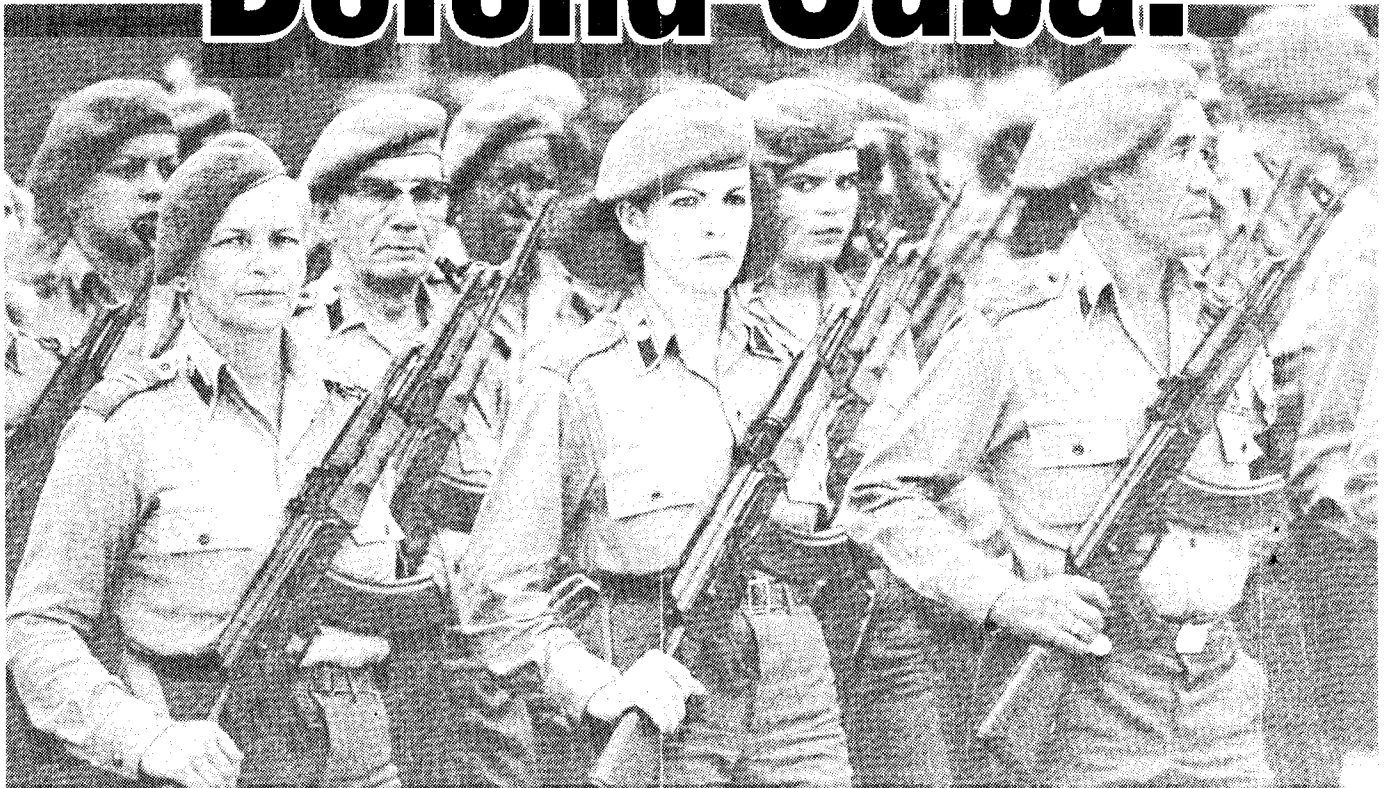


## Soviet Pullout: Set-Up for U.S. Attack

# Defend Cuba!



Leifer/Time

**Members of Cuban militia on guard in Havana. U.S. killer cops of the world, keep your bloody hands off Cuba!**

The collapse of Stalinism in the Soviet Union has sharpened the voracious appetites of U.S. imperialism around the globe and now directly jeopardizes the Cuban Revolution. Begging for some paltry crumbs of U.S. "aid," Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev has given Washington a green light to drown defiant Cuba in blood. The announced pullout of Soviet troops and cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba is a betrayal and a set-up for an American attack. As we warned last issue in our statement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (SC No. 85, Fall 1991): "Cuba, in particular, is in Bush's cross hairs, and its defense is more than ever a duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism."

After meeting in the Kremlin with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, on September 11 Gorbachev announced at a joint press conference that Moscow would in the "near future"

withdraw its military contingent from the Caribbean island and end subsidies to Cuba. This far-reaching step was announced without any warning to, much less consultation with, Havana. After the U.S. brought the world to the brink of nuclear Armageddon with the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, several thousand Soviet soldiers and military technicians had remained in Cuba as a trip wire for a Soviet military response in case of Yankee invasion.

Denouncing Gorbachev's stab in the back, on September 13 the Spartacist League/U.S. held an urgent solidarity demonstration to "Defend Cuba!" outside Cuba's mission to the UN in New York. Spartacist supporters carried placards demanding "U.S. Killer Cops of the World, Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Cuba!" "U.S. Out of Guantánamo!" "Vietnam Was a Victory

*(continued on page 8)*

# Ottawa Persecutes Woman Victim of Iran Regime

## Stop Racist Deportations!

The racist Tory government came within hours of deporting a 40-year-old Iranian woman who fled her country after being savagely beaten by Islamic fundamentalist thugs. In June 1988 "morality police" of the Iranian "Revolutionary Guards" raided a birthday party at a private home. They dragged "Mrs. A." off, tied her hands to a table and viciously flogged her 35 times across her back and buttocks with a thick wire cable. She was also fired from her job. Her "crime"? Not wearing a veil while dancing. And the Canadian government agreed that Mrs. A. was guilty!

"She was prosecuted for violating a law of her country...in conformity with the laws of the state," a refugee tribunal declared in May 1990. So it's okay to stone "adulteresses" to death and execute homosexuals, also laws of the Iranian state? Apparently, since the tribunal ruled that Mrs. A.'s whipping was "not exceedingly harsh." To be sure Islamic law meant she "could not choose the style of her dress and her amusements" (!), but it did not "violate internationally accepted standards" nor "deprive the claimant of an essential and inalienable right."

*Women in Iran have no rights.* The Islamic theocracy of the mullahs means driving women back into the dark ages of medievalism, of brutality, torture and killings. It is not a question of "amusements," but of life and death. Women are legally less than human, chattels, forced to wear the stifling *hijab* (veil). This is the government that ordered the assassination of noted author Salman Rushdie because his unsparing attack on religious fundamentalism was not "in conformity" with the laws of the Iranian theocratic state. Vans of the religious police (*komiteh*) patrol city streets, searching for "immodestly dressed" women, young couples going out together, "at-home" dance parties and shops selling "vulgar music cassettes, obscene magazines" and alcohol. In recent months hundreds of demonstrators have been arrested in clashes with the *komiteh*.

The Canadian refugee tribunal upheld the fundamentalists' anti-woman frenzy, claiming that Mrs. A. had not been persecuted. She was arrested and imprisoned in Toronto in mid-October, facing imminent deportation to Iran. Her husband, a political opponent of the Iranian theocracy, and their children

had to go into hiding.

The Trotskyist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined with other organizations and individuals to demand, "Give Mrs. A. and her family asylum now!" Faced with mounting protest, at the last minute the government backed down after steadfastly declaring it would proceed with the deportations.

This is only the latest racist and anti-immigrant atrocity perpetrated by Canada's rich white rulers. During World War II, declaring "none is too many," the government closed the borders to Jews fleeing Hitler's Holocaust and interned thousands of Japanese Canadians in concentration camps. Five years



SC photo  
Toronto, January 1989: TL-initiated demonstration protests executions of Iranian leftists by Tehran butchers.

ago all the federal parties, including the NDP, whipped up anti-immigrant hysteria over the arrival of Tamils and Sikhs fleeing murderous terror at home. This year alone, in a binge of chauvinist race-hate, the government plans the deportation of 5,000, including Iranians, Caribbeans, Africans and Latin Americans.

When its policy of *drugging* those being deported was exposed, the government decreed a new policy of shackling and gagging them! Only days before moving to deport Mrs. A., the parliamentary assistant to the immigration minister called the only black member of parliament "Sambo" and another Tory MP labeled a female member a "slut." In the framework of the "New World Order," especially since the imperialist war against Iraq, these racist, woman-hating bigots have no difficulty enforcing the grotesque "laws" of the Islamic theocracy.

After putting Mrs. A. and her family through hell, immigration minister Valcourt declared: "We have a good system. It works...." This is obscene. At the very time of this pronouncement, the government intended to deport "Mr. G.," an Iranian oppositionist. He was tortured with burning cigarettes in Iran's prisons. The Refugee Board asked if he smoked!

