Day demonstration in NYC, March 5.

double jeopardy grounds—the constitutional right not to be twice placed on trial for the same charges. This democratic right is one of many severely eroded by the Burger/Rehnquist Supreme Court. Using conspiracy and RICO laws Reagan and Meese are making multiple prosecutions for the same "crimes" routine.

This practice is integrally tied to the revival of the labor frame-up system. Big Bill Haywood, Tom Mooney, Joe Hill, Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Haymarket martyrs were victims of company finks, government spies and union-busting laws and courts. From the PATCO leaders dragged to jail in chains to the threatened government takeover of the powerful Teamsters using RICO laws and massive drug testing at the workplace, this labor-hating government, both Democrats and Republicans, is out to smash the unions and intimidate the workforce as part of its drive toward war.

The PDC has again donated to the defense of these five miners and written to the court demanding the dismissal of all charges against Paul Smith, who with his four union brothers is the target of a vicious company/government vendetta: "In slamming the prison doors on these courageous men the government seeks to finish the job left undone by Massey's gun-toting thugs."

These five miners are victims of a government campaign to make labor crawl before givebacks and union-busting. The mighty UMWA must not spend one more day watching idly as the capitalist courts chain and lock up its most militant fighters. Free the five Kentucky miners now! Letters and telegrams demanding that charges against Paul Smith be dismissed can be sent to: Judge Charles E. Lowe, Jr., Pike Circuit Court, Pikeville, KY 41501. Contributions for the miners' defense are urgently needed. Send to: Citizens for Justice, Box 8, Canada, KY 41519.

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



TROTSKY

#### Break With the Bosses' Parties!

*In the U.S., where there is no mass labor party, the popular front tying the workers to their class enemy is embodied above all in the support by the left and the labor bureaucracy to the Democrats. From the FDR New Deal coalition of the 1930s to Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" today, the Stalinist Communist Party has spouted "fight the right" rhetoric to support the Democratic Party as a "lesser evil." In a 1954 speech following a*



LENIN

*liquidationist split from the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, SWP leader James P. Cannon explained that revolutionaries call for a workers party as an expression of the fight for political independence of the working class, key to victory in the struggles of workers and oppressed minorities against the capitalist class.*

Our slogan for a labor party is a propaganda slogan at the present time.... The real principle that we are explaining and fighting for is the principle of the class struggle, the principle of the political independence of the workers as a class.... That used to be taken for granted in the radical movement of this country. The class struggle was what we were raised on in the old days. All revolutionary activity proceeded from that basic premise.

In the socialist and radical movement of the twentieth century, from the first presidential candidacy of Debs in 1900 up until more recent times, all factions in the socialist movement—right, left, and center—all of them were committed to the principle of independent political action. The support of a capitalist political party was anathema. The IWW, which was more radical than the Socialist Party, didn't vote for its candidates only because they had a mistaken idea that elections were a waste of time. But the preamble of the IWW began with these words: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common"; and proceeded to say: "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system"....

It comes around to the point that we are the only party, faction, tendency, or group in the whole labor movement that stands on the old-fashioned, simple, fundamental program of the class struggle in politics. And that certainly is a good place to stand.

—James P. Cannon, "Speech at the Sixteenth Convention" of the SWP (November 1954)

## WORKERS VANGUARD

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# Solidarność' Dirty Dollars

It's finally up-front and official—the U.S. government finances counterrevolution in Poland through the so-called “free trade union,” Solidarność. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* have known this for years, but it's worth noting when a major bourgeois mouthpiece lays bare the imperialists' dirty work in its own pages. On July 10 the *New York Times* reported, “over the last three years, the United States has provided more than \$5 million in cash assistance to Solidarity and other groups opposed to the Warsaw Government.” After Congress voted a \$1,000,000 appropriation for them in July 1987, Solidarność leadership claimed that they would use the money for ambulances and health clinics. But according to the *Times*, last year alone the U.S. paid for 10,000 pounds of printing presses, cameras, microfiche and microfiche readers, radios and electronic equipment, and *smoke grenades*. Some health clinic!

Some of Solidarność' dirty dollars are funneled through the National Endowment for Democracy, a CIA front set up by Reagan which the *Nation* (19 March) reports is also funding anti-Communist dissidents in the USSR as well as the English-language edition of the Soviet dissident magazine, *Glasnost*. The NED also bankrolls *La Prensa*, the voice of the internal contras in Nicaragua, fascistic student groups in France and counterrevolutionary causes throughout the world.

While the August 1980 Baltic coast general strike that heralded the birth of Solidarność stemmed from legitimate working-class grievances against 35 years of Stalinist misrule, the workers' struggles were quickly commandeered by the forces of clerical nationalism. Solidarność draped itself in every Cold War code word from “free elections” to “free trade unions.” By the time of its first national conference a year later, Solidarność had consolidated around a program of pro-imperialist counterrevolution—for the abolition of central planning and for Western-style “democracy” under the aegis of the Catholic church. They even invited notorious CIA “labor” agent Irving Brown to their confab. When we characterized Solidarność as a “company union for the CIA and Western bankers,” it flew in the face of the anti-Soviet consensus in the West extending from Reaganite reactionaries to liberals to pseudo-leftists.

As Solidarność prepared a counter-revolutionary coup, the international Spartacist tendency organized a protest

campaign demanding, “Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!” We told the truth about Solidarność because we base ourselves on the program of Trotskyism, not social-democratic Stalinophobia. The perspective put forward by Trotsky in relation to defense of the

Afghanistan, Poland had become a *casus belli* for Western imperialism's Cold War II against the Soviet Union, and the left jumped on the bandwagon.

Today Weinstein is a leader of Socialist Action, a split from the SWP in 1982-83 and one of four American

formed readers that the leaders of the RPRS had “largely fabricated the reality of their group” and “requested aid for trade union and political activity that was largely fictional. The group functioned with criteria which had nothing in common with those of a workers' political organization.” Licking its wounds, the USec moaned they “were victims of this dupery.” Just who and what were Ernest Mandel and the USec running with anyway?

Thus far, mum's the word from



Lech Walesa flaunts money from Western backers (left); Socialist Action leader Nat Weinstein unites with anti-Communists at 1981 rally for counterrevolutionary Solidarność.



Stone/SF Examiner

Soviet Union in 1940 applies equally to the Polish deformed workers state: “We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution” (*In Defense of Marxism*).

The same fundamental reformism that led “State Department socialists” into the lap of the CIA to fight “totalitarianism” in the '50s and '60s once again led self-styled socialists to embrace Solidarność, an imperialist-financed tool for anti-Communist rollback in Eastern Europe. As Reagan pronounced Solidarność “the beginning of the end” of Communism, fake-Trotskyists in France marched together with fascists against General Jaruzelski's visit in January 1982. In San Francisco, members of the Socialist Workers Party, including Nat Weinstein, marched together with the right-wing Libertarian Party whose signs read “Smash the Communist Tyrants!” Along with

affiliates of Ernest Mandel's pseudo-Trotskyist dis-“United Secretariat,” and still an ardent backer of Solidarność. They even adopted the Solidarność logo for the masthead of their newspaper. (Back in the heady days of the “broad-based movement” for “Solidarity with Solidarity,” buttons bearing the Solidarność logo were also peddled by the Moonies.) Socialist Action has announced a meeting “celebrating 50 years of the Fourth International” to which it has invited one Zbigniew Kowalewski, a prominent propagandist for this “union” which last year greeted George Bush in Poland with chants of “Long live Bush! Long live Reagan!”

Solidarność made strange bedfellows...and some of them woke up short-sheeted. Look at the saga of the “Workers' Party of the Self-Managed Republic (RPRS—Polish section of the Fourth International),” whose formation was trumpeted in the January 1987 issue of *Socialist Action*. According to *SA*, the RPRS had branches “in many factories and cities across Poland.” Not much more was heard about the group until in April 1988 a terse “communiqué” buried way in the back of the USec's *International Viewpoint*, in-

Socialist Action on the *Times*' revelations of who pays Solidarność, and calls the tunes. At least the more forthright “third campists” don't plead ignorance—“Should Solidarność take U.S. money?” was the headline over an article in the Revolutionary Socialist League's *Torch* (January 15-February 14). In a guilty stage whisper to Polish friends the RSL says this “was a mistake” but hastens to add, “sometimes insurgent organizations have no choice but to take ‘tainted’ money from abroad” and points to Reagan's Afghan “freedom fighters” as worthy examples of who should be funded! The aid these spineless “socialists” applaud went toward killing Russian and Afghan soldiers fighting the CIA's reactionary feudal mullahs.

Solidarność has allied itself with imperialism against the Soviet Union, against the struggles of the working class internationally, and against the socialist interests of Polish workers themselves. Socialist Action wants the American franchise for this anti-red front. As Cervantes said in *Don Quixote*, “Tell me what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are.” ■

## Groton Shipyard Workers

# Shut It Down— Win the Strike!

GROTON, Connecticut, July 25—Eight hundred shipyard workers and supporters from a dozen area unions rallied at the gates of the Electric Boat shipyard here, as the strike by the Metal Trades Council (MTC) against General Dynamics enters its fourth week. Strikers are prepared to stay out. They are outraged at Electric Boat's “offer” of a wage freeze, paltry lump-sum payments and massive cuts in medical benefits.

