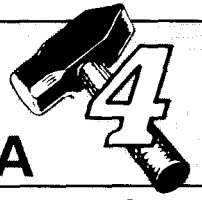


# SPARTACIST CANADA

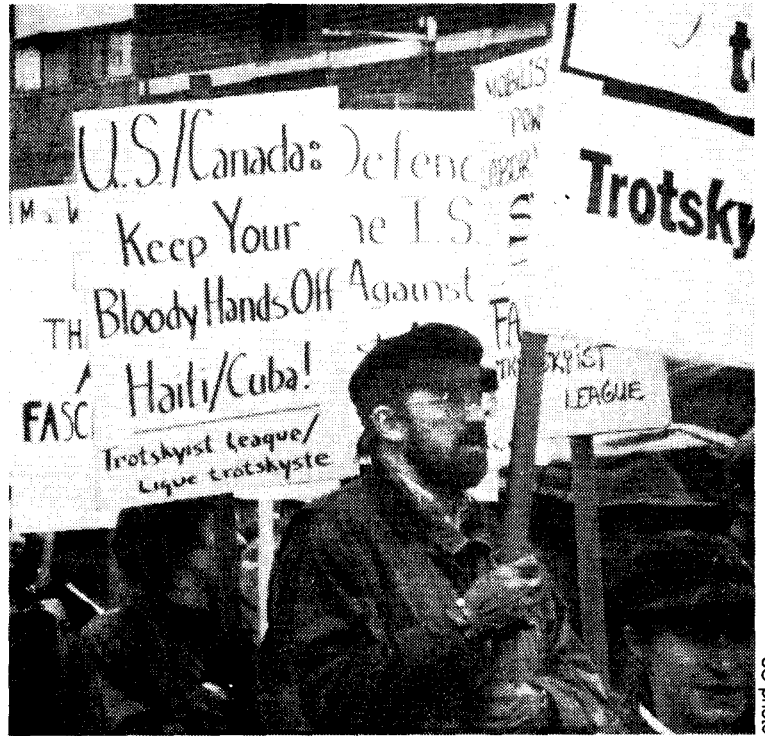


No. 100

November/December 1994

50 cents

# U.S., Canada Out of Haiti!



SC photo

## Defend the Cuban Revolution!

*The following article is an edited version of an October 1 Trotskyist League public forum given in Toronto by Peter Stevens, a member of the Canadian Auto Workers. Originally entitled "Cuba in Peril," the meeting took place shortly after the U.S. invasion of Haiti and before the return to Haiti of president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, under imperialist auspices, on October 15.*

\* \* \*

The situation in the Caribbean Basin has changed dramatically since I was first asked to prepare this talk. Of course I'm referring to the American invasion of Haiti. And the Canadian ruling class is up to its eyeballs in this operation, supposedly to restore democracy in Haiti, supposedly to remove a brutal military dictatorship and reinstall the popularly elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Needless to say, these piously expressed aims are crap. Just like it was crap when the imperialists said their invasion of Somalia was a humanitarian effort to save lives, which they then proceeded to do by strafing market places in Mogadishu from the air, and torturing prisoners to death like the Nazi-infested Canadian Airborne Regiment did.

In Haiti the blood has already started to flow, in this "bloodless" invasion of the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere. Those who are dying so far are generally poor and working-class Haitians who have placed their faith in Father Aristide to open some sort of road out of the nightmare that is their daily lives. And while Aristide supporters are being blown up and gunned down, U.S. forces stand by to protect

the assassins—Haitian cops or members of the paramilitary *attachés*—from the fury of the masses.

Last night on the news, after the most recent grenade attack on a pro-Aristide demonstration, I saw an interview with a young Haitian who said "they've got 15,000 troops here and they can't send one soldier down here to protect us." But of course that's the point. A U.S. military spokesman smilingly stated later that their mission was just to act as a deterrent and maintain order. The U.S. troops are a "deterrent" to an explosion of the Haitian masses seeking vengeance against a regime which has murdered thousands and beaten and tortured many thousands more since it overthrew Aristide on behalf of the tiny but filthy rich Haitian ruling class. The "order" they seek to maintain is the same military death-squad order that has terrorized the Haitian people since the U.S. withdrew its last occupation force in the 1930s.

That's why they need 15,000 troops—certainly not to suppress General Cédras and his ragtag army of 7,000. And that's why, in a twisted way, it's appropriate that the new Haitian police force is being trained in part by the RCMP in Regina. Because the RCMP are past masters at murderous repression on behalf of what passes for capitalist democracy. Ask any Native person. Ask any Yellowknife gold miner.

As the U.S. forces increasingly take on the occupier's police role, they are going to come into conflict with the millions of  
*(continued on page 6)*

# PDC Partisan Defense Committee

## Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

**"The procession that goes in and out of the prison doors is not a new one. It is the result of an old struggle under new forms and under new conditions. All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been, and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and sufferings of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells."**

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause that Passes Through a Prison," September 1926

The past two decades have witnessed a sharp deterioration in living conditions for working people. While Wall St. and Bay St. tycoons rake in billions, homelessness has become a chronic feature of the North American landscape. Millions lack food, shelter and medical care. Many unionized workers are just a paycheck away from disaster.

The capitalists' solution to the social havoc they have created is to strengthen the machinery of repression—tougher laws, longer sentences, more cops—to beat down and terrorize working people and the poor. High on the state's hit list are those who *resist* the grinding oppression of capitalism: the men and women symbolized by Roger Warren, the Yellowknife miner now on trial for murder in the death of nine scabs at the Giant gold mine. Warren faces life in prison because he dared to defend his union against the company, its hired gun thugs and the RCMP. Material support for Roger Warren and all those who, like him, refuse to kneel before the dictates of capital, is an elementary act of working-class solidarity.

The Partisan Defense Committee continues the tradition of

the International Labor Defense (ILD) under James P. Cannon, its founder and first secretary from 1925-28. Cannon's ILD sought to "build a wall of labor defense against the frame-up system" so that the struggle against the "greater prison which is capitalism" could conquer. Nine years ago our American PDC comrades revived the ILD's program of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners. We send \$25 a month to 17 prisoners. The PDC also sends extra gifts to them and their families during the holidays as a message of solidarity, a reminder to these brothers and

sisters that they are not forgotten, that they remain a part of the living labor movement. We proudly stand with these prisoners—their fight is our fight.

Last year, the PDC raised over \$12,000 in the U.S., Canada and other countries for the prisoners and their families. These funds give the PDC a solid financial basis for sending stipends, and meeting requests for books, magazines, special items of clothing, as well as the holiday gifts. The following are some of the class-war prisoners who receive PDC stipends:

U.S. death row political prisoner **Mumia Abu-Jamal** is a former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and prominent Philadelphia journalist known as the "Voice of the Voiceless." Jamal was framed up on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop and received the death penalty explicitly because of his political beliefs. Our fight to free him is an inseparable part of our struggle for black equality in a socialist North America.

**Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)**, former California Panther leader, was framed for murder under the infamous FBI COINTEL-PRO vendetta against black activists. Geronimo has spent nearly 24 years behind bars for a crime he did not commit.

West Virginia coal miner **Jerry Dale Lowe** is the latest PDC stipend recipient. This September, Lowe was sentenced to nearly eleven years in jail for defending a Mine Workers picket line against scabs and the violent goons of the coal bosses.

Supporting these victims of capitalist state repression is not charity—it's a duty. They fought for us, now we must fight for them! The PDC urges everyone to give generously once again to our ninth annual Holiday Appeal. To donate, or for information about Holiday Appeal events in your area, contact the PDC at Box 314, Station B, Toronto ON M5T 2W1. Make checks payable to Partisan Defense Committee, earmarked "Holiday Appeal." ■

## SPARTACIST CANADA

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**Free Geronimo ji Jaga**  
Page 5

Fight Government Frame-ups at York University  
Anti-Fascist Protesters Confront KKK in Springfield, IL  
Defend Bangladesh Worker Tazmin Masum

## Vancouver Protest Against White-Supremacist Jud Cyllorn:

# “Defend Anti-Fascist Unionists!”

On October 5, upwards of 50 people demonstrated outside the main branch of the Vancouver Public Library, chanting “Protest white supremacist Jud Cyllorn! Defend anti-fascist library unionists!” The protest, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, was in response to Cyllorn’s scheduled appearance before the Library Board that night. Cyllorn is the notorious fascist who, in May 1993, armed himself with an iron bar to attack an integrated, 60-strong protest against anti-Semite Ron Gostick, who was slated to speak at Cyllorn’s “Procult Institute” in Vancouver.