Now Ottawa has announced yet more "get tough" measures, including more powers for immigration cops. As the Trotskyist League declared at a 400-strong rally in Toronto on October 23: Asylum for refugees from reactionary terror! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families! ■

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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EDITORIAL BOARD: John Masters (Editor), Jane Clancy, Marie Hayes, Asha Jugdutt, Maria Lianos, Miriam McDonald, Andrew Rodomar, Oliver Stephens, Janet Yeung

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CIRCULATION MANAGER: Peter Stevens

BUSINESS MANAGER: M. McPherson

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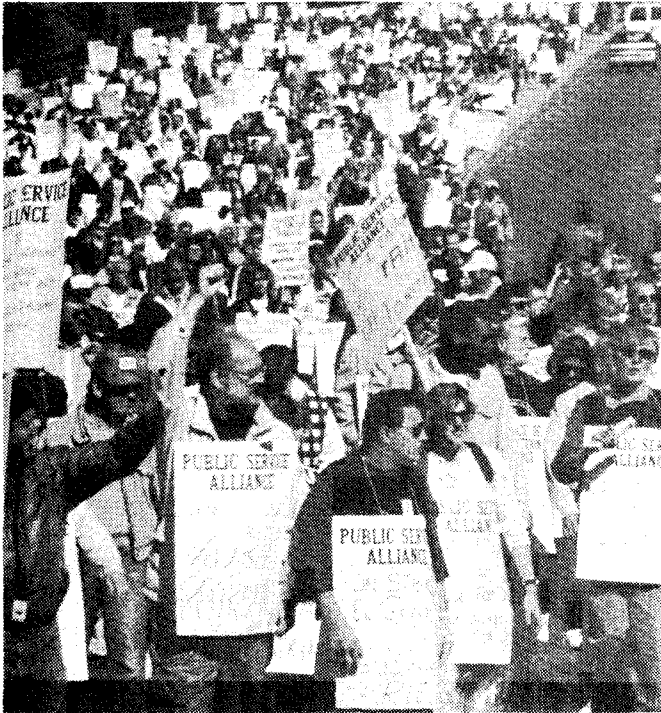
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# NDP, Labor Tops Knife Mass Trade Union Struggle

Breaking all records for being the most unpopular government of all time anywhere in the "democratic" West, Mulroney's Tories thought they could boost their flagging political fortunes by playing hardball with government workers. But this backfired as the country was rocked by the largest public sector strike in Canadian history, one which was met with widespread



Tessier/Ponopresse

**PSAC strikers march on Parliament Hill. Binational class struggle shook Tory government.**

sympathy among the population as tens of thousands of people leaned on their horns in response to picket signs saying "Honk if you hate Mulroney."

Combined with strikes by postal and Toronto transit workers, large sections of the economy ground to a halt. Longshoremen, grain handlers, air traffic controllers and other unionists honored Public Service Alliance of Canada picket lines. It was a show of labor power that could have brought down the despised Tory government. But faced with this possibility the union tops and their allies in the NDP *consciously* knifed the militant labor action, sabotaging, isolating and finally scuttling the strikes.

The rulers of this country and the people who do their bidding are plenty worried that they won't be able to keep down a working class which for the past decade has been ground by double-digit unemployment, inflation and gouging taxation. As *Toronto Star* (17 September) columnist Carol Goar wrote in an article titled "Bitter Strikes Mark End of Decade of Labor Peace":

"For nine years, Canada had been as free of strikes and lockouts as a modern industrial nation with a strong union movement can be.... Then, three weeks ago, something

snapped. Workers who had accepted modest wage settlements through the '80s, watching their real income shrink in the face of inflation and rising taxes, decided they had had enough.... And now labor economists are predicting that other unions, emboldened by this show of defiance, will flex their muscles."

The *Globe and Mail*, pre-eminent media mouthpiece for big business, could see the writing on the wall. For the first time ever, it called for votes to the NDP in the B.C. and Saskatchewan elections, banking on these right-wing social democrats to keep the lid on working-class struggle. At the same time the bosses' handmaidens in the trade union bureaucracy worked overtime to channel the militancy and anger displayed on hundreds of picket lines into support for the New Democrats.

Already in power in Ontario and now also in B.C. and Saskatchewan, today NDP provincial governments run over half the country. While working people might have some expectations that the social democrats will defend their interests, the NDP has been more than clear that it is committed to defending the bosses' interests. Thus Bob Rae's Ontario NDP government employed anti-labor laws to force Toronto transit strikers to vote again on a contract they had rejected and threatened to bring down strikebreaking legislation if the ranks voted "no" a second time.

## Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win

Millions saw in the strikes of last fall a chance to fight back against the bosses' one-sided class war. Yet PSAC and the postal workers are back at work, having won almost nothing. They weren't defeated in battle: they were *sold out* by union misleaders determined to uphold capitalist "order."

Canadian Union of Postal Workers leader and long-time darling of the fake-left Jean-Claude Parrot called off the postal strike on the very eve of PSAC's national walkout. This was conscious *sabotage*. Then Parrot & Co. kept CUPW working throughout the PSAC strike, waiting until it was dead and gone before calling an impotent walkout on October 29 that was canceled after only two hours—even before Tory back-to-work legislation became law.

For nine days PSAC workers threw Mulroney's threats of strikebreaking legislation back in his face, with an all-out strike, mass rallies and picket lines that grew by the day. But on September 18 PSAC leader Daryl Bean, arm-in-arm with NDP MPs, called it all off, claiming "victory." It wasn't, of course, and under pressure from the membership Bean took PSAC back out on September 27. It's a real testimony to the union members' anger and determination that the renewed strike was solid. Indeed, 2,500 strikers literally had Mulroney on the run that day. Shouting "bring the weasel out," they charged the parliament buildings, sweeping aside barricades and the RCMP. The prime minister had to sneak out a side door escorted by riot cops.

Bean quickly announced himself "frightened" by the mad-as-hell demonstration: "I am really worried that...there will be

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## Moscow

# Mass Protest Against Yeltsin Counterrevolution



Spartacist

**Moscow, November 7—Tens of thousands march to Red Square celebrating the October Revolution and denouncing capitalist-restorationists led by the traitors Yeltsin and Gorbachev.**

MOSCOW—The imperialist media and the now anti-Communist Soviet television sought to portray Revolution Day, November 7, as the wake after the “death of Communism.” They even brought back the Romanov pretender to the tsarist throne. The new “rulers” tried to ban all celebration of the anniversary of the Bolsheviks taking power. The *New York Times* admitted that “more than 10,000 Communist loyalists” marched, but in fact as many as 90,000 came out in Moscow in an angry protest against the counterrevolution headed by Yeltsin and Gorbachev. In Leningrad, Kiev and elsewhere thousands more took to the streets.

Gathering before the Lenin statue in October Square, there were hundreds of red flags snapping in the stiff winter wind. In contrast to the regimented formal parades of previous years, this was an outpouring, heavily proletarian in composition, of people who wanted to take a stand for socialism. They chanted “Lenin! Lenin!” and “Down with the bourgeois dictatorship!” They carried hand-painted signs with such slogans as “Privatization: A Dream for Millionaires, for the Workers a Graveyard,” “Yeltsin: Russians Will Never Be Slaves—Your Rapacious Reforms Will Not Work,” and “Down with the CIA’s Perestroika!” They repeatedly sang the *Internationale* and other

revolutionary songs from the early days of the Soviet Republic under Lenin and Trotsky.

As tens of thousands marched to Red Square, they voiced a deep working-class hatred toward the agents of Wall Street and Frankfurt who have come to the fore following the botched Kremlin coup in August. The older generation of CPers intermingled with the youth. The mood was angry and sharply contrasted with

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### Down With “Free Market” Starvation! For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

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last year’s November 7 parade, presided over by Gorbachev, where the main slogan was “The Success of Perestroika Lies in Civil Concord.” Among the signs this year was one showing the double-headed tsarist eagle with one head being Yeltsin and the other Gorbachev. Another wrote under Gorbachev’s portrait, “You ruined the country, hell waits for you.”

Initially, Moscow mayor Gavriil Popov—a leading figure in the capitalist counterrevolution—announced a ban on any Revolution Day demonstration within the city’s ring road, which includes Red Square. But when it became clear that the protests would take place in defiance of his authority, Popov rescinded the ban the night before. This is symptomatic of how politically weak are the forces pushing for capitalist restoration. In our first statement after the August coup and countercoup, we noted: “But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push

through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided*" (SC No. 85, Fall 1991). We added that the Soviet proletariat "has not been heard from." But on November 7, it began to raise its voice.

