October 5—As flames leapt from the Russian parliament on Monday, the capital­ ist rulers from Washington to Bonn cheered on their man in Moscow, Boris Yeltsin. Hundreds have been killed and some 1,600 arrested as a state of siege was imposed on the Russian capital. Ten oppositional newspapers ranging from some leftist newspapers to full-blown newsmagazines, the Kommersant, were banned, all other media are under strict censorship. All political organizations involved in demonstra­tions defending the parliament have been banned as has the display of communist symbols such as the hammer and sickle. The smoke-charred “White House” and the blood in its corridors are the face of the capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the Soviet Union, the home­ land of the Revolution of 1917.

Just over two years ago, Yeltsin had stood outside the same building as he seized power from the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy which for decades ruled the Soviet degenerated workers state. This ushered in a period of coun­ terrevolutionary chaos as the capitalist­ restorationist regime, in the absence of working-class resistance, managed to create a bourgeois state apparatus, although weak and fragile. At the same time, the capitalist-restorationist forces split into bitterly hostile factions, headed by the Yeltsin presidency and the Russian parliament presided over by Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov. By destroying the parliament, Yeltsin has also taken aim at the layers of ex-Soviet bureaucrats in regional councils around the country. A bloody curtain has now been drawn on the initial, “democratic” phase of the counterrevolution.

The tank shells slamming into the “White House” on the morning of October 4 were the opening shots of a bona­ fide “crisis of power,” the armed putsch against the yoke of a bona­ fide capitalist dictatorship.”

For months, Western governments have been pushing Yeltsin to clear out the obstacles to deepening the economic “shock treatment,” whose next stage is mass layoffs of millions of workers and devastation of industry. The West­ ern capitalists and the world bankers cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have been pushing Yeltsin to cut public expenditure, including social security payments, to get his country’s debt under control. Washington, according to an ABC-TV correspondent, was that they would “be quite happy” to see Yeltsin “break a few eggs to make this omelet.”

Only hours after arresting Rustkoi and Khasbulatov, the Kremlin issued decrees vastly expanding the state of emergency. Security forces were authorized to conduct searches without court warrants and to set up checkpoints on main roads and at transportation facilities. Moscow mayor Yuri Luzhkov said the capital would be “cleansed” of “undesirables.” Already 600 parliament supporters are being held in a sports stadium in Kras­ naya Presnya district. The banned groups range from various “Communist” parties to the “left-right” National Salvation Front and the fascist Russian National Sobor. The outlawed papers range from the chauvinist Sovietkaya Rossia and the violently anti-Semitic Den to Pravda, formerly the premier organ in the Soviet Union and now connected to the Communist Party-Russian Federa­ tion, which was established in February of this year as a claimant to the legacy of the old CPSU. Rutskoi/Khasbulatov and the fascist­ infested “red-brown” coalition that sup­ ported them are no less hostile to the working class than is Yeltsin. But, as we wrote last March, when the squabbling capitalist-restorationist factions were heading for a showdown: “The working class must oppose moves from any corner to place its neck in the yoke of a bona­ fide capitalist dictatorship” (“Dogfight in Mos­ cow,” WV No. 572, 26 March). Today the already widespread fear and distrust of would-be czar Boris has been enor­ mously intensified. Even Western corre­ spondents report overwhelming popular hostility to Yeltsin’s “bloody Monday” massacre. The urgent and immediate task of the working class and its allies is to prevent Yeltsin, in the wake of this coup, from consolidating an effective police state. Class-conscious workers must demand an immediate end to the continued on page 12
Cuba and Trotskyism

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the Cuban deformed workers state is in mortal danger. The Castro regime has facilitated Cuba’s integration with its fealty to the Stalinist dogma of “socialism in one country”—opposing social revolu­tions in Latin America and in the interest of befriending bourgeois-nationalist regimes—and its denial of workers democracy for the Cuban masses. Key to the continuation of the revolution is the outermost Castroite bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution. From the time of its foundation in 1963, the Spartacist League has fought for unconditional military defense of the Cuban Revolution and against all illusions in Castroite Stalinism.

The Cuban revolution has exposed the vast inroads of revisionism upon our movement. On the pretext of defense of the Cuban Revolution, in itself an obligation for our movement, full unconditional and uncorrected support has been given to the Castro government and leadership, despite its petit-bourgeois nature and bureaucratic behavior. Yet the record of the regime’s opposition to the democratic rights of the Cuban workers and peasants is clear: bureaucratic ouster of the democratically-elected leaders of the labor movement; their replacement by Stalinist hacks; suppression of the Trotskyist press; proclamation of the single-party system; and much more. This record stands side by side with enormous initial social and economic accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution. Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers’ state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a regime governing hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers’ democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a hardened bureaucratic caste.....

Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti­working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disor­ientation caused by capitalists and the emergence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for “building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries.” Marxist must resolutely oppose any adventurist acceptance of the peasant-guerrilla road to socialism—historically akin to the Social Revolutionary program on tactics that Lenin fought. This alternative would be a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement, and perhaps physically for the adventurers.

—Revolutionary Tendency, “For the Rebirth of the Fourth International” (June 1963), Trotskyite Bulletin No. 9

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SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

“crime” and competing on court, he has been con­ton, and is currently in the Newport News jail, where he won’t be eligible for parole for ten months. Other young black men were also sen­charged and later convicted of “maiming by mob.” The white racist provocateurs, of course, weren’t charged at all.

The sentences meted out to the “platoons-four” is a gross injustice which has galvanized thousands in outrage in the Virginia Tidewater area.

On September 25, hundreds marched past the Hampton Circuit Courthouse, chanting: “It’s 1993, and we’re not still free” and “Free the Hampton Four.” At an earlier protest September 14, over 700 angry protesters rallied. Supporters of the four have formed SWIS (from the initials of the last names of the young men). Joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­joyce Hobson, a teacher and Simmons, Sam­}
OCTOBER 4—At noon today almost 300 members of the Newspaper Guild at the New York Post took down their picket line and lined up to “reapply” for jobs that some of them had held for more than four decades. Driven to the wall by “free-fire zone” demog, the Guild struck a week ago.Mur­
tice, No having to pay the millions in severance pay they had been arbitrarily dismiss any worker without it wasn’t by Murdoch, but by the 200
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doch. Led by Allied head George the unions, including the key pressmen and sworn they would keep the paper open
COLUMBIANA, Alabama—Over 2,500
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There were to chant
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and marched two miles to the plant as well as striking steel workers from La Place, Louisiana. Defying a court

But in a dramatic turnaround, when the reporters and editorial, clerical and advertising workers of the Guild set up their picket line on September 27, a handful of pressmen successfully ap­pealed to the drivers and the rest of the production unions to leave the line. Murdoch’s presses never started. McDonald and the Allied union bureau­crams went berserk, desperately trying to force unionists to cross the picket line. But pressman Phil Meyer, whose family has been at the Post for 40 years, said they weren’t going in: “I don’t care who told them to cross.” For three days the Guild’s line held.

Murdoch responded by threatening to walk away from the deal to buy the Post, and his flunkies on the Allied council whipped up a campaign to return to work. Finally, on Thursday night, scabber­cher McDonald and Pressmen’s union chief Edward Flem­ling led one group of produc­tion workers after another across the Guild’s newly won picket line. As the Union claimed the 200 Guild members members penned up behind police bar­ricades. A few pressmen, including a cleanup crew, honed the lines to the end. Strikers angrily burned copies of the scab Post as thetrucks rolled. Harry Luxembourg, Guild union chief, tele­
tely told Workers Vanguard, “If we could have all the union people that George MacDonald has put out of work it would go from here to Wall Street.”