In the aftermath of the 1993 demonstration, six anti-fascists, including five unionists, were dragged through the courts on trumped-up charges of assault brought by Cyllorn and pursued by the police and the NDP government’s Crown counsel. While five of the six successfully defeated this frame-up, Miriam Scribner, a librarian and Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) member, was convicted of “assaulting” the 200-pound Cyllorn! In going before the Library Board, Cyllorn planned to carry his persecution and harassment of anti-fascist library unionists into their place of work. (He also wanted to complain that the library doesn’t own his self-published racist tirade, *Stop Apologizing*.)

As the PDC’s mobilizing leaflet for the October 5 demo said: “To get an idea of the kind of ‘library’ Cyllorn wants, just look at Nazi Germany where books and art deemed to offend the ‘master race’ were burned. Fascist terror is not ‘free speech.’ Cyllorn and his ilk—like Tony McAleer’s Canadian Liberty Net and Eileen Pressler’s Nazi den in Salmon Arm—‘speak’ with iron bars, firebombs, brutal beatings and ultimately death camps.”

A couple of skinhead thugs, one with a swastika T-shirt, crawled out in support of Cyllorn on October 5 and had to be driven back by protesters. Cyllorn himself, protected by a phalanx of cops, assaulted a supporter of the International Socialists (I.S.) who was protesting at the library entrance. Inside the board meeting, when Cyllorn was cut off after a few minutes, he reportedly threatened that he was going to deal with his complaints in “another way.” As he walked out, he formed one hand into the shape of the gun, pointed it at CUPE unionist Tom Hansen (another of the “Vancouver Six” anti-fascists he charged with “assault” last year) and mimicked pulling the trigger!

The PDC-initiated demonstration sought to bring together in united action all anti-fascists who agreed on the need to stop Cyllorn’s provocation. Members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Telecommunications Workers Union and other unions joined the protest, as did supporters of the Indo-Canadian Socialist Conference. The Trotskyist League and the Partisan Defense Committee fight for *labor/minority mobilizations* to stop the fascists in their tracks, uniting the social power of the organized working class with all of those whom the nightriders have lined up in their sights—immigrants, gays,



SC photo

PDC-initiated demo in front of Vancouver Public Library, October 5.

women, Native people. In contrast, the Freedom Socialist Party made use of the PDC’s platform to call to “stop the fascists by fighting them on all fronts, especially the electoral arena.” A representative of the I.S. also spoke, as did a spokesman for the Salmon Arm Coalition Against Racism, who called for more “hate laws.”

But the fascist terrorists won’t be stopped through social-democratic electoralism or pleas to the bosses’ state. As Trotskyist League spokesman Arthur Llewellyn pointed out:

“This capitalist state is itself racist to the core. Look at the colonial occupation of Haiti by the U.S. imperialists, with their Canadian junior partners riding shotgun. Look at the vicious chauvinist campaign that’s being whipped up against Quebec’s right to independence. Look at the official anti-immigrant racist frenzy being whipped up by the capitalist ruling class. The fascists take the sick logic of this system to its most barbaric extreme.

“To succeed, a struggle to stop fascism necessarily must be a struggle against capitalism. Obviously, that counts out the pro-capitalist NDP.... We need a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight to get rid of this racist, decrepit system once and for all, that can lead the fight for a workers government.” ■

### Contact the Trotskyist League/ Ligue trotskyste

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# Declaration of Fraternal Relations Between Luta Metalúrgica (Brazil) and the International Communist League

*The following declaration is the result of intensive discussions indicating wide-ranging programmatic agreement between the International Communist League and the Luta Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Struggle) group of Brazil. Luta Metalúrgica recently broke from Causa Operária, which is part of the tendency led by Jorge Altamira's Argentine Partido Obrero. The initial basis for these discussions was a common principled programmatic position of proletarian opposition to popular fronts, including calling for no vote to any candidates of such class-collaborationist formations. Another key issue bringing our two organizations together was the Leninist understanding of the role of the revolutionary party as a "tribune of the people" in fighting all forms of special oppression.*

\* \* \*

"The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership.... [T]he crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Transitional Program" (1938)

The Luta Metalúrgica group of Volta Redonda, Brazil and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) concur in this declaration of fraternal relations as part of the urgent struggle to overcome the crisis of proletarian leadership through reorganizing the Fourth International as the democratic-centralist world party of socialist revolution.

I

"The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to peddle their wares in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."

—L. Trotsky, Letter to the Dutch RSAP (July 1936) [emphasis in original]

Ever since Marx and Engels' struggle for the basic principle of the revolutionary independence of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, genuine Marxism has fought against class collaboration. The fight by Lenin and the Bolsheviks against Kerensky's Provisional Government (which Trotsky later called the greatest historical example of a popular front) culminated in the most important victory of the world proletariat: the October Revolution of 1917. In opposition to the betrayal of the Stalinists, social democrats and centrists, the Fourth Internationalists under Trotsky's leadership fought head-on against all support to popular fronts, which in France and Spain led to terrible defeats for the proletariat, thereby paving the way for the second imperialist world war.

In our times, the struggle against popular-frontism draws a line between revolutionary Marxism and all variants of opportunism. In Chile, Allende's Unidad Popular tied the combative

proletariat to the institutions of the bourgeois state, preparing the bloody outcome in Pinochet's 1973 military coup. Already in 1970 at the time of Allende's election, when all the fake-Trotskyist tendencies advocated one or another type of support to the popular front, the Spartacist tendency (today ICL) warned:

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

—[Spartacist No. 19, November-December 1970]

With the election of Mitterrand's popular front in France in 1981, once again the Spartacists warned against any support to this class collaboration, while pseudo-Trotskyists (from Mandel and Moreno to Lambert and Altamira) hailed it as a "victory" of the working class. The politics of popular-frontism led to more defeats from Bolivia to El Salvador, Nicaragua and many other countries.

Today in South Africa, the nationalist popular front around the African National Congress led by Nelson Mandela ties the black workers to the bourgeois state apparatus which maintained the murderous regime of apartheid. It is the duty of revolutionaries to urgently warn against any political support to, or confidence in, the "power sharing" government, which is already attacking the black and "coloured" [mixed-race] workers. We note the importance for revolutionary workers in South Africa of the struggle against the popular-frontism of the reformist Brazilian Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT—Workers Party), and of the events in South Africa for the workers and radical youth in Brazil.

In Brazil the left is impregnated with nationalism and popular-frontist reformism. At present its various tendencies are competing with each other to see who can best capitulate to the Frente Brasil Popular (FBP), the open coalition of Lula's PT with bourgeois politicians. This front does everything possible to demobilize the exploited and oppressed, in this country which has a highly combative proletariat and is experiencing deep social unrest. The trade-union bureaucrats and their leftist advisers insist that instead of fighting, the working people must "wait" for Lula to be elected and not "frighten" his bourgeois allies. The Stalinists (PPS and PCdoB [People's Socialist Party, formerly the pro-Moscow CP, and Communist Party of Brazil, formerly pro-Albania]) with their doctrine of class collaboration—who supported the bourgeois governments of Sarney, Collor and Itamar Franco—are now part of the popular front led by Lula. While the Mandelites of Democracia Socialista and the Lambertistes of O Trabalho [Labor] revel in their by now traditional role as faithful servants of the leadership of Lula & Co., the Morenoites of the PSTU [United Socialist Workers Party] strike a hypocritically "critical" posture at the same time

as they have openly joined the FBP.

To the left of these tendencies are the centrists of Causa Operária (CO) [Workers Cause, aligned with the Argentine Partido Obrero of Jorge Altamira]. The comrades of Luta Metalúrgica were originally recruited to CO because they believed it represented a revolutionary, Trotskyist opposition to the popular front. But already in the 1989 elections, at the same time as it "criticized" the popular front, CO voted for the popular front's candidate, Lula. Thus its "criticism" had no consequences in deeds, serving only as a fig leaf for its vote in favor of class collaboration.