The numbers pouring into the streets far exceeded the organizers' expectations. Revolution Day tapped into the economic desperation of Moscow's working people. The week before, Yeltsin announced that all price controls would soon be ended, setting off a new wave of panic buying, hoarding and speculation. For the first time bread began to disappear from the shops. *Moskovskoe Komsomolets* carried a heart-rending story of a worker who was crushed by a train when he jumped onto the subway tracks to retrieve a sausage he had struggled all day to get for his family.

The older generation who came out remember what a horrible thing hunger is—they remember bread rationing during the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders. One recalled, "My mother on 16 October 1941 stood on the longest bread line of that year, and even so it was not half as long as today's!" (*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, 9 November).

Yet the Revolution Day demonstration was not narrowly economic in character, nor, given the occasion, could it be. Above all, it expressed visceral working-class hostility to capitalist restoration and the destruction of the Soviet Union by Western imperialism and its Russian agents. One sign said: "What Adolf did not do, Michael has done." When a British journalist asked, why call Gorbachev "Michael," the bearer of the slogan replied: "We call him Michael because he's a westerner now" (*Financial Times* [London], 8 November).

Gorbachev is not a Westernizer in the sense of seeking to modernize Soviet society and the economy, as Peter the Great attempted to do for Russia in the age of absolutism. Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Co. want to *sell out* the Soviet Union to Western banks and multinationals—at fire sale prices. If they succeed, Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, etc. will be degraded to the economic level of Latin American neocolonies while all the old reactionary crap from the pre-1917 tsarist autocracy will return.

Indeed, the answer of the pro-Western "democrats" to working-class protest is lying promises of prosperity under capitalism, accompanied by appeals to medieval obscurantism. On the eve of Revolution Day, the mayor of Leningrad organized a fête to celebrate restoring the city's old name of St. Petersburg. Featured in this ceremony were Patriarch Aleksy II, Primate of the Russian Orthodox church, and Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov, son of the cousin of Tsar Nicholas II. Grand Duke Romanov, who had never before set foot in the Soviet Union, said he hoped to become the new Russian tsar!

### Trotskyists March on Moscow's Revolution Day

Despite a few pictures of Stalin sprinkled among the signs, there were many more of Lenin and there was also the red banner of the International Communist League emblazoned with the insignia of Trotsky's Fourth International. Moreover, the demonstration was extremely receptive to Trotskyist literature. In Moscow, supporters of the ICL sold 4,750 copies of our Russian-language supplement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!", and 600 copies of our Russian-language Spartacist bulletin, "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!"

At the same time there were instances of vicious reactionary attitudes, particularly anti-Semitism, at the Revolution Day demonstration. Pamyat salesmen were peddling their filth. The



Spartacist

**International Communist League raises the red banner of Trotsky's Fourth International in Moscow Revolution Day demonstration. Long live Red October!**

Stalinist organizers of the rally appealed to Great Russian chauvinism. Our comrades were baited alternately as "Trotskyites" and "Jews." We shot back that the filth they spewed was the White Guard politics of Yeltsin which are at war with the revolutionary politics of Lenin and Red October. The cutting edge of the struggle to combat Russian chauvinism is to mobilize the workers movement against every manifestation of anti-Semitism. At one point about 20 Stalinists attempted to physically exclude our contingent, shouting "Trotskyists out of the demonstration," "Get out of our country," etc. But we were able to effectively rally the crowd to defend us. One worker came out of the crowd to stand with us against this rabble, and stayed to sell with us all day. A student from Moscow State University came to our contingent and said he's been looking for Trotskyism all his life. As the crowd paraded toward Red Square, a comrade reported:

"While we marched we chanted, 'Long live the October Revolution!' 'Long live the Soviet Union!' 'Down with Yeltsin/Gorbachev/Bush's Russian-nationalist counterrevolution! For proletarian internationalism!' One of our contacts chanted 'Long live the world communist movement—Workers of the world unite!' These were all met by loud 'Hurrah! Hurrah!'"

Along the march, a supporter of the ICL was interviewed by *Pravda*. In its next issue it reported on its front page that "an Australian woman representative of the International Communist League," asked why she had come, responded: "The October Revolution was directed to the whole world. What is happening with you these days is a blow to communists in all countries."

In other Soviet cities similar, though smaller, Revolution Day demonstrations were held. In Leningrad, several thousand militants, including a number of sailors in uniform, gathered next to the historic battleship *Aurora*, which played a key role in the Bolsheviks' seizure in 1917 of the Winter Palace, site of Kerensky's provisional government. One speaker declared: "Our duty is to not allow the restoration of capitalism in our

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## Moscow...

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country! We will not be lackeys of American imperialism!" Over 300 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the Revolution Day demonstrators in Leningrad. A hundred copies of ICL literature were sold at the Kiev demonstration by members of the Union of Socialist Students of the Ukraine. An additional 800 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to Revolution Day demonstrators in other provincial centers.

The most dramatic confrontation took place in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. Some 5,000 demonstrators, organized by, among others, the Union of Toilers of the Ukraine, marched from an outlying cemetery to a statue of Lenin in the central city. En route they were blocked by a sizable number of Ukrainian nationalists and fascists in fighting uniforms. But the column broke through the blockade and continued on while the rightists harassed the march from the sides. As they reached the Lenin statue, the column again had to pierce a nationalist/fascist blockade in order to lay flowers commemorating the founder of the Soviet workers state. As the demonstration dispersed and thinned, they were attacked by the nationalists and several demonstrators suffered serious injuries.

The principal organizers of the November 7 demonstrations were drawn from a rump of the so-called "patriotic" wing of the Stalinist movement: the Moscow Workers Council, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and a broader umbrella group, "Toiling Moscow." The Moscow Workers Council's Viktor Anpilov postures as a hard opponent of Yeltsin, but simply wants to turn the clock back to before 1987, with a "perestroika" (restructuring) of the CPSU. These Stalinists played on working-class opposition to Gorbachev and Yeltsin's privatization before the August coup, but when the decisive moment came, they uncritically subordinated themselves to the bankrupt and ineffectual "Gang of Eight" and failed to mobilize any of their working-class base to go after the Yeltsinite spearhead of counterrevolution.

Now in opposition, they are appealing to narrow economic concerns linked to Russian nationalism. Thus an early call for



Der Spiegel

**Russian counterrevolutionaries bring back the Romanov pretender to the throne: Grand Duke Vladimir (left) with Orthodox Patriarch Aleksy II.**

Revolution Day issued by the Moscow Workers Council concluded with the slogan: "No to the physical and spiritual genocide of the Russian peoples!" Yet in the city of Moscow itself, about half the industrial workforce is from non-Russian republics—Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkic-speaking Central Asians. Trying to outbid the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionaries in appeals to Great Russian nationalism is poison, and anathema to the struggle for a genuinely socialist union of soviet republics.

In their own way, many of the Russian Stalinist "patriots" accept the disintegration of the USSR along national lines. But the breakup of the Soviet Union would necessarily produce bloody nationalist strife—border wars, intercommunalist pogroms—such as are now ravaging Yugoslavia. We Leninist-Trotskyists stand for proletarian political revolution to reforge the Soviet Union on the socialist basis of genuine national equality.

### Would-Be Tsar Boris Decrees "Free Market" Starvation

"People will suffer but we have to go through this," declared Boris Yeltsin as he announced his new economic shock treatment. All price controls are to be lifted by the year's end. Unprofitable enterprises are to be shut down. Collective farms are to be privatized. And the central economic ministries will be dismantled. So Yeltsin decreed. But carrying out this program of even greater immiseration of the Soviet working people is another matter.

In the two and a half months following the Kremlin coup attempt in August, jockeying between Yeltsin's Russian Republic, Gorbachev and the nationalist leaders of the non-Russian republics produced a power vacuum at the center of the fractured Soviet Union. As the imperialists complained that the country was drifting, in late October Yeltsin moved to reassert himself as the strongman of the counterrevolution by announcing a "free market" shock treatment and demanding sweeping dictatorial powers. The Russian parliament duly voted him the right to ban all elections and referendums for more than a year, cancel all legislation passed by local and regional assemblies, and override previous legislation.

In an attempted show of strength, would-be Tsar Boris decreed a state of emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Region—a traditionally Muslim enclave in the northern Caucasus which had declared its independence from the Russian Republic—and threatened to send in Soviet troops. This move was so flagrantly dictatorial and inflammatory that even Yeltsin's supporters in the Russian parliament came out against it and he backed off.

