

Cuba Under the Gun of U.S. Imperialism

In the largest such demonstration in Cuba in over a decade, some 1.5 million people turned out in Havana for the annual July 26 rally celebrating the Cuban Revolution. This was a display of defiance by the Cuban working masses in the face of ongoing military threats and economic strangulation by U.S. imperialism.

Earlier this spring, Republican Jesse Helms and Democrat Joseph Lieberman joined in introducing a Senate bill to allocate another \$100 million to fund counterrevolutionary groups within Cuba. This comes atop four decades of U.S. funding for the CIA's émigré *gusano* (worm) terrorists, who regularly carry out bombings and assassinations in Cuba. Underlining Washington's blatant support for such counterrevolutionary terror, in June a Miami court convicted five Cubans of conspiring to spy against the U.S. because they had allegedly infiltrated a Miami-based *gusano* group, Brothers to the Rescue, which is responsible for repeated provocations against Cuba. As part of our internationalist defense of the Cuban Revolution, we demand the immediate release of the five imprisoned Cubans!

We publish below an edited presentation by comrade Jon Wood given this spring at a Spartacist League public educational gathering on the West Coast.

* * *

The gains of the Cuban Revolution, which created a planned, collectivized economy through the expropriation of the Cuban bourgeoisie in 1960-61, must be defended by the international working class. The Cuban Revolution ripped the Caribbean island out of the grip of U.S. imperialism. Workers in the United States who stand with Cuba are standing in defiance of their own capitalist ruling class. It means something that Cuba is the only country in Latin America which is excluded from the proposed "Free Trade Area of the Americas" dominated by U.S. imperialism.

The Democrats and Republicans, partner parties of American imperialism, have worked relentlessly to undermine and overthrow the Cuban Revolution—from Democrat John F. Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 to repeated attempts to assassinate Cuban leader Fidel Castro, from funding counterrevolutionary terrorists based in Miami to the

Defend the Cuban Revolution!



Pablo Pildain Rocha

April 16: Cuban militiamen celebrate the 40th anniversary of the defeat of U.S. imperialism's mercenaries at Bay of Pigs.

ongoing economic embargo imposed in 1962. We join the Cuban masses in celebrating the 40th anniversary of their victory over U.S. imperialism's mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs. We say: Down with the imperialist blockade of Cuba! We demand that the U.S. Navy get out of Guantánamo Bay, the military base on Cuba's eastern tip where over 2,000 U.S. troops are stationed. This is part of our *unconditional military defense* of Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution.

I recently traveled for a week in Cuba, centrally in the capital city of Havana. I think any honest observer can recognize that the palpable gains of the collectivized economy remain, but that these gains are being undermined under conditions of imperialist embargo and isolation. The scramble for dollars, food and medicine dominates the lives of virtually all Cubans. Combined with the nationalism fostered by the ruling Stalinist bureauc-

racy under Castro, this generates a popular consciousness ever more distant from the revolutionary proletarian internationalism which is the Cuban Revolution's only ultimate salvation.

Before the revolution, Cuba was a brutally exploited, viciously racist neocolony of U.S. imperialism. The planned economy brought literacy, jobs, health care and education, and advancement especially for women and blacks. Cuba has a 99 percent literacy rate. Education is free at every level. Tremendous resources are devoted to health care, which is also free and renowned for scientific achievement. Life expectancy for Cubans is 75 years. Infant mortality is 7.1 per thousand, lower than in New York City and 17th best in the world. Cuba provides medical personnel throughout Latin America, sending its best students to assist the poorest countries. And thousands of students from other countries study medicine in Cuba. One night at our hotel there was a party

for hundreds of medical students from the Dominican Republic.

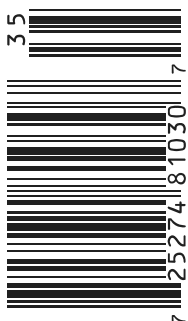
Economic Scarcity and Growing Contradictions

With Cuba's planned economy and, for 30 years, its military and economic alliance with the Soviet Union, the Cuban masses were able to attain the highest living standards in Latin America. The Soviet Union accounted for 85 percent of Cuba's trade and provided some \$4 billion a year in aid and a critical military shield against U.S. imperialism. After the capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR in 1991-92, Cuba entered into a period of grave economic crisis and terrible hardship, which has not yet ended. The Castro bureaucracy has dubbed this a "Special Period in Time of Peace," i.e., Cuba suffers degrees of scarcity and hardship like a country at war. In particular, the USSR supplied oil at prices lower than world market prices; without oil there is not much basis for an industrial economy.

Cuba has scrambled for hard currency to purchase oil and other necessities. The government's official figure is that the economy declined 34 percent from 1991 to 1994; since then there has been a slow improvement but the economy is still well below the 1991 level. The energy situation has improved: in the depths of the crisis blackouts were regular, 8 or 16 hours per day, and even hospitals were ordered to cut energy consumption 50 percent; nowadays blackouts are no more common than here in California, where the capitalist profit system has made such a mess of the power system. But comrades who have traveled to rural areas report that the majority of plows are still pulled by oxen.

In Cuba today the general situation is scarcity. I saw this foremost in housing. In Havana in particular, housing is cramped and deteriorating, since they have not had the funds for either construction or repair. Transportation is also difficult, with 200 people or more packed on huge "camel" buses, and long lines for buses. In the worst period of the crisis, Cubans turned to bicycles. Since the upturn and the market reforms, there are some newer buses assembled by Mercedes-Benz in Cuba and many well-off petty-bourgeois types have newer

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For Workers Revolution
in the Philippines!**

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**Smash the Frame-Up!
Free Mumia Now!**

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Espartaco photos

Mexico: Victory to VW Strike!

The following is a translation of a 27 August leaflet issued by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM).

At precisely 11:00 a.m. on August 18, the *rojinegra* (red and black) strike banners went up at the huge Volkswagen plant in Puebla, Mexico. All production stopped as 12,500 VW workers walked out along with the many employees of VW suppliers that also work in the plant. The mood was optimistic at the site, which produced the second-highest number of cars (over 425,000) in Mexico last year, 80 percent of which were for export, mostly to the United States. The negotiations with Volkswagen had broken off, with the union of VW workers, SITIAVW, demanding a 21 percent wage increase (since lowered to 19 percent) while the federal arbitrator proposed an insulting 5.5 percent. A few days later, workers voted down VW's offer of 7 percent.