The nuclear submarine workers in the ten unions which make up the MTC are among the most highly skilled craftsmen in the U.S., yet the

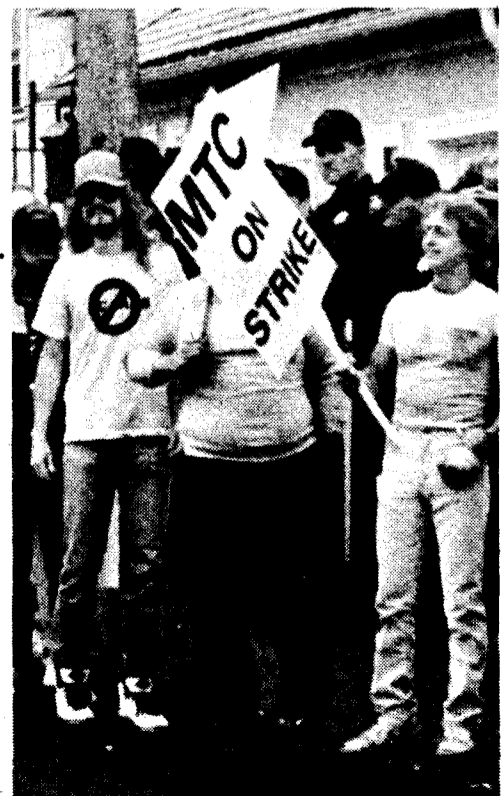
top pay for journeymen at “the Boat” is \$12.02 per hour. One striker told *WV* he was making almost as much working during the strike at Domino's Pizza! Even before the strike, General Dynamics was scouring the country looking for skilled machinists and welders willing to work for these wages. But this arrogant, corrupt Pentagon supplier, which gets away with charging hundreds of dollars for a hammer, is playing hardball against the MTC.

Billed as a “display of solidarity” by the state AFL-CIO, the march and rally drew only token attendance

from Connecticut unions. But there were Democratic Party politicians crawling all over it, including the state's top cop, Attorney General Joseph Lieberman. The union tops' phony “friends of labor” came to scavenge for votes, and divert strikers' anger into voting for the Democratic Party of war and racism.

It will take more than the empty “solidarity” speeches heard today to win this strike. Even as the crowd was singing “if the scabs get in the way, we're gonna roll right over them,” a block away hundreds of management personnel, draftsmen and scab MTC members were streaming into the yard! A spokesman for the Marine Draftsmen Association, a UAW affiliate whose 1,500 members are crossing the picket lines, had the nerve to brag about their financial support to the strike.

The MTC must enforce the principle that “picket lines mean don't cross!” Mobilize Connecticut labor, including the embattled Colt strikers and the thousands of Pratt & Whitney machinists facing layoffs, to shut *Electric Boat* down tight!



July 5—Strikers picket Electric Boat shipyard.

WV Photo

# Democrats...

(continued from page 1)

Chile. He's a gung ho militarist, supporting production of the MX missile, Star Wars, the neutron bomb and the B-1 bomber. On "social issues" he's for mandatory prayer in public schools, against federal financing of abortions for poor women, against school busing, for the death penalty and mandatory AIDS testing. In short, he's an all-round reactionary.

In fact, as a Congressman in 1950 Bentsen told Harry Truman to *nuke North Korea*, the line of General MacArthur, the "American Caesar." But that didn't pose any problems for "nuke 'em" Duke. Dukakis was landed on in the primaries for stating openly what has been NATO policy from the start, that he was prepared to launch a *nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union*. In the platform debate at the convention, Dukakis forced defeated the Jackson campaign's call for "no first use" of nuclear weapons by a 2-to-1 vote.

The Democrats are trying to sell Dukakis/Bentsen as a remake of the Kennedy/Johnson ticket in 1960: the Boston/Austin axis. Maybe they plan to repeat the escalating competition between Kennedy and Nixon in the '60 campaign over who could make the more bloodcurdling threats against Fidel Castro. Already Bush has challenged the Democrats to put up or shut up in the "war on drugs" by calling for



New York Times



Vuich/Gamma-Liaison

**Popular front paves road to reaction: Chilean president Salvador Allende (left) moments before his death in 1973 Pinochet coup. Jesse Jackson at labor rally (right): popular front American-style.**

preserve a 'separate but equal' school system in Boston, his answer was 'yes' (*Boston Globe*, 17 May 1974). And Jackson also opposes school busing. In Norfolk, Virginia when black unionists were marching for busing in 1983, Jackson said he was "not marching for busing, I'm marching for the voter registration boost."

### Jesse Jackson and the Democrats' Plantation Politics

"Hands that once picked cotton now pick the president" has been the slogan of the black Democrats who are making their careers out of selling the black

deal often at the expense of those whose cause he coopted."

For his prime time TV slot, Jackson cynically made his entrance with Rosa Parks, whose refusal to sit at the back of the bus sparked the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, the opening shot of the civil rights movement. Jackson began by addressing his delegates, saying "you are seated, but you're really standing on someone's shoulders." In fact, the 3,000-plus black elected officials and 300 black mayors are *standing on the backs* of the 20 million black people in this country, who are still terrorized and forcibly ghettoized at the bottom of American society.

Jackson's "If I can make it, you can make it" rhetoric is a lie. In the first place, he didn't make it. Whether he's brokering black franchises from Coca-Cola or black votes for the Democrats, Jesse Jackson is just a front man for racist capitalism. There was much talk about "how far" blacks had come since the 1964 Democratic convention in Atlantic City. The head of the Mississippi delegation this year was stopped at the door in '64 as part of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation. But the MFDP was an outgrowth of the Kennedy/Lowenstein strategy to channel black anger away from mass struggle and into the bourgeois two-party trap.

The most radical period of black history since Reconstruction got under way when black radicals broke from the Democrats. SNCC's 1965 Lowndes County, Alabama independent voter registration project was a response to the bitter lessons of the MFDP. Their symbol was the black panther, foreshadowing the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense formed in California a year later. Unfortunately, the "black power" radicals never found the road to workers power, to link the ghetto with the factory. Isolated and powerless, the best were gunned down and jailed, the others bought off as the "black power" movement hardened into the dead end of nationalism.

For almost two decades, there has been a glaring vacuum of leadership for

militant black struggle. Today Jesse Jackson is trying to pull out the black vote, with his sermonizing about "a rainbow—the sons and daughters of slavemasters and the sons and daughters of slaves sitting together around a common table." But black people, poor people, working people, have never gotten more than crumbs from the capitalist slavemasters' table. Instead of bogus "empowerment" by voting Democrat, what's needed is a real struggle for working-class power with black workers, the most class- and race-conscious, in the lead.

### Popular Front Chains Blacks, Labor

Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition" and the Democrats' "Southern strategy" are part of the same operation. Jackson made this clear from the outset by courting arch-segregationist former Alabama governor George Wallace. Jackson's role was to "broaden the party's base," and here they had some success. There were more black and Hispanic delegates in Atlanta than ever before at a Democratic convention. A thousand delegates, over 20 percent, were union members, and Jackson's name was placed in nomination by Machinists (IAM) president William Winpisinger.

At the convention, the union bureaucrats did everything possible to stay out of sight, so no one could pin the "special interest" label on the Democrats. Dukakis (who said the word "black" once, as part of a statistic) only mentioned labor to exhort it to "work together" with business. All he "promised" to working people was "the kind of America that provides American workers and their families with at least 60 days' notice when a factory or a plant shuts down"! But even that campaign promise didn't do IAM members at Eastern Airlines any good. The day the convention closed, union-buster Frank Lorenzo announced 4,000 layoffs, centering on Miami and Atlanta.

The reformist left which has been beating the drums for Jesse Jackson will now be rounding up votes for Dukakis/



Young Spartacus

**Berkeley, February 1: Spartacus Youth Club demo against fascist führer, Democrat Tom Metzger.**

bombing foreign "drug factories." The last time around, this kind of campaign rhetoric led to the Bay of Pigs fiasco and the Cuban missile crisis, the closest the world has come to nuclear Armageddon.

Malcolm X used to say, "If you're voting for the Democrats, you're voting for the Dixiecrats." Southern conservative Bentsen opposes busing for the integration of the schools. Northern liberal Dukakis ran for Massachusetts governor in 1974 in the midst of the Boston busing crisis, calling for "community control" of neighborhood schools. Asked if his plan "was a system to

vote to the highest bidder. Stung by the Dukakis-Bentsen slap, Jackson accused Dukakis of "plantation politics" and protested: "I cannot be asked to go out into the fields, pick up voters, bale them up, deliver them up to the big house... and not be part of the equation." So who's playing plantation politics? Baling up the black vote is exactly what Jackson has been doing. As black *Newsday* editor Les Payne wrote (24 July) in a perceptive column:

"Jackson has never really scared white power brokers. Instead, the civil rights leader has mastered the art of confiscating the weapons from protesting blacks... and finally striking a personal

## Free Union Leader Eliseo Córdoba From the Death Squads!

# El Salvador: 10,000 March Against Anti-Strike Law

Ten thousand Salvadoran workers, students and peasants took to the streets of San Salvador on July 21 to protest the seizure of a union leader and anti-labor emergency legislation. The march, called by the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), aimed to free hospital workers union leader Eliseo Córdoba—seized last week by a death squad—from the dungeons of the notoriously brutal Treasury Police. As demonstrators neared the police barracks, cops opened up with automatic rifle fire and tear gas grenades, seriously wounding at least four people. This

touched off a running battle through the downtown area in which marchers burned government vehicles as barricades against the police attacks.

The government of U.S. puppet José Napoleón Duarte has proposed an emergency law to militarize public services in response to militant strikes and work stoppages. But with the Christian Democratic government drifting due to Duarte's terminal cancer, an exploding corruption scandal and violent intra-party divisions, restless military officials have vowed to maintain "public order" with or without a state-of-emergency law. The

country was thrown into crisis by an electrical workers strike that left 70 percent of the country without electricity for weeks. Two weeks ago air force troops used clubs and tear gas to disperse some 300 workers and peasants who were passing food to strikers in Soyapango.

As the U.S.' bipartisan counterrevolutionary program in El Salvador falters under the blows of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrillas and the combative working class, the eight-year-old war is entering a decisive period. The electoral victory of the fascistic ARENA

party makes a "negotiated settlement" of this civil war ever more clearly a program for an anti-worker bloodbath. And while the Salvadoran workers have repeatedly shown their courage and will to fight in the most dangerous circumstances, they need a proletarian-internationalist leadership, a Trotskyist party fighting for workers revolution throughout the region, from Managua to Mexico.

Class-conscious militants in the U.S. must take the side of our struggling Salvadoran brothers. Free Eliseo Córdoba and all class-war prisoners! Workers take San Salvador!