In a small way Yeltsin's retreat over Chechen-Ingush points up the fundamental *weakness* of his position. For the popular mood is turning markedly against the "democrats," i.e., open capitalist-restorationists, who are now held responsible for the hyperinflation, shortages of food and everything else, and the overall descent into economic chaos. A poll by the Moscow Sociological Agency in late October showed 65 percent of Muscovites believe the political and economic situation is the same or worse than before the August coup attempt.

The imperialist godfathers of Yeltsin, Popov & Co. are worried about working-class opposition to capitalist counterrevolution in Russia. One can already see the beginnings of this. In late October, the Moscow Federation of Labor Unions organized a march of up to 50,000 against the price increases. The Federation leaders did not challenge Yeltsin/Popov and

# Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush Counterrevolution!

## Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Support!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have recently printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We have reprinted the first Russian-language *Bulleten Spartakovtsev*, "What Is Trotskyism," of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the USSR.

As sales of thousands of copies of the special supplement and the Spartacist bulletin on Revolution Day show, pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature. But economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counter-revolution.

Make donations payable/send to:

TL, Box 7198, Station A  
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Earmark: "Lenin-Trotsky Fund"  
(or simply "L-T Fund")



Spartacist

Trotskyists protest Moscow mayor Popov's threats to close Lenin Museum. International Communist League sign at left reads: "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky. Defend the Lenin Museum!"

their "free market" program as such, but rather adopted a defensive posture. Their main banner read: "Unity! Solidarity! For the Rights of Working People!" However, a placard saying "Free Prices Mean Death for the People!" caught the angry and desperate mood of the Soviet working class.

### For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Last year the Soviet Union had a near-record grain harvest of almost 220 million tons. Yet there were still severe food shortages as the distribution system collapsed due to massive hoarding, speculation and black marketeering. This year the grain harvest has fallen to 165 million tons, the lowest level in ten years. Everyone is expecting food riots, which have already begun, to spread this winter. "A revolt would be most likely in December," predicts Major General Viktor Ivanenko, head of the KGB in the Russian Republic. *Moscow News* (13 October) is even predicting "Putsch-2," a new coup coming off of desperate blowups over hunger.

And everyone in Russia knows it was food riots by women workers in February 1917 which set off the revolution that toppled the tsarist autocracy. The Yeltsinite "democrats" rightly fear that food riots could spark their overthrow, too. The "black colonel" Viktor Alknis, a leading figure among the "patriots," foresees Soviet army officers and ranks supporting and joining popular protests against the new regime. However, Alknis is no enemy of a market economy. Far from it. He is an outspoken advocate of "the Chilean model" for a strong Soviet (capitalist)

state.

The question of how to ensure food supplies was ever-present on Revolution Day. The Moscow Workers Council called for "Distribution of Goods Under Control of the Workers!" Another grouping, Toiling Moscow, called for putting "under WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' CONTROL prices and the wages of the 'democrats' and bandits, partycrats and speculators and FORCE THEM to work." Workers control is indeed, urgently, necessary. But popular resistance to "free market" starvation can preserve the Soviet Union on a socialist basis only by breaking from the policies of the parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which led the Soviet Union to disaster. Workers resistance will immediately face the question of power, and to succeed it requires the leadership of a genuinely communist, i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist party.

The Stalinist "patriots" at bottom have no alternative to the market. The "maximum program" of Anpilov's newspaper *Molniya* offers a lot of left verbiage, but in practice the "minimum program" (the real program) takes over: as was the case in last summer's Russian presidential campaign, when *Molniya* supported the candidacy of the anti-Semite Makashev, who was for "equality of all property forms"!

Moscow mayor Popov has decreed that basic foodstuffs—bread, meat, butter and eggs—are to be rationed by coupons. Control over the means of life must be wrested from this lackey of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Workers committees must be set

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New York City, September 13—Spartacist League/U.S. holds demonstration in solidarity with Cuba outside Cuban Mission to the UN after Gorbachev's treacherous announcement withdrawing Soviet backing.

## Defend Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

—Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!” and “Cuba in Peril—High Time for Socialist Democracy.” The Trotskyist SL/U.S. has from the outset ardently defended Cuba against imperialism, fighting for international workers revolution: other placards carried at the demonstration read, “Stalin’s ‘Socialism in One Country’ Undermines Defense of All Workers States” and “For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!”

“The American ruling class and its depraved *gusano* henchmen want to bring back gangster-ridden capitalism to Havana,” said a Spartacist spokesman, adding: “The revolution lifted the Cuban working people from the degradation, racism and grinding poverty they suffered under the Batista dictatorship, the U.S. sugar barons and the Mafia syndicate. Today the Cuban population has medical care and education superior to that in U.S. cities. If the capitalist bloodsuckers return, all that the Cuban people have built in the last three decades will be wiped out. It is our duty, the duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism, to make clear their stand in solidarity with Cuba in this crucial hour.”

In contrast, a host of self-proclaimed socialists claim to stand in solidarity with Cuba, yet most of these reformists lined up with Yeltsin’s counter-coup in Moscow, which set the stage for the Soviet abandonment of Cuba!

For over 30 years, Washington has tried to roll back the Cuban Revolution—through invasion, assassination, and a decades-long economic blockade intended to starve the Cuban people into submission. On the heels of its invasion of Panama and the hideous slaughter of the Iraqi people, the U.S. is out to impose its “New World Order” on Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of Florida. While U.S. rulers from Democrat Kennedy to Republican Bush have railed against Havana “exporting revolution,” in reality the Castro regime, following the Stalinist line of building “socialism in one country,” counseled the Chilean and Nicaraguan masses not to embark on the road of a “second

Cuba.” But all attempts to appease vindictive U.S. imperialism are doomed to failure.

With each Soviet capitulation to imperialist blackmail, from rollback in East Europe to support for the Persian Gulf slaughter, the imperialists up their demands. U.S. rulers are still smarting over their Bay of Pigs fiasco, in April 1961, when Cuban workers militias mobilized to crush Kennedy’s CIA invasion. Counterrevolution against Cuba is a pathological obsession of U.S. imperialism, which views the Caribbean, indeed all of Latin America, as its “backyard.”

### Cuba’s “Zero Option”

While the size of the soon-to-go Soviet brigade is small compared to the battle-hardened Cuban armed forces of almost 200,000, and almost that many again in the reserve Territorial Militias, their “symbolic” value was that if the United States invaded the island, they would have to kill Soviet soldiers. When Khrushchev provided Cuba with substantial military aid in 1962 to combat CIA-sponsored guerrillas in the Escambray mountains and placed Soviet nuclear weapons and bombers on Cuban soil, the U.S. imposed a naval blockade on the island and threatened to seize Soviet ships. Khrushchev backed down and removed the missiles, but the brigade stayed and the USSR sent substantial economic and military aid to Cuba.

Up to now over three-quarters of Cuba’s imports (including most of its oil) have come from the Soviet Union. While CIA estimates of a \$5 billion annual Soviet “subsidy” are surely exaggerated, the combined effect of government Soviet purchases of Cuba’s sugar crop at 40 cents a pound (while the “free market” price hovered around 8 cents), and stable oil supplies at well below world market prices (one-third the OPEC price per barrel in the late 1970s), set the basis for economic planning and development providing the Cuban working people with a higher standard of living and social services far superior to those available to working people elsewhere in Latin America.

But Soviet oil prices were raised during the ’80s, and then last



year deliveries to Cuba were sharply cut back while the price paid by Moscow for Cuban sugar was lowered to 25 cents a pound (the same as paid by the U.S. and the European Common Market to their suppliers under quota agreements). This summer—at the G-7 summit in London in July and at the Bush-Gorbachev summit in Moscow—the U.S. insistently demanded the Soviets abandon Cuba as the price for a few dollars in aid (i.e., capitalist penetration of the Soviet Union). When Gorbachev finally came across, even the *New York Times* (12 September) called his action “groveling.” Now Russian threats to impose world market prices on Cuban exports and to require that Cuba pay hard currency for imports spell disaster.

In response to the growing isolation of Cuba, Castro has been digging in his heels. For the past 18 months Cuba has been shifting production and consumption patterns to adjust for reduced imports. Termed a “special period in peacetime,” it is preparation to resist all-out economic war: bicycles instead of bus and taxi transport, oxen instead of tractors to pull plows and carts. There have been drills to rehearse a “zero option,” with drastic electricity cuts anticipating a cutoff of oil imports.

### For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

In response to Gorbachev’s pullout announcement, the Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* (14 September) published a front-page editorial complaining of Moscow’s unilateral “fait accompli”:

“It fills us with dismay and indignation to think that we are moving towards a world order in which small Third World countries, such as Cuba, whose social systems are not to the liking of the United States, will be forced either to submit or be obliterated...a new age of barbarism, built upon the technological supremacy and the lust for world domination of the United States.”