Volkswagen insists that the union wage demand is "beyond the country's economic reality." The economic reality of Mexico is that even fully employed, skilled industrial workers most often live in poverty, and that other workers, peasants and the indigenous population are even worse off. While the workers have managed to wrest 15 percent more than the industry average out of VW, they still make less than US\$25 for a day's work. That the strike is costing VW US\$25,000,000 per day is an indication of the level of exploitation, but also of the potential power of the workforce

August 22: Mass meeting of workers at Puebla Volkswagen plant votes to continue strike.

which produces this wealth.

The Mexican newspapers have been filled with stories about how this strike benefits Volkswagen because they need to slow down production and decrease their inventories due to the sagging automobile market in the U.S. If true, this only underlines the urgent need for international solidarity action by VW and other auto workers around the world. A winning strike that attains its wage and benefit demands, that builds proletarian solidarity in Mexico and internationally and that imbues the working class with an understanding of its tremendous social power would be a great victory for the workers and a great defeat for Volkswagen.

This strike comes at a critical time, one year after Vicente Fox, of the reactionary National Action Party (PAN), won the presidency. Fox's plans for "complete opening" of the Mexican economy to imperialism under NAFTA require the smashing of workers struggle. With the end of more than 70 years of Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) rule, there's been a loosening of the corporatist structure that tied the unions directly to the governing bourgeois party (see "Mexico: NAFTA's Man Targets Labor," WV No. 748, 15 December 2000). Now, under the guise of "democracy" and scab, anti-union "right to work" verbiage, the PAN—supported by the PRI and the bourgeois-nationalist

Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)—is launching a war on the unions while massively reinforcing its apparatus of state terror. This includes projected "rural guards" to smash a feared social explosion in the countryside.

Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie condemns millions to unemployment and misery. This year alone, there have been over half a million layoffs. Peasants and indigenous people are being driven off the land, forced to eke out an existence in the cities under the most horrible conditions. Significantly, peasant organizations are solidarizing with the VW strike. This strike could set the trend for labor in Mexico and set an example for workers across the world, helping to ignite international class struggle.

Break with All the Bourgeois Parties!

The starting point for a fighting workers movement mobilized in defense of its own class interests and the interest of all those at the bottom of this society—peasants, women, indigenous people—is the understanding that capitalist society is class divided. Workers are forced to sell their labor power to the property owners in order to survive. The interests of these two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, are irreconcilably counterposed. The point of view of the bourgeoisie was expressed quite bluntly by Raúl Picard, the president of Canacintra, an organization of industrial owners:

"If a union intends to direct us, it is very mistaken. We are the owners of the companies, we are the ones who risk the money and we provide well-being to the workers. At the moment that it becomes the other way around, they can pay the companies and they can do whatever they feel like, we're going somewhere else."

—*La Reforma*, 22 August

Translating the widespread hatred of the bourgeoisie among the working class into the ability to fundamentally transform society is a political question. The political independence of the working class is crucial; the understanding not only that the bosses themselves are enemies, but that the bourgeois state—the police, the

courts, the army—exists to defend the bourgeoisie's exploitation of labor. The state is not, and cannot be, an impartial arbiter to settle disputes. We oppose state arbitration of labor disputes. Down with the Conciliation and Arbitration Board!

The main ideological obstacle to revolutionary class consciousness of the proletariat in Mexico is bourgeois nationalism, which blurs the class line in society, preventing workers from seeing their common interests with workers around the world and sowing illusions in the Mexican bourgeoisie as potential allies. The PRD, in the face of electoral defeats and decreasing popularity, has scrambled for alliances with both the PRI and the PAN. The PRD represents that sector of the Mexican bourgeoisie that seeks to impose restrictions on imports since they are unable to compete with the imperialists, and pushes nationalism to keep the working class from rising up against its class enemy. That the PRD is no friend of the oppressed has been repeatedly shown by the PRD mayor of Mexico City, Manuel Lopez Obrador, who has been at the head of attacks against unions in the capital and wields the force of the state against students, workers and peasants in struggle.

Those unions that are not part of the corporatist PRI-affiliated CTM union federation and are often politically aligned with the PRD are erroneously referred to as "independent." The leaderships of these unions (like the SITIAVW) and the "independent" UNT union federation sow illusions in capitalism through the propagation of bourgeois nationalism and prostration before the bourgeois state. The clearest example is that SITIAVW leader José Rodríguez called on Fox's labor secretary, the reactionary, rabidly anti-worker, chauvinist pig Carlos Abascal, to intervene ("energetically," no less) in the strike!

No less than the CTM bureaucracy, the "independent" union leadership is guided by a program of class collaboration. They accept a system premised on the exploitation of labor by capital, and only within that framework (sometimes) lead struggles for the workers to get

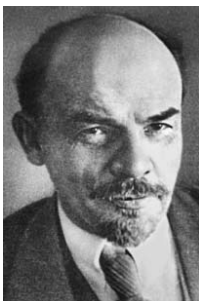
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TROTSKY

Anarchism and Class Collaboration

As seen in Genoa and other "anti-globalization" protests, many radicalized youth have turned to anarchism in revulsion at the social democrats who serve imperialism and the fake Marxists who tail them. But as was starkly evident in Spain in the 1930s, where the anarchists had a mass base, anarchism is counterposed to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. As workers seized control of the factories and organized armed



LENIN

militias, directly posing a struggle for state power, the anarchist CNT (National Confederation of Labor) entered bourgeois popular-front governments in Catalonia and nationally. While a handful of left-wing anarchists joined with the Trotskyists in opposing this treachery, the main anarchist federations helped to suppress the insurgent workers and pave the way for the victory of Franco's rightist forces.

Anarchism has consistently refused to recognize the distinction between a bourgeois and workers' state. Even in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, anarchism denounced the Soviet Union as an exploiters' régime....

The false anarchist teachings on the nature of the state, it might seem, should logically have led them to refuse governmental participation in any event. Already running Catalan industry and the militias, however, the anarchists were in the intolerable position of objecting to the necessary administrative co-ordination and centralization of the work they had already begun. Their anti-statism "as such" had to be thrown off. What *did* remain, to wreak disaster in the end, was their failure to recognize the distinction between a workers' and a bourgeois state.