Facing the 1994 elections, CO has been spinning around, first seeking to make a "distinction between supporting Lula and campaigning for him, and possibly calling for a vote to the candidate of the PT" (*Circular Interna* [Internal Bulletin], 1 April 1994), later feigning a position of "no vote to the candidates of the Frente Brasil Popular" (*Causa Operária*, 12 June), only to wind up with the call to "vote for Lula and the worker and peasant candidates" (*Causa Operária*, 1 August). CO thereby reproduces the fake Trotskyists' typical trick of arguing that a vote for the "workers candidates" of the popular front (in this case including its presidential candidate) is somehow "different" from voting for the popular front as such.

For these petty bourgeois who peddle their wares in the shadow of the popular front, "leftist" phrases are not to be taken seriously but serve only to prettify tailing after their reformist masters! Their line has *nothing* to do with that of Trotsky, who characterized the support by Andrés Nin's POUM to the Spanish popular front as a *betrayal* and stressed, regarding the popular-front government: "It is necessary to openly and boldly mobilize the masses against the Popular Front government" ("Is Victory Possible in Spain?" April 1937).

We note that this "national-Trotskyist" tendency [of Altamira] has traditionally justified its betrayals through Menshevik stageism and references to the "anti-imperialist united front," the formula used by Guillermo Lora (former ally of Jorge Altamira's Partido Obrero in Argentina and CO in Brazil) in Bolivia to justify his shameful capitulation to a whole series of popular fronts.

Against this Menshevism, in a document (April 1994)

opposing CO's line, the comrades of the Volta Redonda cell (Luta Metalúrgica) characterized the FBP as "a class-collaborationist front," a popular front. They demanded "that Causa Operária break with the PT and the popular front in all its variants.... The elementary duty of all revolutionary Marxists is to irreconcilably struggle against the popular front in the elections and to have absolutely no confidence in it." The CO leadership *suppressed* this clear denunciation, together with the entire last part of the document, in CO's *Circular Interna*. A subsequent document (July 1994) that the comrades wrote against CO's capitulation ended with the clear slogan: "For a revolutionary workers party—No vote to the popular front and Lula." The International Communist League has raised the same position of intransigent proletarian opposition to the popular front.

II

The world situation today has been profoundly affected by the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe. Far from representing a "victory" or mere "episode" as the fake Trotskyists claim (including CO, which virtually kept its members away from all discussion of the Russian question), the restoration of capitalism in the USSR—resulting from the encirclement and enormous pressure of imperialism and prepared by decades of Stalinist betrayals—represented a great *defeat* for the workers of the world. Its repercussions for the semi-colonial victims of imperialism are very clear from Iraq to Haiti, with the growing military adventures of Yankee imperialism, which today threatens to strangle the Cuban deformed workers state (undermined from within by the Castro bureaucracy).

In the present "new world disorder" there are growing inter-imperialist rivalries, fratricidal inter-ethnic wars, fascist attacks against immigrants and dark-skinned workers in Europe, assaults against the rights of women. At the same time, unrest throughout the world—symbolized by the revolt of Indian peasants in the south of Mexico, the victorious Air France strike, youth mobilizations against fascists in Europe and many other events—brings opportunities for revolutionary intervention by the proletariat. It is more urgent than ever to forge the international Leninist vanguard party.

Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, taught us that those who do not defend conquests already won will never be able to win new conquests. He showed the dual character of the [Stalinist] bureaucracy, a narrow nationalist caste resting atop the gains of October: at times it was obliged to defend these conquests in its own partial and contradictory way, while undermining them through betraying the world revolution and trampling proletarian democracy.

Trotsky and James P. Cannon, founder of North American Trotskyism, compared the revolutionary policy toward the USSR to the situation of a bureaucratized trade union. Conscious workers defend the union against the capitalist government and the bosses, while fighting for a revolutionary leadership to throw out the treacherous bureaucrats. Likewise, it was the duty of the world proletariat to give unconditional military defense to the USSR, while fighting to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution,

(continued on page 12)

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## Haiti/Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

Aristide supporters who take the promises of democracy and progress for good coin. Then the blood is really going to flow, mostly Haitian blood. That's what happened in Somalia, although the Somali militias did manage to land some stinging blows of their own there, and that was a good thing. And Marxists and anti-imperialists will militarily support any resistance to the imperialist invaders, even if it comes from disgruntled sections of the Haitian military itself.

### Aristide: Front Man for Invasion

But right now the most effective crowd control weapon the U.S. has is the faith of the masses in Aristide, who called for this invasion as openly as he dared—asking for it outright would be a violation of the Haitian constitution. And Aristide is no kind of socialist. He's a radical populist priest who believes that the "free market" can be made to work for the Haitian masses. His movement is called *Lavalas*—the Flood. It is what Marxists call a popular front—an alliance between the existing leadership of the workers and oppressed and a wing of the capitalist ruling class. In Haiti, the so-called liberal capitalists whom Aristide courts are genuinely a handful. But through them Aristide ties the destitute Haitian masses directly to the Clinton White House in Washington, and Sussex Drive a little farther to the north.

The ruling class in Haiti is a very thin layer. However much a section of it might want to be free of the neocolonial imperialist yoke, they are far more afraid of the oppressed masses at their backs than of the imperialists in their face. The smallest democratic opening, they know very well, can provoke an explosion which would erase their class rule. Therefore they are compelled to employ police terror, and to accept imperialist

occupation from time to time. Things as simple as one man, one vote, land to the tiller and a living wage pose a direct threat to their class rule.

There is no capitalist solution to the plight of the Haitian masses. What is required is proletarian-centered struggle leading to a workers and peasants government, which raises directly the question of internationalism. On the one hand, a revolutionary government in Haiti could not survive unless the insurrection spread to the Dominican Republic next door, and beyond, linking up in particular with the embattled Cuban workers state. Moreover, there is essentially no working class in Haiti any more. Most Haitian workers were employed in the assembly plants of the free trade zones, and these workers have largely been dispersed as a result of the starvation blockade imposed by the U.S., Canada and the United Nations. But there are many thousands of Haitian workers in the diaspora, especially on the Eastern seaboard of North America—Montreal, New York, Boston. A successful revolutionary struggle for power in Haiti requires a Bolshevik party, part of a reformed Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution, in which such workers will play a crucial role. They form a living bridge to the North American working class, whose particular duty it is to defend the peoples of U.S. and Canadian imperialism's neocolonies through some hard class struggle of their own.

The most elementary defense of the Haitian people in their struggle for freedom requires that all anti-imperialists demand: Down with the imperialist occupation of Haiti! U.S./Canada, get out of the Caribbean! That is especially so here in Canada, with its unctuous liberal-democratic pretensions, whose warships participated in the starvation blockade and turned fleeing Haitian refugees over to the U.S. Coast Guard for forcible repatriation to the brutal regime which the Canadian bourgeoisie hypocritically denounced. Last year the Canadian government accepted exactly 333 Haitian refugees—and deported 133.

So it is incumbent upon anti-imperialists and class-struggle fighters here in Canada to demand full asylum now for all Haitian refugees, and full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers and their families.

### Stalinism, Soviet Collapse and the New World Order

Now, in order to give the invasion of Haiti some context, and in order to approach the question of Cuba and the defense of that revolution, I want to step back and say something about the so-called New World Order proclaimed by American imperialism following the collapse of the Soviet Union. For 75 years after 1917, everything that happened in the world was conditioned by the existence of the USSR. Today, what happens is conditioned by its absence.

In 1917, in the empire of the tsars, the working class took power and held it for the first time in history. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik party, they eradicated capitalism over one-sixth of the earth's surface and established a workers state ruled by soviets—councils of the working class. But the revolution failed to spread west. Insurrections after World War I were put down one after the other, most importantly the Spartacus uprising in Germany and the two revolutionary

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SC100



# I.S.: Gusano Socialists?

Throughout the Cold War 1980s, we insisted that those who did not defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against capitalist counterrevolution inevitably ended up supporting the USSR's imperialist enemies. The International Socialists (I.S.) claimed to be for "Neither Washington nor Moscow." Yet, sure enough, whenever the Cold War heated up—in East Europe, Central Asia, the USSR—the I.S. pitched its tents in the camp of pro-imperialist counterrevolution. And today these "left" social democrats are once again lining up with the forces of reaction, this time in Cuba.

