

Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism! U.S. Hands Off Haiti!

Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba



Archambault/U.S. News & World Report



Frazza/AFP



La Repubblica

President Clinton, Miami *gusano* chief Jorge Mas Canosa (bottom, left) and New Jersey Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli (bottom, right) join in pushing hardline Cuba policy. Above: boats packed with Cuban defectors off the Florida coast.

AUGUST 30—In a cascading series of moves this month, the Clinton administration dangerously escalated Washington's 35-year-old crusade to crush the Cuban Revolution. It reversed the previous U.S. policy of welcoming all Cuban "refugees," sharply cut the amount of dollar remittances by exiles to relatives in Cuba and brandished the threat of a naval blockade. What this adds up to is a calculated program to spark a counterrevolutionary uprising. Meanwhile, these would-be cops of the world have been gearing up to occupy Haiti in the name of supposed "humanitarianism" and "democracy." Today the Pentagon announced it was "moving briskly" toward an invasion of Haiti. The Yankee shark throwing its weight around is a threat to all the peoples of the Caribbean.

At present the Caribbean is literally bobbing with American gunboats, including some diverted from the Pacific fleet. An imperialist armada of 70 U.S. Navy warships and Coast Guard vessels is stationed off Cuba, including the advanced Aegis electronic missile control ship USS *Vicksburg*. This is in addition to the U.S. fleet already blockading Haiti. We have insisted from the outset that the economic sanctions against Haiti pose a direct threat to Cuba.

For now, the Pentagon is deploying some 7,000 additional American troops to Guantánamo Bay on the island's southeast coast,

U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Down With the Embargo!

which is being readied to receive tens of thousands of anticipated *balseros* ("raft people"). With 15,000 Haitians already incarcerated in tents behind barbed wire on this naval base stolen from Cuba, Guantánamo has become a huge concentration camp—a fitting symbol of U.S. imperialism's neocolonial subjugation of the peoples of Latin America. Piercing Washington's "free world" pretensions, in mid-August hundreds of Haitians revolted against the inhuman conditions imposed by their American

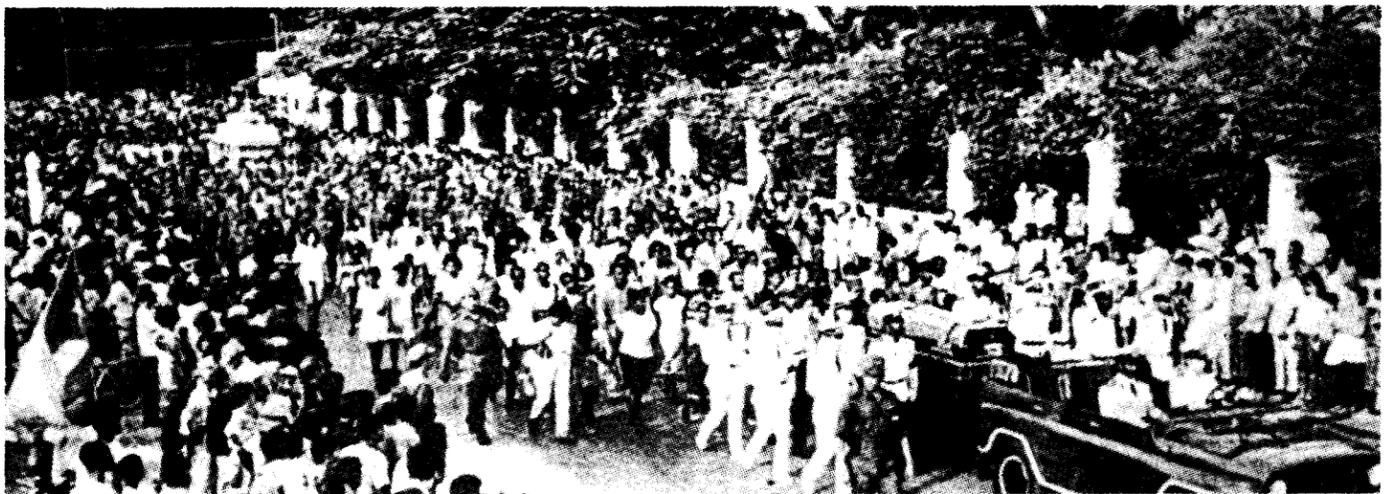
jailers, and 120 of them tried to escape by swimming to Cuban territory.

As we go to press, the U.S. government has announced that it will accede to Cuban leader Castro's demand that it accept the annual quota of more than 20,000 Cuban emigrés that was agreed to a decade ago but never implemented. At the same time, Clinton continues to intensify the economic embargo which is strangling the Cuban economy and provoking the mass desire to escape from imposed conditions of hunger and

poverty. When the collapsing Stalinist regime in the USSR ended its decades-long assistance to Cuba, in particular cutting Cuban industry off from cheap oil supplies, the island was placed in desperate peril in the face of the imperialist colossus to the north.

The capitalist media seek to whip up an anti-communist frenzy over the *balseros* leaving Cuba. This flight is cynically provoked by Washington with its brutal starvation embargo and sabotage of legal immigration. Yet the fact that several thousands (including many who do not oppose the Castro regime) are prepared to risk their lives in flimsy crafts in the Florida Straits shows how desperate the economic situation has become under the U.S. imperialist onslaught. Only four years ago, Cuba

continued on page 14



Daniel Fonte

Hundreds of thousands defending the Cuban Revolution came out to honor policeman and navy officer killed by hijackers.



7 25274 81030 7

Anti-Sex Witchhunt

Red Star Printing
Chicago, Illinois
20 June 1994

Editor, Workers Vanguard

Militant Bolshevik Greetings Comrade!

Regarding your recent articles on NAMBLA [North American Man/Boy Love Association] and age-of-consent laws; what exactly do you mean by "effective consent"? Denouncing age-of-consent laws as "reactionary" would seem to fly in the face of three inescapable facts:

First: Though children are physically ready for sexual activity as early as the onset of puberty, they are certainly not emotionally ready, nor are they possessed of the good judgment necessary to give any kind of informed consent until they are a good-deal older. I myself started sexual activity at the age of twelve and, though I enjoyed myself immensely at the time, I can see clearly

in retrospect that this [had a] catastrophic effect on my emotional development that to this day poisons my sexual relationships. In light of this, an age of consent set at about eighteen strikes me as very reasonable.

Secondly: I can also state from experience that while sex among teen-agers is not so damaging, sex between "mature" adults and teen-agers is exploitative. Not only are such liaisons based upon an un-equal power relationship, but the sort of adult attracted to children is by nature predatory if not psychotic. Society has a self-evident duty to protect children from exploitation be it economic, emotional, or sexual.

Thirdly: Even though children mature at varying rates, a hard-and-fast rule is needed to protect them. Writing a vague law about "effective consent" is unmitigated foolishness. Such a law will be re-interpreted, bent, and effectively broken by paedophiles instantly.

Evidently no one connected with your newspaper actually has any children, otherwise they would not favor their exploitation. *Real parents* have no interest in trendy double-talk about "effective consent." By adopting such a posture, the Workers Vanguard is indulging in the worst sort of petty bourgeois pseudo-intellectualism.

The "adults" at NAMBLA are sick and probably can't help themselves, but the editor of the Workers Vanguard should know better.

Yours For A Better World
R.M. Schultz

WV replies: Just who is "sick" here? R.M. Schultz's letter is steeped in twisted bourgeois "morality." NAMBLA is the target of vicious witchhunting for simply advocating the right of consensual sex between minors and adults. The logic of Schultz's position is that the bourgeois state should have jailed whoever he was involved with as a youth (and maybe he himself would have been shipped off to reform school).

The vendetta against NAMBLA—whipped up by the media, enforced by school boards and courts, cheered on by rad-libs embracing the Clinton/Reno White House—has nothing to do with protection of children. It is part of a generalized campaign against sex designed to regiment the population and bolster the authority of the bourgeois state. Lurid tales of "child abuse" have been used to close day-care centers, jail teachers and browbeat women into traditional roles.

Possibly the most vicious case of government repression of this kind was the 1991 "satanic abuse" witchhunt in the Orkney Islands. Nine children, aged 8 to 15, were seized from their South Ronaldsay homes in a pre-dawn raid by British social workers. Separately held in homes across the Scottish mainland and denied communication with their families, the children were repeatedly interrogated, tricked and lied to for five weeks, while their parents fought unfounded allegations of ritual sex abuse.

The government's anti-sex and anti-gay laws reveal more about the repressed and sadistic character of capitalist government than anything else. Its "solution" to most anything is terror and prisons. The "age of consent" laws are akin to the horrible "parental consent" laws for teenage abortions: Schultz's talk of "real parents" reeks of Stalinist glorification of the family. In Stalin's onslaught against the rights of women he also prohibited abortion; as Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed*, this policy was "the philosophy of a priest endowed also with the powers of a gendarme."

We are for radically lowering the age of adulthood, and for replacing—not

simply "abolishing"—the current laws with the principle of "effective consent." As opposed to the forces of bourgeois reaction and supposed "progressives" pushing "family values," we wrote in our letter defending NAMBLA's right to march in the "Stonewall 25" gay pride march in New York City: "Advocating the concept of effective consent in sexual matters, we denounce the reactionary 'age of consent' laws which seek to strait-jacket the sexuality of young people."

In its issue for "Stonewall 25," the reformist *Socialist Action* (June 1994) printed without comment a scurrilous letter urging a "public outcry" against us for defending NAMBLA, and absurdly claiming that "a lot of money and powerful people" are helping this small and vulnerable group. In their quest for respectability, the social democrats of *Socialist Action* pander to the most reactionary homophobic social attitudes.

Certainly it's true that humans have a pretty rocky road dealing with sexuality, particularly at puberty when one is least socially and psychologically prepared to cope with the surge of hormones that accompanies adolescence. That is precisely why we say that "effective consent" must be concretely determined.

In our journal *Women and Revolution*, we have addressed in more depth the complex issues of sexuality and children, in "Children, Family and State: Something About Incest" (*W&R* No. 28, Spring 1984) and "Children, Sex, State Witchhunters: The Uses of Abuse" (*W&R* No. 29, Spring 1985). Thus we have written: "The question is one of effective consent. One might say that a girl of 11 is too young, whereas one of 14 is able to decide for herself what she wants to do. But in a situation as embroiled and sensitive as the family, mechanical guidelines break down."

Contrary to the image of the predatory outsider called up by R.M. Schultz, much adult-child sexual interaction occurs within the family. Unlike latter-day Cotton Mathers who preach hellfire and lock up "deviants" in the stocks, Marxists oppose all attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated "norms." As we noted in "Something About Incest":

"The trouble with incest is not that a young child has had a sexual experience—children are sexual beings. We are not talking here about outright and clear-cut coercion and violence, beatings, rapes, but about the more complex and sexual relationships. The problem is how this sexuality gets expressed and deformed in a world of patriarchy, sexual repression and enforced monogamy for 'adults' only."

We might add, the guilt and fear pounded into us about sex by this repressive, puritanical society need not exist for future generations under socialism. ■

On the Bourgeois Division Between Mental and Manual Labor

Under capitalism, the educational system is used to promote the class stratification of society, training the future managers and technicians of the ruling class in "ivory tower" academia while relegating working-class and minority youth to a future of menial labor—and, increasingly, no education and no jobs at all. Communism strives for the elimination of all aspects of exploitative class society, including the spurious distinction between mental and manual labor. This theme was elaborated in The ABC of Communism, written by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky for the workers and peasants of Russia newly emancipated by the October Revolution of 1917.



TROTSKY



LENIN

tion between mental and manual labor. This theme was elaborated in The ABC of Communism, written by Bukharin and Preobrazhensky for the workers and peasants of Russia newly emancipated by the October Revolution of 1917.

In a class society where capitalism is dominant, science is divorced from labour. Not only does it become the property of the possessing classes. More than this, it becomes the profession of a small and comparatively narrow circle of individuals. Scientific instruction and scientific research are divorced from the labour process. In order that it may avail itself of the data of science and may turn them to account in production, bourgeois society has to create a number of institutions serving for the application of scientific discoveries to manufacturing technique; and it has to create a number of technical schools which will facilitate the maintenance of production at the level rendered possible by the advance of "pure" science—by which is meant science divorced from labour. Furthermore, the polytechnic schools of capitalist society do not merely serve to supply capitalist society with technical experts; they supply in addition those who will act as managers, those who will function as "captains of industry." In addition, to provide the personnel which will supervise the circulation of commodities, there have been founded numerous commercial schools and academies.

In all these organizations, whatever is linked up with production will endure. But everything which is concerned merely with capitalist production, will die out. There will persist everything which promotes the advancement of science; there will perish that which promotes the severance of science from labour....

In communist society there will be no close corporations, no stereotyped guilds, no petrified specialist groups. The most brilliant man of science must also be skilled in manual labour. To the pupil who is about to leave the unified labour school, communist society says: "You may or may not become a professor; but in any case you must produce values." A child's first activities take the form of play; play should gradually pass into work by an imperceptible transition, so that the child learns from the very outset to look upon labour, not as a disagreeable necessity or as a punishment, but as a natural and spontaneous expression of faculty. Labour should be a need, like the desire for food and drink; this need must be instilled and developed in the communist school.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS: George Foster

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Susan Fuller

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Shauna Blythe

EDITORIAL BOARD: Bruce André, Ray Bishop, Liz Gordon, Frank Hunter, Jane Kerrigan, Len Meyers, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour, Alison Spencer, Marjorie Stamborg

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

Workers Vanguard (ISSN 0276-0746) published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August (beginning with omitting the second issue in June) and with a 3-week interval in December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone: (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: \$10.00/22 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is August 30.

No. 605

2 September 1994

SPARTACIST

NUMBER 51 ENGLISH EDITION AUTUMN 1994

The Post-Soviet World

Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Main Resolution from the Ninth National Conference of the SL/U.S.

1. U.S. in the New World Disorder	2
2. American Society and its Increasing Discontents	3
3. Revolutionary Integrationism: The Struggle for Black Equality	14
4. The Working Class	19
5. Prospects and Problems in Youth Recruitment	22
6. Our Radical Competitors	26
7. Cold War II in Hindsight—A Look Back at the SL/U.S. Since the Eighth National Conference	29
8. Lessons from the Springfield Labor/Black Mobilization	34
9. Party Perspectives and Problems	36

AUSTRALIA...A\$1.50 BRITAIN...£.75 CANADA...Cdn\$1.50 IRELAND...IRE.75 USA...US\$1

Spartacist

(English Edition)

No. 51
Autumn 1994

This special issue of English-language *Spartacist* is devoted to publishing the main resolution adopted by the Ninth National Conference of the Spartacist League/U.S. held this summer.