Class collaboration, indeed, lies concealed in the heart of anarchist philosophy. It is hidden, during periods of reaction, by anarchist hatred of capitalist oppression. But, in a revolutionary period of dual power, it must come to the surface. For then the capitalist smilingly offers to share in building the new world. And the anarchist, being opposed to "all dictatorships," including dictatorship of the proletariat, will require of the capitalist merely that he throw off the capitalist outlook, to which he agrees, naturally, the better to prepare the crushing of the workers.

—Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain* (1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Reforging the Fourth International

Introducing *Spartacist South Africa*

We extend an internationalist salute to our comrades of *Spartacist South Africa* on the launching of their new press. Below we reprint the introductory article from the first issue, dated July 2001.

Spartacist South Africa is the first issue of the newspaper of the South African section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). We seek to build a revolutionary workers party like the Bolsheviks under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky that led the Russian working class to power in 1917. We fight for new October Revolutions as the precondition for an egalitarian socialist society in which those who labour rule. As a fighting propaganda group, we publish our polemical press as the main way to deepen, develop and expand the Leninist vanguard party.

In South Africa, we are at the epicentre of the AIDS pandemic. HIV/AIDS is spreading exponentially around the world, with the overwhelming majority of the 36 million people infected with the disease concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. The scope of the AIDS disaster threatens the survival of the human species in the cradle of mankind. We have therefore devoted this extraordinary first issue of *Spartacist South Africa* to the battles unfolding over HIV/AIDS—an agonising and polarising social crisis that is tearing the country apart. In so doing, we lay bare the anti-working-class, anti-woman, anti-poor nature of the bourgeois-nationalist African Nationalist Congress-led capitalist government. This pamphlet brings together dispatches from South Africa with two other related articles, all of which were originally published in *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the American section of the ICL. We seek to break the wall of silence surrounding AIDS, which threatens the most economically active sections of the population, the newly born and African women especially.

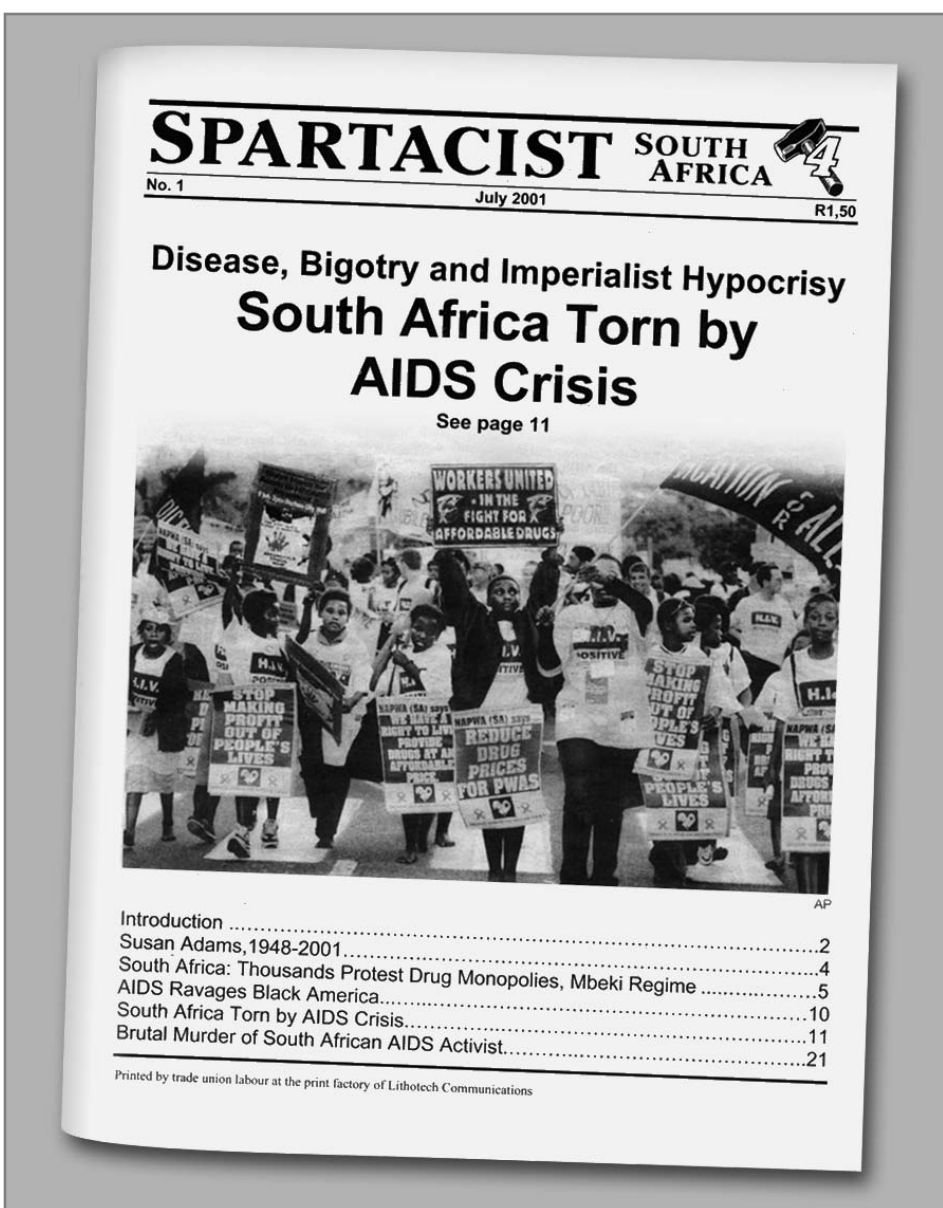
Every step of the search for any treatment for HIV/AIDS has been undermined by the profit-driven capitalist system and the backward, racist, anti-gay and anti-woman ideologies it spawns. People with AIDS are viciously stereotyped, ostracised and stigmatised. Because it is a sexually transmitted disease, the repressive taboos, guilt and shame over sex that subordinate women in the repressive bourgeois

family play a key role in sabotaging any scientific approach to a cure for AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). In Africa, like other parts of the so-called Third World, women often have very little control over their reproductive lives. How many children they have, or whether to have sex with a condom—many women have very little say over these matters. Rape and other forms of sexual violence also contribute enormously to the HIV epidemic. Some AIDS sufferers blame a girlfriend or wife for “witching” them with the disease. *Lobola* (bride price) treats women in southern Africa as chattel to be sold from father to husband. Female genital mutilation is still practised openly in rural areas and secretly in the townships. Polygamy based on the economic subordination of women still occurs.