At a Guild meeting on October 3, the union voted to give in to Murdoch’s terms. Workers with decades at the paper were told they will have to beg for their jobs, with seniority and severance pay paid down the drain. The existence of the Guild at the Post is in question, as Mur­
doch may replace over half its members. Clearing $645 million in severance, he fin­ishes breaking unions in his far-flung businesses, which include Fox TV, a cable empire and newspapers from Aus­tralia to Britain.

The crushing of the Guild strike by the open strikebreaking of the labor bureaucracy is a threat to the existence of every newspaper union. The New York Times in particular is preparing to reap the benefits of this defeat—the Guild contract there expired last March.

For the last three years, the only “tab­

September 30: Newspaper Guild leaders shrouded “Don’t be a scab” in Allied Printing Trades bureaucrats break strike.

2,500 Protest Alabama Picket Line Murders

Confederate flags in evidence. At the plant entrance, mar­chers joined pickets shouting “Take the gate!” call­ing to shut the plant down at the next shift change. U.S.W. president Lyne Wil­liams, dressed in tasseled loafers, led the scene with the rest of the AFL-CIO tops. Even as unionists die on the picket line in Clinton’s America, the bended­
treaty strategy of the union bureaucracy is appeal for “peace” and beg Con­gress to outlaw “permanent replacement workers.” But the marchers have wanted to avenge the murder of their brothers by cleaning out the scabs and shutting down the plant.

On July 17, the New York Post and all labor outfits from Tennessee, Florida and Mississippi, as well as striking steel workers from La Place, Louisiana, Dennis a court injunction, workers took to the streets and marched two miles to the plant chanting “Scabs out!” Integrated groups of bystanders cheered the marchers as they passed. It was striking that here in the Deep South there were virtually no worker demanded to know, “When are we going to stand up and fight back?” The Poor strike comes on the heels of the 1990-91 Daily News strike, where the militant solidarity of the pressmen and drivers in particular kept the scab

Newspaper Guild leaders shrouded “Don’t be a scab” in Allied Printing Trades bureaucrats break strike.

The Fight for Socialism

The Next class: Wed., Oct. 13, 6:30 p.m.
"The Russian Revolution of 1917"
San Francisco State University Student Union, Room B114
For more information: (415) 777-9387

SAN FRANCISCO

Next class: Thurs., Oct. 21, 8 p.m.
"The State"
UC Berkeley, West Madison Room, ASUC Student Union Building
For more information: (510) 643-0851

BERKELEY

First class: Sat., Oct. 16, 4 p.m.
"The State"
Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St.
(1 block south of Chambers, between Church & West Broadway)
For more information: (212) 220-1211

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist Youth Clubs Class Series

The Next class: Sat., Oct. 23, 2:30 p.m.
"Race and Class in Capitalist America—For Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution"
University of Wisconsin
See "Today in the Union" at Memorial Union for room number For more information: (608) 263-2715

MADISON

Next class: Thurs., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m.
"The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism"
Harvard University
Sears Room 111
For more information: (617) 492-3928

BOSTON

Bikewalk class at UCLA
Call for time and location For more information: (213) 825-3280

LOS ANGELES
Last spring the racist rulers of this country breathed a collective sigh of relief when the urban ghettos and barrios did not explode in massive outrage over yet another racist verdict in the trial of the four L.A. cops who brutally beat black motorist Rodney King. An arsenal of police-state terror had been mobilized to crush any roar of protest. Two days later, on April 19, the government turned its guns on the Branch Davidian religious commune outside Waco, Texas, murdering nearly 100 men, women and children because they were, in the words of the feds, "hostile to law enforcement." Now the forces of capitalist "law and order" have their finger on the trigger as they await the outcome of the trial of the black youths accused of the vicious attack on white truck driver Reginald Denny.

The contrast between the kid glove treatment given to the racist cops who sadistically tortured Rodney King and that meted out to these black youth, who have been dubbed the "L.A. 4," drives home the race and class bias that weighs the scales of "justice" in capitalist America against the working class, blacks and all who oppose the establishment. A lynch mob of more than a dozen L.A. cops savaged Rodney King. Only two were ever convicted and given a paltry sentence. But until now these cops have remained free while the two black men accused of beating Reginald Denny have already spent 16 months behind bars.

But this does not take away from the fact that what was wrong was responsible for beating Denny to within an inch of his life—purely on the basis of the color of his skin. In trying to do "what's right" the cops did to Rodney King, the lumpen yuppies at the corner of Florence and Normandie were reflecting a false ghetto consciousness that doesn't recognize the difference between a Simi Valley cop and a white worker.

Guilty Liberal Albies

It would seem to be elementary for community centers and Parents against Police Attack on white workers. But this has provoked a hysterical response from members of the Revolutionary Workers League, a self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organization (at least on those rare occasions that it travels under its own name). At UC Berkeley, RWL members shriek that the "L.A. 4" trial is nothing less than the trial of the "L.A. rebels." Well, that is certainly the line of the capitalist rulers of America. TV ran endless reruns of the vicious attack on Denny, designed to portray the multiracial plebian upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King as nothing other than a "race riot."

Conveniently left out of this equation are the courageous black people who risked life and limb to rescue Denny. The aim of the bourgeoisie was to whip up a racist "law and order" frenzy among the white population. Those leftists who rally to the defense of the "L.A. 4" are helping the bourgeoisie to harden the racial lines that divide the working class of this country and prevent them from engaging in united class struggle against the common enemy, the racist capitalist rulers.

The RWL's response is cheerleading for lumpen rage, not Marxism. Communists fight to build a revolutionary party as the only force capable of carrying out the struggle to root out this system. We do not protest and solidarity with the multiracial outrage against racist cop terror that shook New York City federal building, April 19: Spartacistas immediately organized international protests after Clinton government massacred members of small religious group in Waco, Texas.

bunals" under capitalism is just play act- ing, where it isn't directly a workers aux- iliary to the capitalist state, which fights for workers militaries and integrated defense guards as the embryo of the struggle for proletarian state power.

As we wrote in our special WV sup- plement (4 May 1992) on the Los Ange­ les upheaval, "The Rodney King verdict has illumi­ nated the whole system of capitalist Ameri­ can justice. It has brought into the open the racist oppression. It cannot be reformed, it must be smashed."

The situation cries out for revolutionary leadership, to organize the social power of labor and unite behind it all the organized forces of the movement that gets rid of the whole rotten racist capitalist system and opens the road for socialism.

But, the idea that what is required is a socialist revolution is more than the KTL and the RWL think that their audience can bear.

Lawyers for Mass Murder in Waco

The bottom line is that both organizations have a rather touching faith in the capitalist court system (especially as administered by the Democratic Party). This was more than apparent in their responses to the acquittal of 86 innocent men, women and children at the Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas. Ordered by Democratic President Clinton and his top cop Janet Reno, the intended message of this mas­ sacre—the biggest government slaughter of American civilians in this century—was that anyone who gets in the way of the "New World Order" will be crushed.

The Spartacist League made the big­ gest outcry we could. In emergency pro­ test demonstrations from New York to Washington, D.C., to the Bay Area we drew the connection between rampant racist police terror and Waco, with signs reading "Rodney King Beating, Waco Inferno: America's 'New World Order' and 'Freedom to Kill' for Capitalist Massacres, Desert Slaughter in Iraq, Waco Holocaust."

But when we raised a ban­ ner proclaiming "Waco Holocaust—Clinton/Reno/FBI Are Mass Murders" at the Lesbian, Gay and Bi March on Wash­ ington, DC, this banner was intercepted by members of the RWL and its front group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC).