\$1.00
(48 pages)

Spartacist is sent to all Workers Vanguard subscribers.

Make checks payable/mail to:

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Free Jesse Acuna!

LOS ANGELES, August 29—Teamster Jesse Acuna was sentenced today to five years in a California state prison for the "crime" of defending his job and his union on the picket line. Acuna was convicted August 3 on trumped-up charges of assault with a deadly weapon. He was one of a group of Teamster pickets who were almost mowed down by a scab on April 15 during the three-week freight strike last spring.

The courtroom was thick with class hatred. During the trial, on one side there was a multiracial contingent of Teamsters who came out to defend their union brother Jesse against the frame-up. On the other side were the cops and prosecutors representing the trucking bosses who were determined to send Acuna to prison to show that Los Angeles is an "open shop" city. With sneering contempt for the working-class defense witnesses, the prosecutor swaggered through the trial knowing that in the halls of capitalist injustice he was on his home court.

Jesse Acuna was first charged with attempted murder. With flimsy evidence the prosecutor turned the trial

Teamster Striker Railroaded

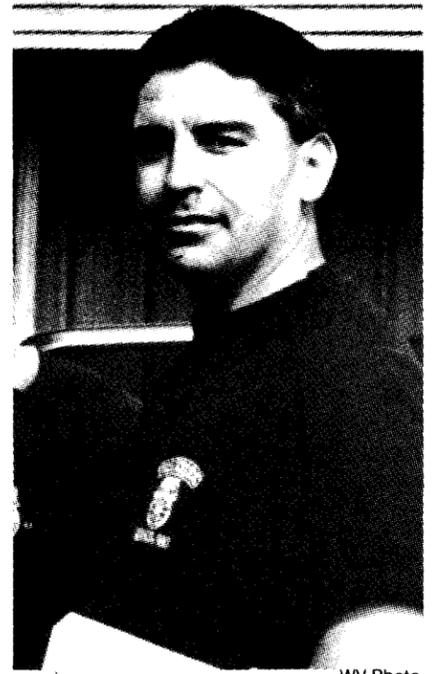
into a racist, anti-union appeal, portraying strikers as goons and berating Acuna as a "coward" who was proud of being "a good duker from [Latino] East L.A." The confrontation in court was summed up when the assistant D.A. sneered at a Latino Teamster testifying for Acuna, "You don't like me much, do you?" The union brother shot back: "Well, I'm not exactly the type of person people like you have over to their house for lunch."

At the sentencing, despite a plea to the judge by Acuna's son and daughter and a probation officer's report which recommended one year in the county jail, the judge was determined to make an example of this militant unionist. Acuna, a single father and a Teamster for 19 years, is being sent to state prison. Teamsters in the court were angry and bitter, saying Jesse got more time because it was a labor case in L.A., an anti-union town going back to the conviction of the

McNamara brothers for the 1911 bombing of the ferociously anti-labor *Los Angeles Times*.

While the prosecutors played hardball, neither Teamsters president Ron Carey nor his "old guard" opponents mobilized union power to defend Acuna. Installed in office by a government-run election coming out of a Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) act lawsuit that put the Teamsters under the feds' thumb, Carey took down picket lines without obtaining amnesty for Acuna and the dozens of militants facing criminal charges across the country.

Following Acuna's arrest, the Partisan Defense Committee sent a letter of protest, demanding all charges be dropped. In an expression of solidarity, PDC representatives attended the court proceedings and contributed to Acuna's legal defense. This courageous union militant must not be abandoned. All labor must rally to his side.



WV Photo
Victimized Teamster striker Jesse Acuna.

A member of Acuna's defense committee told *Workers Vanguard* that funds are still urgently needed to defend Jesse. Readers can contribute to the Jesse Acuna Defense Fund, Bank of America, 10010 Paramount Blvd., Downey, CA 90241. Free Jesse Acuna! Drop all charges against Teamsters strikers!

Outrage Over New Videotaped Police Beating

Compton, California

LOS ANGELES—In videotape footage hauntingly evocative of the brutal 1991 beating of Rodney King, a burly cop stands over a 17-year-old Latino nearly half his size, delivering a flurry of blows to the young man's head as he lies prone. The video, shot by a neighbor and aired several days later by a local television station, shows the July 29 beating and arrest of Felipe Soltero by Compton cop Michael Jackson. It once again exposes the racist cop terror perpetrated daily upon minority youth.

Earlier that day, a social worker from "Children's Services," citing a lack of "supervision," attempted to take away Felipe Soltero's five younger siblings, whose ages range from 22 months to 14 years. After Felipe refused to hand them over, the cops were called. When he asked to see a warrant, the video shows Jackson slamming Soltero in the cheek

with the butt of a baton, then beating him senseless. On the tape you can hear the screams from neighbors begging the cop to stop. Charged with "interference with a police officer," Soltero was later released to seek medical treatment for a concussion, numbness from an elbow injury, headaches, impaired vision and psychological trauma.

This outrage has struck deep chords among all minorities and working people in the L.A. area. An integrated demonstration was held in front of the Compton police station on August 4. Since the cop Jackson is black, the *Los Angeles Times* and other bourgeois press immediately framed this police attack as black vs. Latino. Latino and black misleaders have cynically fueled racial tensions in this once largely black city of 90,000 which now has a Latino majority.

In a sordid squabble over jobs at city hall, leaders of the Latino Chamber of Commerce have disgustingly dubbed the black-dominated Compton city government as an "apartheid state" where "only

blacks have rights" (*Long Beach Press Telegram*, 6 August). In response, black city officials are touting the "sensitivity to ethnic diversity" and "community-based policing" of the Compton cops. But the truth is that Jackson, like all cops, is a hired thug for the racist capitalist class that runs this country.

There has been a spate of cop killings of Latinos in the Los Angeles area. On July 16, Flavio Aragon, hounded by police, "fell" to his death from a second-story apartment. Then, on August 4, Michael Fiero Arocha was killed by the cops, shot three times as he obeyed orders to raise his hands.

Cop terror against minority youth is escalating along with the vicious anti-immigrant drive in California. In a sinister and revealing speech, an author of the racist, anti-immigrant "Save Our State" Proposition 187 told an Orange County audience: "You are the posse and SOS is the rope" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 August).

A union officer at SEIU Local 399,

which recently demonstrated in defense of former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), described the "two-point" program of California governor Pete Wilson: "1) He wants to throw all African-Americans in jail, and; 2) Send all Latino immigrants back south of the border" (*Voice of Local 399*, August/September 1994). But the answer of California labor officialdom is to chain labor and minorities to racist, anti-immigrant Democratic Party politicians like Feinstein, Boxer and Brown. Meanwhile, Clinton, following in the footsteps of Republicans Reagan and Bush, is escalating state terror with his crime bill for more cops and prisons, more death penalties, and taking guns away from the population.

From Rodney King to Felipe Soltero, there is no justice for the oppressed in capitalist America. But the multiracial working class, led by a revolutionary workers party, can lead the fight to smash the racist terror of the cops and sweep away the rotting system of exploitation that they "protect and serve." ■

Spartacist Events

Spartacist League Forum

For a Black-Centered Workers Government in South Africa!

Black Workers Strikes Shake Mandela/De Klerk "Power Sharing" Deal

Speaker: Joseph Seymour,
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board, SL Central Committee

Friday, September 9, 7:30 p.m.
602 Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
(#1 or #9 train to 116th St. & Broadway)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Saturday, Sept. 17, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
UC Berkeley

For more information: (510) 839-0851
or (415) 777-9367

BERKELEY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

**Defend Cuba Against Yankee Imperialism!
U.S. Hands Off Haiti!**

**Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba
U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Down with the Embargo!**

Guest Speaker: Keith Anwar, member of
Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 308
Chair: Laura Wells, Spartacus Youth Club

Wednesday, Sept. 7, 3 p.m.
Room 334, Circle Center
(near the Illinois Room)
University of Illinois at Chicago
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHICAGO

Spartacist Video and Discussion

**Mobilize to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!**

Saturday, September 10
For more information: (404) 521-9338

ATLANTA

Dublin Spartacist Group Leaflet

Irish Airline Workers Fight Against Government Cutbacks

DUBLIN—For the past two months, workers at TEAM Aer Lingus, the maintenance subsidiary of the Irish state-owned airline, have been subjected to an escalating series of layoffs as management seeks to impose wage cuts, job losses and a draconian rollback in working conditions. Today less than a third of the 1,900 workers remain in work. This assault on a stronghold of trade unionism has been carried out by the coalition government of Fianna Fáil (the main bourgeois party in the Republic of Ireland) and the Labour Party, led by deputy prime minister (Tánaiste) Dick Spring.

The TEAM dispute has dominated the front pages of the Irish press for weeks. As the Dublin Spartacist Group pointed out in a leaflet (reprinted below), the assault on TEAM workers is a crucial showdown between the bourgeoisie and the whole of the labour movement. Along with the Labour-backed Programme for Competitiveness and Work (PCW) austerity pact, it is a step in preparing other publicly owned industries like the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) and CIE (bus and rail transport) for privatisation through the imposition of thousands of redundancies [layoffs].

Yet from the outset, the trade-union leaders at TEAM have preached reliance

Dublin Airport:
TEAM Aer Lingus
workers and
their families
protest cutbacks,
August 20.



on so-called "neutral" arbitrators like the government's Labour Relations Commission (LRC) and the Labour Courts, while the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) works overtime to "mediate" the dispute. Meanwhile, the workers' anger is channeled into ineffective marches around the airport access roads, occasionally augmented by worktime union meetings which have led to delays in flights. TEAM workers' anger boiled

over early on in the dispute when they surrounded Labour traitor Spring's car and gave it a working over as he drove away from a workers' protest.

We demand that Labour get out of the coalition government! Obscenely, Dick Spring now moots a break with Fianna Fáil prime minister Albert Reynolds *from the right*, over the question of holding talks with the Sinn Féin/IRA Republicans, a demonstration of Labour's craven

fidelity to British imperialism. The union bureaucrats refuse to even countenance class struggle, fearful of disrupting the Labour Party's coalition with the bourgeoisie. The 10 July Dublin Spartacist Group leaflet, over 4,000 copies of which have been distributed to air transport and other semi-state industry workers, emphasises that what is needed is effective strike action to *shut down the airports*.

TEAM Aer Lingus: An Attack on the Whole Labour Movement Shut Down the Airports! All-Out Strike by Air Transport Unions! Build Mass Picket Lines: Nobody and Nothing Should Pass!

The gloves are off on the government side. In the wake of the sellout Cahill deal [an earlier "rationalisation" scheme proposed by Aer Lingus' chief manager], the ruling class is back for more. The outrageous demands made on TEAM Aer Lingus workers—hundreds of redundancies, 48-hour working week in the winters, ripping up hard-won union conditions—are an attack on the whole union movement.

Everyone knows that the rest of the semi-state companies are threatened,

like a line of dominoes: Telecom Eireann, ESB, CIE and B&I [British and Irish ferry service]. The threatened closure of Irish Steel makes it perfectly clear. This is class war! And so far it's all happening from one side—the bosses and their Labour Party friends in the Dáil [parliament] are on the offensive.

But the union leadership is stalling and talking, drawing up phoney "alternative strategies" for TEAM management, and trying to put a word in the ear

of the LRC and the Labour Party ministers in the coalition. Militant Labour sums up this whole losing perspective when it calls for exerting "maximum pressure" on the government. This is a recipe for defeat. The government is out to cripple the unions throughout the semi-state sector, it will have to be *beaten* by real trade union action. The government figures it can shut down Irish Steel—but it can't run this country without air transport. The fight back has to start at the airports.

The only way to save the jobs and conditions and defend union organisation is to strike now, and strike hard! Aer Lingus and Servisair workers are already in dispute: all the air transport unions should be out, with the shop stewards reporting to regular joint mass meetings. Shut down the airports! Put up mass picket lines that nobody and nothing will pass! Other sections of the workers will then be able to act in solidarity by joining the pickets. An airport strike would open the way for solidarity strikes by ESB and other workers.

There is talk now from the trade union councils in Dublin and elsewhere of a national half-day stoppage in support of TEAM. All well and good—but a one-off protest action is not enough. (And if we wait for the ICTU to organise a stoppage as the Socialist Workers Movement recommends, we'll be waiting till Christmas!) The heart of this fight must be strike action and picketing to shut down the airports. The Irish Workers Group calls for occupying the TEAM workshops, but that would leave the airport itself open and the other airport workers on the sidelines. Shut down the airports, full stop!

Stop the government-employer offensive in its tracks! Follow the lead of the militant Air France workers last October: they reminded Europe what class struggle looks like, and showed that *class struggle is the only way to win!*

Smash the PCW! No to Privatisation! For a Shorter Working Week, With No Loss of Pay!

This is a political dispute from the beginning. The Maastricht Treaty "convergence targets" mean vicious austerity for workers in every member country: fewer services, fewer jobs, higher taxes, lower wages.

With the victory of capitalist counter-revolution in the Soviet bloc, the idea of the "welfare state" is being thrown out the window, and the European governments are gearing up for trade war with the U.S. and Japan (when they're not falling out among themselves). Dog-

Spartacist Pamphlet—Just Out!

Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State

This pamphlet counterposes the revolutionary politics of the International Communist League to the reformism of the Committee for a Workers International (CWI) led by the Militant Labour organization in Britain.

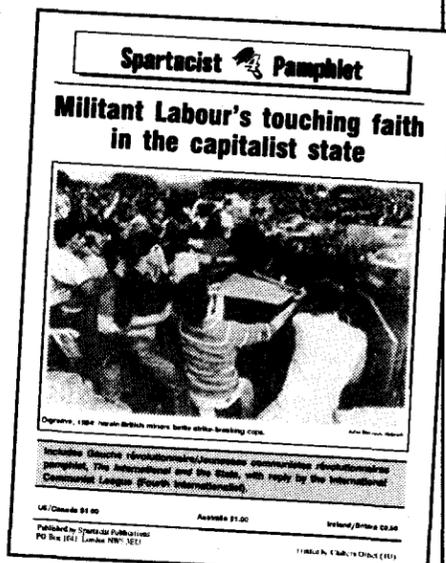
Includes the entire text of *Gauche révolutionnaire/Jeunesses communistes révolutionnaires* pamphlet, "The International and the State," with a reply by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Published in English and French

English edition (32 pages):
US/Canada/Australia \$1
Ireland/Britain £.50

French edition (35 pages):
Canada \$1 France 10 FF

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



Corrections

In the article, "Stop the Frame-Up of Keith McHenry!" (WV No. 603, 8 July), we reported that McHenry had finally been released on bail June 1 while noting that the San Francisco group, "Food Not Bombs," was asking for donations for McHenry's bail. The money being raised is to repay the thousands of dollars incurred in loans for McHenry's bail.