I.S. branches have systematically boycotted demonstrations in defense of Cuba against U.S. imperialism. In Vancouver on September 10 they organized a tiny "anti-fascist" demo timed to compete with a Cuba solidarity rally. When Trotskyist League comrades challenged them, "Do you defend Cuba against American imperialism?" the I.S.ers refused to say. When the September issue of *Socialist Worker* came out, you could see why.

The I.S. paper has two articles on Cuba, retailing the lies of the imperialist media and the U.S. government. One piece, "Let Them ALL In," claims that Cuban "refugees" are "desperate for a taste of freedom." So for the I.S., racist U.S. imperialism and the Cuban exile heaven of Miami's Little Havana—that notorious center of drug trafficking, mafia activities and fascistic terror—represent "freedom."

Worse, the second piece in *Socialist Worker*, "Behind the Crisis in Cuba," actually *hails* a counterrevolutionary riot on the Havana waterfront on August 5 by would-be hijackers and black market criminals. According to the I.S.:

"Demonstrations estimated to be over 10,000 erupted in Havana days before the recent exodus to the US



Bohemia

Aug. 5, Havana: I.S.'s gusano "freedom fighters" riot.

began from Cuban shores.... [P]olice and rapid response teams were unable to stop the resistance....

"Cuban workers and peasants have begun to break the hold of a repressive regime. Cuba today has nothing to do with socialism. But the promise of real socialism, socialism from below, has been re-kindled.

"Solidarity with Cuban refugees is a critical step in ensuring that that flame continues to burn."

In referring to the anti-communist outburst as a heroic "resistance," the I.S. echoes both the imperialists and the

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opportunities which followed it closely.

Encircled and under economic and military pressure by imperialism, a bureaucratic layer emerged, whose key spokesman was Josef Stalin. Beginning in 1923-1924, this layer carried out a political counterrevolution which expropriated political power from the working class. To justify itself, the bureaucratic ruling caste under Stalin offered two consolations to the Soviet people: first, that the Soviet Union could build socialism by itself, in one country, without the help of revolutions in more advanced countries; second, that it was possible for the Soviet workers state to continue to peacefully coexist side by side with the hostile system of world imperialism. Both of these propositions were reactionary fantasies.

Peaceful coexistence meant accommodation and appeasement. In order not to antagonize the imperialist powers, and thus to be able to "build socialism" in peace, the Stalinists began to sacrifice other people's revolutions—China in the '20s, France, Italy and Greece in the '40s after World War II. By condemning, betraying and suppressing revolutions abroad, the Stalinists only succeeded in further isolating the Russian Revolution and whetting the imperialists' appetite for thoroughgoing capitalist counterrevolution. But even in its period of Stalinist degeneration, the Soviet Union proved the power of a planned economy. It quickly became a military and industrial powerhouse, capable of destroying Nazi Germany essentially alone, and more or less the military equal of the United States.

Despite the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union, the

tremendous gains of the Russian Revolution, gains which Trotskyists defended to the bitter end, remained a beacon and a call to struggle for the oppressed worldwide. Furthermore, the Soviet Union was at times a source of material economic and military aid for national liberation struggles. Of course this was often used as leverage for Soviet foreign policy to prevent socialist overturns in imperialism's neocolonies and in the imperialist heartland itself—the policy was "peaceful coexistence," remember. But at the same time, the existence of the USSR as a military counterweight to imperialism did open some maneuvering room for such struggles.

That bipolar world—polarized between the imperialist powers and the Soviet bloc—doesn't exist any more. National liberation movements, stripped of Soviet patronage, have quickly knuckled under to sellout deals brokered by imperialism—the ANC, the PLO, the Northern Irish Republicans. The U.S. has declared a one superpower world and begun acting as a global policeman. Hence the massacre of the Iraqi people in the Gulf War, hence the invasions of Somalia and Haiti, and hence also the intensified pressure and threats against the Cuban Revolution.

The Cuban Revolution was born in that bipolar, Cold War world of the 1950s. And it wasn't a socialist revolution, not when it started. Castro's July 26 Movement was a peasant-based guerrilla movement whose goals were national independence, democracy, and an end to the brutal and corrupt, imperialist-

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## Haiti/Cuba...

(continued from page 7)

sponsored Batista dictatorship. In general, the working class did not participate in the revolution until its final stages, when the guerrillas stood at the outskirts of Havana.

The Castro regime was met with the intransigent hostility of the U.S., who saw any struggle in the Americas as a threat to their Monroe Doctrine of total American hegemony in the hemisphere. The powerful U.S. ruling class therefore has a particular hatred for this upstart state and people. The anti-capitalist revolution was forced on the Cuban regime, who had never intended any such thing. But when they did it, they did it with a vengeance. They drove the Cuban capitalists and their agents out of the country and nationalized everything, right down to the ice cream vendors. And at the same time, they turned to the Soviet Union for aid, which they got—economic aid and military aid, especially the stationing of a Soviet brigade on the island as a tripwire for war should the Americans decide to intervene militarily.

It was only the combination of massive Soviet aid combined with a centrally planned economy, which has allowed this little island of 11 million 90 miles off the coast of Florida to survive as long as it has. Soviet aid alleviated the worst effects of a total American trade embargo which has been in place for three decades. And it was Soviet aid and central planning which made possible the huge advances which the Cuban people have made.

I could go on all night listing the gains of the Cuban Revolution. They've got a literacy rate of 96.2 percent. That's way higher than Canada's. Life expectancy is in the 70s, way higher than that for blacks in Washington, D.C. The infant mortality rate is 9.3 per thousand. That's way lower than for blacks in New York City. I was in Cuba twelve years ago, when Cuba was a much better place than it is today, when the Soviet Union still existed. I spent about a month there, and one of the things I remember is riding down the highway on a bus on my way to Santa Clara or somewhere else in the interior. And I kept seeing these little concrete buildings all over the place, little blockhouses, and they all looked the same. So finally I asked a Cuban what all these little blockhouses were, and he said "Those are clinics." The Cuban regime had decided that no one in Cuba would not be within walking distance of medical care. Those are health care clinics, and from anywhere in the island you can walk to one. You compare that to the plight of Native people in Northern Ontario, or northern Saskatchewan who, if they can get medical care at all, sometimes have to travel 800-1,000 miles to the nearest hospital.

### Cuba Under the Gun

That kind of Soviet aid for development is gone now. So the effect of the U.S. blockade is a whole different ball game today. Cubans are literally dying because of it, for want of basic medicines like penicillin. There are no spare parts or fuel for tractors and trucks. Cuba used to have the second highest per capita calorie intake in Latin America. This has now fallen in half. And the ration card for food typically provides only about 900



Razuri/AFP

**Imperialists ring Haitian parliament with machine guns and barbed wire.**

calories a day. Cuban workers are resorting to subsistence agriculture, in small vegetable plots. The rest of the diet has to be made up on the black market. For those millions of Cubans who support and defend the revolution this is tremendously demoralizing.

Now, despite the hardships imposed by the blockade, millions of Cubans do continue to express their defiance of American dictates, in defense of their revolution. In August, 10,000 Cuban workers spontaneously poured into the streets of Havana to disperse a counterrevolutionary mob. The same month, hundreds of thousands more demonstrated to honor a naval officer murdered by fleeing counterrevolutionaries. And Cubans are justly proud of the fact that even today they have not had to close a single hospital. Compare that to Bob Rae and the NDP in this province.

But despite the will of the Cuban people to resist, the fact remains that the Cuban Revolution today is in desperate straits. You can see that in the flight of the *balseros*, the raft people who have been so much in the news recently. Most of them are not counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) or even anti-Castro—they just can't survive anymore.

As Marx said so long ago, when scarcity returns, all the old crap must revive. In Eastern Europe you're seeing it in the worst way—the bloody nationalisms, fascism and anti-Semitism, and so forth. In Cuba you can see the beginnings of the same process in the increasing lumpenization of the urban population, the re-emergence of prostitution and petty theft and speculation on the black market. And because the Cuban black population is heavily concentrated in the two main urban centers, Havana and Santiago, the disintegration of the urban infrastructures falls heavily and disproportionately on them. So despite the deep support of the black population for the revolution, despite the central role that black people played in making the revolution in the first place and despite the progress they made out of it, there is now a clear danger of an open racial rift in Cuban society.