While vainly seeking to link withdrawal of the Soviet brigade with closure of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo in eastern Cuba, and saying that “Cuba is willing to contribute to finding negotiated political settlements to regional conflicts”—as in Angola, where Cuban troops have been withdrawn after 15 years of fighting the South African apartheid army—the statement vowed: “Cuba will never agree to be handed over or sold to the United States. It will never return to slavery, and will struggle to the death to resist this.”

But as the Castro regime battens down the hatches, it has taken on a real bunker mentality. Symbolic of a tightening of bureaucratic control was the 1989 prosecution and judicial murder of General Arnaldo Ochoa and his associates on charges of drug trafficking in a televised kangaroo court comparable to the infamous Moscow Trials of the 1930s (see “Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba: The Execution of General Ochoa,” *Workers Vanguard* No. 500, 20 April 1990). This farce enormously damaged revolutionary morale, grievously undermining the defense of Cuba.

Compared to most Stalinist regimes, Castro’s Cuba, directly under U.S. guns, has sought to counter imperialist pressure on it by supporting guerrilla struggles, sending doctors and teachers to Sandinista Nicaragua, etc. In addition to the *more than 400,000* Cuban men and women who fought and taught in Angola, ten times that number reportedly volunteered to go. As a result, internationalist appeals have a real resonance in Cuba. But Castro’s various international efforts (some not so savory, like his support to the bloody Mengistu regime in Ethiopia) have always been subordinated to a strategy of

seeking “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism and regional bourgeoisies.

The Cuban Revolution inspired a generation of radical youth throughout the Americas. Young New Leftists went to cut cane in Cuba on Venceremos Brigades. When Fidel Castro came to Harlem’s Hotel Teresa in 1960, the black community came out to greet him. Robert F. Williams received refuge in Cuba when he was being sought for organizing armed self-defense of black people against racist terror in North Carolina. Former Black Panther Assata Shakur received political asylum in Cuba. But the Castro regime did not pursue an internationalist strategy of promoting revolution in the imperialist heartland.

Karl Marx pointed out a century and a half ago that unless communist society is extended internationally to the most advanced industrialized nations, an isolated workers state would



Starr/Picture Group

### Castro and Gorbachev in Havana, 1989.

be condemned to “want made general”—collectivized poverty. If the nationalist line of “socialism in one country” (a self-justification for the Stalin bureaucracy’s attempt to protect its privileges by “renouncing” world revolution) brought the Soviet Union to bankruptcy, as Leon Trotsky warned it would, how much more absurd it is to think that Cuba can go it alone in building “socialism in one island” in the jaws of the imperialist monster.

Anti-imperialist rhetoric and hunkering down won’t be enough to defend the Cuban deformed workers state from the U.S. onslaught—whether a tightened embargo, a naval blockade or invasion. Today it is urgently necessary for all opponents of imperialism to mount an *international* defense of Cuba, through revolutionary struggle at home.

### Workers Democracy to Defend Cuba

From its inception, the Spartacist tendency called for the defense of the Cuban deformed workers state while fighting for revolutionary workers democracy as opposed to the narrow bureaucratic rule of Castro’s Stalinist regime. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) declared, “Defend the Cuban Revolution!” Even earlier, as the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, we fought against the SWP leadership’s praise of the Castro regime as “unconscious Trotskyists.” The RT submitted a draft resolution to the SWP’s 1963 convention noting Castro’s suppression of the Cuban workers’ and peasants’ democratic rights, the imposition of Stalinist hacks on the labor movement and the proclamation of

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## Defend Cuba...

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a one-party system, alongside the enormous social and economic accomplishments of the revolution:

"Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a *hardened* bureaucratic caste."

After 30 years in power, the Stalinist bureaucracy has hardened greatly, as shown lately by the Ochoa affair. Proletarian political revolution is necessary to replace the narrow rule of the Castroite elite with a deepgoing workers democracy in defense of the revolution.

Millions of Cubans are rightly proud of their revolution and

defiantly say "socialism or death." Castro does not stay in power through bloody repression, but as a young student working two weeks as a volunteer in the fields told *Time* magazine, "We need a change, but from inside our system. We need to talk about our mistakes and find solutions inside socialism." The reporter noted, "These aren't assembly-line thinkers; they genuinely care about the gains of the revolution."

Genuine workers democracy not only would mobilize the Cuban masses in defense of their revolutionary gains, but is a necessary prerequisite to effectively run a planned economy. The best defense of Cuba is workers revolutions from the U.S. and Canada to Mexico and throughout Central and South America. We seek to mobilize the workers movement against the imperialist economic blockade of Cuba, to demand that the U.S. get out of Guantánamo, to defend the Cuban Revolution. U.S. hands off Cuba! For Trotskyist parties to fight for socialist revolution throughout the Americas!

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 535, 27 September

## Moscow...

(continued from page 7)

up to oversee the distribution of food, smashing the stranglehold of parasitic petty traders, black marketeers and pro-capitalist bureaucrats who would become Russia's new capitalist exploiters. The vast quantities of foodstuffs they are hoarding must be seized and defended, which requires the formation of *workers defense committees*, i.e., the nucleus of workers militias, in coordination with pro-socialist elements of the Soviet Army.

The attempts to victimize national minorities, to rip apart the multinational Soviet proletariat while giving free rein to monarchists and Pamyat thugs and pardoning Nazi war criminals, must be met by organized multinational workers defense guards.

These urgently necessary measures can be a step in creating organs of *proletarian dual power* to challenge and overthrow the Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolutionary gang. *Independent workers committees* must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order." But authentic soviets must become organs for the struggle for power. Revolutionary leadership is the key.

In his well-known article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," written in September 1917 on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin called for a program of all-sided workers control as the indispensable means to prevent famine. In that situation of dual power, in which the shaky capitalist government had ordered a rise in food prices, he emphasized: "For only the winning of power by the proletariat, headed by the Bolshevik Party, can put an end to the outrageous actions of Kerensky and Co. and restore the work of democratic food distribution, supply and other organisations, which Kerensky and his government are *frustrating*. The Bolsheviks are acting...as the representatives of the interests of the *whole* people...."

The historic catastrophe now facing Soviet working people cannot be prevented or even softened by defensive economic

struggles. Trade-union activism cannot prevent mass unemployment and hyperinflation if the Wall Street/Yeltsin program is actually carried out. The authors of this program must be overthrown by the revolutionary working class. The disintegration of the USSR cannot be halted by Stalinist "patriotism," which increasingly has taken the form of narrow Russian nationalism. Only the program of proletarian internationalism, carried out by a communist vanguard with a multinational cadre, can reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of national equality and socialist economic planning.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary internationalist program of Red October. Under the banner of "building socialism in one country," which translated into sniveling popular-front alliances with imperialist rulers abroad, Stalin was the gravedigger of the Russian Revolution, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purge of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most class-conscious workers with revolutionary Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reformed Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies defeat the forces of bloody capitalist counterrevolution.

—Reprinted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 539, 22 November

### Trotskyist League Forums

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# Cheerleaders for Counterrevolution

The counterrevolutionary tide sweeping the Soviet Union, spearheaded by Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup last August, poses a definitive test for organizations claiming to speak on behalf of the struggle for socialist revolution. Openly capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and Gorbachev are seeking to tear away every vestige of the greatest victory ever achieved by the international proletariat, the October Revolution of 1917.

Our statement following the countercoup was headlined: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (SC No. 85, Fall 1991). Pointing to the yuppies, speculators, fascists and priests who flocked to Yeltsin's "White House" in Moscow to present themselves as the shock troops for social counterrevolution during the two days of the feeble putsch by Yanayev & Co., we wrote: "a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order. Yet the coup plotters not only did not mobilize the workers, they ordered everybody to stay at work and at home."

In the face of the ascendancy of the counterrevolutionary forces, we laid out a program of struggle against capitalist restoration, calling for independent workers committees in the factories to take control of production and fight privatization, for committees of soldiers and officers to resist the use of the Soviet army as an instrument against the working class, for workers militias to crush anti-Semitic pogromists and anti-Communist lynch mobs and ward off communalist butchery by revanchist nationalists. We immediately translated this article into Russian, and it is now being distributed among class-conscious Soviet workers with the aim of forging a Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus capable of leading a struggle by the Soviet working people to victory over the counterrevolution.

In contrast, in the decisive days of late August a herd of pseudo-leftists were on the *first barricade of counterrevolution*. The International Socialists (I.S.) headlined their September *Socialist Worker*: "Magnificent! Workers Crush the Junta." Jack Barnes' U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its Canadian affiliate the Communist League (CL) cheered on the front page of the *Militant* (6 September): "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup." The fake-Trotskyists of Socialist Challenge/Gauche Socialiste (SC/GS), local adherents of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, issued a leaflet hailing a supposed "Victory for Soviet Workers." And the USec journal *International Viewpoint* (16 September) stated baldly: "It was necessary without hesitation to oppose the coup, and in this respect to struggle alongside Yeltsin...."