In the article, "*The Communist International After Lenin—Trotsky Work Published in Russian for First Time*" (WV No. 602, 10 June), we incorrectly stated that James P. Cannon's January 1929 introduction to Trotsky's "The Draft Program of the Communist International, Criticism of Fundamentals" had never been reprinted. In fact, Cannon's introduction was reprinted as an appendix to both the 1936 and 1957 Pioneer Publishers editions of *The Third International After Lenin*. However, it is not included in the 1970 Pathfinder Press edition currently available, nor in Pathfinder's collection, *James P. Cannon Writings and Speeches, 1928-31*.

eat-dog competition threatens to take the world into a third inter-imperialist war. Protectionist poison like [general workers union] SIPTU's campaign to "save Irish jobs" doesn't save a single job. Instead it fuels racism and anti-immigrant hatred and helps the capitalist rulers to spread national chauvinism which only serves to split the working class.

That is why it is vital to fight against the position in a TEAM union leaflet against so-called "Eastern European/Third World cheap labour." This sounds like some right-wing. British union leader sounding off about "cheap Irish labour" in the building trades, as a job-trusting excuse for failing to unionise and fight for the interests of *all workers*. We are for *organising the unorganised*, whatever country they come from or work in, on the basis of international workers' solidarity and common struggle. The capitalist class wants the workers to pay for bigger profits: that means breaking the unions, and there is no better weapon for splitting and weakening the working class than racism.

The Reynolds/Spring capitalist government want to get the kind of victory that Margaret Thatcher won over the British miners ten years ago. Since then the British unions have been badly weakened, losing hundreds of thousands of members. The bosses have got away with murder in every department: slashing jobs, imposing draconian anti-strike laws, derecognising unions, freezing public-sector pay. The British miners lost because their strike was attacked by the Trades Union Congress/Labour right wing, and the so-called "left" leaders were content to leave the miners to fight alone, despite their verbal "support." These weak-kneed reformists were terrified of a general strike, which would have posed the question, "who rules: the capitalists or the working class?" Instead they advised the workers to put their faith in a future Labour government.

The official leadership tied the British miners' hands behind their backs. Don't let Labour and ICTU do this to the TEAM workers. Now is the time to *put an end to class collaboration!* There is nothing "neutral" about the Labour Relations Commission's "arbitration," or the bosses' courts or the entire capitalist state for that matter. They are there to ensure the domination of the bosses. The only language the ruling class will understand is *class struggle!* Smash the PCW austerity pact: the government and the employers aren't "social partners"—they're social vultures. They cream off



Combative Air France strikers beat back Ballardur government's cutback/privatization plans by occupying the runways, October 1993.

a fat living, while the unemployed see their lives wasted year by year, and workers and their families face a future ruined by sackings, speed up and grinding wage control. No to union-busting privatisations! Fight for jobs for all: for a sliding scale of hours to divide the available work among workers (including the unemployed) at full union rates.

**Labour Party:
Which Side Are You On?
Get Out of the Coalition!
Down with Labour Party
Class Collaboration!**

TEAM workers and their supporters have a right to know: which side is the Labour Party on? The Labour Party claims to defend the interests of the working class. But its participation in the coalition government is a *betrayal!* That's why we (unlike most of the rest of the left) refused to call for a vote to Labour in November 1992: on principle we will not support a coalition with the bosses' parties. Back then our leaflet (entitled "No Vote to Labour, Workers Party, Democratic Left!") pointed out:

"For years the trade union and labour misleaders have tied the hands of the working class by brokering class-collaborationist deals with the bosses. First it was the PNR [Programme for National Recovery] and the PESP [Programme for Economic and Social Prog-

ress], both explicitly designed to prevent class-struggle opposition to capitalist austerity. Then it was the Labour Party/Workers Party orchestrated deal with Fine Gael to put Mary Robinson in Aras an Uachtarain [the presidential palace] to head off the growing pressure for change. Now it is the 'Rainbow coalition' where Spring is just waiting to see if he will have enough TDs [members of parliament] to trade off for the Tanaiste's chair."

Today we say that the Labour Party should *get out of the coalition!* What we've had so far is worse than useless—whining complaints about the government being "unreasonable," applying a bit of pressure to the LRC, or a parliamentary vote here or there by TDs who just want to save their own electoral skin and let off steam. It's time to demand that Labour break with Fianna Fáil and get out of this government, now!

The Labour Party, from top to bottom, has a choice. Labour Party supporters have a choice. Either you back Dick Spring, with his precious cabinet posts, sucking up to the bosses and enforcing their anti-working-class rule, or you're with the working class, in struggle, on the picket lines and fighting for the strike action that's needed, right now. And to make a real, united fight against the government means having no truck with Labour traitors: repudiate every single

misleader who knifes the TEAM and semi-state workers (whether they be open right wingers or one-time lefts who've swallowed the coalition line). Lenin called parties like the Labour Party "bourgeois workers parties": what's needed is a real working-class party that *fights* the capitalists, not on a reformist platform, but on a *revolutionary* programme. In other words, a party in the working-class struggle traditions of Connolly, Larkin and Lenin.

**Repudiate the Labour Traitors!
For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!
For an Irish Workers Republic,
within a Socialist Federation
of the British Isles!**

Labour and Democratic Left both put out the lie that the working class and women and all the poor and oppressed can find justice and satisfaction through elections to the Dáil, through negotiating for a few crumbs from the capitalist table.

No: A *genuine workers government* will be based on workers councils (soviets), like the Bolshevik government of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia 1917.

An *Irish workers republic* will not give concessions to boost the bosses' profits: it will expropriate the Smurfits and O'Reillys [leading Irish capitalists] and Intels without a penny of compensation, and build towards a socialist economy, using a central plan to produce for human need, and not for profit.

An *Irish workers republic* will stand foursquare for the rights of the oppressed and especially for the interests of women. Defend Travellers [Irish "Gypsies"] against persecution! Defend the rights of gays and lesbians! For the right of divorce, and for free abortion and contraception on demand. We are for the separation of church and state: nationalise the schools and hospitals owned by the Church. For free, high-quality health care for all! For women's liberation through socialist revolution!

The struggle of workers in the Republic cannot be separated from the fight to overthrow British imperialism, hand in hand with the workers of England, Scotland and Wales and of Northern Ireland. Not least among Dick Spring's betrayals is his attempt to broker a deal with British imperialism at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North. *British troops out of Northern Ireland! Not Orange against Green but class against class! No to forced reunification—for a Socialist Federation of the British Isles!* ■

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

September 1 to October 5

The 1994 subscription drive inaugurates a new subscription policy. A one-year sub to *Workers Vanguard* costs \$10.00 and now includes *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle* as well as *Spartacist* (English edition), the theoretical journal of the International Communist League. As *Women and Revolution* is no longer offered as a separate subscription journal, local and national quotas for the 1994 sub drive have been adjusted accordingly.

1994 Quotas

Atlanta	125
Bay Area	1,050
Boston	250
Chicago	400
Los Angeles	250
New York	900
Washington, D.C.	125
At Large	250
National Total	3,350

Subscribe Now!

SPECIAL! A free packet of Spartacist literature or pamphlet with full subscription to *Workers Vanguard*.

- \$10/22 issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*, *Women and Revolution* and *Black History and the Class Struggle*) international rates: \$25/22 issues—Airmail \$10/22 issues—Seamail
- \$2/6 introductory issues of *Workers Vanguard* (includes English-language *Spartacist*)
- \$2/4 issues of *Espartaco* (en español) (includes Spanish-language *Spartacist*)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ 605

Make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116



Nelson Mandela's "power sharing" coalition with apartheid capitalists presides over brutal police repression of militant strike wave by black workers.

SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG

The election this April of Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first black president was hailed by Western bourgeois politicians and the media as a miraculous triumph of democracy. And this line was echoed by most of the left, with the reformist South African Communist Party (SACP) playing a key role in the new government. Even left groups, both in South Africa and internationally, who condemn or are critical of the "power sharing" deal between the African National Congress (ANC) and the main white ruling party, F.W. De Klerk's National Party, assume that the present conditions of political openness, a quasi-parliamentary system

PART THREE

and a strong trade-union movement have become *permanent* features of the South African landscape.

Neville Alexander's Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA) is campaigning for a "mass workers party" to fight for a series of democratic and economic reforms, such as incorporating the "right to work" into the new constitution. The British-centered Workers Power group calls on the black unions to form a workers party, that is, a party structurally similar to the British Labour Party, albeit on a "revolutionary program." The centrists of WOSA and Workers Power project *gradually* winning the black working class away from trade-union consciousness and political support to the bourgeois-nationalist ANC and over to socialist consciousness.

With such a perspective, whatever their criticisms of the ANC, these groups assume a period of relatively stable "post-apartheid" bourgeois "democracy." They do not even consider as possibilities the rise of a black bonapartist regime capable of crushing the workers movement, an outbreak of racial and tribal warfare, and/or managerial sabotage and capital flight leading to economic chaos and collapse. Yet if the black working class, under the leadership of a genuinely communist party, does not take state power, the "new" South Africa will find itself heading in the direction of the rest of post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa.

South Africa is not West Europe. It is

ANC's Nationalist Popular Front Unraveling

not a relatively wealthy, highly industrialized society capable of sustaining a mass social-democratic party backed by a strong union movement. The South African economy, as in many Third World countries, is dependent on the extraction of gold and other minerals. A privileged white caste—making up 13 percent of the population—sits atop the mass of superexploited black African toilers, with the coloured (mixed-race) population and Indians occupying an intermediate place.

In the past a shared hatred for the white rulers, especially the Afrikaner Nationalist regime, tended to suppress class and ethnic divisions within the black African and more generally nonwhite population. And after Mandela was released from prison and adopted an extremely "moderate" line, many whites came to believe that an ANC-led government would restore social peace

without seriously attacking their material privileges. But the notion that the Mandela presidency would usher in an era of good will among South Africans of all classes, races and ethnic groups was exploded almost instantly.

The new government was greeted with a wave of strikes as black workers believed it was "payback time." "We want something now," exclaimed a steel worker, Mtutuzeli Mpondo, "not tomorrow or next year. We voted for change, but nothing seems to be changing, in our lives, work places, homes, and in all spheres of life." Mandela responded to the strikes by denouncing "some" unions for continuing to pursue a course of resistance rather than switching over to "reconstruction." This line was also taken by ANC general secretary and parliamentary leader Cyril Ramaphosa (former head of the National Union of Mineworkers).

Even the Communist Party, intimately allied with the ANC for over half a century, criticized Mandela's remarks as "disturbing." Internally, the SACP has become a seething mass of contradictions. For example, the secretary of the Cape Town branch last year threatened to resign from the party to protest its "gradual abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles."

At the same time, De Klerk's National Party is talking about pulling out of the coalition government and going into opposition. This would signal the beginning of open conflict between the ANC leadership and the white generals, police commandants and senior civilian bureaucrats still entrenched in the neo-apartheid state apparatus. However, the immediate challenge to Mandela, Ramaphosa & Co. is coming not from the white capitalist class but the black working class.

Black Labor Struggles Rock the "New" South Africa

Mandela told the London *Financial Times* (18 July): "The harmony that exists between ourselves in the ANC and big business is striking." Thus the conditions, both political and economic, which over the past two decades gave rise to one of the most powerful trade-union movements in the Third World, cannot long survive under this *black bourgeois-nationalist government*. Partly due to the strength of the unions and partly to the country's economic structure, industrial wages in South Africa have been pushed considerably above Third World norms. Factory workers in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth now earn twice as much as those in Mexico City and São Paulo, Brazil and several times as much as in Thailand and the Philippines.

The same factors have produced sharp inequalities within the black African population. In 1990 it was estimated that the predominantly unionized, industrial workers averaged R12,000 (rand)—about US\$3,500—a year, compared to R4,800 for those working in the "informal sector" of the segregated townships. Agricultural laborers earned R2,400 and those living on the desolate bantustans a mere R1,400 (Stephen John Stedman, ed., *South Africa: The Political Economy of Transformation* [1994]). These figures



Protest over white fascist's murder of Communist Party leader Chris Hani last year. Today, while SACP tops occupy cabinet seats in capitalist government, some militants are demanding, "What has happened to the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

South Africa: For Black Proletarian Power



Farrell/AP

are somewhat misleading, since a good part of the wages received by black industrial workers go to support their poorer relatives unemployed in the townships or trapped on the bantustans. Nonetheless, the unions are vulnerable to demagogic nationalist attack by ANC politicians, who now claim the unions are defending the interests of a labor aristocracy, not the black African populace as a whole.

The unions are chained by the political logic of nationalist popular-frontism. In 1986 the leadership of the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) issued a joint statement with the ANC proclaiming the latter as head of the "national liberation movement." In turn, COSATU was declared to be "an important and integral part" of the "democratic forces of our country." In subsequent years, the unions acted as the main mass combat organizations in undermining the apartheid system. Strikes, even around narrow economic issues, were seen as weakening the white power structure, as indeed they did. It would have been unthinkable for the large numbers of unemployed black youth, however economically desperate, to scab on COSATU strikes. They would have been reviled—or worse—as collaborators with the hated apartheid state.

But now Mandela & Co., having become political front men for the Randlords, are trying to mobilize black sentiment against the unions, claiming that the relatively high wages in the industrial sector are responsible for mass unemployment in the townships and abject poverty in the countryside. Since Mandela's appeals for labor peace in the name of "reconstruction" have had no effect, the next logical step would be breaking these strikes utilizing black lumpen scabs protected by white police. The unions are thus facing a political attack of a very different order than the decreasingly effective police-state measures employed by the white-supremacist regime in its last years.

The black industrial unions were able to push wages up sharply over the past 20 years only because the structure of the South African economy could accommodate this. South Africa is an extreme example of a Third World dual economy, what Trotsky called combined and uneven development. The workers who assemble Volkswagens (not to mention Mercedes and BMWs) cannot afford to buy the cars they build. A powerful industrial union movement was built under conditions in which half the black African labor force was unemployed.

The explanation for these apparent contradictions lies in the fact that the economy is based on the extraction of mineral wealth. Gold is still king, although as the richest veins are played out, the companies are increasingly exploring elsewhere on the continent. Mining accounts for 10 percent of South Africa's gross national product and 60 percent of its exports. The profits from the Rand gold fields, along with the plat-



Frankenfeld/NY Times

inum, diamond and other mines, support a large, parasitic white petty bourgeoisie—government and corporate bureaucrats, proprietors of retail outlets, real estate brokers, etc.—who enjoy "First World" living standards.