Women who have talked openly about the HIV/AIDS epidemic courageously challenge deeply patriarchal customs where any woman mentioning sexual life runs contrary to “tradition.” After announcing she was HIV-positive on World AIDS Day in December 1998, activist Gugu Dlamini was beaten to death by a rabid mob in eastern KwaZulu-Natal. We wrote “Brutal Murder of South African AIDS Activist” in February 1999 [see WV No. 706, 5 February 1999], which to our knowledge was the first protest statement in the country.

South African President Thabo Mbeki’s anti-scientific diatribes—reflecting the ANC bourgeois-nationalist government policy—have sparked bigoted attacks on people infected with AIDS and ignited a furore at the international conference on AIDS in Durban in July 2000. Following the AIDS conference, comrade Karen Cole of *Spartacist South Africa* presented a talk, “South Africa Torn by AIDS Crisis” [WV No. 749, 5 January], which takes head-on the ignorant statements challenging scientific evidence that HIV causes AIDS and underlines the need for international socialist revolution to overthrow the capitalist exploiters.

Since then, broad protests drawing in unionists, gays, women, blacks and youth around the world have focussed attention on the fight for cheap anti-retroviral drugs. Extortionate Western drug companies have sought to protect patent rights



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and super-profits by overcharging millions who are dying from the disease. Integrated demonstrations in March demanded access to affordable treatment and drugs, pitting people against the capitalist system, which in its drive for profits necessarily exacerbates the AIDS pandemic ravaging sub-Saharan Africa. The first article in the paper, “South Africa: Thousands Protest Drug Monopolies, Mbeki Regime” [WV No. 759, 25 May], looks at the South African events

and includes a polemic against the reformists of “Labor’s Militant Voice” in the U.S., who were linked to the Democratic Socialist Movement in South Africa (formerly Marxist Workers Tendency). These small-time social democrats retail anti-scientific obscurantism, reinforcing social backwardness in the U.S. and falling in line behind the reactionary crusade of the anti-gay bigots.

Although the pharmaceutical giants

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— “People Power” Fraud Is Class Treason — For Workers Revolution in the Philippines!

Two years after his overwhelming election as Philippine president on a platform promising jobs, cheap food and housing, capitalist politician Joseph “Erap” Estrada was ousted on January 19 in a “People Power” military coup. Backed by the powerful Catholic church and the bourgeoisie centered on the Makati Business Club, the coup was cheered by the reformist left.

Angered by corruption, political ineptitude and the growing influence of ethnic Chinese businessmen in the Estrada government, the bourgeois oligarchs and their imperialist patrons decided it was time to pull the plug on the former matinee idol and install Vice President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo. The right-wing American think tank Strategic Forecasting, Inc. last year described Arroyo as an anti-China hawk who would strengthen military ties with U.S. imperialism, overseers of the Philippines neocolony.

As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* wryly noted, the Arroyo takeover is a demonstration of “rich people’s power.” Nothing could be more true. Arroyo is the daughter of former president Diosdado P. Macapagal, who is remembered for opening the country to greater imperialist investment. She is married to a pedigreed member of one of the Philippines’ wealthiest landowning families. In 1986, Arroyo became undersecretary of trade in the government of *haciendera* (large landowner) Corazon Aquino, who took power that year as a result of the first “People Power” coup, which overthrew the brutal dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Subsequently, as senator during the term of former general Fidel Ramos, another central “People Power” figure, she was key to the Philippines’ entry into the World Trade Organization and the deregulation of the oil industry.

Speaking of Arroyo’s ascension to power, retired air force general and coup plotter Eduardo Abenina told the *Los Angeles Times* (22 January), “The Philippine people like to call it ‘people power’ but in fact it was a coup.” Yet the alphabet soup of organizations that make up the Philippine left—from the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) of Jose Maria Sison to its breakaway groups, including the Socialist Party of Labor (SPP)—hailed “People Power Two” as a “victory for the people.” These fake leftists portray the outcome of the January coup as a general weakening of capitalist rule, thus supposedly making the bourgeois state easier to pressure to act in the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Far from this, the coup that installed Arroyo can only enormously strengthen the hand of the capitalist state,

enabling the bourgeoisie to more effectively attack the working class, minorities and the poor.

The bourgeois state is not a “neutral” agency which can be pressured to act in the interests of the masses. As Lenin stated in *The State and Revolution*, “The state is an organ of class rule,” consisting at its core of armed bodies of men—the military, the police and the prison system. The only “public interest” that the capitalist state serves is the interests of the bourgeoisie. The capitalist state is an instru-

conditions in central Philippines cut off electricity, plunging the entire Eastern Samar province into darkness. Combined with strikes that shut down Yokohama Tires and the country’s two Toyota auto plants, labor unrest at Fuji Xerox, Ajinomoto and Honda factories has prompted the Japanese imperialists to threaten the withdrawal of investment unless the government cracks down on the unions. Social Security workers carried out a nationwide strike on July 31.

With four in every ten Filipinos—over

the same time, we fight for proletarian political revolution to oust the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracies which are paving the way toward capitalist restoration.

Arroyo’s Police-State Repression

With class polarization sharpening and social unrest threatening to undermine the stability of this U.S. neocolony, Arroyo has swiftly moved to stamp out dissent. Among the first acts of the government were to ban a film on workers in the sex



Reuters photos

Filipino reformist groups joined with capitalists in “People Power II” campaign that ousted “Erap” Estrada as president in January and installed aristocrat Gloria Arroyo.



AFP

ment of repression against the workers and the oppressed which must be smashed through socialist revolution and replaced by a workers state.

Arroyo Is Bad News for Workers and Poor

Seven months following the coup, the emboldened Philippine bourgeoisie is riding roughshod over the masses of this impoverished Southeast Asian country. The Arroyo government is determined to push through measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund bloodsuckers to accelerate privatization, impose huge budget cuts and deregulate the Social Security system, public education, social services and water and power generation. This means slashing thousands of union jobs, driving down wages, gutting already severely limited pensions and benefits, driving up prices and utility rates and intensifying imperialist exploitation.