# KKK Gets Hot Reception in Atlanta

ATLANTA, July 17—As Dukakis and the Dixiecrats were celebrating the so-called "New South" and preparing their racist "unity" fête inside the Democratic convention here Sunday, the KKK and neo-Nazi skinheads figured they'd march outside flaunting their banners of genocidal violence against blacks, Hispanics and homosexuals. Liberals from Atlanta black mayor Andrew Young to the ACLU had vowed to let the lynchers and Hitler-lovers stalk the streets of this majority black city. But they were thwarted at every turn. The KKK's obscene plan to march down Martin Luther King Drive flying the Confederate flag of racist terror was spiked as some 1,500 demonstrators, many in town to lobby the Democratic Party, blocked their way, then bottled up the Klansmen in an underground parking garage and burned their fascist symbols.

This act, which all working people must applaud, stands in contradiction to supporting the capitalist party whose leaders, including Jesse Jackson, have opposed any struggle to stop the racist terrorists. The main concern of the national and local Democratic Party bigwigs was to keep things quiet so they wouldn't have another "Chicago '68" on their hands. With the city in the national spotlight, they were careful throughout the day not to arrest a single person. So faced with a confrontation, the police then canceled the fascists' permit to march. Local director of the American Civil Liberties Union Gene Guerrero grotesquely declared it "shameful" to let leftist protesters "interrupt freedom of speech" of the racist terrorists, and offered to get a court order for the KKK to stage a future provocation. (These liberal civil libertarians are also defending Contragate criminal Oliver North.)

The KKK-linked Forsyth County Defense League and Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement had planned to gather at the Georgia Statehouse and march to the "free speech" pen at the Omni Convention Center. Fascist honcho Richard Barrett denounced "special treatment" of blacks and Hispanics, called to "quarantine queers" and called for purging the Democratic Party of black candidate Jesse Jackson. The Klan presence at the state capitol was

## Racist Lynchers Stopped



Friedman/L.A. Times

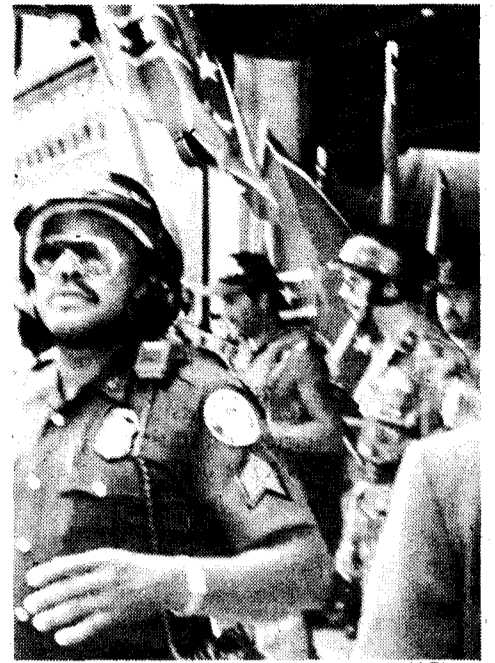
also a direct physical threat to the integrated Fannie Lou Hamer Convention being held in a church across the street. But a thousand anti-fascist protesters surrounded the area where the Klan march was supposed to start. The police tried to establish a perimeter and protect the white-supremacists. But when riot cops ordered people to move and pummeled their way through, busting heads in the process, the crowd just sifted around and filled in behind the line of cops.

After blocking the lynchers at the capitol, when reports circulated that the cops were going to bus the fascists to the Omni, many of the anti-Klan protesters headed across town. The All-Peoples Congress (of Sam Marcy's Workers World) contingent gathered in the "protest pen," while the "No Business as Usual" front of Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party plus assorted anarchists and independents refused to enter the "protest ghetto." People milled around in Marietta Street adjacent to the Omni, joined by a number of gay rights activists waiting for a scheduled AIDS demonstration. Stormtrooper Barrett showed up in fatigues, but he was grabbed by the crowd chanting

"Klan must go" and the cops had to rescue him.

When two skinheads approached the pen, the anti-fascist protesters hurled rocks and bottles, leaping over retaining walls to get at them and landing some blows before the cops pulled them off. Barrett's pickup truck was discovered, and racist placards and flags were removed and burned in a heap. When a bunch of fascists in paramilitary uniforms started to march up with Confederate flags, protesters drove the scum back into the entrance of a basement car garage protected by rings of cops. With the fascists holed up in their rathole, the crowd rapidly grew, as police lines alternately collapsed and reformed. When the cops pulled up a prison bus to remove the trapped Klansmen, they had to fight their way aboard as protesters closed in and rocked the bus.

The KKK terrorists are a clear and present danger to all minorities and labor and to the democratic rights of all. But the Democratic Party of Dukakis and Bentsen and Jackson, of "Mr. Segregation" George Wallace and fascist Tom Metzger who ran for Democratic nomination for Congress, protect these killers, who are kept in reserve as the



WV Photo

Planned Klan march outside Democratic convention spiked by anti-fascist protesters.

last-ditch defense of racist American capitalism. And the Marcyites and other popular-frontists who tail the Democratic Party via the "Rainbow Coalition" do their bit to keep blacks and working people chained to their oppressors. It was under Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter that in 1979 the KKK/Nazi scum assassinated five leftist organizers in Greensboro, ushering in the Reagan years by giving a green light to racist terror. The Klan nightriders and the war on blacks and labor are the domestic side of the bourgeoisie's bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union.

To crush these racist terrorists, what's needed is to mobilize the heavy guns of labor—the only force with the social power to sweep away the fascist threat. In Atlanta, the heavily black city and transit workers unions must be prepared to use their muscle to deal a crushing blow against the murderous KKK and neo-Nazi scum. Such labor/black mobilizations are integrally linked to the struggle to politically break the working class from the stranglehold of the partner parties of American capitalism. Labor and blacks: Break with the Democrats—For a workers party! ■

Bentsen in order to "Beat Bush." In the name of "rejecting the right," the Communist Party is not even running a token presidential campaign this year. The CP's Gus Hall hails the Jackson campaign as "a broad-based, all-people's movement," and offers a four-point agenda for "where we think this movement can go" (*People's Daily World*, 1 July). Hall even talks hypocritically of "political independence." Yet Jackson's campaign is not any kind of social movement, but bourgeois constituency politics; and the fight for working-class political independence means warning against illusions in the popular front.

Another dubious outfit on the fringes of the Jackson campaign is the New Alliance Party, running black psychologist Lenora Fulani for president. With over half a million dollars in federal matching funds already, Fulani describes herself as "the spare tire" to carry the "rainbow agenda" into the November elections. To support Fulani would be an eccentric act, irrelevant to the future of the American proletariat. At a July 19 rally, the NAP offered its platform to anti-labor, pro-Lorenzo forces fighting unionization at Continental Airlines! Even more ominous are NAP ties to sinister black Muslim demagogue Louis Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead and said Hitler was a "great man"!

The coalition politics of the Jackson campaign and its fake-left tails are bourgeois politics. The popular front is the

ultimate expression of class collaboration, the polar opposite of class struggle. By tying labor and blacks to their class enemy, it blocks independent struggle against the exploiters, and thus prepares the road to defeat. Jackson herds votes for Dukakis/Bentsen, who promise nothing but union-busting, race-terror and imperialist war. The American version of the popular front may appear pale in comparison to its counterparts elsewhere; but the consequences for the peoples of the world are all the greater.

In the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, the People's Front smashed the Barcelona workers only to be itself defeated by Franco's legions; in France, the parliamentary leader of the Popular Front, Léon Blum, headed off the 1936 general strike and ended up in a Nazi concentration camp. In Chile in the '70s, Allende's Popular Unity wore down the workers' struggles and then fell victim to Pinochet's "constitutional" army. Today in Mexico, a new popular front has formed around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to divert mass unrest over IMF-dictated starvation policies into the parliamentary framework, and already rightist gunmen are at work, shooting down Cárdenas' aides.

As Leon Trotsky wrote in the founding program of the Fourth International, "People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian

revolution." Today, the bourgeoisie keeps the popular front in reserve, and also the fascists. Jackson is used to round up labor and black votes, then discarded; the Klan/Nazi bands raise their heads as a warning. But as Trotsky wrote 50 years ago, "Nothing short of

the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can open a road out." The only road to the emancipation of the working people is socialist revolution, led by a revolutionary workers party at the head of and championing the cause of all the oppressed. ■

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# Turmoil at the Top in Gorbachev's Russia

## Perils of Perestroika

For decades the stage-managed congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union were viewed as non-events both in Russia and abroad. But for a few days in late June political people around the world were engrossed by the 19th CPSU conference. It was the first special conference in 47 years. *Moscow News* (17 July) headlined, with more than a little overstatement, "Four Days That Shook the World"—recalling John Reed's book on the Russian Revolution of October 1917. After six decades of heavy-handed suppression, this clash of contending viewpoints in full view of the Soviet population must seem like a revolution. But although "bureaucracy" was endlessly condemned, CP leader Mikhail Gorbachev's program of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) is no answer to the deepening crisis of Soviet society engendered by Stalinist misrule.

A few weeks before the conference, the editor of the official Communist Youth publication *Young Guard*, who had been named a delegate, addressed a meeting of his supposed constituents. But it was not a happy occasion for Anatoly Ivanov, who was raked over the coals mercilessly as an unreconstructed Stalinist and opponent of *perestroika*. At one point the 59-year-old "youth editor" exclaimed, "I am near retirement. Don't worry." When Ivanov finally fled the meeting in his black Volga sedan, an older worker who happened to be there said, "You know, after such a meeting in the Stalin period, half of them would have gone...." And he whistled in the direction of Siberia. This encounter between the hidebound bureaucrat and his *glasnost*-minded "comrades" says a lot about the sharpening tensions in Gorbachev's Russia... and the widespread fear of a return to the dark, not-so-distant past.