Base metals account for over half of South Africa's industrial exports. It's cheaper to smelt iron and aluminum ore in South Africa and ship slabs and ingots than to ship the ore for smelting in West Europe, North America and Japan. Primary metallurgy is by its technical nature highly capital-intensive, employing less than 10 percent of the industrial labor force.

The Afrikaner Nationalist regime consistently pursued a program of *import substitution* in manufacturing, seeking to maximize production in South Africa of both strategic goods (e.g., armaments) and consumer durables purchased by the affluent white community. Seven international auto makers, including Mercedes, BMW and Nissan, have plants in South Africa—plants which might not have been built there in a more "free trade" environment. Charles Meth, an economist at the University of Natal, pointed out:

"Much investment has been for strategic rather than for 'purely economic reasons,' many enterprises being either unprofitable or having their 'profits' underwritten by the state. Private sector investment in manufacturing has been cushioned by the state against some of the harsh realities of capitalist competition on an international scale."

—Nicoli Nattrass and Elisabeth Ardington, eds., *The Political Economy of South Africa* (1990)

The particular structure of the South African economy, closely bound up with the apartheid system, necessarily shaped the black industrial union movement which developed over the past two decades. The country's largest, most militant and most left-wing union is the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA). NUMSA's members are characteristically employed in metal foundries whose profits are based on access to cheap mineral ores, in weapons factories subsidized by the military, and in auto plants geared to the purchasing power of the privileged white community. Thus the core of the unionized industrial labor force has heretofore been relatively insulated from the competitive pressures of the world market.

The masters of the Jo'burg stock



Silva/AP

New ANC rulers send "reformed" apartheid army (above) to keep lid on murderous conflict between Inkatha-led Zulu hostel dwellers (top left) and ANC-derived "Self-Defense Units" (left) in Tokoza. For ethnically integrated, union-based workers militias to suppress right-wing terrorism and communalist violence!

exchange and their partners in Wall Street and the City of London believed that by co-opting Mandela, Ramaphosa & Co. as their political agents they would be able to both dampen labor militancy and promote low-wage, labor-intensive industries (e.g., textiles and apparel) capable of competing with the Far East and Latin America. In a recent report, the Washington-based World Bank estimates that union activity has raised the wages of black labor 15 percent above what they otherwise would have been and argues that "higher wages have led to lower demand for labor" (*Reducing Poverty in South Africa* [June 1994]). This key agency of international finance demands an end to "conflict-ridden industrial relations" so that foreign investors will open sweatshops in South Africa instead of Taiwan or Mexico.

But unionized black workers are not buying the line that it is they who have to make sacrifices so that multinational firms and banks will provide sweatshop jobs for their younger brothers in the townships and sisters on the bantustans. Business circles have responded to the current massive strike wave with anger and dismay. One can expect large-scale capital flight.

The impact of intensifying labor conflict on multinational firms and banks is

even more immediate. Since the April elections, foreign moneymen have been *divesting* themselves of their holdings in South African companies. Robert Irwin, the head of a Wall Street securities firm who recently visited South Africa, commented: "I cannot figure out what South Africa offers to the outside investor in the way of an opportunity to create jobs" (*New York Times*, 3 August). Black labor militancy in South Africa will be answered and is already being answered by a *strike of capital*, both domestic and international.

In short, the black union movement faces a political attack by the bourgeois-nationalist ANC government and economic sabotage by those who own the means of production. This underscores the utter inadequacy of the combination of quasi-syndicalism and left social democracy espoused by the "workerist" elements in COSATU exemplified by former Metalworkers leader, now ANC/SACP parliamentarian, Moses Mayekiso. The Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, which has recently been presenting itself as the left wing of the COSATU "workerist" current, is agitating for a mass workers party "to defend and promote the interests of workers politically and at other levels."

However, in the present conjuncture, the workers can defend and promote their interests only by undertaking a struggle leading toward taking state power and reconstructing South African society on a socialist basis. Such a reconstruction will necessarily require a democratic solution to the many and complex national questions inherited from the apartheid state and will have to counter the inevitable offensive of world imperialism against a black-centered workers government in southern Africa. In the absence of a *proletarian internationalist solution* to the deepgoing political and social crisis signaled by the Mandela/

continued on page 13



Mattala/Shopsteward

Postal workers march in downtown Johannesburg last year. Combative black unions have attracted multiethnic support, key to overcoming tribal/racial divisions through class struggle.

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are schools of revolutionary action and education for young communists. As the student/youth auxiliary to the Spartacist League, the SYCs seek to win a new generation to the side of the working class. Our youth clubs provide a training ground, in struggle, for the future cadre of the Leninist-Trotskyist party which is necessary to lead the working class to power through international socialist revolution.

For decades, fear of war with the Soviet Union restrained the bloody hand of American imperialism, which would otherwise have certainly used nuclear weapons in both the Korean and Vietnam wars, as well as against Castro's Cuba. Now, with the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, Washington proclaims the "death of Communism" and has embarked on military adventures

Fight for the Communism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky!

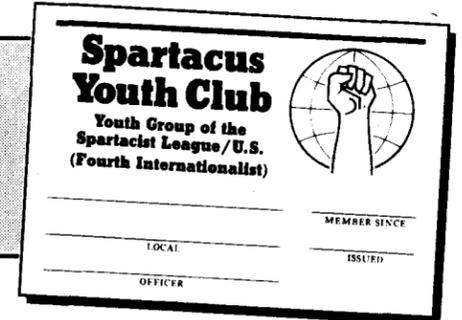
Socialism is not a utopia, or an ideal, or an "experiment that failed"; it is the only egalitarian alternative to the immiseration, oppression, racism and war which is endemic to the capitalist system. We fight for a socialist economy based on collectivized property, a rational planned economy, and a society where *those who labor will rule*. A socialist society, based on production for social use instead of private profit, will eliminate scarcity and the struggle for daily survival, opening the way to an expan-

"mediate" the conflict between capital and labor in order to maintain the status quo. Given the bankrupt American economy, maintaining the "status quo" has meant assisting the bosses in carrying out major cuts in the workers' standard of living.

We fight to build a Leninist vanguard, a revolutionary *workers party*, to make the working class politically conscious and act not merely as a class in itself but as a class *for itself*. Students and youth cannot make the revolution because they have no social power. Nor is it a question of only blacks liberating blacks, gays liberating gays or women liberating women under capitalism. It is only the multiracial working class, organized to fight in its own class interests and led by a revolutionary party, that can overthrow capitalism and liberate all the oppressed.

We Are the Party of the Russian Revolution! In October 1917, Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party led the working class to power in Russia. Emerging from the tsarist empire, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia showed the workers of the world that the Marxist program could be put into practice. Although this was a revolution made *in Russia*, it was not a revolution solely *for Russia*. The Bolsheviks' perspective was *revolutionary internationalist*—they fought for an extension of workers' state power internationally and knew that an isolated proletarian dictatorship could not survive. Following imperialist invasion and a bloody civil war, suffering continued isolation and conditions of extreme scarcity, a conservative parasitic bureaucracy, balancing atop the gains of October, took the reins of political power away from the workers. Rather than the state "withering away"—as Marx and Lenin had foreseen would occur as a result of international proletarian revolution—it hypertrophied under Stalin's regime, which marked the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

The watchword of the Stalinist bureaucracy was "socialism in one country." This was used to "justify" narrow



nationalist policies, including the active sabotage of revolutionary opportunities internationally, in order to buy "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism. Leon Trotsky made the analogy between the Soviet Union in its Stalinist degeneration and a reformist-led trade union—an organization of the working class saddled with a leadership of privileged bureaucrats, who distort the workers' political consciousness by accommodating world imperialism instead of pursuing the class struggle. He also warned that if this parasitic bureaucracy were not replaced by the rule of elected workers councils (soviets) and the revolution extended internationally, the legacy of the October Revolution would be destroyed. The ultimate crime of Stalin's heirs—and a huge defeat for the world proletariat—was the final undoing of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution with Yeltsin's August 1991 coup for Wall Street. Capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and across Eastern Europe has brought back "all the old crap": nationalist bloodbaths and communalist pogroms, vicious attacks on women and ethnic minorities, hunger and immiseration by the capitalist market.

Since 1917 the "Russian question" has been the touchstone for revolutionaries and the politically defining question for anyone purporting to be a socialist. While social democrats like the International Socialist Organization cravenly capitulated to the pressures of the Cold War and lined up with their own bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union, our revolutionary heritage is that of Leon Trotsky's Left Opposition and Fourth International, which fought for a political revolution to oust the Stalinist betrayers and return the USSR to the road of Bolshevik internationalism, and for an extension of proletarian revolution in the West.

From exposing Polish Solidarność as a company union for the CIA and Western bankers, to raising thousands of dollars in a campaign of material aid for the



February 1991: New York Spartacists protest imperialist war in the Persian Gulf on anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. WV Photo

from Somalia to Haiti. Intent on ruling the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie is gearing up for new wars of neocolonial conquest and increased rivalry with its imperialist competitors (particularly Japan), bringing the world closer to the threat of nuclear war. But from South Africa to South Korea, from the Chiapas revolt to the Teamsters strike, the class struggle rages and communism lives as the program to bring the working masses to victory. Youth today face the stark choice, as the great revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it, of "socialism or barbarism."

While the ruling class tries to lull the working people with the lie that this system is "free" and "democratic," it is really a dictatorship of the capitalist owners. The capitalists own the factories, the banks, the mines and transport systems—what Marxists call the *means of production*. Private ownership of the means of production is the basis of a system of exploitation where the vast majority of people, the workers who produce the wealth of this society, are denied the fruits of their labor. The capitalists' drive for profits necessarily leads to an immiseration of the working class, to dividing the workers along race and ethnic lines, and to imperialist wars for new markets. The whole system runs on the exploitation of labor by capital—that's fundamental, and it can't be reformed.

sion of human freedom in all spheres: in politics, economics, culture, and in every aspect of personal life.

What keeps something as unjust and rotten as the capitalist system going? The capitalist class has *state power* and enforces its rule through a whole system of force and violence—the cops, courts, prisons, national guard and army—to defend private property. You can see it in the recent police attacks on Teamster strikers, in the new "boot camps" for youth, in the national guard and army occupation of South Central Los Angeles which violently suppressed the multiracial youth upheaval against the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

The capitalist class also holds on to power by keeping the workers politically unconscious and racially divided. While the Republicans openly display their contempt for workers, black people and radical students and women, the Democratic Party postures as the friend of the "little guy" but in fact is the main means the American ruling class has to keep the oppressed tied to their oppressors.

The "glue" that binds the workers and radical youth to the capitalist Democratic Party is the various reformists who reject the necessity of a *class-struggle fight* in favor of losing schemes to pressure the Democrats to throw more crumbs their way. The trade-union bureaucrats aim to



Young Spartacus University of Illinois (Champaign/Urbana) contingent organized by the SYC joins the labor/black mobilization to stop the Ku Klux Klan at state capitol in Springfield, January 16.

Leon Trotsky wrote in *Their Morals and Ours* (1939) of the uncompromising fight to counterpose Marxist morality to the bourgeois liberal values inculcated in the petty bourgeoisie. One aspect of petty-bourgeois morals is its acquiescence to the psychology and social habit that says you'll either be an intellectual or a manual laborer, but not both. This division between "thinkers" and "doers" is a feature of class-divided societies in all parts of the world and is particularly rooted in the legacy of slavery and feudalism.

The following remarks by comrade Jim Robertson at the recent national conference of the Spartacist League/ U.S. highlight communist values and our goal of eradicating the pretentious bourgeois division between manual and mental labor.

In a very real way, this report is dedicated to Nina Hartley (who personifies the struggle against a parallel kind of invidiousness and hypocrisy, in her case sexual, inherent in the bourgeois order). America, uniquely among the advanced industrial countries, suffers from the religiosity of organized and repressive superstition. And one aspect of that, besides the Nina Hartley one, is the question of maintenance and the communist movement.

The bourgeois norm is management on top, maintenance in basement (a vari-



Dennis Silverstein

Nina Hartley, charged with "felony lesbianism," is a socialist and a champion of sexual freedom. Viva Nina!

Overcoming the Bourgeois Division Between Mental and Manual Labor

"Maintenance and the Communist Movement"

ation on the theme of priest-ridden Italy—man on top, woman in kitchen). When we were at our old national office, we had what I thought to be an optimal configuration. We had offices on the fifth and second floors, but on the tenth floor, right next to each other, were the Central Office and the maintenance department. It worked very well; it was real and collaborative, and it was very contradictory to the bourgeois norm which is, of course, that stockbrokers are vastly superior people to plumbers.

Now, just as a semi-aside, in order to change the world, you have to be able to change it, not merely learn something to write about it. As Stalin said, "Paper will take anything that is written on it." One time, William F. Warde (George Novack) gave a nice little chat on philosophy, and he used the Marxist phrase: "The philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world; the point is to..." At that point I picked up, "destroy them!" And the man looked visibly shaken. But there was a point.

So if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual. And if you don't know what to do with your hands, you are an ignorant person, and you are certainly not a physical scientist or an engineer. Perhaps you are Peter Camejo [a former leader of the Socialist Workers Party], who is a politically correct, socially conscious investment counselor.

Now, there are limits to this observation. Stalin robbed banks while Trotsky wrote. However, I would point out that Trotsky also organized the Red Army while Stalin seemed to have also been turning his comrades over to the tsarist Okhrana [secret police]. A model

Young Soviet volunteers worked under grueling conditions to finish BAM—the Baikai-Amur Mainline link to Trans-Siberia Railroad.



that I saw in life, at the College of Chemistry at Cal [Berkeley], were rather young, hot-shot professors of chemistry who, in the course of their research on the borders of known science, did their own electronics, their own plumbing, their own glassblowing and a host of other things, which they learned on their own initiative, undoubtedly under the guidance of journeymen and master craftsmen. But they did it and they did it right, because those measurements meant everything in their work.

And that shows another side of the problem. A good journeyman, without the engineering or scientific overview, necessarily bumps against a conceptual ceiling and must be frustrated. I think that Bukharin, in one of his speculative books, suggested that with the victory of the working class and the development into higher stages of socialism, the last residue of previous class-

divided society to be shattered would be the monopoly of the petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills, and that after that we, increasingly united as a species, would be on the road to communism.

So you have the bourgeois dichotomy between the doer and the thinker, the blue and the white collar, work and leisure, dirty and clean, menial and advantaged. What we seek are unifying communist values that not only permit us to redo the plumbing, but maintenance teams are very close to being the nuclei of military formations. Also, since I think this is a central axis of the world, I am left therefore with some kind of blinking indifference to preoccupations such as academic multiculturalism. The pH of water does not care about one's deep ethnic-rooted taste in music, which one should certainly enjoy, if one does. But I don't see that it changes much.