At best they shrugged that the Waco massacre was "irrelevant" and had nothing to do with the D.C. gay rights demon­ stration. Our banner sure wasn't in keeping with the "Hail to the Chief" red­ white-and-blue spirit of this march which was parodying for Clinton to hold to his electoral promise to end the ban on gays in the military. To call Clinton a mass murderer was also not in keeping with the spirit of the RWL/NWROC con­ tingent which simply sought to apply the most "militant" pressure to the Demo­ cratic White House with idiotic chants like "You made a promise, don't back down—Lift the ban or we'll burn this town!" (Expressing their role as a pres­ sure group on the Democratic Party, after the Washington march the RWL com­ plained that the leaders of the demo "made no demands on the government.")

To date the RWL has said not one word in print about Waco, which is a state­ ment in itself. But odder still, none of their members have tried to whitewash this massacre by comparing the Branch Davidian massacre to the racist terror­ ists of Operation Rescue and even the continued on page 14
WARSAW—In the September 19 elections for Poland's parliament, working people, women and youth registered their verdict on four years of capitalist restoration with a resounding thumbs down. The parties of Solidarność counterrevolution were trounced, and two parties associated with the former Stalinist regime, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasants Party (PSP), together won over a third of the votes and two-thirds of the 460 seats in the Sejm, the lower house of parliament. Shivers went down the spines of anti-Communists and financiers as election results showed that "they"—the "forces of the old order"—are back. Actually, the victors are no more "communist" than is Mr. Solidarność, Lech Walesa himself. But the dramatic Polish vote symbolizes a turnaround across East Europe, as wide layers of the population realize that they have been hoodwinked by promises of a "free market" paradise.

The various components of the fractured Solidarność movement were decimated. The Democratic Union (UD) of incumbent prime minister Hanna Suchocka, the Thatcherite "Iron Lady" who was the favored candidate of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Clinton White House, came in a distant third with barely 10 percent of the vote. Suchocka's former coalition partners in the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD) and the Christian Nationalists (who ran as part of the overtly clerical-chauvinist "Fatherland" bloc) failed to get into the Sejm at all. President Walesa had set up a "Non-Party Bloc to Support Reform" (BBWR) as a vehicle for his bonapartist appetites, but the BBWR just managed to squeak in above the 5 percent vote representation, running behind the Union of Labor (formerly Labor Solidarność) and the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Polish Peasants Party (PSP), together won over a third of the votes and two-thirds of the 460 seats in the Sejm, the lower house of parliament. Shivers went down the spines of anti-Communists and financiers as election results showed that "they"—the "forces of the old order"—are back. Actually, the victors are no more "communist" than is Mr. Solidarność, Lech Walesa himself. But the dramatic Polish vote symbolizes a turnaround across East Europe, as wide layers of the population realize that they have been hoodwinked by promises of a "free market" paradise.

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Four years after their Stalinist predecessors surrendered power to Solidarność, ushering in the destruction of the bureaucratically deformed workers state, the "renovated" Social Democrats (SDRP) who dominate the SLD looked set to take the reins of government in a new capitalist Poland. Coming after an electoral victory by ex-Stalinists in Lithuania, priests to warn against a vote to those who "oppose our national traditions and faith." The U.S. weighed in with a heavily-handed endorsement of the Solidarność regime: Clinton enthused in a much-publicized letter to Suchocka that "all Polish people can take pride in how much has been accomplished in just four years."

But the mass of the Polish population knows only too well what has been "accomplished" in the past four years, and this time even many people leaving Sunday mass didn't obey the priests' injunctions. The right to a job, access to education and medical care, social security for the elderly have all been ripped away. As living standards plummet, the incidence of TB has been climbing since 1990. Women needing an abortion must either travel abroad or pay 10 million zlotys (over $500)—four months' wages for a worker—to get one illegally in a state clinic. Anti-Semitism is rife—even Suchocka was Jew-baited during the election campaign—while Roman (Gypsies) and other minorities are subjected to racist attacks by the cops and pogromist mobs.

Meanwhile, the nouveau riche entrepreneurs ostentatiously flaunt their wealth. When the government organized a lavish affair to celebrate the "miracle on the Vistula"—Piłsudski's defense of Warsaw against the Red Army in 1920—enraged readers of Gazeta Wyborcza (25 August) said: "The elite enjoy themselves like a king's court on the eve of revolution," "exactly like a ball on the Titanic." Former prime minister Bielecki was nearly lynched when he responded to an old-age pensioner's complaints at an election meeting by "joking" that his audience did not vote like starving Somalis.

In striking contrast particularly to Russia, Poland's working-class passivity has bred pervasive apathy and cynicism. Polish workers have engaged in militant struggle against the regime, but not in mass movements of counter-revolution virtually from the outset, beginning with a massive rail strike in the summer of 1990 and continuing through last winter's tumultuous coal strike. The vote turnout in this election was significantly higher than in the last parliamentary poll two years ago, with many women and young people voting for their ballot for the "left." An unemployed young woman in the textile center of Lodz, which has been devastated by factory closures, said she was going to vote for the SLD because "The church has been ruling for too long." Another worker said, "I am voting for the old communists because the brick factory I used to work in was ruined by privatization."

But aside from vague promises to increase pensions and slow down the "shock treatment," the Social Democrats offer nothing to the workers, women and youth who look to them but the hoax of "capitalism with a human face." Under the leadership of 39-year-old Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was the minister of sports in the last Stalinist government, the SDRP has remodeled itself as a slick, yupified, right-wing social-democratic party. The party tops parlay their old bureaucratic sinecures into "free enter prise" fiefdoms, and the red necktie of the Stalinist careerist is replaced by elegant suits from Pierre Cardin (Warsaw Voice, 19 September).

The SLD election program does not so much mention the word "socialism." On abortion and the death penalty, it notes only that it is necessary "to consider the opinion of society," while Kwasniewski warns party members against taking part in "anticlerical activity." Jeffrey Sachs, architect of Poland's "shock treatment," certified that the SLD "campaigned on a platform of capitalism and integration with Western Europe" (New York Times, 20 September). The SLD left no doubts on that score when it voted earlier this year—despite continued on page 13
We print below an edited speech by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard and member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League/U.S., at Columbia University in New York City on September 10.

To talk about Cuba, we have to talk first about the Russian Revolution. Because you can’t understand what’s going on in Cuba today outside of the context of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which is the crux of the question.

The Russian October Revolution of 1917 led by Lenin and Trotsky was the key event of this century, a turning point in world history, when for the first time the working class, at the head of all the exploited and oppressed, took the reins of power on an internationalist program pointing to world socialist revolution. The Soviet Union which came out of that revolution, even after Stalin’s usurpation of political power at the head of a conservative bureaucracy, was a determining factor in the struggles of the 1930s, of the Second World War, of the postwar colonial independence movement; Soviet military strength and particularly its nuclear arsenal stayed the hand of the imperialists for 45 years of Cold War and so-called “detente.” Today, in like fashion, the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucratic regime in August 1991 leading to the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has had and is having consequences throughout the world.

The would-be masters of the world in Wall Street, the White House and the Pentagon crow of the “death of communism” and proclaim a “New World Order” dominated by the United States, with some “multilateral” cover from its appendage, the United Nations.

Imperialist blockade and counterrevolution in USSR produced severe food crisis in Cuba. Above: anxious crowd in town of Cárdenas clamers for holiday pastries on July 26.

You can see this just by looking at the front page of today’s papers, where we see two events that are a direct result of the collapse of Stalinism. On the one hand you have the bloody mass murder of a hundred or more Somalis, a truly wanton slaughter mostly of women and children, by U.S. helicopter gunships. This was billed as a “humanitarian” intervention to feed the starving Somali people, remember?—we said at the time this was hogwash—but it soon showed itself to be an effort to demonstrate U.S. power to its imperialist allies (as in the Persian Gulf War), and recolonize a part of Africa in the process. And on the other hand you have this “peace” agreement between the Zionist state of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. You have your choice: the would-be masters of the world choose to be an effort to demonstrate U.S. power to its imperialist allies (as in the Persian Gulf War), and recolonize a part of Africa in the process.