When Gorbachev originally called the conference over a year ago, it was expected to be a triumph for "political *perestroika*" with his people replacing the holdovers from the Brezhnev era on the Central Committee. But the conservative *apparatchiks* countermobilized effectively. Many prominent intellectual supporters of *perestroika* were conspicuously *not* selected as delegates. The Gorbachevites were enraged and embittered. Across the USSR, from Leningrad to Magadan, thousands marched in front of Communist Party headquarters crying "we was robbed"



Soviet leader Gorbachev (bottom, right) with perestroika point man Yakovlev and "hardliner" Ligachev (left) at CPSU 19th Party Conference, June 1988.

in the delegate elections. In Yaroslavl, marchers carried banners declaring, "Comrade regional committee: We're for *perestroika*! How about you?" In Omsk, 7,000 jammed the Dynamo soccer stadium to protest local party leaders imposing their candidates. In Moscow's Pushkin Square, the unofficial clubs Civic Dignity and Commune staged a demonstration carrying red flags with the hammer and sickle and chanting "All Power to the Soviets!"

These are not the anti-Communist protests of a few hundred pro-Western "dissidents" trumpeted by the imperialist press. Yet neither do they represent a revolutionary opposition to the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy. The "soviets" that the Gorbachevites want to "empower" have nothing to do with the revolutionary workers councils of 1917; today these are simply rubber-stamp legislative bodies. As *Business Week* (27 June) put it, "Gorbachev Plots an End Run Around the Party Bureaucrats," by giving greater weight to the

government and technocratic bureaucracy. But with thousands protesting in the streets, vociferously debating what were previously closely guarded "affairs of state," this could awaken expectations that the Kremlin rulers cannot fulfill. And if behind the "Leninism" preached by the bureaucracy as the ideological straitjacket of Stalinist rule the Soviet working people rediscover what the living Lenin really fought and stood for, the result will be explosive.

Yet amid all this ferment the decisive social force in the Soviet Union—the working class—has *not yet* entered the political fray. And this is not accidental. *Perestroika* is an *anti-working-class* program, aiming to overcome the "years of stagnation" under Brezhnev through speedup, mass layoffs, inflation and cutbacks in social programs. For the most part the Gorbachevite intelligentsia—Russia's yuppies—deeply resent the working class with its egalitarian values and commitment to economic security. On the other hand,

the conservative *apparatchiks* want above all to defend the rigid control of the bureaucratic elite (the *nomenklatura*) over all aspects of social life. The Soviet proletariat is too socially powerful, the issues at stake affect it too directly for the working class to remain passive.

For all the rhetoric about "openness," "soviet power" and "revolutionary change," what all wings of the bureaucracy seem to be squabbling about is who gets more from whom, completely lacking *any* sense of the internationalist foundations of the Soviet state. The technocrats want to screw the workers, the petty profiteers want some easy rubles, the workers and collective farmers rightly want to hold on to the far-from-extravagant living standards they already have. Within the Soviet proletariat there is a deep reservoir of egalitarianism, legacy of the 1917 Revolution. But "socialism in one country"—the program of Stalin and Bukharin (as well as Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev)—is a cruel hoax. The interests of the Soviet masses can only be advanced through a program of world socialist revolution, creating the basis for an *international* planned economy and eliminating the deforming pressure exerted on the Soviet state through imperialist encirclement.

Rather than a return to the soviet democracy and revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, Gorbachev's bureaucratic "reform" aims in the opposite direction, toward greater concessions to the imperialists abroad and undermining socialist gains at home. What's needed is a genuine political revolution of the proletariat of all the Soviet peoples to oust the stultifying bureaucratic caste whose continued domination endangers the homeland of October. Above all, that requires the leadership of a Leninist-Trotskyist party capable of defending and extending the gains of the first workers revolution in history.

### Turmoil at the Top, Fraying at the Fringe

The fissures in the Kremlin oligarchy were displayed quite openly at the conference. Gorbachev lashed out at his conservative opponents for their "undisguised attempts at perverting the essence of the reform." A delegate from the Urals caused an uproar by calling for



New York Times



Podlesnov/Moscow News

Pro-Gorbachev demonstrators mobilize outside party headquarters in Irkutsk (left) and Moscow City Soviet protesting selection of delegates for party conference and demanding green light for *glasnost*.

the resignation of longtime Soviet leader Andrei Gromyko, who as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is the titular head of the USSR. The influential "reform" economist Leonid Abalkin asked rhetorically, "Can we, while retaining the Soviet organization of society and one-party system, insure a democratic organization of social life?" In response, Gorbachev chastised his adviser for lack of faith in the Communist system.

The delegates were also treated to the long-awaited political fistfight between Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Ligachev, darling of the conservative *apparatchiks*. The pugnacious Yeltsin was ousted as Moscow party boss last fall for pushing the reform line too far, too fast. When Reagan visited Moscow this May, Yeltsin called a press conference and told Western reporters that Ligachev, head of the party apparatus, was a closet opponent of *perestroika* and should be dumped. Yeltsin appealed to the conference: "Rehabilitation after 50 years has now become habitual.... I am asking for political rehabilitation while I am alive" (*New York Times*, 2 July). For now, he didn't get it. Ligachev hit back, calling Yeltsin a "destructive force" who considers "the work of the party and the people is in vain."

Overall, Gorbachev performed a careful balancing act, seeking to raise himself in bonapartist fashion above the contending bureaucratic factions. As it turned out, the conference was not a triumph for the conservatives, nor was it a setback for Gorbachev. The main proposals coming out of the conference are for a new "strong" president on the American or French Gaullist model and for a mammoth super-parliament combining the bureaucratic "soviets" with representatives of (presumably pro-Gorbachev) mass organizations. The stated purpose is to provide some mechanism to energize or sidestep the notoriously sluggish party apparatus. While the top levels of the party and state bureaucracies (the *nomenklatura*) closely overlap, lower down many government officials are non-party intellectuals and technocrats who are Gorbachev's people.

No doubt, Gorbachev is also seeking to protect himself from Khrushchev's fate, that is, being ousted by his colleagues in the party leadership. (Ligachev pointedly reminded the conference that Gorbachev was installed with his and Gromyko's support.) But setting up a bonapartist president and a parliament aping the corrupt bourgeois talk-shops of West Europe is hardly a step toward genuine soviet democracy.

The turmoil at the top of the Kremlin hierarchy has spread to the intelligentsia and national republics of the Soviet Union. In the weeks leading up to the conference, the tiny self-styled Democratic Union (some of whose leaders are funded by the notorious CIA conduit, the National Endowment for Democracy) staged demonstrations in central Moscow raising the slogans "Down with tyranny!" "Down with the KGB!" On one occasion another "unofficial" group also turned up, carrying portraits of Marx, Lenin and Gorbachev and a large banner saying "Socialism, Not Stalinism." The police couldn't figure out who they were and so let them alone. Meanwhile, in the Georgian town of Gori—Stalin's birthplace—copies of Anatoli Rybakov's *Children of the Arbat*, a powerful novel about the onset of Stalin's terror, are being burned by youthful Stalin-worshippers.

The most dramatic and explosive political unrest has been in the Caucasus and Baltic regions. In February violent national conflict erupted between Armenians and Azerbaijanis over the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region. Since then scores of people have been killed in communalist rioting, while Armenia was paralyzed by mass protests and strikes. These protests were suspended for the party confer-

ence. But when the conference failed to satisfy the Armenian demands, the protests resumed with even greater fury. One person has been killed and over 30 injured in violent clashes between Soviet army troops and demonstrators trying to shut down the airport of Armenia's capital, Yerevan. In response, an emergency session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR was called which on July 18 rejected the Armenian claim for Nagorno-Karabakh.

The decision was announced in a three-hour TV broadcast of the Supreme Soviet debate, with Gorbachev reading the riot act to the Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders for fostering national rancor. In response, more than 200,000 protesters flooded the center of Yerevan, shouting down Armenian CP leader Suren Arutyunyan every time he tried to speak. As we go to press, tens of thousands continue to demonstrate

organized a mass rally of 150,000 around the demand for complete economic autonomy. Originally proposed by sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya, a leading intellectual light of *perestroika*, such organizations can easily slip out of the control of the Kremlin. In reality, the People's Front is a front for resurgent nationalism. They march behind the flag of the interwar Estonian republic, which outlawed Communists, barred Jews from the universities with the *numerus clausus*, and was a bastion of White Guard reaction.

That resurgent nationalism in the Baltic republics and also Armenia drapes itself in the mantle of *perestroika* is not simply protective coloration. The Baltic region and Armenia are the most economically and culturally advanced regions in the Soviet Union. In the past, centralization from Moscow (despite Great Russian chauvinism) has tended

ship has become a hardening rift. The evident differences between Gorbachev and Ligachev are narrow. The No. 2 party leader does not criticize Gorbachev's appeasement of Western imperialism, from disarmament to Afghanistan to Angola. He has repeatedly declared his support for market-oriented economic reforms, though perhaps less sweeping and rapid than Gorbachev would have it. The battle lines have been drawn instead over *glasnost*. It is here that Ligachev has set the terms of engagement. Yegor Ligachev is no old-line Stalinist, nor a stodgy hold-over from the Brezhnev era. Like Gorbachev, he was elevated into the Kremlin hierarchy from the provinces in the early '80s by the late Yuri Andropov. Ligachev won favor with the austere Andropov because he was reputedly the only party first secretary in a major city (Tomsk, in Siberia) who did not take bribes.

Ligachev is worried that *glasnost* could go—is going—too far. Beginning early last year he began hammering at historians who were exposing Stalin's monstrous crimes: "We are for an honest and open look back, but we are decisively against the falsification of our glorious past and against the portrayal of our history as a series of continuous mistakes and disappointments." Accentuate the positive, he instructed Soviet historians: "the 70 years since the October Revolution have been above all a period of the triumph of socialist construction" (*New York Times*, 24 March 1987). Last fall he publicly criticized the two most vocal advocates of Gorbachev's line, *Moscow News* and *Ogonyok*.