Thank you.

victims of the CIA-backed Afghan mul-lahs, to fighting against the Fourth Reich's *Anschluss* of East Germany, we took an active part in the fight to defend the workers states. Today, with Cuba isolated and throttled by an imperialist embargo, with China and North Korea threatened by internal counterrevolution and hostile encirclement, only political revolution led by a Trotskyist party, and class struggle right here in the belly of the imperialist beast, can defend the remaining gains for the proletariat which are still embodied in those deformed workers states.

U.S./UN Get Your Bloody Hands Off the World! It's a "New World Order" of unbridled U.S. military threats and intervention. The naked power grab by U.S. imperialism is carried out around the globe under the cover of the flag of the United Nations. (Lenin aptly dubbed the League of Nations, the UN's predecessor, an imperialist "den of thieves.") The U.S. imperialists "fight hunger" in Somalia by engineering a famine and then pumping bullets into unarmed crowds of black Africans. They "give peace a chance" in the former Yugoslavia by arming Bosnian Muslims and shooting Serbs. They "bring prosperity" to Haiti by choking the desperately poor country with a starvation blockade.

During the Persian Gulf War, our fake-

socialist opponents pushed a policy of patriotic social-chauvinism: they sported yellow ribbons to support U.S. troops, marched with red, white and blue "peace" signs, and pushed for the UN to enforce sanctions as a supposed alternative to a U.S.-led shooting war which could risk *American* lives. Yet the sanctions were *an act of war* and have resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians!

The Spartacus Youth Clubs fought against illusions in the United Nations, against imperialist sanctions, and uniquely against our own bourgeoisie, raising the slogan, "*Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!*" We mobilized youth who are offered a "future" as cannon fodder, putting forward a program to ally with the working class and wage a struggle for labor strikes against the U.S.' "desert slaughter." From the atomic bombing of Hiroshima to the carpet bombing of Vietnam to the mass graves in Panama and the blood-drenched Iraqi desert, U.S. imperialism is the bloodiest war criminal on the planet.

Imperialist war is not a "bad policy" but an essential feature of the capitalist system. Historically the Democrats launch even more imperialist adventures than the Republicans. Without the "red menace" of the Soviet Union to unify the imperialist powers, today interimpé-

rialist rivalries are heightened. As we pointed out then, the Persian Gulf War was in good part a warning by the U.S. to its economically more robust rivals Japan and Germany. *You can't end imperialist war without ending capitalism.*

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! American capitalism is racist to the core. Since slavery black people have been integrated into key sectors of the American economy but forcibly segregated at the bottom as a race-color caste in all spheres of society: jobs, housing, education, the military. The Civil War against chattel slavery and the civil rights movement against Jim Crow segregation held out the promise of black equality. But racist oppression is so inherent in American capitalism that it can not be eradicated short of a socialist revolution. Given the strategic role played by black workers in the labor movement, there will be no American workers revolution unless the revolutionary party has a heavily black leadership component, and the multiracial proletariat is consciously mobilized to open the road to black freedom through *revolutionary integrationism*: integration on the basis of real social equality in an egalitarian socialist society.

With the deindustrialization of the U.S., the old racist status quo of "last hired, first fired" has worsened to a night-

mare of hopelessness for black youth who are never hired. There are no jobs, so the ruling class increasingly sees black youth as a "surplus population" to be penned in the ghettos by racist killer cops or warehoused in prison hellholes and "boot camps." The defeat of liberal tokenist integration schemes and the increased isolation of black youth have fueled a defeatist "nationalist" mood, as seen in the renewed popularity of the dangerous demagogue Louis Farrakhan, who, as we have forthrightly said, is bad news for black people. For all the talk of "empowerment," Farrakhan accommodates white racist segregationists by opposing integrated struggle and pushes poisonous anti-Semitism and anti-immigrant chauvinism in his bid for crumbs from the racist rulers.

Only a party that actively fights all manifestations of racial oppression in America can lead the multiracial working class to victory. From our nationwide campaign of protest over the elementary issue of the right of black people to get equal treatment at Denny's restaurants, to our powerful labor/black united-front mobilizations against the KKK and Nazi fascists, the Spartacus Youth Clubs have fought for an alliance in struggle between anti-racist youth and the integrated labor movement to defend black rights.

continued on page 12

Stop ISO Gangsterism! For Open Political Debate!

ISO Attacks Death Penalty Abolitionists

We reprint below a leaflet issued by the Boston Spartacus Youth Club on July 31 and distributed nationwide to protest the latest acts of gangsterism by the International Socialist Organization.

On Wednesday, July 27, a group of three Spartacus Youth Club activists, including a young black woman, was set upon by thugs in the hallway of Boston University's Marsh Chapel outside a publicly advertised anti-death penalty forum. Literature and petitions to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal—a former Black Panther Party member and courageous journalist known as “the voice of the voiceless”—were ripped out of our comrades' hands, seized in stacks off our literature table, torn to shreds and thrown out on the street.

Who is responsible for this despicable act of racist violence? Skinhead fascists? Kill-crazy, pro-death penalty, “right-to-life” terrorists? “Off-duty” cops? No, this was the work of self-avowed “socialists,” the International Socialist Organization (ISO). This attack took place outside a forum which was publicly advertised in the ISO's July *Socialist Worker* and was led by Boston ISO branch leader Brian Kelly. Like a “grade B” movie bully, Kelly kicked a high school student in the chest and bellowed, “I'm going to kill you.” Kelly's supporting cast included ISOers David Whitehouse, Ann Sydor, Kit Cooley, and nameless “extras.” The goons “justified” their physical violence to others attending the forum with the lie that we Spartacists are “disrupters.”

Violence and slander are the tactics of the capitalist ruling class which seeks to suppress militants and divide the working class and revolutionary movement with COINTELPRO dirty tricks, strike-breakers, gangsters, cops, etc. For these same tactics to be used by the ISO against other leftist organizations can only play into the hands of reactionaries. Such methods poison relations between various sections of the left and block the development of socialist class consciousness by rendering free discussion of ideas impossible. They don't have to consider other theories, they just beat up anyone who raises a dissenting view.

The attack at Boston University is not an isolated incident but an example of the gangsterism for which this tendency is known internationally. The American ISO is a satellite of the British Socialist

Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's thuggery prompted another leftist tendency, the *Socialist Organiser* group, to call for a labor movement inquiry into violent assaults just one year ago at the SWP's “Marxism '93,” advertised as a “week of discussion and debate.” In August

struggle for black equality in a socialist America.

As a Black Panther, a MOVE supporter and a journalist who spoke out powerfully for all the oppressed, Mumia Abu-Jamal was targeted for death by the Philadelphia police. Framed for killing

impotent “protests” under the thumb of the cops. When anti-fascist militants surged to sweep the Nazis off the streets of Ottawa in May 1993, the ISO's Canadian comrades served as junior cop auxiliaries, protecting the fascists by linking arms to force the crowd back.

What kind of socialist organization makes common cause with the cops? Find out for yourself—get our special packet, “ISO Truth Kit—Polemics with the Cliff Tendency.”

The origins of the ISO date from their international leader Tony Cliff's break with the Trotskyist movement in the 1950s when he lined up with British and American imperialism in the Korean War. That's why we call the ISO and their social-democratic ilk “State Department socialists”; “socialists” whose appetite to pressure and cozy up to the mythical “liberal” wing of imperialism inevitably leads them to outright anti-Communism. Faced with the hostile domestic climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the Cliff tendency spun out a “theory” of “state capitalism,” of some “new class rule,” to justify blocking with their own bourgeoisie against the degenerated Soviet workers state.

Throughout the 1980s, wherever American imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive raged hottest, you would find the ISO—lined up with the U.S. ruling class. Behind the Pope and Ronald Reagan, the ISO screamed for solidarity with Polish “Solidarity”—Lech Walesa's company “union” which has brought capitalism back to Poland, impoverishing the working class and especially women who are also the first targets of Solidarność's clerical reaction in outlawing abortion. Behind the CIA-funded and armed *mujahedin*, the ISO screamed for the blood of Russian soldiers in Afghanistan and hailed this victory for the forces of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism which has forced women into veils, leftists into jails, and author Taslima Nasrin into hiding in fear for her life.

We Trotskyists fought tooth and nail to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack and capitalist counterrevolution, and to return to the liberating program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks through a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucrats. But the ISO hailed the capitalist counterrevolution as “the Russian Revolution of 1991.” The destruction of the Soviet Union has ushered in a nightmare of nationalist bloodletting, racist pogroms, inequality and poverty. Internationally, U.S. imperialism now sees a green light to strangle the Cuban Revolution and intervene militarily everywhere from Africa to the former Yugoslavia to Haiti.

Only now that the Soviet Union is gone does the ISO claim to be a party in “the Bolshevik tradition.” This is nothing but dirt-cheap camouflage for a group trying to carve out its own turf as a “socialist” pressure on mainstream liberals and the Democratic Party White House. For months, these ostensible socialists kept an eye on “their” new president with a regular “Clinton watch” in *Socialist Worker*. They are still riding Clinton's coattails. The ISO said not one



Young Spartacus

New York University campus cop bars door to building at behest of ISO members to seal off Spartacists from publicly advertised meeting, August 25.

1992, the ISO's Canadian group launched a brutal attack against our comrades outside a “public” debate, dragging a small woman comrade and bashing her, spread-eagled, against a door divider. This misogynist outrage prompted an independent witness to publish a protest letter. But the ISO continues to substitute the fist for the brain, seeking to draw a *blood line* to seal off new members from political debate. Organizational loyalty founded on unreasoning hatred instead of political program makes for an inherently unstable group and can serve to drive honest militants out of left politics altogether.

The Partisan Defense Committee and the Spartacists have fought to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal because his case embodies what the death penalty is all about. Capital punishment is racist “legal lynching” by a capitalist state whose whole system of injustice includes the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets. Our fight for the abolition of the death penalty and to free Mumia Abu-Jamal is an inseparable part of our

a cop and sentenced to death for his political views, Jamal fights what would be the first political execution since the government electrocuted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for being Communists and Jews. Thousands of unionists, students, civil rights activists and death penalty abolitionists around the world have joined the campaign to save Jamal's life.

In response to the growing support for Jamal's case, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) are on a crusade to silence him and his supporters in order to make it easier to kill him. The ISO, which has maintained a deafening silence on Jamal's case and now assaults his supporters, also supports cop “strikes” and calls for cop “unions” (like the FOP?). Just as Jamal was to begin broadcasting commentaries from death row on National Public Radio's (NPR) prestigious *All Things Considered*, the FOP succeeded in banning Jamal from the airwaves by marshaling a powerful array of reactionary forces, including Senate Republican leader Robert Dole. The very day NPR caved in to the FOP, President Clinton addressed thousands of cops to promote his new “three strikes you're out” crime bill and called for capital punishment for “cop killers.”

Anybody who has taken to the streets to walk a picket line to defend their union against the bosses, or defend an abortion clinic against Operation Rescue, or joined a demonstration against racist violence, knows that the cops are there to beat your heads, that they are the hired thugs of the capitalist rulers, the sworn enemies of the working class, minorities, immigrants, women and gays. Yet at anti-fascist demonstrations across the Midwest, the ISO assists the cops by herding leftists through metal detectors into police holding pens for

ISO Truth Kit

A Spartacist packet including articles from *Workers Vanguard*, *Workers Hammer* and *Spartacist Canada*.

Polemics with the Cliff Tendency

- An Anti-Marxist Flinch—The “Theory” of State Capitalism
- The Struggle Against Fascism
- “State Department Socialists” in League with Imperialism
- For Open Political Debate—Down with Stalin-Style Thuggery and Cowardly Exclusionism

Price \$1

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

Racist Repression Against Hip-Hop

Clothes, Cops and the Capitalist State

It started out with a few young white women wearing "hip-hop" clothes—baggy jeans, flannel shirts and boots—and ended up in a racist frenzy in Morocco, Indiana. In this isolated Midwest town, Andrea Van Winkle, her sister Kerry, their friend Elizabeth Grzych and a number of other teenagers face constant verbal harassment, physi-

the surface of small-town life began to openly rear its ugly head.

Late last year, tensions reached a boiling point when students tried to rally in support of the girls and were met with a pro-KKK "white power" counterdemonstration. At one point, the school principal had to empty the school because of a bomb threat. Since these incidents,

three black youth from nearby Lafayette who had read about the incident and decided to go and lend moral support.

The words "KKK," "White Power" and "Wigger" are scrawled all over school lockers and desks at North Newton High. "Wigger" is a revolting term that combines the words "white" and "n----r" to describe anti-racist white people. It is also thrown out at black men who date white women, or black people decried as "not black enough."

School principal Gene Bell backed the racists. Initially the girls were suspended. Andrea Van Winkle says that after she complained to Bell about racist harassment, he told her "if we didn't wear those braids and clothes the boys would not bother us." The girls have filed suit against the school and several officials for compensatory and punitive damages. We hope they win.

The clothes one wears and the music one listens to can be anything from a simple matter of taste to a political statement. Clothing or personal lifestyle can't change society or its problems. But these young women are conscious integrationists who sympathize with rebellious sentiment found in rap music and for that, the racists hate them. Morocco, Indiana is halfway between the cities of Indianapolis and Gary, with their substantial black and working-class populations. The next time there's a racist rally in Morocco, we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs would love to see integrated busloads of workers and anti-racist students take a trip to North Newton High to teach the racists a quick and unforgettable lesson in tolerance.

Across the country the racist bourgeois state has been targeting young people, especially blacks and Latinos, for their so-called "gang" attire. In Southern California the anti-immigrant and anti-gang hysteria has especially set up Latino youth for cop repression. Jessie Gonzalez, a Latino teenager in nearby Panorama City, was found guilty under a "sweeping injunction designed to stem gang activity" and sentenced to 90 days in jail and three years probation (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 August 1993). His crime? The possession of an electronic pager and a glass bottle! Here's the hypocrisy of the ruling class: fascist skinhead scum are given free rein to flaunt Nazi regalia as they terrorize minorities,



Kowal/AP

Andrea Van Winkle, left, and sister Kerry stay out of school in Morocco, Indiana to avoid racist harassment.