So the embargo is cutting deep. And now there are 15,000 American troops in nearby Haiti to supplement those in the stolen naval base at Guantánamo. Guantánamo and the



occupation of Haiti combined are a military dagger aimed at the heart of the Cuban Revolution.

But right now the biggest threat of counterrevolution in Cuba is internal. The Russian Revolution was a workers revolution that subsequently degenerated. In contrast, the Cuban Revolution was born deformed. The Cuban working class never held political power. Instead, the guerrillas under Castro eventually consolidated a petty-bourgeois, bureaucratic caste which was hostile to the working class, and based itself more on the Cuban nationalism of José Martí than the proletarian internationalism of Marx and Lenin.

Which is not to say that Cubans have not been involved in heroic internationalist ventures. I'm thinking particularly of the Cuban intervention in Angola, of which the Cuban people are justly proud. But essentially the Cuban regime is Stalinist-nationalist—like the Soviet Stalinists, they work to “build socialism” on their island while seeking peaceful coexistence with the imperialist colossus next door. And if that was a disastrous pipe dream for the Soviet Union, it is so ten times over for tiny Cuba.

### Castro Regime at an Impasse

Because they are at bottom Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists—a regime hostile to workers democracy and international socialist revolution—the Cuban rulers find themselves in a blind alley. The very notion of international class struggle is not just anathema to them—it's foreign. So they zigzag, like the crumbling Soviet Stalinists before them, between desperate and futile options.

On the one hand, to a limited extent, they talk of independent national self-sufficiency—barracks socialism. Stretch that out to its logical conclusion and what you get is the truly bizarre Stalinism of Kim Il Sung's regime in Korea. But autarky based on subsistence agriculture can hardly maintain those key gains which are at the heart of the revolution—health care, education and so forth. That way lies despair, poverty and ultimately counterrevolution.

On the other hand, the regime has moved to open up the Cuban economy to imperialist penetration, undermining the collectivized basis of the economy and weakening the state's monopoly on foreign trade. And this is where the main danger lies today. Already Castro has offered to resign, to give up “socialism” in Cuba in return for national independence and maintenance of the health care and education systems. The regime talks as if counterrevolution in Cuba could come out looking like Sweden with palm trees. In fact it would look more like Guatemala or Haiti—especially after the *gusano* death squads from Miami got through “democratizing” even the most moderate supporters of the revolution.

Last year the Cuban government legalized the holding of dollars. On one level, this was simply a recognition of reality. A lot of Cubans have dollars, from family and friends in Miami or from tourist tips, and they're exchanged on the black market. The idea was to get all this money out from under mattresses and into official circulation, to provide the government with access to desperately needed hard currency. But this is really playing with fire.

Today in Cuba you pretty much need dollars to buy anything. So you're already seeing a division in Cuban society between those who have dollars and those who don't—and that sort of fundamental inequality can be a powerful spur to counterrevolution. That's where many of the *balseros* come from—Cubans who can't eat because they don't have dollars.

With the whole country on short rations, the government recently opened up a private market in agriculture, in order to get food on the shelves. But this too is a powerful impetus to counterrevolution, effectively sponsoring the growth of an agricultural petty bourgeoisie with its own class interests at the expense of the collectivized state sector.

At the same time, the Cuban government has gone looking for foreign investment. The so-called joint ventures, especially with Canadian and Spanish corporations, in oil exploration and tourism have opened the door to the influx of capital. For now the state is a senior partner in these ventures, but how long can they stay on top of things? Moreover, you've got a whole layer, a younger layer, of the ruling bureaucracy who want to give “staying on top of things” a different meaning. These are the guys like Roberto Robaina, the foreign minister, who recently held talks in Madrid with representatives of Miami-based counterrevolutionary groups. Like the Yeltsinite wing of the old Soviet bureaucracy, this lot sees counterrevolution as inevitable, they're for it and they want to assure themselves a soft landing when it comes.

The whole question of the U.S. embargo is important here. The embargo is strangling the Cuban Revolution. It is killing people and driving the society willy-nilly toward counterrevolution. Every anti-imperialist, every defender of the Cuban Revolution, has got to be for lifting this imperialist state of siege, now. The Cuban Stalinists say: lift the embargo, let Cuba trade, and the revolution is secure. But Marxists recognize the question is not quite so simple. There is now a powerful section of the U.S. ruling class which is for lifting the embargo. And the Canadian imperialist ruling class has always refused to join in the embargo, and they are no friends of the Cuban Revolution.

(continued on page 10)

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## Haiti/Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

They want to see it destroyed no less than their partners in Washington. They differ only over the most effective means.

### Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle at Home!

Especially with the legalization of the dollar and the increasing openness to imperialist investment following the Soviet collapse, a whole section of the imperialist ruling classes worldwide is convinced that the most cost effective and profitable way to destroy the Cuban Revolution is through a massive influx of hard cash and cheap goods. The fight to lift the embargo has to be pursued with some hard class struggle here in North America against both wings of the imperialist ruling class.

The proletariat in struggle can give the Democrats, the Republicans, the Liberals, Reform (and the NDP) more than they can handle here at home, and thereby buy some breathing space for the embattled Cuban workers state.

What's blocking the road is the question of working-class leadership, both in Cuba and here in North America. The Cuban working people need an internationalist leadership to organize the defense of the revolution, based on real workers councils and real workers democracy in which all parties who defend the revolution can participate. The Cuban Stalinist nationalists offer no way out of the impending counterrevolutionary disaster. And that is because the solution to the impasse of the Cuban Revolution does not fundamentally lie on that island. It lies with the powerful working classes of Mexico, Argentina, Brazil. And it lies here, in what José Martí called *las entrañas del monstruo*—the belly of the imperialist beast.

I spent last weekend at a Cuba Solidarity Conference in Windsor. The delegates were overwhelmingly trade unionists from across North America. Speaker after speaker got up and denounced the posture of the pro-imperialist American AFL-CIO bureaucracy toward Cuba. And well they might. The AFL-CIO is not for nothing known as the AFL-CIA throughout Latin America. These union bureaucrats indeed take their foreign policy cue from the State Department. This posture was contrasted to that of the Canadian Labour Congress, which in fact opposes the embargo. How progressive Canada is, right? And Jean-Claude Parrot was there officially to accept the accolades and applause on behalf of the CLC, and even used the word "socialism" once, to wild applause.

Now I should say that these speakers were by and large also supporters of one or another ostensibly socialist organization. There was the American Socialist Workers Party and the Canadian Communist League, there was the Workers World organization from the U.S., and there were of course the Communist Parties of both countries. These types cheer the CLC bureaucracy because their deep-seated attitude is to support that wing of imperialism for which the CLC bureaucracy acts as a working-class prop—the Canadian ruling class, which they offer as an enlightened alternative to the evil Americans.

This is nationalist garbage. The "progressive" posture of the pro-imperialist CLC tops is exactly the posture the Canadian



Bohemia

**Cuban construction workers take to the streets of Havana to rout pro-imperialist mob. Black workers were prominent in defense of revolution.**

bourgeoisie has always had and which it now hopes to capitalize on as Cuban markets begin to open up. Canada, friend of the Cuban Revolution? Not likely. Canada, capitalist exploiter of the Cuban working class—that's more to the point.

The CLC tops here are playing the same role as their AFL-CIA cousins, only on behalf of a different wing of imperialist counterrevolution. And getting sucked in behind that is no help to the Cuban Revolution, any more than supporting some "democratic" section of the ruling class helps workers' struggles in Haiti or here at home. It's a dead end. It's a trap.

Brothers and sisters, the Cuban Revolution, which has long been a source of inspiration to the impoverished and oppressed masses of Latin America and Africa, is right now in danger of being destroyed. But Cuba does not have to fight alone. What is *not* needed is appeals to the good graces of the Canadian imperialist ruling class, which will not only be fatal for Cuba, but can only confuse and mislead workers' struggles here at home. What is needed is some hard class struggle—and we're seeing isolated outbursts of it all over North America.

But every time somebody lights the match of working-class struggle, the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, the Bob Whites and J.C. Parrots, is there to snuff it out. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ruling class in this country has brought home a one-sided class war, big time. They're out to bust our unions, gut our social programs. In our own defense, as much as in defense of the Cuban Revolution, we need a class-struggle leadership of the trade union movement. An expressly anti-capitalist movement with a perspective of socialist revolution throughout the Americas. And in the struggle to forge such a leadership, we can begin to build the revolutionary workers party that alone can lead the fight to overthrow imperialism and sweep away its wars, its racism and all the other forms of brutal oppression that spring from it.