The working class and the poor have not taken these attacks lying down. In June, power workers demanding better

30 million people—living below the poverty threshold compared to only three in every ten before the outbreak of the Asian economic crisis in 1997, the archipelago is a hothouse of rebellion. Demonstrations by the urban poor and by peasants occur regularly, and campuses throughout the country have been rocked by continuous walkouts protesting tuition hikes and demanding the abolition of the compulsory ROTC program.

U.S. imperialism has moved to extend its military presence in the Philippines, seeking to enforce “stability” throughout Southeast Asia and to assist Washington’s interests against Japan. The American military presence is also a dagger at the throat of the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers state. Arroyo has invited the U.S. to reoccupy the bases it abandoned shortly after the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991-92. The Ramos regime had already allowed U.S. military forces back into the Philippines under the 1998 Visiting Forces Agreement, which was supported by Estrada.

U.S. imperialism’s subjugation of the Philippines began when it stole the archipelago from Spain in the 1898 Spanish-American War. After gaining nominal independence following World War II, the Philippines remained a semicolonial vassal of the U.S., serving as a linchpin of the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance. The Philippines provided strategic bases like Clark and Subic Bay for U.S. imperialism’s savage counterrevolutionary war against the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants in the 1960s and ’70s.

Today, as the imperialists stoke the drive for capitalist counterrevolution in China and the other remaining deformed workers states, we stand for the unconditional military defense of China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution. At

industry and to send tanks to a television station in order to stop coverage of a mammoth opposition rally at the Edsa shrine, the site of earlier mass protests against the Marcos and Estrada regimes.

The climate of police-state terror continues unabated, marked by the murder of Workers Party (PM) founding members Filemon Lagman, national chairman of the BMP union, and Manuel Ibe, a BMP local president. Several leaders and supporters of the Socialist Workers Movement and the Sisonite Bayan Muna (Nation First) party have been abducted or arrested.

On May Day, the government declared a “state of rebellion” in the capital and deployed troops against plebeian protesters attempting to march on the presidential palace. The protesters had been egged on by the pro-Estrada bourgeois opposition, which sought to launch a third edition of “People Power” following Estrada’s arrest on corruption charges. The military repression resulted in four deaths and hundreds of injuries and arrests. The same emergency powers are being used today in stepping up state terror in western Mindanao, where the army has started a massive roundup of Muslims on the pretext of going after the Abu Sayyaf insurgents, who have made headlines around the world with their kidnapping of tourists in the past couple of years.

Bloody repression on Mindanao and the displacement of its Moro (Muslim) population dates back to U.S. colonial rule, which established Christian settlements in an attempt to displace the local peasantry. The expropriation and marginalization of the Muslim population intensified in the post-colonial era, escalating especially during the Marcos regime, which attempted to put an end to the “Muslim question” by overwhelming the Moro population with migrants. While in 1903 Muslims constituted 76 percent of



AP

Four were killed in government crackdown against plebeian pro-Estrada protesters in Manila on May Day.

the population of Mindanao, today they make up less than 20 percent. The oppression and dispossession of Muslims have fueled secessionist insurgencies.

We say: *Drop the charges against the anti-Arroyo protesters! Free all leftist and class-war prisoners! Down with the military occupation of Mindanao—Troops out!*

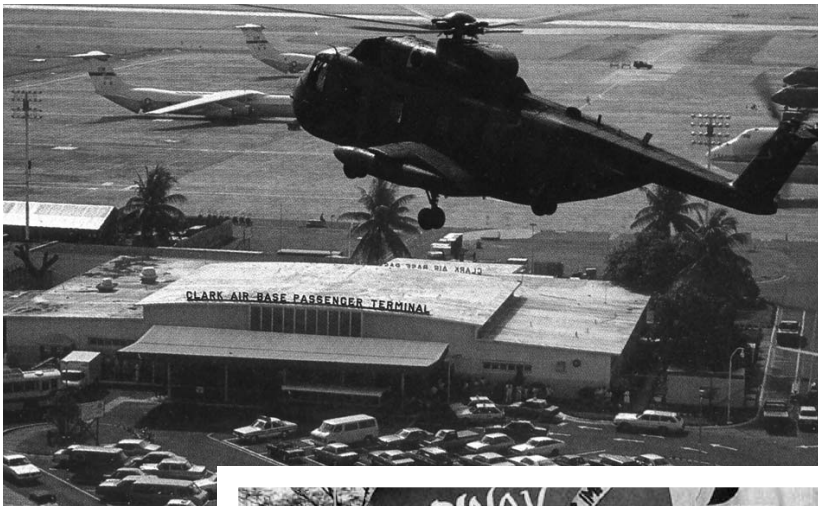
Amid all the restlessness and bourgeois reaction sits a new Congress elected in May in the bloodiest campaign the country had seen in 15 years. Gunfights, arson at polling stations and attacks on rallies during and after the elections left 98 people dead and scores injured. Close to a million first-time voters found themselves robbed of the right to suffrage when the government refused to let them register for the polls.

Among pending bills is the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001 pushed by opposition Senator Panfilo Lacson, whose trail of blood and torture dates from the Marcos dictatorship and continued in his role as Estrada’s chief of the Philippine National Police and the equally murderous Presidential Anti-Organized Crime Task Force. Parliamentary democracy in this impoverished semicolonial country is terribly fragile. But while the bourgeoisie remains divided and threatens to tear itself apart, its competing wings are agreed on one thing—the need to repress the workers and the poor. What the Philippine working class needs is not more “People Power,” but proletarian power.

The Philippine left has repeatedly betrayed the interests of the proletariat by chaining the workers to the cart of the bourgeoisie. In the 1998 elections, the left groups either tailed Estrada or refrained from opposing him, giving their supporters the signal to vote for “Erap.” The Sisonite KMU union federation even invited Estrada and other presidential wannabes to their May Day rally in downtown Manila. Teddy Casino, secretary general of the BAYAN group, which is also associated with the CPP, would later admit on television that he voted for Estrada.