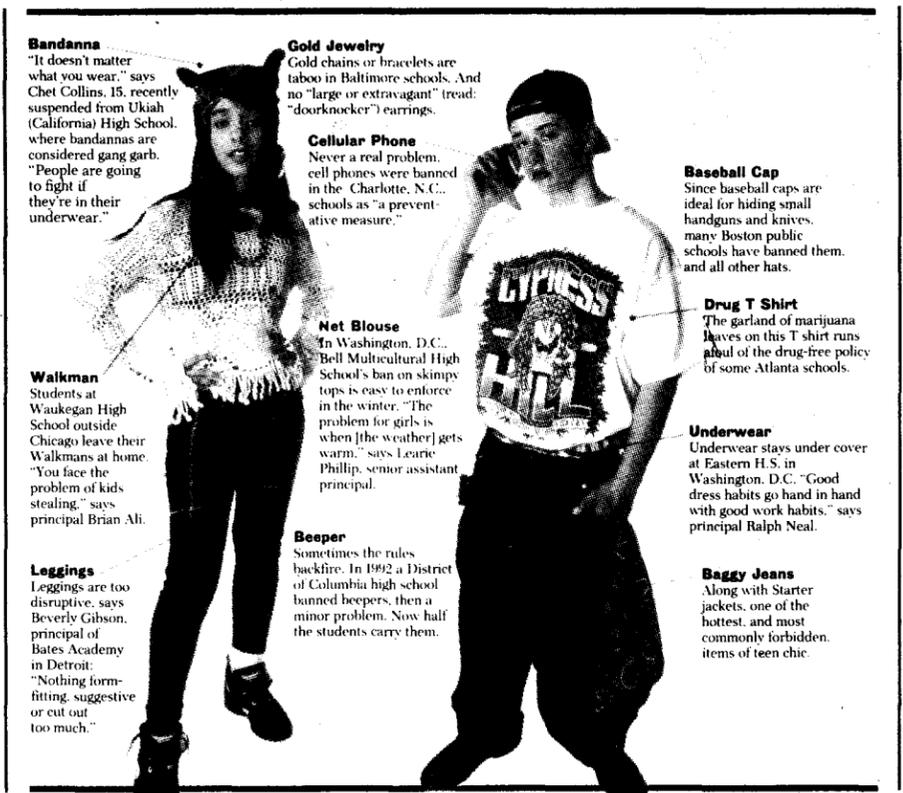
but minority youth who dress in hip-hop attire face constant cop repression.

Asian youth have also been on the receiving end of police brutality. Claiming that Asians look "androgynous" and therefore hard to peg as male "gang members," cops in L.A. suburbs like Fountain Valley and Monterey Park routinely stop, photograph and even detain young Asian women on the basis of their "gang" clothing (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 August 1993).

Three young Vietnamese women, Minhtran Tran, Annie Lee and Quyen Pham, were harassed, detained and photographed by the Garden Grove Police Department in Southern California as part of a compilation of ominous secret police dossiers on "suspected" gang members. Previously, these honor roll students endured repeated harassment from local businesses. It was assumed they were in gangs because they wore baggy clothes. The ACLU filed a class-action lawsuit against the Garden Grove police on behalf of the young women.

From racist dress codes and curfews to anti-smoking, anti-booze, anti-drug and anti-sex campaigns, the state is seeking to regiment young people according to 1950s-style "family values," to inculcate docile submission to authority. This is all part of the capitalist state's efforts to shape a generation as cannon fodder for the next imperialist war or racist adventure abroad. Along these lines, the California State Assembly has recently approved a bill that allows public schools to require students to wear uniforms.

To do away with the stifling repression of youth, the bigotry against young women who dare to be "different" and the inequalities of a race- and class-divided society requires a socialist revolution! ■



Covello/Newsweek

Newsweek magazine illustrated some of the clothing outrageously declared "verboten" by school administrators across the country.

cal attacks, school suspensions, death threats and an all-out assault by racist students and the Ku Klux Klan. And for what? Well, according to one of the racist creeps, it's because "they act like black people. They're not black, so why should they act like it? It's not right" (*USA Today*, 11 December 1993).

Hip-hop styles of clothing have been widely popularized by black performers in rap music videos. In a rural Indiana town that is about 99 percent white, when a bunch of young high-school women began to dress differently, braid their hair, and make it clear they're anti-racists, the visceral bigotry just below

five of the girls have dropped out of school in fear of their lives, and one of only two black students, Jacob Campbell, was driven out. Elizabeth's father guards their home with a .357 Magnum pistol.

The persecution of these young women also touches on what racist American society considers to be the greatest taboo: interracial sex between black men and white women. In "up South" Morocco, Indiana, no sooner had the young women shown off their new styles when rumors about carloads of black men speeding through town spread like wildfire. In fact, these "carloads" were

word in opposition to Clinton's NAFTA rape of Mexico and at BU last semester shared a platform with and glad-handed a high-ranking representative of the Mexican government which rained death on the Zapatista Indian rebels in Chiapas. Along with Clinton the ISO hails neo-apartheid, the ANC's swindle of black freedom in a deal with South Africa's racist butchers.

On the domestic front, when Teamster strikers faced off against riot cops, and Spartacus Youth Club members joined the picket lines to help defend the union, the shamefaced ISO stayed away, knowing the reception they'd get as "socialists" who routinely cross picket lines and who campaigned for years for the capi-

talist government to "clean up" the Teamsters. With Clinton pushing a crime bill that will throw thousands more people on death row, the ISO switches into high gear...to bloody those who fight for the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

For the ISO, the only way to resolve the contradiction between their pretensions to socialism and their utterly reformist essence is to resort to violence. In this they follow the example of their political forebears, the German Social Democrats Noske and Scheidemann who drowned the 1919 workers revolution in blood and instigated the killing of the Spartakist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This is the tradition the

ISO springs from like cholera bacteria from a leaking sewer.

The German Spartacists and Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks form our revolutionary heritage. Uniquely on the left we practice what was the norm in the communist movement—before Stalinism wrecked it—the practice of open political debate. Lenin's scathing and often humorous polemics against the Mensheviks, Kautskyan social democrats, and his own Bolshevik comrades stand in sharp contrast to the Stalinists' crushing of dissent and mind-numbing uniformity. It's an irony of history that hysterical anti-Stalinist social democrats like the ISO ape Stalin's methods. We Trotskyists believe that it is only through

the clash of opinion and test of action among various forces claiming to be socialists that political clarity can be achieved and a Leninist party forged to intervene in social struggle.

What kind of "socialism" does the ISO represent if they go around beating up other leftists? If you really want to stop the fascists through powerful labor/black mobilizations such as we have initiated, if you really want to fight against the racist death penalty as we do in practice, if you believe building a society run by the workers who produce the wealth means building picket lines, not crossing them, if you want to fight for an international socialist revolution, then join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■



Michigan Day Care Witchhunt

State Steals Student's Baby

A University of Michigan student has become the latest victim of the ruling-class assault on gains for women's rights. Nineteen-year-old Jennifer Ireland, who had a child as a high-school sophomore and went on to graduate third in her class and win several college scholarships, has been told by a Macomb County, Michigan judge that she's not fit to raise the child. What did the young woman do that was so heinous? She put her three-year-old in day care while she attended classes!

Judge Raymond Cashen, who called the young woman "sexually indiscriminate" (for having sex with her boyfriend), ruled July 26 that the child's father, 20-year-old Stephen Smith, will make a better parent because he plans to leave the child with his mother while

he attends classes at a community college. The judge wrote that under Ireland's care, little Maranda Kate Ireland-Smith would be "in essence, raised and supervised by strangers." With the father, however, the child would be cared for by blood relatives, which he deemed would give the child a "feeling of security, a state of permanence."

This is but the latest chapter in the witchhunt against "demon day care." It's not in day-care centers, but within the "sacred" family, which prescribes monogamy for women, that real child abuse usually occurs. As we wrote in "The Devil and Day Care" (*Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer/Autumn 1992):

"Witchhunts against day care, drugs, teen sex and porn are designed to manipulate

the population into chasing imaginary devils, while hiding the fact that this society has done unimaginable harm to youth with its enforced inequality, poverty and deep cuts in everything from basic medicine to education."

The essence of the "family values" crusade—that day care, abortion and working women are the cause of society's woes—bears a huge resemblance to the Nazis' rallying cry of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (children, kitchen, church), which encapsulated the desire to turn women into the breeders of Aryan warriors. The bourgeoisie's aim in promoting "family values"—through its laws, courts and cops—is to drive women out of the workforce and back into the home, where their domestic drudgery reproduces the next generation of workers for the capitalists to exploit.

Jennifer Ireland's case has spurred outrage across the country. That such an egregiously anti-woman ruling was handed down to begin with is a sign of the intense, bigoted reaction of a capitalist class running scared in the face of widespread anger and discontent. Ireland herself retains a chance—an appeals court ruled August 9 that she may keep custody of Maranda through the duration of the appeals process. All supporters of women's rights must rally to Jennifer Ireland's defense! It will take a socialist revolution—which will open the road to replacing the family, instituting free 24-hour day care, socialized housework and free abortion on demand—to liberate women once and for all from state-imposed "morality" and domestic drudgery. ■

Join the SYC...

(continued from page 9)

Down With Anti-Immigrant Chauvinism! The ruling class is pushing a vicious campaign of national chauvinism to deflect discontent with the shrinking economy. The labor misleaders abet the capitalists in pushing racist anti-Mexican and anti-Japanese chauvinism in the union movement, falsely blaming immigrants and foreign workers for "stealing American jobs." Today immigrants are an increasingly large (and often militant) sector of the U.S. working class. We oppose the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico and call for cross-border organizing and united working-class struggle against the capitalists from the Yukon to the Yucatah. We fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families, for union organizing of the unorganized and specially oppressed immigrant population, against attempts to deprive "illegals" of social services, and against the racist "English only" campaign in schools and workplaces.

An Injury to One Is an Injury to All! Defend Our Class-War Prisoners! Alongside the Partisan Defense Committee (a non-sectarian, class-struggle legal and social defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League), the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight on behalf of those who are victimized for standing up to racist capitalist oppression. From Teamster striker Jesse Acuna, who was vindictively sentenced to years in prison for defending his picket line, to former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), we will not let the ruling class wipe out the memory of these heroic fighters. As young socialist activists, we embrace these imprisoned fighters as our own and struggle for their release. The SYCs are extremely active in the fight against the racist death penalty and to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter on Pennsylvania's death row. An award-winning journalist known as "the voice of the voiceless," Jamal was framed for killing a cop and sentenced to death for his political views. Join the fight against racist "legal lynching." *Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution! Defend Gay Rights! Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the family, which is integral to capitalism as the chief means for inheritance of property and instilling authority.

We Marxists fight for women's liberation as an inseparable part of the struggle of the whole working class against capitalism. Bourgeois feminists look to the capitalist state and "Billary's" Democratic Party to defend abortion rights with federal marshals and "squeal rules." But Clinton and his top cop Janet Reno—the mass murderers of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas—carried out their crime on the pretext of opposing child abuse. "Saving the children" is the same pretext used by the murderous "right-to-

attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated and decreed "norms," and hold that consensual sexual activity is nobody's business but that of the individuals involved. Our aim is to build a revolutionary party that is a genuine *tribune of the people*, and to fight for a society where there is no social constraint in sexual relations, and where, as Frederick Engels said, "there is no other motive left except mutual inclination."

Free, Quality Education for All! Education should be a right, not a privilege.

consciousness is raised and political clarity achieved. In contrast with the strait-jacket of lowest-common-denominator single-issue coalitions favored by our fake-left opponents, we initiate genuine united-front actions in which all participating organizations who agree with the central call of the action are encouraged to raise their own political viewpoints in their own name, in banners, leaflets, and from the speaker's podium. Our labor/black mobilizations against the KKK and Nazis are a model of the broad-based defense necessary to defend the working class and the oppressed where no participating tendency is censored. Any organization which can't tolerate political debate couldn't organize a society we'd like to live in.

Forge a Nationwide Socialist Youth Organization! Our differences with our fake-socialist opponents boil down to the question of reform versus revolution. Almost all of them present one or another brand of militant liberalism. "Socialists" who do not believe in the capacity of the working class to make a revolution invariably seek other forces and means by which to reform capitalism. Without the grounding of a revolutionary program, they endlessly capitulate to "public opinion" (i.e., bourgeois ideology) and end up on the wrong side of the class line. Such groups cross picket lines during strikes, push social-chauvinism in time of war, and foster illusions in the bosses' Democratic Party. They serve as the propagandists of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and they attempt to hide their political contradictions by suppression of debate and outright thuggery against other leftists. The working class and radical students don't need another party that adapts to the current backward consciousness of the working class or the petty bourgeoisie; they need a party that can instill revolutionary consciousness, a party that is willing to swim against the stream.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs are the organizationally independent and politically subordinate youth groups of the Spartacist League. The political program that we fight for is the program of the International Communist League and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League. The youth clubs have their own organizational life, elect their own officers and take responsibility for implementing the revolutionary program in the youth arena. Our immediate task is to grow in numbers and capacity and reforge a nationwide socialist youth group. Our ongoing work is reflected in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *Workers Vanguard*. *Join us!* ■



San Francisco, July 30: Spartacus Youth Club protested the "right-to-life" terrorist murder of Pensacola, Florida abortion doctor John Britton and his bodyguard James Barrett.

life" terrorists who shot down Dr. David Gunn, Dr. John Britton and James Barrett in broad daylight. Laws against clinic blockades will inevitably be used against the left and labor movement to ban militant union pickets, building takeovers and sit-ins. We fight for mass mobilizations to defend the clinics by sweeping anti-abortion mobs off the streets. *Free abortion on demand!*

On the issues of "date rape" and pornography, the feminists are in bed with the religious right, fomenting state repression. Who needs "politically correct" *in loco parentis* sex cops on campus to regiment the most intimate personal relations? Gays and lesbians have been targeted by the "family values" witchhunt and have been stripped of their jobs and even their children by the capitalist state. We are known for our uncompromising defense of groups like NAMBLA, who have been victimized by the ultra-right as well as the "mainstream" gay movement which supports reactionary age-of-consent laws. As Marxists we oppose all

Beset by rising tuition and racist attacks, blacks are fast becoming missing persons on American university campuses. Against the race and class bias of higher education, the SYCs fight for open admissions and free tuition. The universities are training grounds for the technical elite and the administrators for the capitalist class. We fight to break the capitalist state's hold on the universities by fighting for an end to military training, ROTC, and CIA recruitment. For student/teacher/worker control of the universities! Abolish the boards of trustees!

For Open Political Debate! A precondition of the Bolsheviks' victory in the October 1917 revolution was the hard political struggle they waged against the reformist and anti-revolutionary currents in the workers movement. The revolutionary party will be built through splits and fusions on the basis of political program. We Spartacists believe in open political debate on the left, because it is through the clash of opinion and the test in struggle of competing programs that

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

De Klerk "government of national unity," the "new" South Africa will tend to polarize along racial and ethnic lines.