## Painting Counterrevolution as "Victory"

Ever since their forebears around Tony Cliff in Britain split with the Trotskyist movement in 1950, refusing to defend the North Korean deformed workers state against U.S./British imperialism, the I.S. have been on the counterrevolutionary side of the barricades. Their ludicrous "theory" that the Soviet Union has been "state capitalist" since the 1920s was born of direct capitulation to "democratic" imperialism and has since served to cover for anti-Communism, from Afghanistan to Poland and beyond. Now they have joined the imperialists in obscene gloating over the ascension of Yeltsin's counterrevolution. "Communism has collapsed," cheered their British parent group, continuing: "It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing" (*Socialist Worker* [Britain], 31 August).



**Fake-leftists hail "democratic" counterrevolution, falsely claim working masses were on the barricades on Yeltsin.**

After years of being the reformist right wing of the USec, the American SWP and its CL branch office finally dumped Trotskyism outright a few years ago. Their eclectic brand of reformism has grown increasingly bizarre over the years: thus the same issue of the *Militant* which hailed Yeltsin's countercoup also announced that "World capitalism has suffered a historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," and carried a talk by Barnes under the heading, "Why U.S. Imperialism Lost the Cold War"! One has to ask, what planet do these people live on? The Barnesites simultaneously proclaim themselves to be North America's "Fidelistas" while pushing those forces in the Soviet Union who are out to strangle the Cuban Revolution as a favor to Washington.

Even as it unabashedly and uncritically reported how Yeltsinite mobs were tearing down statues of Lenin and Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the *Militant* (13 September) tried to paint it as some sort of proletarian uprising: "Key to the defeat of the August 19 coup was the action of tens of thousands of workers in Moscow, Leningrad, and elsewhere who defied the government's tanks...." Similarly, in cheering on the pro-Yeltsin rabble *Socialist Worker* lyingly claimed that the coup collapsed "in the face of mass mobilizations of hundreds of thousands."

In justifying their support to counterrevolutionary Polish Solidarność a decade ago, the line of all these outfits was that "ten million Polish workers can't be wrong." Today Solidarność in power is subjecting its former working-class base to vicious capitalist austerity. Even when the mass of workers is temporarily deluded into supporting counterrevolutionary forces, it is necessary for the communist vanguard to swim against the stream and defend the historic interests of the international proletariat as a whole. Moreover, in this case it's utter sophistry to claim that revolutionary-minded workers flocked to Yeltsin's counterrevolution.

From the start, Western bourgeois commentators expressed bitter disappointment at the *lack* of Soviet working-class support for Yeltsin & Co. The Yeltsinite rallies on August 20 in Moscow, Leningrad and other Soviet cities were sizable, but no more so than numerous other recent demonstrations in the Soviet Union. As for the fabled barricades outside the "White

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## Cheerleaders...

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House," a spectrum of eyewitnesses, many of them pro-Yeltsin, uniformly attest that they never attracted more than several thousand hard-bitten pro-capitalist activists, with virtually no workers among them. If anything, the overwhelming mass of Soviet workers—despite political confusion, cynicism and illusions in Western-style capitalist "prosperity"—exhibited far more class consciousness by refusing to heed Yeltsin's appeals than these cynical fake-left liars.

Indeed SC/GS's David Seppo, writing in *La Gauche* (September 1991) not only acknowledges the lack of working-class support for Yeltsin's counterrevolution, but chides the Soviet workers for their absence:

"The next months will see the accelerated introduction of market reform. The fact that the coup was defeated without a mobilization on the part of the workers strengthens the autonomy of Yeltsin and the liberals in this area: they are, for the moment at least, less dependent on working class and popular support and will soon even have their own loyal bureaucracies and forces of repression in place."

So Soviet workers should have backed the rabidly restorationist Yeltsin in order that he would less readily attack them! This takes the meaning of chutzpah to new heights! Did the Polish workers' earlier support for Walesa, which the USec and SC/GS so fulsomely enthused over, hamstringing the "shock treatment" of capitalist austerity he is now meting out?

This outfit has no more in common with Bolshevism and its Trotskyist continuity than did Stalin and his heirs with Leninism. Neither rooted in the working class for a prolonged period nor anchored to a revolutionary program, when buffeted by Reagan's Cold War drive the USec was pushed ever more into the arms of anti-Soviet social democracy, whose hallmark since 1917 has been hostility to the October Revolution. They joined the imperialist furor over Afghanistan and cheered Solidarność' bid for counterrevolution in Poland. They hailed anti-Communist nationalist mass murderers who collaborated with the Nazi genocide of the Jews, like the Croatian Ustashi and Estonian Forest Brothers. Rallying to the counterrevolutionary

barricades outside Yeltsin's White House, the USec has now offered itself up as foot soldiers in Bush's "New World Order."

## For a Fourth International Trotsky Would Call His Own!

The International Socialists are long-time renegades from anything remotely resembling Trotskyism. As for those pseudo-Trotskyists who cheer on counterrevolution, insofar as they try to provide a "theoretical" fig leaf, it is borrowed straight from a "third camp" anti-Soviet worldview, i.e., that the Stalinist bureaucracy is the chief, indeed only, instrument for capitalist restoration. This view, summed up in the phrase "Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through," has historically been used to justify abandoning Soviet defense in practice. And today it is being used to justify *support to the counterrevolution*.

As Trotsky pointed out time and again, the Stalinist bureaucracy was not a homogeneous class but a brittle, contradictory layer resting atop proletarian property forms, from which it derived its privileged position, and potentially including both restorationist and revolutionary elements. In the absence of a proletarian challenge and under sharp pressure from imperialism, it was the restorationist wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy which blossomed under Gorbachev. The coup plotters were themselves committed to introducing a capitalist market economy, though more gradually and under centralized control. But the bureaucracy has now utterly collapsed. And, in any case, Yeltsin had already broken from it to become the spokesman for the incipient bourgeoisie—the "yuppskies," black marketeers and a political spectrum ranging from would-be Western "democrats" to the fascists of Pamyat.

The "Gang of Eight" was incapable of sweeping away Yeltsin in its pathetic excuse for a putsch because, as we wrote, it was a "perestroika coup." But both imperialism and the forces of internal counterrevolution were aligned on Yeltsin's side. The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions. Trotskyists would have entered into a military bloc with "the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution," as Trotsky postulated in the 1938 Transitional Program. This precisely was our policy toward Jaruzelski in Poland in 1981. But the USec and other pseudo-leftists, beholden to social-democratic "anti-Stalinism," can't stomach being in a bloc with Stalinists even in defense of a workers state—instead they're *on the other side*.

Leon Trotsky went to his death—at the hands of a Stalinist assassin—an intransigent defender of the Soviet workers state. His last political struggle was waged over this question, against the Soviet-defeatist Burnham/Shachtman opposition in 1939-40 in the then-Trotskyist American SWP. As Trotsky wrote in his April 1940 "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" so eloquently: "Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones." Should the homeland of October succumb to counterrevolution, workers around the world will pay for it in blood for years to come. The need has never been more urgent to reforge a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own. Defeat Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolution! For a Trotskyist party in the USSR, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■

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# Crumbling CP Hails "Democrat" Yeltsin

A couple of years ago the Communist Party of Canada dumped its old-guard leadership and began a "process of renewal" aimed at eliminating all ties to the Soviet Union and moving headlong toward mainstream social democracy. Now it has reached the logical conclusion and openly embraced counterrevolution in the USSR. "Yeltsin Shines in Coup Resistance" headlined the CP's *Canadian Tribune* (26 August). Even as would-be Tsar Boris was banning the Soviet CP and seizing its assets the *Trib* praised his "unwavering commitment to democracy." "Communism is now a dirty word in the Soviet Union," party leader George Hewison told the *Toronto Star* (5 September), "And if I was there, I'd think that too."

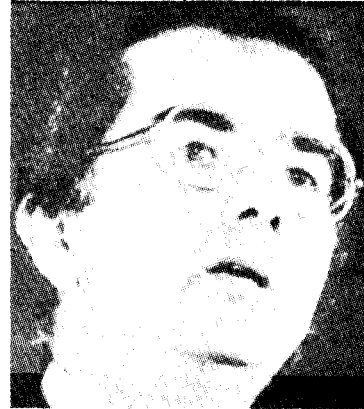
With CP members quitting in droves, the remains are eating themselves alive. On August 28 the central executive summarily expelled eleven long-time members, including Ontario provincial leader Liz Rowley, for "activity hostile to the Party." All are associated with the CP's so-called "hardline" wing. Hewison blustered: "Their failed historical strategy is that of the 'putschist' [sic] in the Kremlin." Rowley & Co. responded by running to the capitalist courts to get an injunction so she could address a central committee meeting! Ever abiding by bourgeois law, the CC let her in, briefly. Then Rowley and 50 or so others milled about outside the Toronto headquarters, later meeting to discuss what to do. One participant described the gathering as "a funeral."