SANLAKAS, a breakaway from the CPP headed by Filemon Lagman, joined an Estrada rally in Manila’s Rizal Park to cheer for Lagman’s brother Edcel, who was running for senator on the Estrada ticket. The SPP’s predecessor, the Liga Sosyalista, greeted the election results with a front-page headline in its newspaper *Progresibo* No. 5 (July/August 1998): “Progressives Close Ranks: Extend the Gains of the Elections!” Padayon—a group identified with Ricardo Reyes, former editor of the CPP organ *Ang Bayan*—entered the Estrada government, its leader Steve Quiambao becoming undersecretary of agrarian reform. But it did not take very long for such reformists to distance themselves from Estrada and cast about for a new bourgeois “liberal” ally.

This year’s edition of “People Power” is a replay of the events that saw the downfall of Marcos and installed the wealthy landowner Aquino as president 15 years before. The January coup against Estrada was the culmination of a carefully crafted campaign blessed by the Catholic church, financed by the Makati Business Club, directed by a cabal of politicians including two former presidents and secured by the military officer caste. The Stalinist and social-democratic left was given the task of bringing the “warm bodies.” The Sisonites and the



After closing Clark Air Base (above), U.S. imperialism is rebuilding military presence in Philippines. Manila protest against U.S.-Philippine war games, February 2000.



AKBAYAN coalition—consisting of disillusioned ex-Stalinists, left nationalists and “Christian socialists”—took it further by canceling their May Day rallies and crawling to a government-sponsored rally at Edsa while the blood of pro-Estrada protesters was still fresh on the streets of downtown Manila.

Full Equality for Minorities! For Women’s Liberation!

The anti-Estrada protests and subsequent events have been shot through with Philippine nationalism and religious reaction. As in Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese are simultaneously represented in the bourgeoisie and subjected to vile racist persecution. Dating back to four centuries of Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, anti-Chinese racism has exploded in bloody pogroms three times in the last 80 years. The Philippines’ ethnic Chinese population was subjected to hideous atrocities by the Japanese imperialist occupiers during World War II. In the two decades following the war, hundreds who fought with the Stalinist-led Hukbalahap guerrillas or sympathized with the 1949 Revolution that overthrew capitalism in China were either victimized by the state or deported to Guomindang jails in Taiwan.

Chinese-bashing, which is common in the bourgeois media, is echoed both by liberals and the fake left. None of the opportunist left protested when celebrated Philippine novelist F. Sionil Jose declared in an article in *Today*, a newspaper run by former Aquino press secretary Teodoro Locsin Jr., that to be “pro-Filipino is to be anti-Chinese.” Catholic moral reaction intersected anti-Chinese chauvinism during protests by Sisonite youth groups against Macao-based casino owner and Estrada associate Stanley Ho. For their part, the Lagmanites paraded through Chinatown bearing animal effigies representing Estrada’s ethnic Chinese cronies. After Arroyo accused 18 ethnic Chinese businessmen of financing the pro-Estrada demonstration on May 1, the Sisonites demanded that the govern-

ment immediately round them up. The entire fake left had earlier turned a blind eye to the arrests of ethnic Chinese shopkeepers when tensions with China were heightened over the Spratleys, a chain of rocky islets and reefs straddling strategic South China Sea routes whose ownership is disputed by China and the Philippines, among others.

Anti-Chinese racism cuts through all layers of society. The Arroyo government is particularly keen on persecuting the ethnic Chinese (Chinoy) minority, among whom Estrada had many close allies. The Chinese community raised a storm of protest when Arroyo picked as chief of police intelligence a general with known ties to a kidnap gang victimizing ethnic Chinese. In the wake of the rising number of Chinoy abductions, Arroyo publicly accused the family of one kidnap victim of staging the whole thing as part of a destabilization plot against the government. Guillermo Wojó, who was born on the Chinese mainland and was serving as Arroyo’s chief of the Navy, was hounded from the service for supposedly violating the military code of conduct. Wojó was in the process of uncovering corruption when the Marines demanded his ouster, which comes in the context of greater U.S. belligerence against China. We say: *Down with anti-Chinese racist poison! Full equality for ethnic and religious minorities!*

In Mindanao, the Stalinist left’s accommodation to Christian and Muslim religious reaction has combined with the bankruptcy of the Moro National Liberation Front’s petty-bourgeois nationalism to drive Bangsamoro youth into the arms of Islamic fundamentalism. This is particularly marked by the imposition of the *kumbong* (headscarf) on Muslim women, a practice reinforced by the recognition of *sharia* (Islamic law) by the Philippine bourgeoisie. Marxists fight for full equality for minorities and for the integration of the Muslim toilers into the working class. Muslims face heavy discrimination and, like many people of Chinese origin, often change their names simply in order to get a job. At the same time, Marxists must combat pre-capitalist patriarchal practices like polygamy, the bride price and the veil which treat women like property.

The woman question is a central and explosive issue in this 80 percent Catholic country. While large numbers of women have been drawn into the workforce in recent years, they have been hardest hit as unemployment climbs in the spreading economic crisis. The 1987 constitution promulgated under Aquino includes one of the most severe anti-abortion laws in the world, and access to birth control has been severely limited by cuts in the public health budget, high prices and opposition from the Catholic church. A bill to

legalize divorce has raised a howl of rage from the Catholic hierarchy and from Arroyo herself, whose condemnation of the measure as “un-Filipino and immoral” demonstrates the close-knit relationship between Filipino nationalism and Catholic religious morality.

It is necessary to fight for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, as well as for free 24-hour child-care. Marxists call for strict separation of church and state and oppose every manifestation of discrimination against women, homosexuals and ethnic, national and religious minorities. Religious backwardness—whether Catholic, Muslim or any other—serves to bolster the family, the key institution for the oppression of women in class society.

To even begin to emancipate women from domestic slavery and all-sided oppression, the system of capitalist exploitation must be swept away through socialist revolution, which must be extended internationally, creating a worldwide planned, collectivized economy. The International Communist League seeks to build an internationalist vanguard party to act as a tribune of the people, mobilizing the proletariat in defense of all the oppressed against the common class enemy. Particularly in Asia, the fight for the emancipation of women is a key component of this perspective. *For women’s liberation through socialist revolution!*

For Proletarian Class Independence!