The Danger of Racial and Tribal Warfare

Many whites believed that the "power sharing" deal with the ANC would lead to a lower level of black social struggle and an easing of racial tension. A commonly voiced sentiment was: "With Mandela as president, my children will no longer have to live in a state of siege ever fearful of a black insurrection and random racial violence." But there can be no racial amity in South Africa as long as such vast and stark inequalities separate white and black. The ordinary workings of capitalism will tend to maintain or even increase the impoverishment of the black masses. Only a workers government could utilize the valuable technical skills of those whites willing to live under black majority rule while working to overcome the economic gulf separating them from the mass of black toilers.

Far from reducing the level of black social struggle, the displacement of the openly white-supremacist regime by the ANC-led "government of national unity" is already intensifying it in all ways—big strikes and plant occupations, land seizures in the countryside and squatter movements in the cities, clashes with the hated police force. South African whites will react to a breakdown of "law and order" with panic, fear and rage. Many, especially English speakers, will doubtless choose to emigrate to Britain, North America, Australia, etc. But the ranks of the Afrikaner diehards will also swell, raising the prospect of a fascist white revolt.

Along with fighting between white right-wing paramilitary forces and ANC supporters, there could well be communalist violence between black Africans on the one side and coloureds and Indians on the other. In the classic divide-and-rule manner, the white-supremacist regime deliberately favored the coloureds and Indians. In the 1980s these two groups were given a vote in impotent "parliaments," while black Africans were still officially relegated to being "citizens" of the "tribal homelands" (bantustans). In the late 1980s, the government was spending R2,500 annually per capita for education for whites, R1,900 for Indians, R1,000 for coloureds and less than R500 for blacks.

Nonetheless, despite these relative advantages, the coloured and Indian communities viewed themselves as oppressed victims of the apartheid system and generally appeared to support the program of "non-racial democracy" promised by the ANC. But the actual prospect of a black nationalist government, however liberal its ideological stance, opened up clearly visible fissures within the nonwhite population. A letter to the Western Cape newspaper *Rapport*

Metro in early 1993 expressed the changing concerns of the coloured community:

"I believe I am right when I say that the ANC's first priority lies with its own people—the blacks.... Where do uneducated brown people fit in? We must think carefully where our future welfare lies before election day dawns."

—quoted in *African Communist*, 2nd Quarter 1993

When election day dawned, a majority of the coloureds in the Western Cape, where they constitute slightly over half the population, felt sufficiently apprehensive about their future in the "new" South Africa to vote for the National Party. Similarly, on the eve of the elections a majority of Indian voters in Natal were reportedly supporting De Klerk's Nats (*New York Times*, 22 April).

Since the Mandela/De Klerk "government of national unity" cannot and will not begin to satisfy the desperate need for housing by black Africans—mil-



Black workers at Volkswagen (above) and six other auto makers in South Africa produce cars for protected market of affluent whites.

lions of whom live in backyard shacks and shantytowns made of cardboard and plastic—their anger and frustration could easily turn against the better-off coloured and Indian communities.

As the black African masses find that they continue to live in poverty and degradation despite the promises of "non-racial democracy" and "national unity," some ANC leaders will doubtless resort to nationalist demagoguery and even tribalist appeals. Even if Mandela and his lieutenants continue to claim to stand for "non-racialism," the whole situation points to increasing tribal/ethnic tensions and clashes. While the ANC currently draws support from all sections of the nonwhite population as well as liberal and leftist whites, its strongest base of support is among the Xhosas (South Africa's second-largest tribe) of the Eastern Cape. Xhosas are prevalent in the ANC leadership, with Mandela himself being the son of a minor Xhosa chieftain from the Transkei. The ANC has long had friendly relations with Transkei bantustan chief Kaiser Matanzima, in violent contrast to KwaZulu Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Right-wing whites depict the murderous conflict between Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and the ANC in purely tribal terms, as Zulu vs. Xhosa. ANC apologists and most leftists argue that Inkatha is simply an artificial creature of the apartheid regime, and they point to the ANC's sizable following in Zululand despite terrorist attacks by Buthelezi's *impis* (fighting squads). The reality is more complex. Certainly, without the massive financial support and encouragement of the Afrikaner Nationalist regime—especially senior military and police cadre—Inkatha would be far weaker than it is. However, Buthelezi has been able to exploit the fears of traditional-minded Zulu villagers and backward Zulu workers that an ANC

government would be a disguised form of Xhosa domination.

In the past some (though by no means all) elements in the white ruling circles promoted Zulu tribalism in order to undercut the ANC/SACP. However, South African along with American and British capital has made a major political investment in the Mandela presidency. Hence bourgeois opinion now regards Inkatha militants as troublemakers in the "new" South Africa (even though Buthelezi is for the moment a minister in the coalition government).

Symptomatically, the mine bosses recently fired 300 Zulu workers for clashing with ANC supporters. Significantly, the National Union of Mineworkers, whose former leader Ramaphosa is now ANC general secretary, refused to oppose or protest this political victimization of Zulu miners by the Randlords. Such policies can only convince Zulu workers that

has been the site of bitter fighting. While Sexwale argued for the "peace process," one SDU commander declared: "If the ANC government does not want to destroy the hostels we will do it ourselves."

Nonetheless, most of the groups in South Africa taking a stance to the left of the ANC/SACP treat the SDUs as if they were some kind of workers militias or could easily become so. Thus the "Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC," which is aligned with the British-based Militant Labour tendency, states: "we have long campaigned for the creation of disciplined community self-defence units, bearing arms" (*Congress Militant*, July-August 1992). Workers Power likewise calls to: "Transform the local Self Defence Units into real workers' and people's militias" (*Workers Power*, April 1994).

Qina Msebenzi (April 1994), published by the "Comrades for a Workers Government," who are associated with the tiny London-based Workers International League, while talking of the need for factory-based defense units, calls to "remove the hostels." (*QM* initially called for a workers party, but supported the ANC in the elections.) In contrast, we call for ethnically integrated, union-based militias, as counterposed to the communalist SDUs. Four years ago, as thousands were being killed in the "Reef war" between Inkatha and ANC supporters, we wrote:

"What is needed is the formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both the right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist war."

—"South Africa and Permanent Revolution: Part I," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

Today, COSATU is the only mass institution in South Africa embracing members of all racial and ethnic groups on a class basis. Black unions have even made inroads into the white labor aristocracy with 3,500 whites among the members of the COSATU-affiliated transport union. Thus the unions can be a crucial bulwark against South Africa's sliding into a vortex of racial and tribal strife. But one cannot expect the reformist-led unions to play such a role spontaneously, especially given the still strong ANC loyalty among COSATU top and middle-level officials. Only a Leninist vanguard party, committed to an internationalist perspective, can effectively mobilize the workers movement against the forces of murderous nationalism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

National Office: Box 1377 GPO New York, NY 10116 (212) 732-7860	Chicago Box 6441, Main PO Chicago, IL 60680 (312) 663-0715	Oakland Box 29497 Oakland, CA 94604 (510) 839-0851
Atlanta Box 4012 Atlanta, GA 30302 (404) 521-9338	Cleveland Box 91037 Cleveland, OH 44101	San Francisco Box 77494 San Francisco, CA 94107 (415) 777-9367
Boston Box 390840 Central Sta. Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 492-3928	Los Angeles Box 29574, Los Feliz Sta. Los Angeles, CA 90029 (213) 380-8239	Washington, D.C. Box 75073 Washington, D.C. 20013 (202) 872-8240
New York Box 3381, Church St. Sta. New York, NY 10008 (212) 267-1025		

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA/LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DU CANADA

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

Spartacist League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

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

Chicago

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

New York City

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

Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

had the second-highest caloric intake in Latin America, an average diet of 3,100 calories a day, which has now been cut by more than half. This has been exacerbated by the regime's own measures, which have made Cuba increasingly a "two-class" society—those with dollars and those without—opening the way to counterrevolution.

At the same time, in recent weeks huge numbers of Cuban working people have shown their readiness to defend their revolution. Half a million demonstrated in Havana in early August to protest the murder of a Cuban police officer by escaping *gusanos* (worms). This followed a militant intervention by thousands of workers who mobilized to sweep the streets of a mob of several hundred anti-communist rioters. We Trotskyists, who fight for revolutionary proletarian democracy based on workers councils (soviets) to replace the bureaucratic regime, stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Our defense of the socialized foundations of the Cuban deformed workers state is part and parcel of our fight for international socialist revolution.

While Clinton & Co. deliberately set out to tighten the screws on Cuba, their provocations could backfire. And the American bourgeoisie is by no means united on Cuban policy. Large sectors of the U.S. ruling class—ranging from the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Jour-*

well as in nearby Mexico.

Our Trotskyist program for international proletarian revolution to defend Cuba is not "pie in the sky" but rather an urgent necessity that is concretely posed today. Down with U.S. war moves against Cuba! U.S. hands off Haiti! Yankee imperialism out of the Caribbean!

"Operation Distant Shore"

Clinton's "big stick" campaign against Cuba was preceded by sinister and bloody provocations in Havana and the neighboring coastal towns of Mariel and Cojimar. At least three passenger ferries and boats were seized by criminal elements with guns, grenades and knives during late July and early August. The hijackers threatened to throw passengers overboard and even kill babies if prevented from fleeing to Miami. When a 115-year-old wooden ferry sank under the weight of scores of people who had scrambled aboard, leading to 30 deaths, Cuban naval personnel and the crew saved 32 others. But the U.S. tried to portray this as a crime of communism. In response, speaking on Cuba's July 26 revolutionary holiday, Raúl Castro contrasted this tragic accident to the coldly planned U.S. government slaughter of the Branch Davidian religious group near Waco, Texas.

On August 5, a black policeman, Gabriel Lamoth Caballero, was killed near Havana's Malecón waterfront during a foiled hijacking. Several hundred rioters then began smashing windows and shouting anti-government slogans. Dock workers and members of the National Revolutionary Police quickly put a stop to this provocation, aided by



Trabajadores

Fidel Castro joined workers who rallied to defense of Cuba against anti-government rioters, August 5.

who died defending his country.

On August 8, a Cuban navy officer, Captain Roberto Aguilar Reyes, was killed by counterrevolutionaries who seized a ship from a sugar-loading dock in the port of Mariel. Then, on August 14, the captain of the Maltese oil tanker *Jussara* docked in Mariel invited some 700 desperate people to climb aboard, promising to take them to Miami. Tug boats pinned the vessel to the dock and the passengers were coaxed off board with promises that there would be no reprisals. But this incident, like the others involving firearms, shows every sign of being planned in advance. Speaking to the crowds on August 5, Castro denounced the riots as "something that had been organized for a while and the government of the United States has a great responsibility in this."

Generating an anti-communist flight from Castro's Cuba has long been a policy of U.S. imperialism. But the sudden wave of armed boat seizures may be the implementation of a classified plan called "Operation Distant Shore," involving dozens of government agencies including the CIA, FBI, INS and Defense Department. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (17 June) revealed that "The U.S. government is putting the finishing touches on a secret plan to cope with a 'mass immigration emergency'" which "could follow a sudden or radical political transformation in Cuba." The article stated, "A clear impetus to complete the plan is the possibility that Cuba's Fidel Castro might not be around for much longer!"

Certainly, U.S. actions during July and much of August went according to the "Distant Shore" script. On August 12, Attorney General Reno vowed to prevent a repeat of the 1980 Mariel boatlift (when 120,000 Cubans were brought to the U.S. in the yachts of Miami exiles).

And on August 18, as the numbers being picked up by the Coast Guard were already in the hundreds a day, Washington announced it would henceforth interdict Cuban refugees at sea and intern them at Guantánamo. Those that make it to U.S. shores would no longer automatically receive political asylum (they are being held at the infamous Krome Avenue detention center in Miami), and civilians who bring them in would be prosecuted.

Clinton's August gambit has been an attempt to induce the Cuban people to revolt against Castro out of sheer desperation and hunger. With the collapse of the Soviet Union three years ago, the U.S. imperialists saw a green light for their ambitions to plunder the world unopposed. Cuba's economy, cut off from Soviet aid, was being choked under the U.S. embargo. The screws were further tightened by the 1992 Torricelli Act—barring trade with Cuba by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies—which was only passed because of Democratic presidential candidate Clinton's endorsement. Washington no doubt hopes empty stomachs will accomplish what 35 years of anti-communist propaganda hasn't: set the stage for capitalist counterrevolution.

Altogether since early August more than 14,000 Cubans have taken to the sea in dangerous, makeshift rafts. These *balseros* gather on beaches on the outskirts of Havana, saying goodbye to relatives and friends while the cameras of foreign journalists flash. But out of a population of 11 million, they represent only a trickle, and many who are asked why they're leaving answer with a single word: *hambre* (hunger). The great majority of Cubans aren't "throwing themselves into the sea," as Washington would have us believe. Journalists report everyday normality in the streets of



Pablo Ibarra

A group of Cuban *balseros* (rafters) head to the sea at Cojimar.

nal to the Army War College—are in favor of *lifting* the Cuban embargo, seeing economic penetration as a more effective means of promoting capitalist restoration. Meanwhile, Washington's NATO allies and its NAFTA junior partners are almost unanimously opposed to the current bellicose attempt to quarantine Cuba. A U.S. naval blockade would run up against the interests of Spain, Germany, France, Britain, as well as Canada and Mexico, who are all trading with and investing in Cuba.

Flailing around for foreign policy "credibility," the Clinton administration has embraced the right-wing emigré ultras, inviting Jorge Mas Canosa of the Cuban American National Foundation to the White House to help draw up its provocative new policy. Once already a Democratic president miscalculated that the Cuban people would rise up to greet a counterrevolutionary invasion—Kennedy's 1961 Bay of Pigs fiasco. If today the imperialists and *gusano* scum, feeding off the drastic economic immiseration, should succeed in instigating a civil war, a direct military confrontation could galvanize large sectors of the Cuban working people to defend their social gains and independence. And a serious fight could intersect unrest next door in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, as

20-30,000 Havana residents who gathered after rumors spread of another ferry hijacking. As night fell, members of the "Rapid Response Brigades" of the Committees to Defend the Revolution, Communist Youth and CP members as well as the Blas Roca construction workers brigade filled the streets, keeping watch for provocateurs. Chants of "the streets belong to the revolutionaries!" echoed around the city, and over the next few days anti-imperialist slogans were painted on walls.

In the midst of the turmoil in central Havana, Castro himself showed up and was cheered by the workers. While insuring that order was restored, he announced that "We cannot continue to guard the coasts of the United States," and ordered Cuban police and border guards not to detain Cubans who wish to flee the island. Two days later, some 600,000 came out to the Plaza of the Revolution in the capital to honor the slain policeman Lamoth and to denounce the imperialist provocation. Crowds chanted slogans like "*Fidel, seguro, a los yanquis dales duro!*" (Fidel, sock it to the Yankees!). Then, in Lamoth's hometown of Guantánamo, 150,000 came out in another massive and spontaneous outpouring of support for the revolution and respect for a policeman



McNamee/Reuters

U.S. concentration camp at Guantánamo Bay naval base.