That is the best defense of the Cuban Revolution. It is the only defense. Without it, it is simply a bitter fact that the Cuban Revolution cannot long survive—notwithstanding all the aid caravans, notwithstanding the paper resolutions passed by the CLC, and notwithstanding the benign smile on the face of Jean Chrétien. Defend Cuba! U.S./Canada out of the Caribbean! For North American socialist revolution from Yellowknife to the Yucatán! ■

## Gusano Socialists?...

(continued from page 7)

exiles, who are known in Cuba as *gusanos* (worms). They make clear their "humanitarian" concern for Cuban refugees is a political ploy to keep the "flame" of counterrevolution burning.

The mob in Havana is "estimated to be over 10,000." Estimated by whom? Reporters from Agence France Presse said "more than 200" marched down the street chanting "freedom" and throwing rocks at store and hotel windows. Cuban government spokesmen put their number at 700. The *only* source claiming several thousand or more anti-Castro protesters is...the U.S. State Department.

There *were* more than 10,000 people in the streets of Havana on August 5, but these were workers and residents of central Havana who rushed to the scene to disperse the rioters. And the counterrevolutionaries were swept away not by the police, but by a spontaneous outpouring followed up by construction worker brigades and the "rapid response teams" of the unions, party organizations and neighborhood Committees to Defend the Revolution, armed only with wooden clubs and steel pipes. Significantly, the photos show that black Cubans, who have the most to lose should capitalist counterrevolution engulf the country, were prominent in defending the revolution.

The *gusano* scum were dispersed by a mass mobilization of those who understood that the fate of the revolution is at stake. This was followed two days later by a mammoth commemorative rally of 700,000 in honor of the black policeman who was killed by the would-be hijackers on August 5. There have since been demonstrations of tens of thousands in Mariel, Camagüey, Guantánamo, and on repeated occasions in Havana.

Castro's Cuba is not "socialism," but rather a deformed workers state in which a narrow, nationalist bureaucratic caste sits atop the collectivized economy and deprives the working class of direct political power. We Trotskyists fight for workers political revolution in Cuba to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermines the defense of the revolution. At the same time, we stand with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. Today, Cuban working people are holding on against terrible odds, suffering from lack of food and medicines as a result of the imperialist embargo. And the I.S. social democrats spit on them.

This should come as no surprise from the likes of the I.S. Their British mentor Tony Cliff broke from the Trotskyist movement in the early 1950s, refusing to defend Stalinist-ruled North Korea against "democratic" U.S./British imperialism.

The Cliffites have similarly scabbed on the Cuban Revolution from Day One, calling Cuba a "state capitalist" regime not qualitatively different from impoverished Haiti. This assertion is absurd at every level. The U.S. neocolony of Haiti is the poorest country in the hemisphere, suffering mass destitution, illiteracy and malnutrition together with brutal death-squad repression. In contrast, for all its bureaucratic deformities, thanks to the institution of a planned economy the Cuban Revolution brought tremendous strides in education, health care and other basic rights for the working people. But then the I.S.'s claim that Cuba (and previously Russia, Eastern Europe, etc.) is "state capitalist" isn't really a "theory"—it is an expression of political appetite, a justification for accommodation to their "own" imperialist rulers.

Thus throughout the 1980s, the I.S. cheered the reactionary feudalist mullahs and landlords in Afghanistan, armed and funded by the CIA, against the Soviet army which fought on the

side of social progress. When the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow pulled out the army, the March 1989 *Socialist Worker* wrote glowingly that "a defeated Russia will spur the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in Eastern Europe and inside Russia itself." And indeed, from East Berlin to Warsaw and Moscow, the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan was a "spur"—to all manner of imperialist-backed reactionaries, whose "struggles" the I.S. duly supported.

In making common cause with capitalism against Stalinism in the name of "democracy," the I.S. have ended up in league with every known brand of fascism and nationalist bigotry—because that's what counterrevolution produces. With their talk of "socialism from below," the I.S. would like to put an NDP-style gloss on capitalist exploitation. But throughout East Europe and the ex-USSR, the actual content of their "democratic" counterrevolution is a witches' cauldron of crazed nationalist hatreds. Look at Romania, where "freedom" unleashed an orgy of terror against Gypsies, Jews and Hungarians.

The I.S.'s favorite example of "anti-Stalinism" is the counter-revolutionary nationalist Polish Solidarność led by Lech Walesa, which they hailed as "the greatest union the world has ever seen" (*Workers' Action*, February 1982). The victory of Solidarność, inspired by the pope and financed by the Vatican Bank and the CIA, led to the immiseration of the working masses.

The I.S.'s alliance with Miami *gusanos* was prefigured by their fulsome support to Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 coup in Moscow, which has called forth a zoo of anti-Semitic blackshirts. Yeltsin's victory ushered in the collapse of the Soviet degenerated workers state and the destruction of the remaining gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution—yet Cliff & Co. hailed this as a "New Russian Revolution"! "MAGNIFICENT!" screamed the headline in *Socialist Worker* (September 1991). Here is the real content of I.S.-style "socialism from below."

The Cliffites share a common heritage with Max Shachtman, whose politics gave rise to an earlier incarnation of the International Socialists in the U.S. In April 1961, Shachtman supported John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Left Shachtmanite Hal Draper denounced his former mentor as a "State Department socialist," and the Berkeley Young People's Socialist League refused to let Shachtman speak at their meeting. Now, with this further example of their counterrevolutionary appetites, the I.S. can aptly be called "*gusano* socialists."

—Adapted from *Workers Vanguard* No. 606, 16 September

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## Declaration of Fraternal Relations...

(continued from page 5)

indispensable for preventing capitalist restoration. During the entire period of the Left Opposition and the struggle for the Fourth International, Trotsky emphasized that "*Defense of the Soviet Union* from the blows of the capitalist enemies, irrespective of the circumstances and immediate causes of the conflict, is the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization" ("*War and the Fourth International*," June 1934).

The CO leadership never talked about such classic works by Trotsky as *In Defense of Marxism* (written against Shachtman's petty-bourgeois opposition, renegades from the defense of the USSR), because it has had a neo-Shachtmanite position toward all the conflicts between the capitalist enemies and the USSR. After the Altamiraites hailed the Islamic "revolution" of the feudalist hangman Khomeini in Iran, they opposed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan against the "holy warriors" who were fighting to overthrow the left-nationalist regime for the "crime" of legislating education of women and agrarian reform. The CIA armed the anti-communist fanatics with enormous amounts of weapons and money so that they would kill Soviet soldiers on this battlefield of Cold War II. In Brazil the ultra-reactionaries of Family, Tradition and Property staged marches to the cry of "Russians out of Afghanistan," and the fake Trotskyists had the same position! The Spartacist tendency, following the principles of Trotsky's Fourth International, defended the USSR and the women and oppressed of Afghanistan, saying "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"

When in Poland Solidarność consolidated as a clerical-nationalist movement for capitalist restoration under the aegis of the Vatican and Reagan, the Brazilian PT praised the "example" of Walesa; Lula in particular sought to identify himself with this puppet of imperialism. The question of Solidarność was an acid test for every tendency which called itself Trotskyist. The pseudo-Trotskyists shouted their "solidarity with Solidarity." While Moreno called for "All power to Solidarity," Altamira called for "the seizure of power by Solidarity." In contrast the Spartacists said, "Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!" As the Luta Metalúrgica comrades stated in their July document,

"the worker" Walesa whom the fake Trotskyists followed "was the best and principal instrument of imperialism and the Vatican for counterrevolution." As the ICL warned, the victory of this anti-communist movement has brought terrible suffering to the working people of Poland.

The CO leadership had the gall to attack the Luta Metalúrgica comrades for daring to tell the truth, evident to millions of class-conscious workers, that the destruction of the deformed workers state of East Germany through its annexation by German imperialism was a defeat for the workers of the world. While the ICL threw itself into fighting against capitalist unification and for a red Germany of workers councils as part of a socialist Europe, Altamira claimed that "the phony 'unification' of Germany must...open up, sooner rather than later, a great mass mobilization and a revolutionary situation from which no country of Europe will be exempt" (*Prensa Obrera*, 3 July 1990). Far from producing a "revolutionary" situation, German reunification brought a rise in racist terror, unemployment for millions with the closing of factories, destruction of conquests for the working people, with especially brutal results for working women.