The boldest move by Ligachev's people to scuttle *glasnost* was the "Andreyeva letter." In mid-March a lengthy tract, ostensibly written by a Leningrad chemistry teacher but reportedly edited by Ligachev, appeared in the official newspaper of the Russian republic, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. The "Andreyeva letter" was a hysterical diatribe denouncing "Glasnost, openness, the disappearance of zones off limits to criticism," as "prompted" in one degree or another by Western radio stations or by those of our fellow countrymen who are not steadfast enough in their understanding of the essence of socialism." It defended Stalin as one of the "trailblazers of socialism" worthy of "honor and dignity." Ligachev's supporters in the apparatus made sure the "Andreyeva letter" was reprinted in every regional newspaper in the USSR. (The East German Stalinists also printed it.)

Not coincidentally, both Gorbachev and his chief lieutenant, Aleksandr Yakovlev, were out of the country at the time. For three weeks the Gorbachevite intellectuals were paralyzed by this attack on them, orchestrated from the Kremlin corridors of power. When Gorbachev returned from abroad, he moved quickly and effectively to defend his

*continued on page 8*



Armenians demonstrate in Moscow. Program of *perestroika* heightens national tensions in USSR. Sipa

every night. Nagorno-Karabakh, which was paralyzed by a general strike for two months, is under virtual martial law, with Soviet troops searching cars and trucks for weapons. Typesetters for the paper *Sovetsky Karabakh* refused to publish the central government's decision. At the same time, Moscow ordered the deportation of Paruir Airikyan, a prominent Armenian nationalist agitator, who was simultaneously stripped of Soviet citizenship.

Nationalist agitation has also hit the Baltic republics. The CIA's "Captive Nations" crowd has long dreamed of counterrevolutionary dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Last month thousands marched through Riga singing the Latvian national anthem and carrying flags of the bourgeois independent Latvian state of the interwar years. In neighboring Estonia the Gorbachevite intelligentsia has set up a non-party "People's Front," which on June 17

to act as a national equalizer. Now these regions hope to use economic decentralization and market competition as a lever to gain at the expense of more backward areas. When the Armenia crisis erupted, we wrote:

"Except where it serves as a cover for capitalist counterrevolution, we support the right of national self-determination for the various Soviet peoples—i.e., the right to secede and form a separate state. And we do not regard as sacrosanct the internal national boundaries of the USSR, which the Kremlin bureaucracy has arbitrarily fixed."

—"Behind the Armenia Crisis," *WV* No. 450, 8 April

But by intensifying national divisions and inequalities, Gorbachev's *perestroika* is stoking the fires of nationalist antagonism:

#### The Andreyeva Letter

What a year or so ago seemed a shading of opinion within the Soviet leader-



Autoworkers meeting in VAZ auto plant in Togliatti. *Perestroika* means speedup, layoffs for working class. Union Sovietica

# Perils of Perestroika...

(continued from page 7)

base. Ligachev was called onto the carpet and stripped of his position as ideological overseer. A reply to the "Andreyeva letter," reportedly written by Yakovlev, was printed in *Pravda* and reproduced with ritual self-criticism in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. Now the Soviet press officially declared: "Democratism is impossible without the freedom of thought and speech, without an open and broad clash of opinions..."

The core of the "Andreyeva letter" is the question of Stalin. And for good reason. Exposing Stalin as a psychopathic mass murderer, an enemy of socialism and the Soviet people, calls into question the legitimacy of his heirs, the present Kremlin bureaucracy. To date, most of the attacks on Stalin come from neo-Bukharinite intellectuals and outright supporters of "Western-style democracy," rather than from partisans of authentic Bolshevism. The Gorbachev regime tries to distinguish the "good" Stalin of the 1920s-early '30s from the "bad" Stalin thereafter. Thus at the recent party conference top Kremlin aide Georgi Arbatov, arguing for a ten-year limit on holding high party office, opined that if only Stalin had retired in 1934—before the Kirov assassination, which triggered the bloody purges of all the Old Bolsheviks, loyal Stalinists included—Russia would have been spared so much suffering!

The Gorbachevite intelligentsia looks back not to the Russia of Lenin and the October Revolution, but to the Russia of Bukharin and Stalin and the New Economic Policy (NEP), when the bureaucratic degeneration had already reversed the revolutionary course of the Soviet state. They identify themselves with the "red professors," *spetsy* (technocrats) and *Nepmen* (petty entrepreneurs) of the 1920s. They see both Trotsky and Stalin disturbing their peace, comfort and social advantages. Trotsky represented the proletarian internationalist response to the pressures of world imperialism on the weak Soviet state—seeking to optimize what they had through industrialization while promoting workers revolution in the capitalist West. Stalin, under the watchword of "socialism in one country," represented the bureaucratic-nationalist response to the pressures of world capitalism.

The Bukharinite Right tried to ignore and deny those pressures, and so advocated a program that would have led to the destruction of the USSR (though this was not their intent). How could the Soviet Union have defeated Nazi Germany if industrialization had proceeded, in Bukharin's phrase, "at a snail's pace"? Of course, history cannot simply be reversed: today the Soviet Union is a great industrial and military power. What then does a neo-Bukharinite program mean in the late '80s? An attempt to increase the eco-



Taubman/NY Times

**Demonstrators in Tallinn raise flag of interwar bourgeois Estonian republic, viper's nest of anti-Semitism and fascism.**

economic and social weight of the intelligentsia at the expense not only of the party *apparatchiks* but also the working class. It means raising the incomes of the educated petty bourgeois, shifting economic power to factory managers and technocrats in the name of market competition, promoting a new class of petty entrepreneurs, and even de-collectivizing agriculture.

## Stalinism, Perestroika and the Working Class

Alongside the Ligachev offensive against *glasnost* in the press and intellectual life, there is passive resistance to *perestroika* in the economic sphere. The reforms in the name of enterprise "self-financing" have been undercut and even sabotaged by the bureaucracies of the industrial ministries who use state orders (which have priority) to try to retain their old control over the enterprises. The result of this turf war has been a kind of bureaucratized economic anarchy. At the conference, the director of a machine building factory was heavily applauded when he attacked the endless forms and reports, demagogically thundering: "You've got to kill the people producing them." He also illustrated how *perestroika* threatens central planning and the state monopoly of foreign trade—fundamental conquests of the October Revolution—re-marking: "To tell you the truth, we don't need ministries. We earn our own feed. We earn our own hard currency. What can they give us? Nothing."

In terms of their economic impact on the working class, Gorbachev's policies represent not de-Stalinization but in many respects a *re-Stalinization*—widening income differentials between managers/technocrats and workers, between skilled and unskilled labor, re-introducing piece rates. The labor policies of *perestroika* are strikingly reminiscent of Stalin's anti-egalitarian campaigns. The 18th Party Conference

in 1941 decreed:

"We must liquidate completely the rotten practice of egalitarianism in wages and must achieve the objective of making out of the piecework and bonus system the most important factor of the struggle for increased labor productivity..."

—quoted in *Zakonodatelstvo o trude: kommentarii* (Moscow, 1947)

Compare this with the principal architect of *perestroika*, Abel Aganbegyan: "we want to start now to end the gen-

Soviet workers were guaranteed a job and a modest standard of living without having to work very hard for it. Now all this is threatened. A piece in the *New York Times* (10 May) noted how workers see the effect of *perestroika* as attacks on their basic rights to housing, job security and medical care. It described a recent "Soviet-style layoff" at the port of Ilyichevsk on the Black Sea, complaining it could only be carried out "according to the rules of the social contract, keeping the people who needed the jobs, not the people the company needed most." Soviet workers find mass unemployment so inconceivable that many literally do not believe the conditions of homelessness and despair which are rampant in American and other Western cities.

Now, to overcome the economic stagnation, the Kremlin bureaucracy under Gorbachev wants to use the whip of market competition on the workers. To date, Soviet workers appear perplexed and frustrated. *Perestroika*, they are told, will overcome the "years of stagnation," leading to increased productivity and Westernized economic conditions. Yet economic growth is now slower and the supply of consumer goods, especially food, is perhaps worse than in the last Brezhnev years. (And economic parasitism, from the black market to prostitution, has reached epidemic proportions, reminiscent of the profiteers who flourished in the late NEP period.) As a result of "self-financing," many enterprises are not able to meet their payrolls on time. A

International News



**Leon Trotsky, co-leader of October Revolution and founder of Red Army, waged internationalist fight against Stalin's "socialism in one country."**

eral levelling process which developed in the past and to introduce well-founded differentials in wages dependent on results" (*The Economic Challenge of Perestroika* [1988]).

When Stalin died in 1953 practically the entire industrial proletariat was on piece rates and almost a third on "progressive" piece rates. This meant that their wages increased and decreased more than their output. The harsh labor discipline and extreme inegalitarianism of the Stalin era fueled potentially explosive working-class discontent. Thus Stalin's heirs moved to rapidly improve the condition of Soviet workers. Investment was shifted from heavy industry to consumer goods. Income differences between production workers and managers/technocrats were narrowed considerably. By the end of the Khrushchev period in the mid-1960s, little more than half of production workers were still on piece rates, while "progressive" piece rates had been eliminated completely.

While the Brezhnev regime cracked down on dissident intellectuals, it continued and deepened the "soft" line toward the workers. In fact, this was probably the major factor accounting for the exceptional internal stability of Brezhnev's 18-year reign. By the late '70s

working-class delegate at the recent party conference exclaimed:

"Where is *perestroika*? The situation with food has not changed, except now there are coupons for sugar. Meat is still unavailable, industrial goods have disappeared in some places. Understand me correctly. I do not say all this to build up tension but to express to the delegates the pain that tortures all the workers."

How much longer will Soviet workers endure that pain without protest?

Not all (only most) Gorbachevite intellectuals are gung ho for "market socialism" and hostile to the interests of the working class. Boris Kagarlitsky, principal organizer of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, has polemicized against the "free market" economists like Nikolai Shmelyev. In an article appearing in the West German *Arbeiterkampf* (2 May) he argues: "Certain situations are such that the methods of the market not only don't solve existing problems but conjure up even catastrophic results." Kagarlitsky's own solution is a confused amalgam of liberal Stalinism and syndicalism:

"The democratic character of planning can, on the one hand, be attained through a developed system of workers self-management in production—moreover, not only at the factory level but also at the level of factory associations,

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entire 'firms,' and branches of the economy—it can, on the other hand, be secured by a democratic structure of the state itself."