This was billed as a “peace” agreement between the Soviet Union and the Soviet client state of Syria, as well as from the Saudis and other Gulf “elitism,” as we dubbed them. After the Gulf War against Iraq, which the U.S. never would have dared undertake as long as the Soviets were a factor, this all dried up. So now you have a “peace” of the oppressor, in which the PLO is to police the Palestinians on behalf of the Zionist masters, and paymasters. And it will be signed in Washington next week with Clinton as the godfather to this Pax Americana.

The Yankee imperialists feel they now have a free hand to go after all their enemies. And right at the top of their “enemies list,” as Nixon called it, whether there is a Republican or a Democratic in the White House, is Cuba. Three and a half decades after the revolution, American rulers are still so incensed at the effrontery of the semicolonial not just in its backyard but on its back doorstep, overthrowing capitalism, and the fear that this could inspire revolution elsewhere in their Latin American neocolonial empire, that Washington is determined to strangle the island, which it is continuing to do with its draconian embargo. That was intensified last year with the passage of the Torricelli Amendment, which would never have been passed without the support of the Democrats. And they’re still squeezing.

Cuba is a key question for revolutionaries around the world, particularly in the U.S. and Latin America, and it has been a defining issue for the Trotskyist tendency from our origins in the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. When the SWP was hailing Fidel Castro as an “unconscious Trotskyist,” the RT noted that his petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilla movement, which originally sought to carry out a program of bourgeois-democratic reforms, saw itself forced to expropriate the capitalists, both foreign and domestic, as the only alternative to submission to or defeat by U.S. imperialism. And that while the origins of Castro’s 26th of July Movement were different from the Stalinist parties, the nature of the Castro regime and its political program were qualitatively the same as the Stalinist-cuban degenerated and deformed workers states. As we emphasized, the formation of a deformed workers state around late 1960 was due to a particular set of circumstances, including the simultaneous sharp hostility of the U.S. to a revolution on its back doorstep, and a hesitation to intervene for fear that it would spread through Latin America.

So amid all the initial enthusiasm for Castroism on our part, we were conscious of the tendency, based on a Marxist analysis, held that Cuba was a deformed workers state, which was an unconscious Trotskyist counterrevolution and imperialism. And we have insisted that this narrow, nationalist Castroist perspective was a roadblock to extension of the revolution, that there has to be a proletarian political revolution in Cuba to open the way forward.

If “socialism in one country” was a nationalist lie and an impossibility in the giant Soviet Union covering a sixth of the globe, the Castro-Stalinist version of socialism in one small Caribbean island 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist power on earth is far, far more so.

And now with the demise of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which provided three-quarters of Cuba’s trade and vital oil supplies as well as a military presence as a trip wire against American imperialist occupation, the situation of Cuba has become precarious in the extreme.

In our article “May Day in Havana” in Workers Vanguard No. 576 [21 May], we noted that the biggest threat to Cuba today is slow strangulation by U.S. imperialism’s starved blockade. We wrote, “isolated, the Cuban Revolution cannot survive: ‘socialism on one island’ has no future.” The bureaucratic leadership of the Cuban deformed workers state is driven to seek accommodation, “peaceful coexistence,” with...
Copied with fuel shortage in Cuba: horse-and-buggy taxis, bicycles and passengers piling aboard flatbed truck.

Fidel Castro and Mikhail Gorbachev in Havana, 1989.


'Enlightened' capitalism. While calling for workers political revolution and a Leninist-Trotskyst party in Cuba, we emphasized that "only a perspective of workers revolution, of proletarian uprisings across Latin America and beyond, into the belly of the imperialist colonizers, can offer a road forward to the Cuban masses." Far more than ever, in this bleak situation the focus of defense of Cuba is international, particularly in Latin America, and it is an important task for revolutionaries in the U.S. And the decisive aid is not just collecting medicines by various solidarity committees, though that is needed, but by struggle for proletarian revolution here and in the key industrial centers of Latin America—Mexico, Brazil, Argentina.

Cuba in Extremis

We recently returned from a two-week trip to Cuba, in which we traveled across the island, so I would like to give you some impressions of the situation in Cuba today. In the first place, it's important to emphasize that this tiny island achieved the highest standard of living for the working class of anywhere in Latin America. The official statistics list a Gross Domestic Product of $2,500 per person. That is roughly the same as Argentina, but you can't directly compare statistics for a workers state with those for a capitalist country. For one thing, the level of inequality is immensely less in Cuba. You can just see that the working-class districts in and around Havana and Santiago de Cuba are much better off than the huge slums surrounding Buenos Aires.

And you see it in a host of statistics: infant mortality in Cuba is now down to 0.3 per thousand, less than New York City, and it has continued to fall during this severe economic crisis. The Cubans say proudly that despite all the shortages they haven't closed a single hospital—compare that to Harlem and recall Sydenham Hospital. Life expectancy at birth is 72 years for men and 76 for women. The literacy rate of 96.2 percent is above that of the U.S.; 88 percent of school-age children go to secondary school; there is a huge number of university students and graduates, a majority of whom are women.

You could go on like this at length. Cuba had the second-highest food intake per capita in Latin America, with a calorie consumption of over 3,100 a day. Ninety-five percent of the population has electricity. With 22.5 percent of the workforce employed in industry (and another, 16 percent in construction and transport), it was far and away the most industrialized country in Latin America. With a 1988 industrial output per capita of $1,355, Cuba was closer to the level of a backward European country, like Portugal ($1,591), which many of Cuba's statistics are similar to. But all of a sudden, this country has been brutally thrown back into a pre-industrial period.

Today Cuba is now facing the most serious and critical moment since the revolution, something that everyone there understands. The situation is excruciating. Because they are caught between the American blockade and the collapse of the Soviet bloc, people will tell you that from 1989 on, as the Soviet bloc began crumbling—with capitalist restorationist governments in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the capitalist reunification of Germany—they never thought they would even make it this far. Their attitude is, well, we're some­what here, but it can't go on.

The fact that Cuba has been able to hold out against this tremendous pressure is a direct result of the collectivized property. Take the question of energy and transportation. Due to the Soviet cutoff of oil to Cuba, energy supplies were slashed to about 30 percent of what they were. That meant a number of industries have been cut way back, and transport was effectively militarized. They imported more than a million bicycles from China, and Cuba started producing its own bicycles. They also began manufac­turing carts to serve as horse-drawn taxis—it's infuriating to see this forced regression to a pre-industrial state. And if you have to go further than a bicycle or horse and buggy will take you, you wait at a transport point. There is a policeman at each one of these points, and he simply flags down every passing state-owned vehicle—whether it's a flat­bed truck, or a bus, or a little car—and it stops, and people are put on it. People often have to wait for two hours for long-distance transport, but it works and we saw very little discontent with that.

The blackouts when we were there were about eight hours a day per neigh­borhood. They went up to 16 hours a day in August when they shut down some industries altogether for vacation, although now they have been reduced again. It's put in the paper when you're going to have it. So some people we met, they had a blackout that afternoon when we were sitting there, and the mother of the family was saying how silly her sister­in-law was, who had defrosted the refrigerator that morning: if she had just read the papers, she would have had it defrosted for her that afternoon. Of course, given the paper shortage it is extremely hard to get a newspaper at all: they eliminated all of the dailies except Granma, cut them back to weeklies.