Havana and the huge proletarian housing projects surrounding the city. In the countryside among the peasants who have gained most from the revolution, there is little desire to leave.

But military aggression and economic strangulation are not the imperialists' only cards. The counterrevolutionary danger is germinating within the Castro-Stalinist bureaucracy that sits atop the Cuban deformed workers state.

Undermining the Cuban Workers State From Within

On August 24, Castro gave a TV speech which was carried live on CNN. Lambasting imperialist lies about Cuba's treatment of refugees, the Cuban leader repeated his standing offer to enter into a "dialogue" with Washington. Two weeks earlier, in an interview in Bogotá, Castro was asked: "What would you be willing to concede in order to achieve a reconciliation with the United States?" He ruled out concessions affecting the sovereignty of the country: "We do not want to become a Puerto Rico." But, Castro added, "We would be prepared to sacrifice our particular political preferences, such as socialism, in favor of integration, peace and social justice" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 11 August). He already sought to buy imperialism's favor (and undermined Cuba's defense) by executing General Armando Ochoa in 1989 as part of a bid to join in Washington's hemispheric "war on drugs." Castro's talk today of "giving up socialism" is dead serious, and it intersects imperialist circles who think that the 35-year-old embargo has failed as a program for restoring capitalist rule.

Since the Cuban Revolution overthrew capitalism in 1960—expropriating the property of United Fruit Co., Standard Oil, Dole Pineapple, Citibank, Coca-Cola, sugar barons and the mafia as well as Cuban capitalists—the American ruling class has been obsessed with Cuba. They have tried and repeatedly failed to "take back" the island from its working people. Clinton himself has consistently catered to the most foam-flecked Cuban anti-communists, especially Jorge Mas Canosa's Cuban American National Foundation. This millionaire *gusano*, the godfather of what Castro called the "fascist mafia in Miami," was welcomed at the White House a few days prior to Clinton's policy shift. But many in U.S. government think tanks—and not only the liberals—have been arguing for the last several years for a different approach: "cold" counterrevolution through "constructive engagement" with the Cuban Stalinists.

For starters, this would mean easing the severe trade embargo. This would enable Washington to flood Cuba with cheap goods, dollars and the kind of "humanitarian assistance" which paves the way for neocolonial control of the economy. Simultaneously, the imperialist "soft cops" would like to "constructively engage" Communist Party "reformers"—like Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the former USSR—who would grease the skids for a return of capitalism. Today there is a whole layer of these "new thinkers" within the Cuban bureaucracy, dubbed "yummies" (for young upwardly mobile Marxists) and personified by Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina and Economics Minister Carlos Lage.

The policy of counterrevolution through peaceful penetration is being pushed in a slew of official studies sponsored by the State Department (*Transition in Cuba: New Challenges for US Policy* [1993]), the Rand National Defense Research Institute (*Cuba Adrift in a Postcommunist World* [1992]) and the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College. The latter paper, *The United States and Cuba: From a Strategy of Conflict to Constructive Engagement* [1993] by Donald Schultz, argues that the Clinton administration should "distance itself from the Cuban American National Foundation"; repeal the Tor-

ricelli law, "or, if that is politically impossible, enforce it to the minimal extent possible"; and "promote person-to-person contacts," tourism, scientific and cultural exchanges, the establishment of press bureaus, etc.

These people are certainly no friends of the Cuban Revolution! Indeed, another advocate of easing the embargo in the interests of undermining Cuba from within was none other than Richard Nixon, in a book published shortly before his death this spring. Wayne Smith, former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, argues: "If we will not open a dialogue with the Cubans and ratchet up the pressures (against Castro), we will get to the point where there will be nothing left to do but impose a unilateral blockade which will result in a major international crisis, perhaps even an invasion. I can't imagine the administration is willing to go that far, and certainly the American people don't want to go that far." And because the blockade/invasion scenario is not feasible, he argues, another tack must be taken.

Defend Cuba Against Counterrevolution!

For the past three and a half decades, workers and peasants throughout Latin America looked with hope to Cuba as "the first free territory of America." This was despite Castro's endorsement of Allende's ill-fated "peaceful road" that led to the bloody Pinochet coup in Chile, and his telling the Nicaraguans not to become a "second Cuba" by expropriating the bourgeoisie. The very existence of the Cuban workers state, despite the narrowly nationalist policies of its bureaucratic leadership, remained an inspiration to those seeking to break capitalist-imperialist domination. Withstanding decades of attacks, invasion and assassination attempts, the Cuban planned economy advanced the living conditions of this small Caribbean island far beyond the hellish conditions faced by a majority of Latin American peoples.



Havana bicycle riders fill tires at closed gas station. Collapse of USSR choked off fuel supplies, now Cuban economy is strangled by U.S. embargo.

rials has put a brake on industry and agriculture, creating unemployment, electrical blackouts and a breakdown in transport. So under these conditions of economic crisis, in July of last year, Castro announced that dollars could be legally held and used for trade. We warned then that this was "playing with fire" and "can have a very powerful counterrevolutionary effect," in particular by inflaming racial divisions as very few black Cubans have access to dollars from Miami (see "Cuba in Peril," *WV* No. 585, 8 October 1993).

Over the last year, the "dollarization" of the Cuban economy has had a deep effect in sapping the masses' revolutionary will. An article in the *New York Times* (28 August) headlined, "Dollars Define

by a nationalist bureaucratic caste. We Trotskyists fight for workers political revolution to place power in the hands of the revolutionary workers and peasants, who alone have an unqualified interest in maintaining the achievements of their revolution. This requires the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party which must be constructed in Cuba today.

The Castro regime has always followed the Stalinist line of "building socialism in one country." Rather than seeking to extend the gains of the revolution, Castro has sought to attain "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Ultimately, the price tag for this is counterrevolution, which Castro himself seems to realize with his offer to "sacrifice socialism." Like the imperialist theorists in the State Department, the Rand institution and the Army War College, though from a different vantage point, the *lider máximo* of the Cuban Revolution is talking of "peaceful" restoration of capitalism, while keeping certain gains such as the health and education system. Already the phone system has been sold to a Mexican consortium, the main nickel smelter to a Canadian company, the Spaniards and Germans are buying the hotels—and the Cuban masses are left holding an increasingly empty bag.

But while many in the bureaucracy may go along with this program, figuring they'll make out all right, one way or another, the *gusano* scum, the Mas Canosas, Alpha 66 terrorists and their CIA godfathers have a lot of bloody scores to settle. The generation that made the revolution is still in place, and the counterrevolutionaries' "enemies lists" have hundreds of thousands of names. Capitalist restoration will mean not only mass starvation but death squads. And for all the sugary lies spewed out by Radio Martí, millions of Cuban workers know that.

The Cuban Revolution cannot stand alone! Isolated it will perish. Defense of Cuba must above all be international, requiring proletarian revolutionary struggles from Brazil to Mexico to the "belly of the beast" itself. Protests and workers action are necessary to defy and cripple Clinton's war moves in the Caribbean against Haiti and Cuba. Revolutionaries in the U.S. have a special duty to defend Cuba against "our own" ruling class. This requires the leadership of a workers party built on the program of world socialist revolution to vanquish imperialism once and for all. This was the program of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, and it is continued by the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) today. ■



13 September 1991: Spartacist League demonstrates in solidarity with Cuba outside Cuban Mission to the UN in New York City after Gorbachev's treacherous withdrawal of Soviet backing.

Key to this was the vital support, both military and economic, from the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states. Cuba received 40 cents a pound for its sugar exports while the world market price was one-fifth that—below the cost of production. With Soviet-bloc aid, the Cuban people were able to construct a society where unemployment was eliminated, health care and education were free, and great strides against racism had been achieved. And a Soviet brigade was stationed on the island as a tripwire to ensure against a U.S. invasion.

Even today, amid rigid rationing and terrible privation, Cuba's medical system has produced an infant mortality rate that is the lowest in the Third World, lower than in New York City. But while the mass starvation which plagues the rest of Latin America has been avoided by what remains of the collectivized economy, the effects of malnutrition are spreading. The lack of oil and raw mate-

Cuba's Haves and Have-Nots." The monthly salaries of Cuban workers of 100 to 300 pesos are now almost meaningless, since even basic items like cooking oil or rice are only available on the black market or in special hard-currency stores. This means that those few Cubans with access to dollars (relatives of Cuban exiles, workers in the tourist industry) are able to eat while others go hungry. Not surprisingly, the tourist hotels and "dollars only" stores were targets of the anti-government rioters on August 5. Yet the majority of Communist Party members have no access to dollars and thus are part of the "have-nots."

Since our inception, the Spartacist League has consistently and unconditionally defended Cuba from imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) declared "Defend the Cuban Revolution!" while explaining that Cuba was a deformed workers state, lacking organs of workers democracy and ruled

L.A. Unionists Demand: Freedom for Geronimo!

The following is based on a press release issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on August 29.

On August 24, the California Board of Prison Terms denied parole for the thirteenth time to former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been in prison almost 24 years for a crime he did not commit. This year's hearing came in the context of major revelations of more evidence of Geronimo's innocence. Los Angeles FOX TV has aired nine special reports in an ongoing series since January, while the *Los Angeles Times*, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, *California Lawyer* and *Emerge* magazine have all recently spotlighted his case.

Last year investigator James McCloskey presented evidence to L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti that linked two petty criminals on the fringes of the Black Panther Party to the 1968 murder for which Geronimo was framed. *Emerge's* June cover story noted, "The evidence that should have been enough to free him has been around for years."

On June 27, federal judge Stanley Weigel issued a ruling against prison officials for retaliatory harassment of Geronimo. The ruling states that "for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years" has been exposed. D.A. Garcetti agreed to review Geronimo's case last year, but his office will not say when they will complete the review.

Fed up with waiting for Garcetti, Los Angeles Service Employees International Union (SEIU) locals organized a protest at the D.A.'s office on August 23, the day before the parole hearing. Local 399 first vice president Doris Boyd said, "Garcetti agreed that he was going to review that evidence, and to this day he has not."

Boyd and Local 347 president Richard Price led 60 chanting people into Garcetti's office to present petitions signed by 500 union members which stated: "Brother Pratt has been in prison for twenty-three (23) years, for a crime he did not commit." After delivering their petitions, the unionists marched out chanting, "We'll be back!" Garcetti's stunned receptionist told the *Los Angeles Times* (24 August), "I've never seen anything like this in the seven years I've worked here."

"It is very significant that, for the first time, Los Angeles unions organized a demonstration on Geronimo's behalf," said Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West, one of Geronimo's attorneys, "because it will take the power of the working class to free Geronimo from this government frame-up." Four L.A. television stations, already there to cover O.J. Simpson's pre-trial hearing, aired stories on the largely Latino, integrated SEIU demonstration.

The union is widely known for its Justice for Janitors campaign, which has withstood brutal police attacks in its hard-fought drive to unionize low-paid workers in Los Angeles. Representing thousands of Latino, Filipino and other



Los Angeles, August 23—Union protest outside D.A. Garcetti's office demands freedom for Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), shown here at Mule Creek state prison.



Jonathan Eubanks

A Quarter Century Behind Bars: Black Panther Denied Parole Again

immigrant workers, the union's action on behalf of Pratt was an important counter to the rulers' attempts to set black and Latino workers at each others' throats.

A few weeks earlier, the 300,000-member SEIU Western Conference passed a resolution demanding that Geronimo "be released immediately," noting that "vast amounts of evidence support...his innocence." In the past two years, unions representing millions of workers have taken a stand in support of Geronimo, including the SEIU International, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Education Association, California Teachers Association, American Postal Workers Union, Central Labor Council of Alameda County, and many others.

There were other protests during the week of the parole hearing as well. On August 24, about 50 people led by the International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga demonstrated outside Mule Creek Prison in California's Central Valley where he is incarcerated, but were pushed off prison grounds by police.

Two days earlier, lawyers for Geronimo held a well-attended press conference in L.A. Attorney Johnny Cochran, who led the defense team 25 years ago, said of Geronimo, "This man was convicted wrongfully, is innocent, the authorities know he is innocent, and yet no one in the system has had the courage, or the fortitude, or the integrity to say this man should be released." Attorney Stuart Hanlon noted bitterly, "The one case that has always proven to me the

system doesn't work is Geronimo," adding, "we have enough evidence to reverse 10 or 20 cases."

At the parole hearing itself, officials refused to admit Geronimo's chosen attorney, former Black Panther leader Kathleen Cleaver, forcing her to sit in a separate room from her client where she viewed the hearing on video. It was a "sham proceeding," Cleaver said in disgust. She noted that officials come "with a script" every year because Geronimo's case is political, a result of the FBI's 1960s Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to "neutralize" black revolutionary groups. What's important, she concluded, is what happens *outside* parole board hearings.

Inside the hearing board members aggressively badgered their prisoner, charging he has a "criminal mentality"—to which Geronimo replied, "I think you have a criminal mentality." As a Black Panther, Geronimo said he was seeking "to free people who are in bondage" (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 August).

Evidence of how Geronimo was framed by the LAPD and FBI for the 1968 Santa Monica murder includes:

- Wiretap logs "disappeared" which recorded Geronimo in Oakland, 400 miles from the shooting, two hours before the murder.
- The surviving victim's identification of another man as the killer one year before he ever saw a photo of Geronimo was suppressed at the trial.
- Julius Butler—the state's key witness against Geronimo—was an informant

for the LAPD since 1966 and an informant for the FBI since at least May 1969, but denied this on the witness stand.

- Two police agents also infiltrated Geronimo's legal defense team.

Geronimo was personally targeted for "neutralization" in FBI COINTELPRO documents. Describing some of this, the June *Emerge* article commented that Geronimo's "case is like a spy novel."

Meanwhile, with parole denied and no word from D.A. Garcetti on his promised review of the case, Geronimo now faces another legal battle: the California Department of Corrections (CDC) has filed a notice of appeal of federal judge Weigel's June 27 decision in the prison harassment suit. In that ruling, Weigel cited a years-long pattern of retaliatory persecution by prison officials against Geronimo for exercising his First Amendment rights, which are "critical to his longstanding effort to prove his innocence."

Weigel restrained the CDC from housing Geronimo in a two-man cell. PDC counsel West noted that "they know this aggravates his medical problems from his service as a highly decorated soldier in Vietnam." She added, "Geronimo remains in jail because of a political decision at high levels to ignore the evidence, to cover up their knowing frame-up of Geronimo, and to punish him for his politics. As long as they hold him in prison, they continue to subject him to retaliation, and we will fight it."

Freedom now for Geronimo! ■