In the epoch of capitalist decay, the bourgeoisies of the countries of the “Third World” are incapable of carrying out the tasks associated historically with the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, including expropriation of landed estates. As Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained in *The Permanent Revolution* (1929):

“With regard to countries with a belated bourgeois development, especially the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the theory of the permanent revolution signifies that the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving *democracy and national emancipation* is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all of its peasant masses....

“The socialist revolution begins on the national arena, it unfolds on the international arena, and is completed on the world arena. Thus, the socialist revolution becomes a permanent revolution in a newer and broader sense of the word; it attains completion only in the final victory of the new society on our entire planet.”

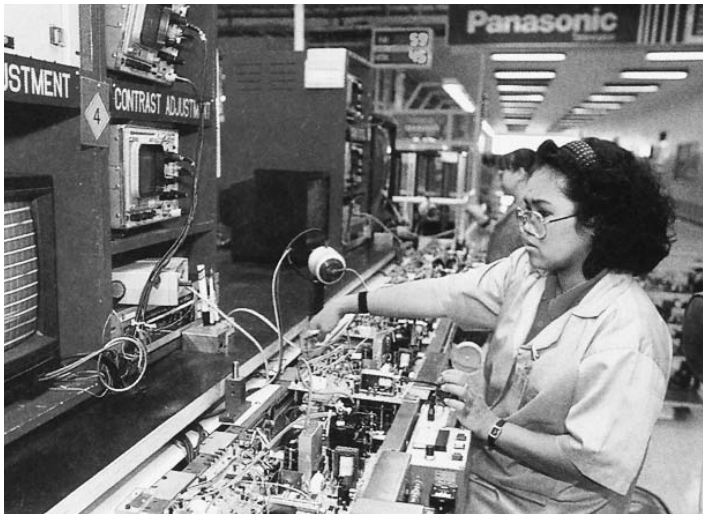
Underscoring the potential for revolutionary working-class struggle has been the growth of a young, militant proletariat due to industrial investment in the Philippines by the U.S., Japan and other countries.

In warning against illusions in the first “People Power” movement, we wrote: “Many a Third World nationalist regime has sought to protect its left flank by bringing the Communists into a ‘democratic (or anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, etc.) coalition government,’ only to set them up for a massacre on the morrow” (“Philippines Workers Must Fight for Power!” WV No. 415, 7 November 1986). What is necessary is a programmatic break with all variants of the Menshevik-Stalinist dogma of “two-stage revolution,” which subordinates the proletariat to a mythical “progressive” or “anti-imperialist” wing of the bourgeoisie in the fight for “democratic” capitalism while forever putting off the struggle for socialism. From the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, which was drowned in blood by Chiang Kai-shek’s nationalist Guomindang, to the slaughter of Indonesian Communists by Suharto’s military and fundamentalist gangs in 1965, history has repeatedly demonstrated that “two-stage revolution” means bloody defeat for the working class and the oppressed.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Our Trotskyist perspective is opposed by the ostensible left groups in the Philippines, whose family tree stems from

continued on page 15



Panasonic factory in Philippines. Women drawn into workforce by imperialist investment have been hard hit by Asian economic crisis.

Young Spartacus

Building a Communist Youth Movement

Over a two-week period this June, members from the Spartacus Youth Clubs in the U.S., as well as youth of the International Communist League (ICL) came to our central office in New York for a maintenance work-in. The event was part of our fight to counter the psychology and social habit inculcated in class-divided societies that says you'll either be an intellectual or a manual laborer, but not both. Our goal is to eradicate the pretentious bourgeois division between manual and mental labor, which the capitalist ruling class uses to justify its place at the top of society.

During the work-in our comrades participated in many activities, including work to maintain and upgrade our office, creating indexes for bound volumes of our propaganda and attending a series of classes on the history of the ICL. This work-in was modeled on similar events held in 1996, 1997 and 1998, which were largely realized through the work of our late comrade Susan Adams, who was for years a leader of our national youth organization, the Spartacus Youth League, and then of the ICL. Susan was in the forefront of training youth to become professional revolutionaries, and we are proud to carry on that tradition.

These two weeks of work and education served a dual purpose. The first was the physical preservation of our organization's office and equipment necessary to carry out our work with Bolshevik professionalism. The second was to combat the false view that there is a natural division between manual and mental labor. Many of the members of the SYC were recruited at high schools and universities, and assaulted with this false consciousness during the course of their education. The youth maintenance weeks included both manual and mental labor, an expression of the abilities necessary to carry out our program.

As was noted by comrade Jim Robertson at a conference of the SL/U.S. in 1994 (reprinted as "Maintenance and the Communist Movement" in WV No. 605, 2 September 1994), under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists "the bourgeois dichotomy between the doer and the thinker, the blue and the white collar, work and leisure, dirty and clean, menial and advantaged." But "if you cannot, in an educated way, work with your hands, you are ineffectual. And if you don't know what to do with your hands, you are an ignorant person, and you are certainly not a physical scientist or an engineer."