So what can be done about it? Well, a good part of the food shortage is a result of the fact that they decided, within the framework of COMECON, the Soviet bloc's common market, to concentrate on sugar production and import food from the Soviet Union. But now that is gone. Cuba is a very fertile island, and has the capability of produc­ing many foods. We saw a lot of brigades going out building vegetable gardens in the workers' housing districts. One friend said he planted garlic in his patio. "Well, not really planted, I just threw the seeds..."

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there and within a few weeks it was flourishing.” But this is the tropics, and sometimes the lush foliage is deceptive. For example, they successfully managed to adapt milk-producing cows by crossing Holsteins and Cebus. But they needed imported feed—tropical grasses are not very nourishing, full of water—for their own produce. In fact there are relatively few independent peasants; most are in the cooperatives, and then there are state farms. But in any case an NEP won’t solve the problems. In the Soviet Union, as soon as they opened up private trade—which Lenin frankly said was a retreat toward capitalism, a temporary retreat—they got what Trotsky called the “returns crisis,” a disproportion between industrial and agricultural prices and production. Peasants wouldn’t produce because they couldn’t buy anything with the proceeds. Well, in Cuba, they’re way out on one end of the spectrum. The government encourages this migration, because the authorities in the west kept asking for more pork, hasn’t been available (except by retreating to a pre-industrial society, from the first years of the revolution, those are the government encourages this migration), where they can at least live off the land. About the only “treat” left in Havana that doesn’t require hard currency is the immense open-air Coppelia ice cream parlor. When we went there, on a week-day afternoon, the lines to buy a small dish of ice cream were more than two hours long. To add insult to injury, tourists paying with dollars get to go to the front of the line. The day after we arrived, Castro made his announcement that it would now be legal for Cuban citizens to hold hard currency, but this was largely an acceptance of reality, as the economy increasingly depended on the tourist industry for dollars, and jobs in resorts like Varadero or Cayo Largo are seen as plum positions because they give individual access to hard currency. But this legalization of personal hard-currency holdings will further dramatically increase social differentiation. In the tourist resorts tips used to be forbidden; now they are standard and expected. We heard several stories of skilled workers and professionals including doctors whose best jobs in order to continue on page 11

Cuba... (continued from page 7)

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Blacks and the Cuban Revolution

The following is an edited excerpt from a speech by Marjorie Stamberg of the Spartacist League/U.S. Central Committee at Howard University in Washington, D.C., on September 25:

The Cuban Revolution had a huge impact on American radicals, black and white. Two issues were to shake the foundation of the freedom rides and the sit-in movement in Greensboro. So when in 1960 Fidel Castro came to the United Nations, refusing to stay in some fancy mid-town hotel but instead moving into the Hotel Theresa in Harlem where he met with Malcolm X, black people lined the streets.

In Cuba, where about a third of the population is black, and especially in Havana, and in Santiago province which is majority black and had a crucial participation in the insurrection, one of the first acts of the revolution was to formally abolish discrimination. In many ways Havana was a Southern city—there were restaurants blacks couldn’t go into, for example. And slavery was not abolished in Cuba until the 1880s.

After the revolution, Cuba provided exile for such black radicals as Robert Williams, the Monroe County, North Carolina NAACP leader who advocated black self-defense, the author of Negros with GUNS who was framed up on kidnapping charges in 1961 after he led militant self-defense against the Klan.

More recently, it has offered haven to Assata Shakur, one of the New York Black Panthers, who has been living in Cuba since the early ’80s. And Cuba’s fate has been bound up with black struggle, for example, in the over 400,000 troops who served in Angola defending that country against the South African puppet Jonas Savimbi and direct South African invasion. And in black Grenada, where Cuban construction workers were killed in the 1983 U.S. invasion.

These two issues, of the Cuban Revolution and of the emerging civil rights movement, were the two central questions around which our tendency, the Spartacist League, was forged. Both centered on the necessity for a conscious revolutionary vanguard at the head of these struggles. In the civil rights movement, the absence of such leadership meant that in the split between the radical “black power” wing and the reformist “nonviolent” preachers, there was not the revolutionary leadership needed to bring radicals away from a ghetto-based vision to see the need for working-class power.

The black question in Cuba has come up lately with a book Castro, the Blacks and Africa (1988), by Carlos Moore, an Afro-Cuban writer who left the island in 1963. That alone tells you a lot, because he left when Cuba was implementing revolutionary measures and under greatest attack from U.S. imperialism.

Carlos Moore says that there was always racism in Cuba. It is certainly had a legacy of slavery no less than the U.S. And the anti-slavery struggle was closely linked to the struggle for independence in the 19th century. Antonio Maceo was a black freedom fighter who led the mambises, the “swamp fighters” who rose up against the Spaniards in 1868, and Maceo also played a major role in the 1898 uprising, which the U.S. eventually moved in to head off.

Moore also claims that there was racism after the revolution. Well, blacks were among the most enthusiastic early supporters of the revolution. They were the majority in Oriente province, where much of the fighting took place, and also in the sugar mills, where they lived in semi-slave conditions. In contrast, the anti-slavery struggle was closely linked to the struggle for independence.

To return to Carlos Moore, he sees Cuban politics as a fight between Hispanics and blacks, saying that revolution “duped” blacks, and downplays their central role in the revolution. Moore cites repression of Afro-Cuban religious groups, and in fact these groups were viewed apprehensively in the early days. He is also a hard opponent of Cuba’s intervention in Grenada and Angola, claiming that because of the presence of Cuban troops in Angola the South African might have used nuclear weapons against black Africans! These are cynical pro-Savimbi arguments. The fact is that the support of the South African apartheid army’s offensive at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola in 1988 was decisive in opening up the latest round of anti-apartheid struggle.

Stalinism and nationalism—whether Latin American anti-Yankee nationalism, or black nationalism—were not able to give a revolutionary answer to black struggle. American black radicals who looked to Cuba had tremendous potential. But they did not have a Trotskyist program of revolutionary integrationism—that only through socialist revolution can black people be emancipated and fully integrated into an egalitarian society. The multicrural proletariat under communist leadership must take aim at all manifestations of discrimination, from Woolworth’s in the ’60s to Denby’s today, drawing on the power of black industrial workers in the struggle against black oppression throughout society.

Both black separatism and liberal integrationism had no program for urban black workers in the North, and no program for revolutionary-minded black radicals like Williams and many others who were attracted by the black power movement.
and in basic industry as well. They already have joint ventures with the Canadians to explore oil drilling.

In May of 1973, the 40th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks in Havana de Cuba, Castro made a great speech on the occasion that it would be legal to hold dollars in Cuba now. Tourism is a big business in Cuba, the government had decided they weren’t going to annexation, but key to the vote was whether or not they could make the dollar work, i.e., some kind of social-democratic capitalism.

At the end of his July 26 speech, Castro put forward a whole series of slogans, which were: "Save the fatherland, save the revolution and save the gains of socialism!" When a Stalinist starts talking about preserving the gains of socialism, hold on to your hat, because that means they are going to try to keep as much of the elements of social equality that they can—the health system, the education system, and so on—while introducing rampant capitalism in the economy. But this idea of sort of melding into a tropical Sweden, a "third way," is reformist utopianism of the first water. The bigger danger is that the gusano invasion, rather than development of internal counterrevolutionary forces may be the extreme pressure of the imperialist blockade.

For Workers Political Revolution—Defend Cuba Against International Socialist Revolution! The Castro regime has hunkered down into a bunker mentality, as was exemplified by the Stalinist show trial of General Ochoa in 1988, who was executed evidently for talking back to El Jefe. It is really breathtaking, the way Castro, and to appease Yankee imperialism. This was hailed or abided by a whole bunch of leftists, especially the long-since ex-Trotskyst and now explicit anti-Trotskyst SWP, and the Cuban government was pleased with types of Stalinist fellow travelers who white-washed the Moscow purge trials in the 1930s. It is interesting to note that don’t defend Cuba by executing its generals. We pointed out how Stalin nearly Speech was given before the Council of State, Cuba’s parliament, Carlos Alondra, on charges of having favored Sony in some financial requirements.