On the one hand, planning is incompatible with self-management, whether of individual enterprises or entire branches of the economy. If enterprises totally control their own inputs and investment funds then they can relate to other enterprises only through the exchange of their products on the market. On the other hand, a democratic structure can only be secured through the Soviet working class reasserting its political power through organs of soviet democracy as in October 1917. But in the absence of a revolutionary-internationalist perspective counterposed to all variants of Stalinism, strikes and workers protests could be diverted into support for the Gorbachev reformers promising "democratization" or even for old-line Stalinists using populist demagoguery. Gorbachev's "self-reform" is an illusion; the bureaucratic apparatus must be shattered, and it is not excluded that in the course of a political revolution sizable sections of the bureaucracy would split and go over to the side of the proletariat.

### Smash Imperialism Through World Revolution!

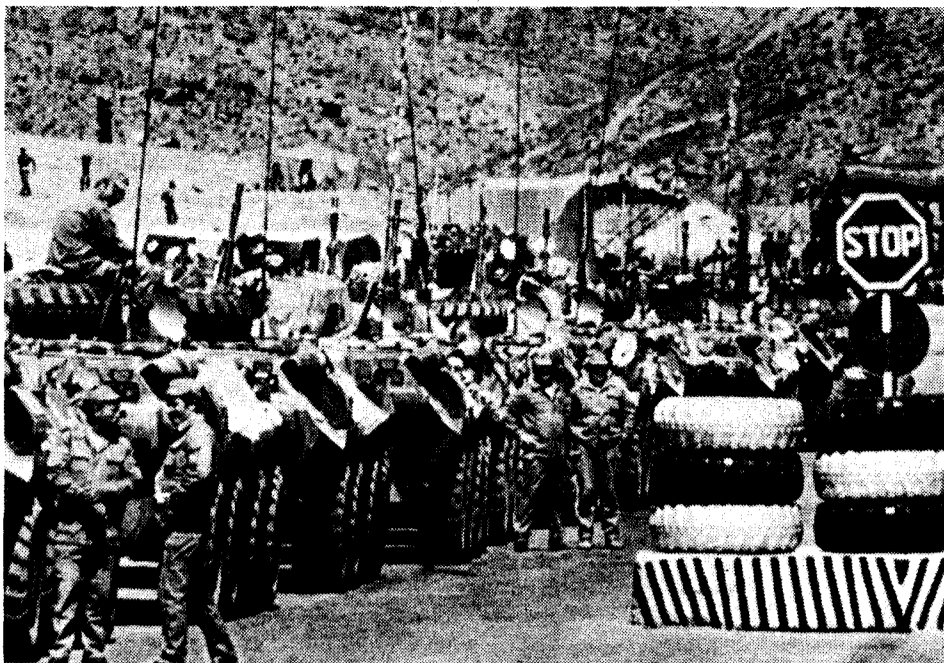
The current crisis of Stalinist rule in Russia is directly linked to the increasing pressure of U.S. imperialist militarism—Cold War II. The Gorbachev regime has responded to that pressure with a policy of *global appeasement*, demonstrated most strikingly in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. This betrayal poses a terrible bloodbath as the CIA's Islamic cutthroats are out to kill every unveiled woman, leftist and modernizing intellectual in that country. There are, however, people in the Soviet Union, especially veterans of the Afghan war, who understand this and do not like Gorbachev's sellout. The *afghantsy* are an increasingly vocal force, demonstrating in the streets and reportedly being taken into the Communist Party in large numbers.

Now, even Brezhnev is being presented as some kind of ultraleft adventurer in international affairs. The Gorbachev regime is echoing the *Reaganite line* that Soviet aggressiveness, not the intransigence of American imperialism, was responsible for Cold War II. This is spelled out in a recent article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* by one Vyacheslav Dashichev, a leading ideologue in Moscow's Institute for Socialist World Economics:

"We are convinced that the crisis was caused mainly by the miscalculations and incompetent approach of the Brezhnev leadership towards foreign policy.... For the West, the expansion of the Soviet sphere of influence reached a critical point when the USSR sent troops into Afghanistan."  
—*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 29 May

The Gorbachevites are denouncing and moving to reverse the few instances when the Brezhnev regime materially supported national liberation and progressive struggles in the so-called Third World. Beginning with the abandonment of Afghanistan, Moscow is now pressuring the left-nationalist government in Angola to agree to the removal of the Cuban troops sent there when the South African army invaded that country in 1975-76. Moscow has also offered to cut off all military aid to Sandinista Nicaragua if Washington stops funding the contras. And to placate Washington and Peking, Gorbachev's Kremlin is pressuring Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, whose people it saved from the unspeakable horror of Pol Pot. To this end Moscow is threatening to cut back its pitifully inadequate aid to the Vietnamese, whose incredible heroism and sacrifice inflicted upon U.S. imperialism the greatest defeat in its history.

Where Gromyko was widely known in Western diplomatic circles as "Mr. Nyet," now they're calling Gorbachev



Soviet troops pulling out of Afghanistan (above), paving the way for bloodbath by CIA-backed Islamic fanatics. Below: Soviet Afghan war veterans at memorial for comrades who fell doing their internationalist duty.



Faget-Armand/AFP

"Mr. Da." But the Kremlin's policy of appeasement has only emboldened Western imperialism to push forward in its ultimate goal of destroying the Soviet Union. Harvard Cold War ideologue Adam Ulam writes triumphantly that the Soviet evacuation of Afghanistan represents "what has been a cardinal goal of American foreign policy at least since 1947—containment and even 'roll-back' of Soviet imperialism" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 May). Believing they have successfully "rolled back" Soviet power in Afghanistan, U.S. rulers will intensify their efforts to roll back Soviet power in East Europe. To this end, as even the *New York Times* (10 July) now

admits, Washington funnels millions to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność (see article, page 3).

For its part, the Kremlin bureaucracy, forged under Stalin, opposes any perspective for proletarian revolution to destroy Western imperialism from within. Indeed, the ideological triumph of Stalin is so complete that the present-day Soviet intelligentsia take "socialism in one country" for granted (except for those who are for the restoration of capitalism). All the attacks on Stalin's crimes now being made in the Soviet press and literary works are focused on the national terrain. There is no interest or concern over Stalin's (and Bukha-

rin's) misleadership which derailed the Chinese Revolution in the mid-1920s; the strangling of the Spanish Revolution in the late 1930s for the sake of friendship with British and French imperialism; the disarming of Communist partisans in France, Italy and Greece as part of the Cold War division of Europe.

The deep faith in socialist internationalism which animated their grand-parents is totally missing in today's Soviet intellectuals. This is true even for those who claim to oppose Stalinism in the name of genuine Marxism, from Kagarlitsky to Roy Medvedev. Medvedev has gone from outcast to "Prophet with Honor" (*Newsweek*, 4 July) under Gorbachev. In his book *On Stalin and Stalinism* (1979), Medvedev dismisses Trotskyism as "ultraleftism" and the Fourth International as a quixotic sect. His neo-Bukharinite outlook excludes the possibility of proletarian revolution in any Western country. The October Revolution is for Medvedev a historically and nationally unique event, its main value being to lay the basis for the modernization of Russia. Such a nationalist view can only strengthen the ideological hold of imperialism over its own working classes.

For Lenin as well as Trotsky, the Bolshevik Revolution was the first great victory in the world socialist revolution. Soviet workers resisting the effects of *perestroika*, those who distrust Gorbachev's appeasement of imperialism, those who fight against Great Russian chauvinism in the name of proletarian internationalism, will find in Trotskyism their own *class answer* to the corruption, economic stagnation and political cynicism engendered by bureaucratic rule. That answer is proletarian political revolution to oust the Kremlin oligarchy and restore soviet democracy and socialist economic planning. That answer is the Trotskyist perspective of "permanent revolution," including the extension of the Russian October to the advanced capitalist countries of North America, West Europe and Japan.

For a planned economy based on soviet democracy! Soviet history belongs to the Soviet peoples—Open the archives! For unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! Taking up the banner of the Bolshevik-Leninist Left Opposition, fighting for a Soviet section of a reformed Fourth International, is the only realistic course which can save the Soviet peoples and all of humanity from a nuclear holocaust launched by the decaying capitalist order. ■

## JUST OUT! Spartacist Pamphlet

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Included in this pamphlet is "The Bukharin Dossier," reviewing the career of the Right Opposition leader Nikolai Bukharin, today frequently presented in the Soviet press as the "godfather of *perestroika*." The article also discusses the "rehabilitation" of "Old Bolsheviks" purged and murdered by Stalin's counterrevolutionary terror.

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## "Market Socialism" in Eastern Europe

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July 1988 Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, N.Y. 10116

# Racism and Anti-Semitism in Chicago

CHICAGO—The furious power struggle that erupted upon the death of black mayor Harold Washington last December fueled a recent outpouring of anti-Semitism, racism and blatant hypocrisy on the Chicago political scene. Early in May, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League released to the press tapes of "lectures" given at meetings of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam headquarters by black nationalist bigot Steve Cokely, in which he fulminated about a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world and charged that the AIDS epidemic is a result of "Jewish doctors" who "inject the AIDS virus in blacks." Cokely was an aide to black mayor Eugene Sawyer, who was put in office last December by the bloc of racist aldermen representing the white wards on the City Council, joined by a few defectors from Washington's "reform group."

Amidst the uproar ignited by Cokely's anti-Semitic ravings, a group of black aldermen marched a phalanx of cops into a private exhibit at Chicago's Art Institute to arrest (for "inciting to riot") a painting entitled "Mirth and Girth," which depicts Harold Washington in a bra, panties and garter belt. Like any black citizen of Chicago, the painting was abused (slashed) while being taken into custody. In the aftermath of these events there was a grotesque role reversal, with several black aldermen and political heavies simultaneously defending the "rights" of an outright bigot (Cokely) and attacking freedom of expression, while the cultural Babbitts of the white racist aldermanic bloc cynically postured as opponents of racism and champions of the First Amendment.