Whereas the Spartacists organized a protest in New York against Gorbachev and Yeltsin's 1991 withdrawal of the Soviet brigade [from Cuba], which gave imperialism a green light for a possible invasion, CO's newspaper (12-18 October 1991), far from protesting, proclaimed that the event had no importance because "the presence of Soviet troops has nothing to do with defense of the island..." Today CO publishes a resolution (17 July 1994) of its national congress, on Clinton's threat to invade Haiti, which *does not even mention* the urgent danger facing the Cuban Revolution.

The low point came when Yeltsin seized on the failed coup by the "Gang of Eight" in August 1991 to launch a campaign to completely destroy what remained of the gains of October and the Soviet state. In the USSR the ICL distributed thousands of leaflets with the urgent call, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" While the Morenoites hailed the "new Russian revolution," the absurd line of Altamira was that U.S. imperialism gave its support not to its man Yeltsin but to the "Gang of Eight"—in other words, that for the Soviet workers the basic thing at that time was to fight against these Stalinist has-beens and *not* against Yeltsin, Bush's man and the spearhead of open capitalist counterrevolution. CO repeated the phony propaganda that a "mass mobilization" defeated the Gang of Eight's botched coup.

It is obvious why Altamira and CO don't want their members to find out about Trotsky's line on the Russian question! It is no accident that a tendency which capitulates to class collaboration with its "own" bourgeoisie capitulated to the imperialist campaign against the conquests of the October Revolution, a campaign which culminated in the destruction of the USSR.

### III

The Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky proclaimed that "The black question has become an integral part of the world revolution." Brazil has the largest black population in the world after Nigeria, and as part of the Brazilian working class, black and mulatto workers have enormous potential power. The struggle against the oppression of blacks in Brazil is a *strategic* question of the proletarian revolution. As Cannon noted in his essay on the Russian Revolution and blacks in the U.S. (1961), it was Lenin and the Bolsheviks who insisted that black oppression is a special question which requires special

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attention and work by the revolutionary party.

As Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?* the vanguard party must be the "tribune of the people," fighting to mobilize the power of the working class against every kind of oppression. The urgency of this is seen in Brazil, where death squads constantly kill black "street children." In the steel mills, black workers are condemned to die from leukopenia.<sup>1</sup> But the attitude of the fake left in Brazil, which follows the social-democratic PT and the bureaucracy of the CUT [pro-PT labor federation], is the narrow "trade-unionist" and economist position which Lenin's Bolsheviks fought against.

This is seen in the most scandalous way in the case of Causa Operária, which, as the Luta Metalúrgica comrades have noted, has been willfully *blind* to black oppression. CO did not even take up this question in the 6,600 lines of its collection of basic documents from 1979 to 1988 (*Bases Programáticas*). This collection was published just when tens of thousands of blacks were marching through the streets during the centenary of the abolition of slavery, shouting slogans against the brutal racism of present-day Brazil and trying to pull down the statue of the racist mass murderer Caxias!<sup>2</sup>

In an important effort to confront this strategic question, Luta Metalúrgica wrote a document in August 1993 for the meeting on "The CUT's Role in the Struggle Against Racism." In this document, which reflected a transitional period in the group's development and was marked by some important weaknesses (such as the slogan for black fractions in the unions), the comrades called for worker-peasant militias for self-defense in the struggle against racist terror, denounced forced sterilization of black women and criticized the fake left's silence on black oppression, which went hand in hand with the fact that the bulk of the "left" voted for a starvation minimum wage (less than 100 dollars a month) that condemns millions of blacks to superexploitation. In the recent period, in a significant internationalist effort, the comrades translated the document "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1967), in which the Spartacist League/U.S. elaborated the program of revolutionary integrationism.

As the tribune of the oppressed, it is indispensable that the Leninist party raise the banner of struggle against the oppression of women, rooted in the institution of the bourgeois family—a question of utmost importance in Brazil—as part of the program of permanent revolution. The defense of the rights of Indians and homosexuals is an important element in the fight against the bourgeois prejudices that poison the consciousness of the working people and against the nationalist fake left which reproduces the social values of "its own" bourgeoisie.

What Trotsky said in 1939 about blacks in the U.S. applies today as well:

"We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class.... If it happens that we...are not able to find the road to this stratum, then we are not worthy at all. The permanent revolution and all the rest would be only a lie."

—[Leon Trotsky, "Plans for the Negro Organization" (April 1939)]

The black question in Brazil, as in the U.S., is not a national question, and the fantasies of black nationalism regarding "self-determination" are

an obstacle to the struggle against oppression. The only road for black liberation is that of the socialist revolution, carried out by the proletariat under the leadership of a multiracial Leninist party. This means that it is indispensable to forge black cadres of the internationalist Trotskyist party. Inspired by the heroism of such fighters as Zumbi, João Candido, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Frederick Douglass, John Brown and Sojourner Truth, the beginning of joint study on the black question is an important element of these fraternal relations.

#### IV

The comrades of Luta Metalúrgica ended their April document against the popular front by citing what Trotsky wrote on Spain in the 1930s: "For a successful solution of all these tasks, three conditions are required: a party; once more a party; again a party!" Calling for "a revolutionary regroupment that takes the form of the construction of a *Trotskyist* party with a firm Marxist programmatic base," they emphasized: "The key to a well-founded revolutionary regroupment is therefore a deep-going struggle for internationalism and the transitional program."

Essential to this effort is the fight to *forge cadres* of a Leninist nucleus. The party is built, in Lenin's words, "from the top down," on the basis of the Fourth Internationalist program. In its beginnings—in contrast to the fake left's hollow "mass" pretensions—such a nucleus has to be a *fighting propaganda group*. In Brazil it is a priority to publish a Trotskyist journal in line with the real size and work of the group, in order to carry out propaganda for the revolutionary program. With the authority earned in years of bitter working-class struggles, the comrades of Luta Metalúrgica face the need to polemicize against those who besmirch the name of Trotskyism—in the first place the centrists of Causa Operária; to seek the possibility of regroupments through splits and fusions; and to recruit youth so that a new generation of revolutionaries may enter the struggle against capitalist barbarism. The effort to build a propaganda group will certainly involve difficult decisions on priorities, which will need to be resolved through collective discussion.

(continued on page 14)



**Workers Party candidate Lula (center) gave guarantees to capital by forming the Brazil Popular Front together with minor bourgeois parties.**



# Racist Toronto Cops Kill Again

Close to a hundred protesters marched on police headquarters October 22 to protest yet another racist murder by Toronto cops. Albert Moses, a black 41-year-old father of two, was shot in the head by plainclothes police who entered his home in a downtown boarding house on the evening of September 29. He died in hospital two weeks later.

Protesters carried nine coffins at the head of the march. Each bore the name of a black or Hispanic man killed by Toronto cops over the last decade and a half. Demonstrators also denounced the racist "crime" hysteria which is being fomented by police spokesmen, local politicians and the media against Toronto's black population.

Supporters of the Trotskyist League and Partisan Defense Committee joined the demonstration, which was initiated by the Black Action Defense Committee. Addressing the rally on behalf of the TL, Nevin Morrison noted that, "The police killing of Albert Moses is one in a long, long series of such atrocities: from Albert Johnson to Lester Donaldson and Michael Wade Lawson; from Anthony Griffin and Marcellus François in Montreal to Native leader J.J. Harper in Winnipeg." He concluded:

"The idea that the police can be 'democratized,' or even turned into our allies, through civilian review boards and the like, is a pipedream. Like the courts and governments, including the NDP here in Ontario, the cops are paid *agents of the bosses* against workers and all the oppressed. The capitalist rulers who today whip up racist 'crime' scares against black people are the same people



SC photo

**October 22 Toronto protest against police murder of Albert Moses. Stop racist cop terror!**

who are massacring our jobs and social programs. We say: It's the whole racist *system* that's got to go! And it's the integrated working class—black, Asian, white—which has the power to fight back and defeat the bosses' attacks.... Remember Albert Moses! Let's stand up in defense of all the victims of racist cop terror!" ■

## Declaration of Fraternal Relations...

(continued from page 13)

The rotten values of semi-social-democratic groups like the PSTU and CO are shown not only over such issues as their support to "strikes" by the police (the professionals of anti-worker and racist repression) and calls for a more "people's" police. They are shown as well in the open disdain of CO's leaders toward the revolutionary workers of Luta Metalúrgica, whom they defame as "ignorant" and backward. We jointly declare a pitiless struggle to politically unmask these petty bourgeois who tail the popular front and lose no opportunity to keep their mouths shut regarding the oppression of blacks and women.