The bigger danger right now is the regime a "rectification process," in which some of the more notoriously corrupt officials were put out of the way. But subsequently, they have brought in some younger ministers who are openly capitalist-oriented.

What’s needed in Cuba is not one of the many bureaucratic purges that the Stalinists resort to when their policies lead them to a dead end, but a proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy that is leading the country to counterrevolution, and to replace it with a regime based on democratic workers soviets, in which all parties that stand for a worker’s political revolution will be put forward theirs programs. This revolution requires above all the construction of a Trotskyist group that has the strength of the Soviet structure is incomparably greater one. The victory of the proletariat in one of the Western industrial nations will be an incomparably greater one. The victory of the proletariat in one of the Western industrial nations will be an incomparably greater one.

The road to the Socialism is long one. Workers Vanguard
Cuba...
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material incentives, brutal repression and an idealist emphasis on "moral incentives." Now we see in the case of Cuba, for bringing back capitalist market relations, overthrow of the Castro regime, it was returning intelligentsia peasants market (without middlemen, for now). This kind of an agitational campaign for peasant bourgeois caste that sits atop the material forms of a workers state but seeks incentives." Now we see in the case of markets in 1986 because they were bourgeois caste that sits atop the prop­
erties in a Cuba solidarity movement. For example, people like the "Com­mittees of Correspondence," a social­democratic group of former attorney general under Lyndon Johnson who ordered the Chicago cops to beat up on the antiwar protesters at 1990 conference Castro delivered
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get to work as waiters. The average monthly salary is about 200 pesos. While the official U.S. dollar exchange rate is about one to one, while Castro's workers are making it is now 80 to 1. So, a $5 tip in a restaurant is equivalent to two months' pay. More to the point, while Castro presented Nicaragua with a sugar mill, he also told the Sandinista leaders a week after they took power that Nicaragua should not be a "second Cuba"—in other words, no social revolution. Just as he told Chilean
that the Castro regime attempted to legitim­imize and mobilize support for the regime on the basis of Cuban or Latin American nationalism, which they are now doing in a more pronounced way.
Meanwhile, the Forum called for "combining the market with democratic development and social justice." This kind of social-democratic crap is what Lula of the Brazilian Work­ers Party (PT), for example, is running about his participation in the Hispano­American Summit of heads of state in Brazil, and he told his supporters to get out of the guerrilla business and repeat­edly praised the "strength of the unarmed people." Meanwhile, the Forum called for "combining the market with democratic development and social justice." This kind of social-democratic crap is what Lula of the Brazilian Workers Party (PT), for example, is running
on about the revolution. Now this generation is growing old, dying off. Even here, there exists a unique ameliorant of the revolution itself. Meanwhile, for much of the younger generation it is hard to believe that anything could have been worse in the current situation today. Even the country's justly accessible education system is increasingly unavailable thanks to the U.S. blockade and foreign-currency shortage.
from several discussions, we got a sense that the kind of depoliticization among the younger generation that occurs in the U.S. is very present in Cuba as well.
It is better for the workers of Cuba and the world that the Castro regime "holds the line" and not simply surrender­ing outright to imperialism as did the Sandinistas and most of East Europe in the end. But by itself this solves nothing at all. Castro remains firmly committed to socialist revolution, which was the program of the October Revolution and the very reason for existence of the Communist International. We urge you to join us in this struggle.
state of siege, to the censorship, to the ban on political parties, and call for the immediate release of all anti-Yeltsin prisoners.

A massive anti-communist witchhunt is now under way. In the longer term, the real purpose of Yeltsin's coup is to ward off the specter of working-class resistance to the ravages of capitalist restoration. Watching the results of the September 19 Polish elections—where a population fed up with three years of capitalist "shock therapy" blew out the IMF-backed Solidarnosci and handed a resounding victory to the former Stalinists—the imperialists were worried at the prospect of the "Polish scenario" spreading to Russia. Today, Yeltsin is firmly in the saddle. Whether or not for elections for a new rubber-stamp "legislature" take place as scheduled in December, and even if they are combined with a presidential vote, today's masters of the Kremlin and their imperialist backers are fully intent on riding roughshod over any political opposition and imposing dictatorial rule. In our article, "How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled" (WV No. 564, 27 November 1992), we wrote: "Four thousand Yeltsin supporters, however, sought to nail down a solid capitalist regime, sooner rather than later a bloody power struggle between the capitalists might have led to civil war or even to genocidal conflict. The American media described the anti-Yeltsin 'forces of the center' as a new rubber-stamp parliament and called for a new show of force in order to maintain order.

As capitalist forces, in the first place the officer corps and the industrial managers, who somehow want to restore the old order, are being mobilized. Their support is the key to the Yeltsin regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or anyone else.

In the last two weeks, the bulk of the anti-Yeltsin forces have crumbled and the working class is left to face the capitalists alone. Even if the potential explosive social unrest is checked at seeing the one-time global vassal of the West, and to the corporate faction of industrial managers, who didn't want to see their plants shut down on the altar of IFM monetarism.

So why didn't the parliamentary opposition succeed in rallying support from either the officer corps or the industrialists? And given the increasingly desperate economic straits of the masses, why was there no popular outpouring of opposition to Yeltsin's presidential coup? To begin with, a look at the various contending forces in post-Soviet Russia.

The national-patriot-corporatist faction of the nascent Russian capitalist class, whose chief political representative is Civic Union leader Arkady Volsky, seeks to maintain the core of the existing industrial structure. Given the non-profitability in the world capitalist market of the giant enterprises built to function in a centrally planned Soviet economy, the only way to present them off is by massive subsidies from the central bank, leading to a hyper-inflationary budget deficit. For the last couple of years, Volsky & Co. have been engaged in a tug of war with the "shock treatment" economists represented by Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's former prime minister. Using the parliament as a battering ram against the president, they put in place a "new Russia" organization that has taken over the center of the national old guard. Indeed, the "united front" of the nascent bourgeoisie, and have been pushing for a corporatist regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or Yeltsin or someone else. But when parliament's defiance of Yeltsin was taken to the streets last weekend, threatening to ignite a civil war, this pushed Volsky & Co. from neutrality into Yeltsin's arms. Moreover, these well-versed businessmen are fully aware that they need massive infusions of Western cash even to maintain, much less modernize, Russian factories. The imperialists hold the dollar and D-marks, and Yeltsin is their man. But the imperialists are not irrevocably wedded to IMF-style monetarism, and might acquiesce to a more corporatist political line, it is extreme Russian nationalism that is the key to the Yeltsin regime, sooner rather than later a bloody power struggle between the capitalists might have led to civil war or even to genocidal conflict. The American media described the anti-Yeltsin 'forces of the center' as a new rubber-stamp parliament and called for a new show of force in order to maintain order.

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Even more than looking to the industrialists, former air force general Rutskoi counted on support from the military. If anything, a significant section of the officer corps is up for grabs. The most pathetic to Rutskoi's brand of hard Russian nationalism than Yeltsin's subordinates, but with the threat of a military move was to surround the central bank with troops and take it over. One would think that Volsky & Co. would have strongly supported the parli­amentary opposition. Instead, the corporatists pushed for a compromise solution that would combine parliamentary and presidential elections, and ended up in Yeltsin's camp.