The CP leadership wants to dissolve into a social-democratic "network" involving *Canadian Dimension* magazine and (if they're lucky) a few union bureaucrats. Meanwhile in B.C. the *Pacific Tribune* has, like soap flakes, come out with a "new, improved" version, trumpeting itself as "An Independent Socialist Weekly." But the so-called "hardliners" have no principled objections. Their opposition amounts to nostalgia plus a sordid squabble over the CP's assets—who intends to sell what, when.

There are some "oldtimers" who obviously want to maintain at least a sentimental attachment to Communism, as they understand it. But their worldview has been irretrievably shattered

by the terminal crisis of Stalinism. And the "young pups" they recruited want to vicariously mount the barricades of counter-revolution in the USSR. Decades ago, Canadian CP founders and leaders Maurice Spector and Jack MacDonald were among

Yeltsin shines in coup resistance



CANADIAN  
**TRIBUNE**

CP leader George Hewison and party press do PR work for Boris Yeltsin.

Griffin/Canadian Tribune

those who broke with Stalin's perversion of Marxism and joined with the proletarian internationalist Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky. Last year, prominent Toronto CPer Yossi Schwartz warned what was coming in an urgent "Call to All Communists," issued in September 1990 shortly before he resigned to join the Trotskyist League:

"The Communist Party of Canada is at a crossroads. The alternatives posed are either destruction or total capitulation. I argue for another alternative, the program of genuine communism: Trotskyism. I urge those comrades who, despite past capitulations and anti-working class positions carried out under the name of the CPC, want to be Leninists to join with me. Better sooner than later when you face the bitter prospect of a simply 'personal' existence or of a lifetime of servility to the social democrats." ■

## BT Writes Off the Soviet Union

While virtually every self-proclaimed "left" organization internationally cheered on the Yeltsinite forces of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the so-called "Bolshevik Tendency" has chosen a different posture. The BT has been putting in appearances at our public forums cynically denouncing the International Communist League for not giving "military support" to the impotent coup by a handful of reluctant Gorbachevites who not only didn't have the military behind them but who ordered the working class to stay at home and at work.

For almost a decade now this disparate collection of ex-members—the majority of whom quit our organization in the early 1980s when the question of defense of the Soviet Union against the intensified imperialist Cold War crusade was posed sharp and hard—has been reviling us as "Stalinophiles" for our support to Soviet forces which actually acted militarily in defense of the gains of the October Revolution. Now behind the veneer of its sniveling after-the-fact support to the "perestroika" coup, the BT has found in the flop of the "gang of eight who couldn't shoot straight" their long-awaited oppor-

tunity to wash their hands of the Soviet Union—something they have yearned to do for years.

In a special supplement to its newspaper *1917* entitled "Counterrevolution Triumphs in USSR," the BT spells out its total defeatism toward the Soviet Union. It completely writes off the Soviet proletariat as a force against capitalist restoration and declares that every soldier and officer of the Soviet army is now a repressive agent of "Western capitalists and their internal allies." As we noted in the *Workers Vanguard* article "BT Writes Off the Soviet Union" (No. 535, 27 September): "The BT calls for support to Yanayev, Pavlov & Co....without even a nod to mobilizing the proletariat! While the botched coup and the ascendancy of Yeltsin have opened the floodgates for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, the Soviet proletariat has yet to be heard from. The question of which class shall rule is urgently posed, but it is not one that has already been determined."

To get your copy of this issue of *WV*, send 25¢ to: Spartacist Canada, Box 6867, Stn. A, Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6. ■

## Labor Struggle...

(continued from page 3)

some major confrontations" (*Globe and Mail*, 30 September). Horrified lest some good old-fashioned class struggle do damage to the state crockery, the "labor lieutenants of capital" (to use Lenin's apt term for the union tops) practically welcomed the anti-strike law and hustled PSAC back to work.

It didn't have to be this way. Legislation and injunctions are just pieces of paper which can only be enforced if labor doesn't draw its weapons. Workers never won anything playing by the bosses' rules. Unions themselves were once "illegal." The history of the North American labor movement is one long string of laws broken and injunctions defied. It is the cowardly legalism of the union bureaucrats which has given free rein to strikebreaking and union-busting. As the Trotskyist League wrote in a well-received leaflet distributed to thousands of PSAC strikers in Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver and elsewhere:

"Like any major, hard-fought labor battle, today's strikes are going straight up against the bosses' state with its strike-breaking governments, courts and cops. At bottom what is posed is the political question: which class shall rule, the capitalists or the workers? The problem isn't just Mulroney and his particular gang of fat cats—it's the whole, rotten capitalist system."

What's required is a struggle against the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats, for a revolutionary leadership that won't bow and scrape before the bosses' state but will win labor's battles on the road to winning a workers state.

### NDP On the Side of the Bosses

The labor tops push votes for the NDP as the "alternative" to the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that can win. Now they've got some of what they've been begging for. Today administering the capitalist state in three provinces, the NDP is carrying out the same kind of anti-working-class, anti-poor "fiscal austerity" program as the parties of big business.

They're not even making a pretense of being for the workers. Ontario premier Bob Rae used Canada Post during the CUPW strike, used anti-labor laws against the Toronto transit strikers and now threatens government workers in OPSEU with layoffs and a wage freeze. "Score one more for business," wrote *Toronto Star* (6 November) columnist Thomas Walkom as he detailed how "under pressure from employers" the NDP is junking whole sections of its already tame proposed revisions to provincial labor law. When Rae came to address the Ontario

Federation of Labour convention on November 26, hundreds of delegates from OPSEU, PSAC and CUPW walked out.

Promising to "balance the budget," the Ontario NDP has slashed \$13 million from education funds while hospitals are forced to close beds for lack of government money. The NDP is even talking about shutting entire hospitals, as well as gutting Legal Aid, making old and sick people pay for drug benefits they now get for free and selling off government assets. As Walkom noted (16 November): "Cutbacks. User fees. Privatization. Scaling back medicare. In 1985, the New Democrats refused to support Frank Miller's Tory agenda. They are now implementing it." Or as outraged Ontario students put it at an anti-cutbacks demonstration in October: "Hey Bob, what's the story? You're just like a Tory."

Meanwhile B.C.'s new NDP premier Mike Harcourt declares the province "open for business," echoing his Social Credit predecessors. He went out of his way to emphasize he was not a socialist, but "a mainstream moderate social democrat" who opposes nationalization of industry. "Let's get one thing clear—we're going to run a fiscally tough government," said Harcourt (*Vancouver Sun*, 22 August). A U.S. government official commented that "he sounds like the past president of the Chamber of Commerce." And so, even running against the thieving, lunatic right-wing Socreds (who had to dump a candidate when he was exposed as a Nazi!), the NDP actually got a lower vote percentage than the last election.

In Saskatchewan Roy Romanow proudly announced that the NDP had moved to the right and ran a campaign that the Ontario Tory leader called "more conservative than any Conservative campaign that I've seen...for a long time." The *Globe's* (19 October) David Roberts stated the obvious: "Ideologically there has not been much to choose."

But the obvious has never stopped the gutless wonders who pass themselves off as the Canadian "left" from calling, as always, to elect the NDP—as did the International Socialists, Socialist Challenge and (what's left of) the Communist Party. Reportedly, the eccentric Communist League is now criticizing itself as "ultraleft" for failing to call for an NDP vote in B.C. And this *after* Harcourt dumped his "promise" to scrap the Socreds' anti-labor laws.

For decades the NDP and the labor tops have helped foster English-Canadian chauvinism, refusing to recognize Quebec's right to national self-determination and wrapping themselves in the Maple Leaf flag with calls for anti-American, anti-Japanese and, now, anti-Mexican protectionism. They've helped create the political culture in which the far-right Reform Party has grown, and even provided recruits for Preston Manning, like former NDP Manitoba MLA Henry Carroll.

Meanwhile the nationalist leaders of Quebec labor have channeled workers' combativity into support for their "own" bosses, represented by the Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois. The PQ envision themselves getting rich as the northern branch of the Rockefellers' Citibank, selling hydro power to New York while keeping "their" workers in line. The summer of 1990 saw nationalist reaction in Quebec whipped up in mob violence against the Mohawks. This year pogromist gangs in Montreal's impoverished French-speaking East End attacked black African refugees with baseball bats, rocks and beer bottles, driving them from their homes.