For us internationalism is not a pretty sentiment for Sunday speechifying and resolutions. It is the struggle to build a world party based on revolutionary democratic centralism, quite opposed to the national federations of innumerable nationalist opportunists. Luta Metalúrgica's record of struggle against the popular front and for finding a proletarian program against black oppression has a deep-going parallelism with the struggle of the Spartacist tendency since its foundation, and provides a solid basis for going forward together. We underline the need to carry out joint work, in full consciousness of the difficulties posed by geographic distance and other obstacles; overcoming these difficulties will require conscious, mutual efforts. We note as an urgent task the study of Portuguese by the comrades of

the ICL, and of Spanish and English by comrades of Luta Metalúrgica.

Our perspective is for these fraternal relations to be a step toward the fusion of our organizations, uniting our efforts in the struggle for communism throughout the planet. The realization of such a fusion would represent an important extension of the ICL. We fight to reforge the Fourth International on the basis of the communism of Lenin and Trotsky and the rules set forward in the "Transitional Program":

"To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

20 September 1994

—Approved by Luta Metalúrgica, 22 September 1994.

—Approved by the International Secretariat,  
International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist),  
26 September 1994.

<sup>1</sup>[Blood disease caused by fumes from the blast furnaces, which are run mainly by black workers. When Luta Metalúrgica denounced this, the companies said this disease is "genetic" for blacks. —Translator's note.]

<sup>2</sup>[Founder of the Brazilian army, who won the 1864-70 war against Paraguay (thereby depopulating that country) and bloodily suppressed black and peasant rebellions. —Translator's note.]





**Berkeley riot cops protecting Nazis attack anti-fascist protesters.**

Young Spartacus

## Nazis Routed...

(continued from page 16)

"When we confirmed that Irving and his Nazi rat pack were meeting at the YWCA (where they had secured a room by concealing their purpose) we marched straight there. Crossing the campus the crowd swelled to some 300 protesters—blacks, Jews, Asians, whites, Latinos, students and workers! Chanting 'Nazis Out!' we marched directly into the meeting room. Most of these would-be Hitlers scurried into the corners of the room, cowering like sewer rats. A couple of the fascists tried to attack demonstrators with chairs. Another was swinging a camera tripod. They were effectively disarmed.

"Swastikas—the symbol of Nazi genocide—littered the floor. The anti-fascists made short shrift of them and the other Nazi insignia. Irving himself was seen sprawled across a collapsed table amidst a pile of his videotapes and other fascist filth. One quaking Nazi dropped hundreds of swastika stickers."

Then the cops arrived—to defend the fascists and attack anti-fascist protesters. At least four anti-fascists, including a young black woman who was videotaping the protest, were sent to hospital with head and body injuries. The Nazis were given police escort out of the building while demonstrators chanted, "Cops and Klan work hand in hand!"

Now, after the protest, there is some bellyaching in Berkeley about the "right" of a gang of Nazis to organize for gas chambers! The fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with racist "ideas." They are paramilitary action squads whose program is to kill, culminating in genocide. The hundreds of demonstrators who acted to stop the fascists understood that this was an elementary act of self-defense and defense of all the intended victims of fascist terror.

The ISO, which issued its own leaflet against Irving and participated in the protest, is now denouncing "violence." Not fascist violence, not the violence of the club-swinging cops—no, the ISO is smearing the anti-fascist protesters! "It was a few bad apples acting in the heat of the moment," ISO leader Brandon Rees told the *Daily Cal*.

Obscene, but nothing new. In January 1993, members of the Canadian I.S. linked arms to bolster a line of cops in Vancouver who were trying to force back anti-fascist militants. In May of the same year, in Ottawa, I.S. marshals again linked arms to physically split a 600-strong anti-fascist demo which had cornered 60 Heritage Front thugs in their meeting place. After deliberately abandoning scores of militants to face the Nazis

and their riot squad protectors alone, I.S. member Pam Frache complained to the *Ottawa Sun* (31 May 1993) about "problems with some of the anti-racist factions looking for direct confrontation" with the fascists!

The I.S./ISO's cringing desire to be respectable in the eyes of the powers-that-be flows from a belief that the capitalist state can either be pressured or reformed into stopping the fascists. But Berkeley was a textbook lesson in the role of the capitalist state and its armed thugs in blue—not "neutral arbiters" but fascist protectors. The capitalist rulers keep the fascists in reserve, and will turn them loose when "normal" police repression no longer suffices to maintain their rule of exploitation and oppression of the many by the few.

To see whose interests the fascists serve one need only look at East Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. The collapse of the former workers states in these countries (however deformed by the bureaucratic Stalinist regimes there) and the victory of capitalist counterrevolution has led directly to a rise in fascist terror attacks. And as their bankrupt economies go down the tubes, the capitalists of North America are taking aim at foreign-born workers and desperate refugees. The immigrant-bashing by politicians on both sides of the border gives the green light to the fascists.

It is the multiracial working class which has the numbers, the organization and above all the social power to stop the fascists, and to put an end to the decaying capitalist system which breeds them. We're fighting to build a revolutionary workers party which can lead that struggle. ■

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# Hundreds Rout Nazi Meeting

## Berkeley, California

David Irving, a Nazi apologist who hides his fascist brownshirt under "academic" robes, was run out of Berkeley, California on October 13 when hundreds of militants answered a united-front call by the Spartacus Youth Club. Irving has been a star attraction at meetings of fascist terror gangs from the British National Party, to the Hitlerite "Nationale Offensiv" in Germany, to the Heritage Front in Canada and the Klan and Nazis in the U.S. He whips up the fascist thugs who have been waging a campaign of terror and murder against immigrants, minorities, gays, blacks and anti-racist protesters around the globe.

The Berkeley SYC distributed thousands of leaflets at area campuses calling to "Stop Hitler-Lover David Irving!" Nearly 100 protesters gathered outside Alumni House on the University of California campus, where Irving was originally scheduled to speak (until Alumni House got wind of the protest). In addition to the SYC and the Spartacist League/U.S. there were trade unionists from the Labor Black League for Social Defense; a contingent of the Jewish Student Union from Berkeley High School; numerous Cal students; some supporters of the International Socialist Organization (ISO, sister group of the Canadian I.S.), the Revolutionary Workers League and the Revolutionary Trotskyist League. An SYC leaflet describes what happened:

*(continued on page 15)*



Young Spartacus

October 13: Anti-fascist protesters overrun Nazi rally site.

## Defend the Left Against Fascist Attack!

TORONTO—Fascist thugs have opened an orchestrated campaign of violence against the left for the first time in many years. On September 24, a gang of Nazi skinheads launched a bloody daytime attack on supporters of the International Socialists who were distributing literature on a street corner in the east end of Toronto. One I.S. member was slashed with a razor, another had to be hospitalized after a Nazi kicked him in the head. Three weeks later, on the afternoon of October 12, four fascists wielding baseball bats attacked an I.S. member's home, smashing the windows of the house. The next day, Nazis assaulted the same activist in a west-end park.

These terror attacks were clearly planned in advance. In the September 24 ambush, the fascists poured out of a coffee shop brandishing Confederate flags and swooped down on the I.S. at Pape and Danforth in the heart of the Greek community.

The fascist marauders must be stopped! The past two years have seen a surge of fascist atrocities across the country, including murders of gay men and assaults on South Asians and other immigrants. We need united labor/left/minority action in defense of all those the Nazis want to destroy. Militant protest action centered on Toronto's integrated union movement—auto, city, postal, hospital workers and more—can show that Toronto is a labor and minority city with *no room for Nazis*. A mobilization of labor power is key to sweeping the Nazi race-terrorists off the streets and back into their rat holes.

On 1 October, 200 anti-fascist protesters, including a Trotskyist League contingent, marched through the east end to the site of the first skinhead attack. Anti-fascists rallied again in the west end on October 27. For united action of the workers movement, minorities and the left to stop the fascists! ■