Why? A corporatist force in the first place the "industrialists' party" requires social and political stability. Volsky and his fel­low "shock treaters know that a couple of years, Volsky Co. have been pushing for a corporatist regime, whether headed by Rutskoi or Yeltsin or someone else. But when parliament's defiance of Yeltsin was taken to the streets last weekend, threatening to ignite a civil war, this pushed Volsky & Co. from neutrality into Yeltsin's arms. Moreover, these well-versed businessmen are fully aware that they need massive infusions of Western cash even to maintain, much less modernize, Russian factories. The imperialists hold the dollar and D-marks, and Yeltsin is their man. But the imperialists are not irrevocably wedded to IMF-style monetarism, and might acquiesce to a more corporatist political line, particularly in light of the Polish elections.

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October 3: Anti-Yeltsin forces rolled over riot police, but pro-capitalist parliament leaders feared civil war and Western disapproval.

The ex-Stalinist OPZZ trade union federation has worked overtime to hold back strikes, which OPZZ chief Ewa Sypyskal justified with the explanation that an SLD electoral victory "will be beneficial for the working people" (Trybuna, 21 September). But not fighting won't be beneficial for the working people.

This criminal passivity is an open invitation to sinister ultrarightist groups to continue their "proto-populist" opposition to Walesa, like the KPN and Solidarnosc (80). The anti-Semitic, anti-Gypsy, anti-feminist, anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism, against women's oppression and anti-gay bigness, against poor Polish nationalism and clericalism. But the election results show these questions are not irrelevant to the workers. "When the Pope came to Poland, Walesa as head of state dropped to his knees and kissed his hand," complained one worker at the Gdansk shipyard where Solidarnosc was born. "Not all of us would drop to their knees to the head of the church."

When Walesa & Co. first made their bid to restore capitalism in Poland in late 1981, we Spartacistans said, "Stop Solidarnosc! counterrevolution!" While calling for proletarian political revolution against the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, we took a clear stand against the clerical-reactionary forces which sought to destroy the social foundations upon which the Polish deformed workers state was based. Even as we swam against the current of mass support for Solidarnosc, we held that the historically socialist-minded Polish proletariat's infatuation with clerical reaction would not last long.

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The neo-Nazis of the U.S.A. Nation­alist Party thought they could strut through Auburn, New York with their swastikas on September 25, the Jewish holiday of Yom. Kippur. Behind a line of riot cops, the fascists rallied on the steps of the Auburn courthouse under a huge Confederate flag. But when they tried to make their presence felt—a move to the great anti-fascist and leader of the Underground Railroad for escaped slaves, Harriet Tubman—the thousands of anti-fascists filled the streets and stopped the Nazi vermin in their tracks. As the would-be goons scatted out of town like rats, hundreds cele­brated in Freedom Park.

Auburn is a predominantly white town whose main “business” is incarcerating a lot of black people in a state prison. Defying the Auburn mayor’s suggestion that townsfolk “ignore” the fascists and attend a local tomato fest (!), the many intensively armed fascists (including Holocaust survivors from the Auschwitz death camp), blacks, gays and hundreds of youth from upstate New York campuses—put themselves forward to make sure the fascists were driven back. The National Women’s Rights Organiz­ation Coalition (NWROC) had the largest organized contingents with about 100 per­sons from Albany and Michigan. From the bombing of NAACP offices in California to the desecration of Jewish cemeteries in New York, to the bombing of an abortion clinic in Pennsylvania, the fascists are stepping up their cowardly nightmarish attacks—and their broad daylight rallies to recruit new shock troops. The rot of the capitalist economy, the rising unemployment and despera­tion are the conditions which fuel the growth of these race-haters who serve the capitalist class and target minorities as scapegoats for widespread discontent. What’s necessary is to mobilize the social and political forces of the working class in massive labor/black mobilizations to decisively defeat the fascists.

KWl Klansman? An integrated religious sect, living together communally in Texas—Klansmen? Does the RWL know what country they’re living in? Do they care? They do not. Most of those march­ers with the Klan are actually members of integrated communes. In this case, the Klansmen didn’t even understand what the Klan was! They didn’t even know that the Klan was defunct, that the KKK went out of business, that the RWL didn’t even know what a commune was! Do they really think there are any real KKK Klansmen in this country? They do not think that there are any real KKK Klansmen in this country.

Operation Rescue is a reactionary political organization with a base of fascists who bomb abortion clinics and target doctors for assassination. The Branch Davidians, a fundamentalist Christian sect with a 50-year history, harmed no one. Their “crime” was to legally acquire land in Texas; the state thought they should have. So the state wiped them out. And this was Texas, where even if you threw your dead mother up on a cross and your dead baby, the mother packs a pistol in her cookie jar— not to mention Ron Peret’s arsenal. As for the tiny RTL, their members called for a “workers tribunal” to “inves­tigate” murdered Branch Davidian leader David Koresh for “child abuse.” They’re offering their “protestarian” services to Janet Reno who cynically wielded the charge of “child abuse” to all the murder of the children who lived in this religious commune.

Racist State Terror U.S.A.

As we wrote of the Waco holocaust: “Like the massacre of the Philadelphia MOVE commune in 1985, the Waco holocaust was a war against communists. The White House, First the Massacre, Now the Lies.” (Ref. No. 757, May 1993.) This was not lost on other victims of the U.S. government—Virginia steel worker, who was railroaded into jail for defending his union during their struggle against the Reagan/Ravenswood aluminum in 1991-92, wrote in a letter to the Partisan Defense Committee: “We were to do so many years in prison. Our children and grandchildren were convicted, not guilty, but for doing what we did. We were convicted of a crime in the 1980s. We were convicted of a crime in the 1980s. We were convicted of a crime in the 1980s.

The struggle against fascism and the racist cops is serious business. It requires a proletarian socialist perspective—one firmly grounded in the understanding that the capitalist state is the main, most deadly, armed enemy of the working class and oppressed. It requires the leadership of a multi-racial workers party that will bring the social power of labor to bear on behalf of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution. This isn’t what the RWL has to offer. On the contrary, their standard fare is militant protest politics—in the service of the Democratic Party. Take the RWL’s “Fighting Worker State” in the recent Detroit elections. On campuses, the RWL rides on NWROC’s reputation as the militant, in-your-face abortion clinic defenders. But in their election campaign, there was no mention of abortion rights until we published an article denouncing them for it. “RWL in Detroit Elections: Abortion Rights in the Closet,” RW No. 511, 18 June. Then they finally put in the “A word,” but they didn’t choke out the words “socialist revolution.”

While perpetuating Malcolm X on the “bullet or the ballot” to justify their “fighting” electoralism, the RWL’s election slate mourned that Martin Luther “King’s dream of equality and an end to racism is still unrealized. We need a new mass civil rights movement that can make that dream a reality.” The RWL built a contingent for the August 28 demonstration in Washington, D.C., called by Coretta Scott King to com­memorate the 1963 “March on Wash­ington.” Thirty years ago, Malcolm denounced the “farece on Washington” as a sellout to the racist Democrats of any struggle for black freedom. In 1963 it was a farce, in 1993 it was a groveling appeal to Clinton. The RWL mimics the militant liberal­ism of the early New Left—when SDS went “part of the way with LBJ.” Their program was bigger, better, more mas­sively racist and fascist. We need a new mass movement in order to pressure the Democrats. But as the Democrats rained down death on the Vietnamese workers and peasants, many youth got fed up. Face to face with the harsh realities of imperialism, the New Left split and many of them went in some pretty weird directions but some were were less weenie communists.