The wave of Canada-wide strikes began to break down the national and racial divisions fostered by the bosses, showing that militant labor struggle can unite workers and the oppressed against their common enemies. Tens of thousands of women,

### Contact the Trotskyist League

Correspondence for:	Address to:
<b>Edmonton</b> .....	PSSE P.O. Box 9605 Edmonton, AB T6E 5X3
<b>Montreal</b> .....	C.P. Les Atriums B.P. 32066 Montréal, QC H2L 4V5
<b>Toronto</b> .....	Box 7198, Station A Toronto, ON M5W 1X8 (416) 593-4138
<b>Vancouver</b> .....	Box 2717, Main P.O. Vancouver, BC V6B 3X2 (604) 687-0353

black and Asian PSAC members were among the best and most militant of the strikers. English-Canadian, Québécois and immigrant workers stood shoulder to shoulder on mass pickets in Ottawa and its sister city of Hull across the river in Quebec.

### Remember the Traitors

With the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the imperialist rulers think they can celebrate the "death of Communism" and bury class struggle at home. And from East Germany to Poland to the Soviet Union the social democrats have been the foremost champions of bringing back the "democratic" rule of capitalism whose "magic of the marketplace" means massive unemployment, soup kitchens and untold misery. Just as they push anti-Communism abroad and back imperialist slaughter like the Persian Gulf massacre of Iraq, so too the NDP and its fellows come to the rescue of their capitalist masters at home. Far from representing a "step forward" for the working class, the social democrats' task is to discipline the workers on behalf of capitalism and prevent them struggling for their own class power.

As we wrote in our leaflet distributed to striking federal government and other workers:

"The PSAC and Toronto transit workers strikes have demonstrated the power of organized labor and shown that it is the working class that makes things run in this society. But for the working class to actually run society requires forging a leadership that has the program and the determination to wage a down-the-line fight for workers power in North



Boris Spremo/Toronto Star

### Toronto PSAC workers protest back-to-work order.

America. That means ousting the sellout, pro-capitalist union bureaucrats and forging a new class-struggle leadership for all labor....

"We need to build a *revolutionary workers party*—one which unlike the NDP social democrats doesn't respect the 'property' values of the bourgeoisie. A party which says to all the exploited and oppressed: we make it, we build it, it ought to be ours, *so let's take it*. And when we control the wealth then we can start to undertake the socialist reorganization of this society." ■

## Toronto Cops...

(continued from page 16)

murderous crimes, the victims of racist attacks get brutalized a second time by the courts. The same week Rapson was acquitted, a Toronto judge dismissed charges against three whites who stabbed and beat a black man almost to death on a downtown street in broad daylight. Despite eyewitness identifications *and a confession*, the judge ruled that the accused could not be placed at the scene. Also in November, eleven anti-racist protesters who were beaten and arrested by police outside the Royal Ontario Museum last year appeared in court. Two refused to sign "peace bonds" and will go to trial on a number of charges. Drop the charges against Oji Adisa and Devon Johnson!

### Capitalist Decay and Racist Terror

Cities like Toronto and Montreal have been hit hard by the capitalist depression and the elimination of unionized industrial jobs in the wake of the free trade deal. In Toronto alone, more than 147,000 people are now on welfare (an increase of 166 percent in two years) and an estimated 30,000 are homeless. The widespread economic desperation (which has hit immigrants and minorities first and hardest) provides fertile ground for xenophobic appeals.

Three days after Johnathon Howell was shot, right-winger June Rowlands swept to victory over NDP councillor Jack Layton in Toronto's mayoral elections. Rowlands—whose candidacy was backed by the Metro police "union" and who has defended the recent cop shootings down the line—openly courted the racist vote. The racist police brutality endorsed by Rowlands and her kind inspires in turn the "extra-legal" violence of the fascists and other race-terrorists. Just days after the

cops shot Johnathon Howell, yet another Toronto-area synagogue was defaced with swastikas and Nazi slogans. In Montreal, where the cops have killed three black and Hispanic men since July, the KKK has openly organized pogromist violence against refugees and Native people.

But Jack Layton and the NDP don't even pretend to defend the oppressed against the cops. Layton's silence after Johnathon Howell was shot was as cowardly as it was total (and didn't save him at the polls). His response to Rowlands' accusation that blacks were responsible for 40 percent of Toronto crime was to propose "community policing"—i.e., more black cops. When 200 angry protesters, mainly black, marched to protest the latest cop shooting November 16, not a single NDP or union leader put in even a token appearance. In fact, the response of the NDP and the union tops to the economic devastation of North American capitalism has been to fan the flames of "anti-immigrant" reaction among working people, pointing the finger at foreign (non-white) workers through poisonous "Canada First" protectionism.

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Janet Yip, a member of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, addressed the November 16 demonstration. She pointed out that the cops who have declared open season on black youth are the same ones who were unleashed against the CUPW and PSAC picket lines last September, and called to "throw out the system that propagates racism and cop terror." "Enough is enough!" she concluded to applause: "Let's mobilize labor and minorities to stop racist terror!" The fate of black people and all the oppressed lies with the struggle of the workers for their own class power. That struggle requires a leadership dedicated to the understanding that those who labor must rule. It will take a North American workers revolution, led by a multiracial workers party, to avenge the victims of the racist cops and win real freedom and justice for us all. ■



# Toronto's Racist Killer Cops Strike Again

Johnathon Howell is clinging to life in a Toronto hospital. On November 9, the 22-year-old warehouse worker, a local basketball star with a pregnant fiancée, fell victim to Toronto's racist killer cops. "They shot another brother," a young black man angrily told the *Toronto Star*, voicing the fear and fury of thousands. "A 20-year police veteran shot an unarmed man."

The cops say Johnathon Howell is a "criminal." Just like Marlon Neil, shot twice for "speeding," or Wade Lawson, shot dead for "theft." When Major Crimes Unit officer Carl Sokolowski shot Howell in the head for allegedly boosting some video equipment from an Etobicoke warehouse, Johnathon entered the litany—along with Lester Donaldson, Sophia Cook, Lawson and Neil—of Toronto blacks "arrested" by police bullets in the last three years.

This escalating, bloody war on Toronto's black population must be stopped! How many times in recent years have hundreds of angry blacks and anti-racist militants had to march on police headquarters to confront the murderers? "It seems clear," prominent black lawyer Charles Roach remarked after Howell was wounded, "that the black community does not have the power to stop police shootings." That is the bitter truth. The cops are the armed fist of the capitalist state—it's their *job* to maintain the racist capitalist status quo, not least by naked terror.

After the shooting of Sophia Cook we pointed the way forward: "As the Toronto cops seek free rein to terrorize the city's working people and minorities, it is the working class which must be mobilized to frustrate their lethal designs.... Mass protest action centered on Toronto's powerful, integrated unions—transit, steel, auto—would give the capitalist rulers pause and make their badge-toting gun thugs think ten times before shooting another black youth. But nothing short of working-class revolution can stop police terror for good" (*SC* No. 77, Winter 1989-90).

## They're Getting Away With Murder

The attempted execution of Johnathon Howell revived calls for a "civilian review board" to monitor the police, and for repeal of the "fleeing felon" clause in the Criminal Code which allows the cops to gun down a suspect who tries to run. Wilson Head, former director of the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, demanded the police be made to "serve and protect rather than kill and oppress." This is a dangerous illusion. The



November 16 Toronto march against cop terror. "Enough is enough!"

cops "serve and protect" the capitalist "order." Racist murder is part of their mandate, and the courts are always ready to approve their crimes.

On October 31, an all-white jury acquitted Constable Brian Rapson of the 1990 attempted murder of 18-year-old Marlon Neil. Rapson shot Neil twice after pulling him over for speeding, then claimed he thought the brake handle Neil was reaching for was a gun. Just to be sure, the judge instructed the jury to acquit, obscenely insisting that had the cop really meant to kill Neil, he would have shot him more than twice!

The cops who cut down Johnathon Howell didn't even bother to fabricate a "struggle" (or a brake handle that "looked like a gun"). They simply announced they'd caught Howell and two other men at the back of a warehouse, and that Howell was shot—in the forehead!—as he fled arresting officers. This lie was then "clarified" at a November 11 press conference. Announcing that "the media (!) have totally misrepresented the facts," a police spokesman admitted that Johnathon Howell had been squatting, motionless and unarmed, against a fence when Sokolowski "stumbled or was tripped" and "accidentally" shot him in the head while taking him into custody. So utterly brazen was this "revision" that it provoked laughter among the reporters and camera crews.

And while one cop after another walks clean away from their

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