Before coming under Sawyer's wing Cokely worked the black neighborhoods of the 10th Ward under former Democratic Party county chairman (now a Republican) Edward Vrdolyak, who led the racist City Council opposition to Harold Washington. Cokely is a sinister demagogue who echoes the pogromist "theories" of Lyndon LaRouche. He is a dangerous man—to blacks as well as Jews. He aims to provoke race war, and in this deeply racist country, blacks and all minorities can only lose. Not surprisingly, Cokely's best defender was Louis ("Hitler was a great man") Farrakhan. After Cokely was fired, Farrakhan quickly offered him a large hall in which to spout his anti-Semitic garbage.

But sinister anti-Semites like Farrakhan weren't the only ones jumping to Cokely's defense. Some black leaders like alderman Bobby Rush and Operation PUSH president Willie Barrow tried to get Cokely off the hook by railing against racist "double standards" by

which white politicians regularly commit racist atrocities, like Ed Koch's barage against Jesse Jackson during the New York State primary. But by saying, "We are tired of apologizing," Barrow is alibiing Cokely's anti-Semitic filth—as well as letting Koch off the hook for his cop terror against blacks and other minorities in NYC. Racist pigs like Koch must be brought down by



Chicago cops, black aldermen "arrest" painting of late black mayor Harold Washington at Art Institute.

massive labor/black struggle, not held up as legitimate models for demented "leaders" like Cokely to emulate.

In fact, Cokely's anti-Semitic fantasies were picked up by some of those who defended him. Lu Palmer, a well-known Chicago black political activist, defended Cokely down the line on TV, saying, "I think it is certainly possible that Jews, not just Jews but whites, are in a conspiracy to rule the world" and said he wouldn't be surprised at "doctors injecting AIDS in black children" (*Washington Post*, 9 May). When, after much waffling, Mayor Sawyer finally fired Cokely, the black Chicago *Defender* (1 June) saw it as the result of "Jewish pressure," even though some black politicians and plenty of other non-Jews were outraged by Cokely's speeches.

The black misleaders apparently think they can buy a few crumbs off the table of racist American capitalism by scapegoating Jews. They are dead wrong. Cokely labeled Harold Washington a "nigger" for visiting North Side Jewish businesses after they were vandalized by Nazi punks on the anniversary of Hitler's *Kristallnacht* pogrom last November. Yet the nightriders who carried out this attack are the same scum who firebomb black homes on the Southwest Side! The only way to defeat these genocidal fascists is class struggle that unites all their intended victims—blacks, Jews, leftists, gays, etc. behind the power of the integrated unions.

Cokely's perspective of anti-Semitism and race war is a trap for black people.

Alderman Alan Streeter, one of Cokely's defenders, was among those who censored the painting of Washington on the grounds that "the law of decency transcends the First Amendment" (*Sun-Times*, 22 May). Streeter also disgustingly (and inaccurately) baited the painter, David Nelson, as a

integrated mass labor mobilization) such "art" would come down and its "connoisseurs" would be dispersed. Racist mobilizations are not a matter of free speech, but a rallying point for deadly violence. Indeed, the "prestigious" School of the Art Institute of Chicago has not been immune to the resurgence of racist bigotry that has hit American campuses in recent years.

In this rigidly segregated city the potential for ferocious racist mobilizations is an ongoing threat to the oppressed black and Hispanic populations. With a mayoral election scheduled for next April, the racist drive to install a white mayor—whatever the cost—will unleash the same rabid bigots who terrorized blacks in the unsuccessful attempt to stop Washington in '83. Recently black families living in white bastions of the Northwest Side have been terrorized by a Klan-style cross-burning, shots fired at their homes and acts of vandalism—their lives are in danger! The black Democratic Party politicians celebrate the newly forged "unity" they achieved in the "struggle" against the Nelson painting, yet they are part of the apparatus enforcing grinding poverty and unemployment, segregation, cop terror and racist attacks on the black masses.

Both Sawyer and alderman Timothy Evans, his main black mayoral competitor, claim the mantle of Washington's "reform movement." Washington's 1983 election fueled the hope of blacks for at least a fair shake. But Harold Washington was a bourgeois politician who loyally administered Chicago on behalf of the capitalists. Despite Washington's popularity in defeating the racist Democratic Machine in 1983, his five-year administration betrayed the aspirations of black Chicago—as we warned from the beginning that it would. Washington's defense of the racist status quo was most clearly expressed on 28 June 1986, when the Ku Klux Klan mobilized up to 3,000 virulent racists in Marquette Park. Even though Washington himself was a prime target of these hooded terrorists, he told black people to stay home and give the Klan the "silent treatment," while his cops attacked and arrested leftists and blacks who attempted to protest the Klan mobilizations.

There is an answer to racist terror—militant labor/black struggle. Six years ago on 27 June 1982, the Nazis threatened to rally against Gay Pride Day. They were stopped. Thousands turned out—blacks from the South Side, Jewish concentration camp survivors from Skokie, leftists, gays, unionists—to a labor-backed mobilization initiated by the Spartacist League and directed at smashing the Nazi threat. Not one of the black elected officials was present that day: the Democratic Party instead sent a large contingent of cops who defended the Nazi scum. Last year when the racist cops invaded the home of black bus driver Cassandra Seay and family, beating them up and then outrageously charging them with the assault, her ATU union brothers and sisters mobilized and stopped the racist cop frame-up.

Today while the Reagan machine is grinding down, racist attacks are rampant. And black politicians like Jesse Jackson spread the word: Don't struggle, vote Democrat. The Democratic Party of war and racism, which still maintains the allegiance of black and working people, is the main roadblock to revolutionary struggle in this country. Urgently needed is a revolutionary workers party to fight all oppression and exploitation and consign the racist American ruling class to the dustbin of history. Break with the Democrats—For a Workers Party! ■

Jew. After a long meeting with the mayor, the Art Institute school apologized in a full-page newspaper ad "for the distress and concern that this painting caused to the community" while disapproving of the "method" used by the City Council to remove the painting. Nelson, a graduating senior at the school, is being represented by the ACLU in a \$100,000 civil rights lawsuit against three of the aldermen who removed the painting (Streeter, Rush and Dorothy Tillman) along with unnamed police officers.

By all accounts Nelson does not seem a racist and fancies himself an "iconoclast." We won't pass judgment on the artistic merit of his "Mirth and Girth" painting (evidently a takeoff on the "Girth and Mirth" gay men's clubs). It is certainly insensitive, but art is often at its best when it offends existing social convention and hypocrisy. Still, this painting seems at best obnoxious and at worst bigoted. It's not that black elected officials like Washington don't deserve to be disparaged for acting as overseers on Reagan's plantation. But the Nelson painting seems merely to pile homophobia onto virulent American racism. An iconoclast, dedicated to knocking down society's prejudices, he's not.

Black Democratic politicians like Bobby Rush would have us believe that the police department which carted the painting off to jail can be used to protect blacks from bigotry and racist oppression. No way! Twenty or so years ago Bobby Rush was a Black Panther, and this same Chicago police department, armed fist of the capitalist ruling class, blew away Rush's comrade Fred Hampton in his bed because he was black, militant and some kind of socialist. The right of artistic expression, and the right of free speech in general, are historic achievements of the bourgeois-democratic revolution over medieval obscurantism, gains which today are under full-scale attack by capitalism in its decline.

But art exists in the real world. It is not surprising that some white aldermen were rumored to have requested copies of the Nelson painting for their offices. We remember as well that during Washington's first election campaign against Bernard Epton in 1983, racist caricatures of Washington hung in every police precinct in town. It is quite conceivable that Nelson's picture could quickly become placards at a Klan rally. In that case, given the appropriate social power (for example, an



Segregation City powder keg. White racist punks threaten anti-Klan marchers at Marquette Park, June 1986.

# Angola...

(continued from page 12)

helicopters and SAM anti-aircraft batteries. In a series of battles in the early months of this year they made mincemeat of the apartheid forces. The last South African attack was repulsed on March 23, sending Pretoria's army scurrying out of Angola into Namibia.

In May, reportedly reinforced with another 8,000 troops, the Cubans went after the retreating South African forces, leading to another confrontation in late June at Calueque, only seven miles from the Namibian border. A joint Angolan/Cuban force of 600 infantry, 35 tanks and a dozen MIGs flown by Cubans, augmented by Namibian guerrillas of SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organisation), reportedly bombed the Calueque dam and inflicted what the NATO house organ *Jane's Defence Weekly* (9 July) described as "one of the heaviest losses experienced by the South African Defence Forces... during the 13-year-long war."

When Pretoria reported that 12 white soldiers died, it sent shock waves through South Africa. (As usual they did not mention casualties among the black troops who are the overwhelming majority of South African forces in Angola.) Like Zionist Israel, white-supremacist South Africa is stunned when even a single white soldier is killed in combat by blacks. This battle ranks as an unprecedented military defeat for the apartheid regime. The South African army, strained by continuing black unrest in the townships and a growing draft refusal movement among liberal whites, has been compelled to call up reserves. Now even the conservative Afrikaner Dutch Reformed Church is calling for withdrawal from Angola.

Castro claimed that "the history of Africa will have to be written before and after Cuito Cuanavale." Yet *Granma* headlined its report of the impressive Cuban triumphs in Angola: "We Don't Want a Military Victory Over South Africa, We Want a Fair Solution." The Cuban Stalinists are ready to throw away hard-won battlefield gains as a bargaining chip to cut a deal with the Washington/Pretoria axis because, like their Soviet mentors, they are committed to "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist warmongers in the White House. Now the *Los Angeles Times* (14 July) reports that part of the deal includes forming a "new government of national unity" in Luanda including



Lopez/NY Times

CIA/South Africa flunkey Savimbi meets with Reagan. Spartacist League protests Savimbi appearance at "Freedom House," February 1986.

"the U.S.-backed rebel forces led by Jonas Savimbi."

The Angola accords are a spin-off of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow. Such deals only encourage the imperialists to more aggression, ultimately threatening the gains of the Bolshevik October Revolution. But it may not be so easy for Moscow to "extinguish" the "regional hot spot" in southern Africa. South Africa—and the U.S.—wants the Cubans to get out immediately so it can have a free hand in the region, while Cuba and Angola have insisted first on guarantees for Angolan security and independence for Namibia, both of which require the withdrawal of South African troops. In recent months

UNITA has increasingly moved its support bases to American-backed Zaïre in the north. And Washington now says that since it is not a signatory, it intends to continue arming UNITA.