From MOVE to Waco to the “L.A. 4,” as well as Auburn and abortion defense, the RWL can’t see the class line—which is also why they can’t see picket lines. They want to be the left wing of what­ever is moving and shaking. So far­more than they do their militant stuff while carefully keeping their ties to NOW (and calling on these bourgeois feminists to form a third party). They oscillate in response to popular pres­suors, which can be pretty right wing. So in L.A., they feed into the bourgeois­ie's portrayal of the 1992 upheaval as an anti-white “race riot.” And by their silence and cynical sneers against the Spartacists over Waco, they alibi mass murder by the government.

Three former youth members of the RWL’s Bay Area local got fed up with endlessly trying to pressure pro­ductive Party liberals to fight, by posing as militant lesbians, militant clinic defenders, militant (fill in the blank)...because they do their militant stuff while carefully keeping their ties to NOW (and calling on these bourgeois feminists to form a third party). They oscillate in response to popular pres­sures, which can be pretty right wing. So in L.A., they feed into the bourgeois­ie’s portrayal of the 1992 upheaval as an anti-white “race riot.” And by their silence and cynical sneers against the Spartacists over Waco, they alibi mass murder by the government.

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SAN FRANCISCO—For two months, squads of cops have been sweeping through the city, rounding up the poor from parks and alleys, rousting them from their bedsheets and blankets, and issuing citations for "public nuisance crimes." The victims are picked at random from the poorest districts, to Berkeley, to jails already overcrowded. Mayor Frank Jordan calls it "Operation Matrix," a. k. a. "Operation Quality of Life," and his aim is to drive the weakest and most abused victims of capitalist greed somewhere else to die.

There are more than 10,000 homeless people in San Francisco, whose bourgeois boosters promote it as a prime tourist and business travel destination. The downtown moneybags want to clean out the "trash." Now you're a criminal in SF if you lose your job and apartment and freeze your butt off trying to sleep on a park bench or in a doorway. And it's literally a crime to feed the starving; dozens of people from Food Not Bombs have been arrested in the last couple of months...for giving away food in public! They are maliciously charged with a "conspiracy," to maximize jail time. On September 29, police waded into a protest rally called by the group at City Hall and hauled off more than 35 to jail. Drop all charges against Food Not Bombs supporters now!

While capitalist recession and general decay have thrown thousands more onto the streets, the "housing" available to them in this sky-high-rent city has shrunk. Mayor Jordan is determined to reduce it further: last July 11, he had about 20 squatters forcibly evicted from a vacant building. Beginning in August, the Transbay bus terminal was locked down at night, driving 300 homeless people who had been sleeping there back to the streets.

Now Jordan has a scheme to fence those who receive a $345-a-month "general assistance" pittance to turn over up to 80 percent of it to the city, which will then pay slumlords for rooms in rat-infested, firetrap "residence hotels." A similar scheme of former mayor (now Democratic U.S. Sen­ator) Dianne Feinstein, dubbed "Hotel Hotline," was an enormous scam, stealing from the poor to further enrich those consigned to these rat holes who can pay with their lives. On September 8, the South-of-Market Fallon Street Hotel burned to the ground, killing John Jordan and injuring 13. Jordan was on general assistance. The building had been cited for code violations going back to 1989, including no fire doors and rooms without smoke detectors. The building's owner, one Charlie Patel (who got a cut of the "Hotel Hotline" loot), owns a string of these deathtraps, including the Mission Hotel, recently selected for Jordan's new program—which (surprise!) turns out to have been plastered with citations by building inspectors. Indeed, "most of the city's homeless hotels have repeatedly been cited for unsafe and unhealthy conditions" (Chronicle, 16 September).

Mayor Jordan has also put on the November ballot a "Proposition V" requiring anyone on welfare to be finger-printed in the name of fighting mythical "welfare fraud." This racist outrage aims to drive the poor and minorities off the welfare rolls to starve. The mayor's "liberal" Democratic opponents on the Board of Supervisors, including its president Angela Alioto and that darling of the "left," Ter­rance Hallinan, are decrying the "heart­less" mayor, proposing an "amnesty" for the victims of "Operation Matrix"—offering, in sum, to make it equally legal for the rich and poor to sleep in doorways and beg for crumbs. Meanwhile, they pass vicious, racist budget cuts that are literally killing the poor.

Getting the homeless a decent place to stay, impossible as long as the vicious capitalist class remains in power, can be solved overnight by a revolution­ary workers government: just requisition the needed space from fancy high­rise hotels and the mansions of the rich. Tear down the firetraps, and put up the homeless in the Hilton, the St. Francis and Pacific Heights! And by taking the productive forces currently preyed on by the commodification of capitalist parasites and founding a planned, socialist economy, the virtu­ous workers will be able to provide jobs for all and eliminate starvation. Down with Jordan's murderous campaign against the poor! Decent housing and jobs for all!

Jamal... (continued from page 16)

Americans—and that was lawful. We imported them out the "right" way. Now and that was lawful. We subjected them to slavery—and that was lawful," he said, adding that the U.S. government's dropping of the atomic bomb and rav­aging of Vietnam, Nicaragua and Cuba were all "lawful." A message was read from Ray Martinez Jr., a Philadelphia union offi­cial convened by local, who told the audience to "spread that word—an inno­cent man is on death row. Only through our combined efforts—and definitely with labor's support—can Mumia stand a chance to achieve his rightfully deserved freedom."

"Jamal's case is what the death penalty is all about," PDC spokesman Cooper­stein said. "We do not accord this gov­ernment the right to say who lives and who dies. The American capitalist class has sought to maintain itself by repeated exemplary executions for the sheer purpose of instilling terror, just like the lynch rope." Reviewing the U.S. ruling in "the classic class" long history of terror—from the 1877 Haymarket martyrs and IWW hero Geronimo to the 1887 Haymarket martyrs and IWW hero Gerharter—to the 1920s to the 1970s—and its efforts to wean the public from the idea that lynching is a crime. Cooperstein warned:

"The only solution is socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynching law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. In a socialist America, with Gerome Pratt the minister of justice, Mumia Abu-Jamal in the ministry of information—then and only then can you start to speak of justice."

Fred Hortsmann of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal made an appeal for financial assistance of the support and defense of the"Operation Matrix"—offering, in sum, to make it equally legal for the rich and poor to sleep in doorways and beg for crumbs. Meanwhile, they pass vicious, racist budget cuts that are literally killing the poor.

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American forces suffered heavy casual-

ties at the hands of the lightly armed

Somalis, who shot down three U.S.

Blackhawk helicopters. At least a dozen

truckloads of dead. Mogadishu hospi-

tals are overflowing with at least 500

Farah Aidid. This

captured by forces loyal to defiant clan

chieftain Mohammed

America.

The exploited and oppressed peoples

throughout the world can only welcome

the stinging humiliation of the American

imperialist adventure in Somalia. As

Clinton lashes out, we demand:

For the racist pigs of the U.S. rul-
ing class, the deaths of some 20 Amer-

ican soldiers count infinitely more than

the hundreds of black Africans butch-
ered by the U.S./UN forces since they

occupied Somalia last December. Even

before last Sunday’s battle, there were

increasingly strident calls in Washing-
don to withdraw before the Somalis took

out more U.S. soldiers. Senate Republican

leader Robert Dole has called for getting

out of Somalia, and Democratic Senator

Robert Byrd warned, “we will be drawn

further into this quagmire, with a very

real prospect for the loss of American

lives.”

At the same time, there is a strong

sentiment in the U.S. ruling class to

avert itself against Aidid for bloodying

its military forces. One recalls that in

the late 19th century a small British colo-
nial army in the Sudan under General

“Chinese” Gordon was wiped out by the

Mahdi, an Islamic visionary. The British

then sent in a far bigger expeditionary

force under General Kitchener to exter-
minate the Mahdist movement.

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Clinton lashes out, we demand: U.S.

imperialism get out of Africa!