While the pressure to capitulate is coming from the Kremlin, the Luanda regime has been pleading with Washington for a while. Despite its "socialist" coloration, adopted by virtually every "Third World" nationalist movement, the MPLA (which now calls itself the Party of Labor) has sought all along to build up a bourgeois state. Critically dependent on the Gulf Oil complex for hard currency, the Luanda regime has deployed nearly half the Cuban garrison in the north, many protecting the

Cabinda oil fields. From the moment they came to the aid of black Angola in 1975, we have supported the Cuban troops fighting the CIA/South African-backed forces—without giving political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in Luanda.

Today, after more than ten years of civil war, Angola is in ruins and the poverty-stricken regime—like all the so-called "front line" black states from Mozambique to Zimbabwe—can see no solution except to bargain away the country to imperialism. Genuine social and national emancipation of the post-colonial states of southern Africa, rent by tribal divisions within borders arbitrarily drawn by their former imperialist masters, is inextricably tied to proletarian revolution by the overwhelming black working class of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the region.

Yet it is precisely this perspective which the Moscow and Havana Stalinists oppose. Soviet "experts" have recently advised the African National Congress to clamp down on any talk of "socialism" and even questioned majority rule, proposing instead a "bicameral parliament that would give the white minority an effective veto" (*Los Angeles Times*, 5 February)! But just as the 1976 defeat of the South African incursion into Angola helped inspire the Soweto uprising, a genuine communist party in South Africa could use the shock of the recent military defeats to push forward a revolutionary struggle against apartheid by the powerful black proletariat which holds the promise of liberating all of black Africa from the imperialist chains.

No sellout in Angola! For workers revolution in South Africa! ■



AFF

Cuban and Angolan forces near Cuito Cuanavale, where they smashed South African offensive in March 1986.

# Loyal Garner...

(continued from page 12)

their mother, Mrs. Sarah Garner, when Willis was released. After the white-wash verdict in the "civil rights" case, attorneys for cops Thomas Ladner, Bo Hyden and Bill Horton filed a motion to dismiss the murder charges which were eventually filed in Tyler, on the grounds of double jeopardy. The motion was

denied and the trial is set to begin on August 8.

It is not surprising that the jury of eleven whites and one black, drawn from the pool of registered voters in a town like Hemphill, Texas, would acquit the racist killers of a black man from "outside." The county seat of Sabine County, a town of 1,500, half black, Hemphill is nestled in the pine forests sloping down to the old Sabine River bottom, now flooded to make a reservoir. It is a poor, backwoods Southern town, probably little changed from the '20s and '30s. The surrounding countryside is not planted in cotton anymore; the economy, what there is of it, is a mix of livestock raising, dirt farming, leasing mineral rights and a little tourism (selling worms and minnows as bait to anglers who come to fish at Toledo Bend reservoir).

In Hemphill, pickup trucks sport the Confederate flag of slavery on bumper stickers almost like a second license plate. For blacks, there are few jobs in town save as domestic "help" for the better-off whites. The civil rights movement for the most part missed this East Texas backwater. Sabine County schools are integrated, it's about the only place where blacks and whites meet. Black kids get the hell out of town

as soon as they can and move to Shreveport, Houston—anywhere is better than this. Some hellholes are so irremediably backward and racist that it will take the equivalent of Sherman's march to the sea to make them fit for habitation. The wanton killing of Loyal Garner—described by a white friend as "one of the finest men I ever met in my life, white or black"—puts Hemphill high up on that list.

But this murder is no fluke. It is simply distilled racist state violence, like some bootleg swamp swill, made in the "piney woods" of East Texas. The county cops who murdered Loyal Garner differ from the big city police only in the technological sophistication and quantity of weapons at their disposal. As we wrote in "Cop Terror Stalks Black America":

"Black people in America receive mixed signals. There are some areas of formal equality.... Jim Crow is supposed to be dead. And in some circumstances, you're allowed to act like the formal equality is real. Until you find yourself in a situation where the real racist rules apply. Loyal Garner made a horrible mistake. He thought he had rights; after being arrested, he thought he could ask to make a phone call. That mistake was fatal."

—WV No. 444, 15 January

On the streets of America's cities, North

and South, whether isolated backwater or cosmopolitan center, the cops will blow you away without notice because you are black, or Hispanic, or anyone else who doesn't "look right."

From the LAPD's racist "drug war" dragnet that is rounding up thousands of black and Hispanic youth, to the NYPD's 50-block chase and execution of Lidia Ferraro, the cops carry out New York police chief Ben Ward's admonition: "Kill 'em all and let God sort 'em out." And after the cops kill, they walk. Just last week, Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau's grand jury cleared Ferraro's killers of any wrongdoing. He used Reagan's Iran Airbus defense: so it was a mistake, tough; we shoot first and ask questions later, and we have the guns. The cops are given the green light by their bosses, from the White House to the governors and mayors—and from Texas to New York City, that means the Democratic Party of racism and war.

Loyal Garner's family will not get "justice at the bar," whether in Hemphill, Texas or Washington, D.C. The murder of Loyal Garner will only be avenged at the hands of the revolutionary working class, black, brown and white, led by an integrated, class-struggle workers party marching to victory. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD



AFP



Soldier of Fortune

Cuban troops and Soviet arms, such as anti-aircraft missile battery (left) have been key in stopping South African invasion (right).

## Bitter Fruit of Gorbachev's "Peaceful Coexistence"

# Angola: Rotten Deal with Apartheid Terror

On July 13 representatives of South Africa, Angola and Cuba announced in New York that they had reached an accord on the "essential principles" of a plan to end the 13-year-old war in Angola. Brokered by Reagan's hatchet man for African affairs, Chester Crocker, during a secret three-day meeting on Governor's Island in New York harbor, the "principles" commit Angola and Cuba to a "staged and total withdrawal of Cuban troops" from Angola. In exchange, South Africa agrees to implement a ten-year-old United Nations resolution calling for reducing the number of South African troops in Namibia

(Southwest Africa) and UN-sponsored elections there.

But Cuban troops and Soviet arms have been the decisive military factor in thwarting Pretoria's designs of transforming black Angola into a neocolonial vassal state ever since South African troops invaded that newly independent country in 1975. Coming in the wake of the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan, this rotten deal is one more product of Mikhail Gorbachev's conciliation of U.S. imperialism. If implemented, it offers up resource-rich Angola on a silver platter to the apartheid regime. And it's all the more galling because it comes

only weeks after South African troops got their asses whipped by combined Cuban and Angolan forces.

A year ago South African forces reinvaded Angola in a bid to shore up its puppet Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA mercenaries in their war against the Soviet/Cuban-allied Angolan nationalist regime. Savimbi has also been receiving "covert" aid from the CIA to the tune of at least \$15 million a year since 1985. The U.S. aid now includes Stinger anti-aircraft missiles which were used to shoot down an Angolan passenger plane, killing over a hundred. Late last year more than 6,000 heavily armed

South African troops moved against Cuito Cuanavale, a vital government supply base in southern Angola, and by January they were hurling some 200 artillery shells a day onto the town.

In response, according to the official Cuban newspaper *Granma* (12 June), Cuban president Fidel Castro offered the Luanda regime reinforcements including "the best Cuban MIG-23 pilots until air and anti-aircraft superiority over the enemy was achieved." The first contingent of Cuban reinforcements arrived in Cuito on December 5, along with Soviet tanks, MI-24 attack

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## Outrageous Whitewash of Texas Killer Cops

# Loyal Garner Was Victim of Racist Murder!

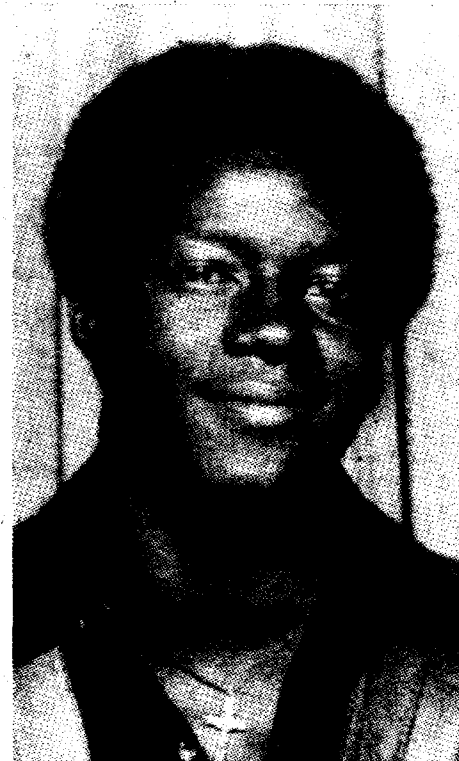
On July 15, the three East Texas cops who six months ago beat the life out of Loyal Garner, Jr. were acquitted by a Hemphill, Texas jury—of violating his civil rights. Garner was the black Louisiana government worker and father of six who last Christmas night drove across the Texas line to retrieve a friend's car. After he was stopped by Hemphill cops and refused a breathalyzer test, the police hauled Garner and his two friends in. When Loyal

asked to make a phone call to his wife, the cops worked him over and dumped him back in his cell, his head bloody and battered. He lay there until morning, when he was flown to a hospital in Tyler, Texas, where he died on December 27. "It was," we wrote at the time, "a chemically pure case of the violence against black people which permeates this racist country."

The "trial" of the killers of Loyal Garner proved it again. His younger brother

Willis was pulled out of the courtroom and taken to jail "after a local woman complained he was breathing on her neck from the seat behind her" (*New York Times*, 10 July). Even the suggestion of a breach of the South's prime taboo, physical contact between a black man and a white woman, was enough to set the cops in motion again. "I've lost one son in Sabine County and I'm not going through this again," said

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AP

Loyal Garner, Jr., beaten to death in jail by racist cops.