He noted that "a good journeyman, without the engineering or scientific

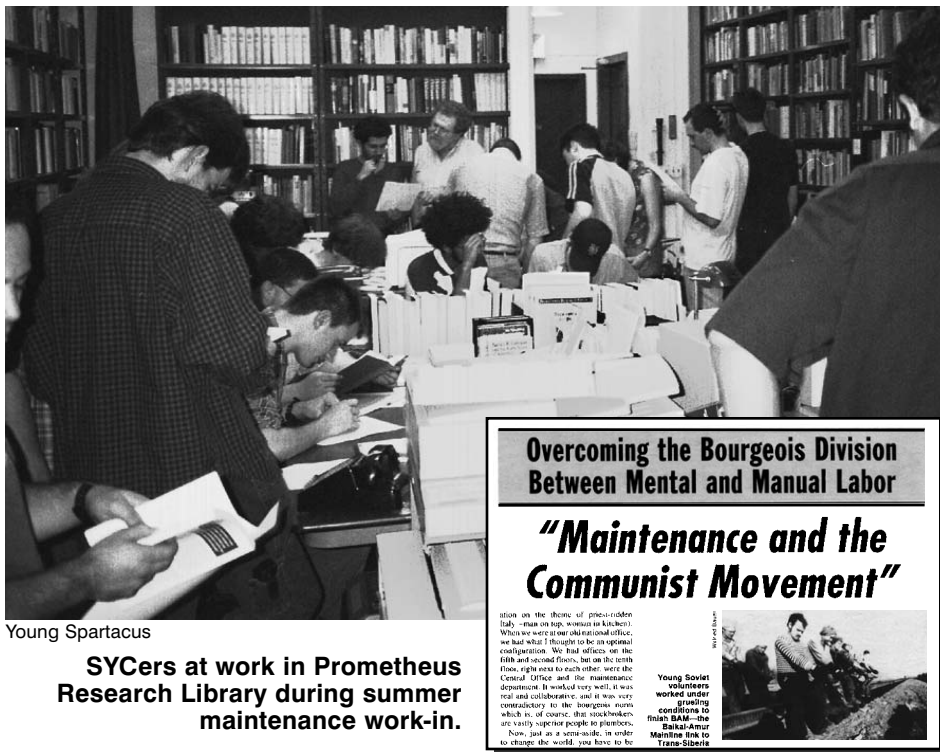
and other books for our International Secretariat (I.S.) to distribute to sections of the ICL to build up their libraries. Comrades from maintenance gave informative classes on electricity and plumbing. One of the most important facts noted was that without practical skills such as these we could not even have our own offices, and without them our organizational existence would be severely hampered.

One of the themes of this work-in was the preservation of the history of our international tendency, and a project at the heart of this was the indexing of our propaganda. Youth comrades were trained in how to make a subject index for bound volumes of our press, reviewing the indexes from bound volumes of *Workers Vanguard*, *Young Spartacus* and other Marxist newspapers. Youth from ICL sections, including the Spartacist League/Britain and its youth organization, the Spartacus Youth Group, worked on the index for the first bound volume of our British newspaper, *Spartacist Britain* (now called *Workers Hammer*). The other projects were the indexes for the third and fourth bound volumes of *Young Spartacus*, the paper of the Spartacus Youth League when it was a national organization, politically subordinate to but organizationally independent of the SL/U.S.

Unlike many of our reformist opponents whose opportunism causes them to fear that what they hail at one moment (like the Islamic holy warriors in Afghanistan or the Polish "union" Solidarność) will make them unpopular the next, we are proud of our record of programmatic positions and make this history available to help educate future generations of revolutionaries. Additionally, SYCers helped collate the papers and index to produce the first bound volume of French-language *Spartacist*.

The Bolshevik Tradition of Educating the Youth

Almost every night after a long day of productive labor, a senior member of the SL would give a different class on the development of our international tendency. The classes covered the political fights that forged the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party (which later became the SL), the early extension of our party to Australia, the origins of the international Spartacist tendency (predecessor to the ICL), and other important events in the struggle to extend our organization internationally. We talked about the way our sections were forged, which was through polemi-



Young Spartacus

SYCers at work in Prometheus Research Library during summer maintenance work-in.

Educational Work-In

overview, necessarily bumps against a conceptual ceiling and must be frustrated. I think that Bukharin, in one of his speculative books, suggested that with the victory of the working class and the development into higher stages of socialism, the last residue of previous class-divided society to be shattered would be the monopoly of the petty-bourgeois-derived intellectual skills, and that after that we, increasingly united as a species, would be on the road to communism."

The Physical Components of the Work-In

Our headquarters was made cleaner and easier to use. This included purging and reorganizing files in the various departments of our office, in the course of which youth learned an important skill and became familiarized with the different aspects of our work, like writing and producing our newspaper, circulating our press and physically maintaining the offices. Youth who had never been to New York got to do sales at the various

campuses like Columbia University and the City University of New York. The comrades in our maintenance department taught SYCers how to install shelving units, wax floors, paint walls, and many other skills essential to the physical preservation of our office. Our young women comrades participated equally in all areas of this work. Battling the special oppression of women is central to our political program for workers revolution. Under capitalism women are discouraged from learning such valuable skills, and they are largely relegated to "women's work"—household drudgery and rearing the next generation. Within our party, we fight to undo the degradation society subjects women to, and our female members are trained to become leaders both of our organization and of the revolutionary movement generally.

We organized internal bulletins for youth to buy so that the SYCers could become familiar with the history of our party. We also catalogued and packaged extra copies of many Marxist works

Spartacist Forums

The Fall of the Soviet Union and its Aftermath: A Trotskyist Analysis

Saturday, September 8, 3 p.m.
University of Illinois, Circle Center, Rm. 501-2
750 South Halsted Street
For more information: (312) 563-0441

CHICAGO

Reparations, Black Oppression and Racist Witchhunts on Campus Workers Revolution: The Road to Black Freedom

Wednesday, September 19, 7:30 p.m.
Columbia University, 116th Street and Broadway
(take 1 or 9 train to 116th Street stop)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Forum Marxism vs. Anarchism

Wednesday, September 12, 5:30 p.m.
York University
Student Centre, Room 430
For more information: (416) 593-4138

TORONTO

cal combat exposing the opportunism of other currents laying claim to Trotskyism to win over the best elements of those groups.

SL Central Committee member George Foster gave a Trotskyist analysis of how the bureaucratically degenerated Soviet workers state was strangled, specifically on the events surrounding Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary bid for power in August 1991. This was of particular importance to youth work because the SYCs are recruiting a new generation of politicized youth that has come to political consciousness after the fall of the Soviet Union. This means that the Russian question for them is posed in a more abstract manner than for our comrades who grew up with the USSR in existence.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 took the Marxist doctrine of proletarian revolution out of the realm of theory and gave it flesh and blood. However, though the revolution was successful and for the first time in history the working class had taken power, the pressure of being invaded by 14 imperialist armies, the devastation of the country during the Civil War, the virtual destruction of the proletariat, and the failure of the revolution to spread allowed a bureaucratic



3 January 1990 mass protest in East Berlin initiated by German Spartakists against Nazi desecration of Red Army monument in Treptow Park. ICL intervention in East Germany and USSR to mobilize workers against capitalist counterrevolution was focus of educational.



Spartakist photos

events of August 1991 proved decisive in determining the fate of the Soviet Union.

To concretize the theme of our genuine Leninist internationalism, we also had classes on our current work. A comrade from the Spartacist League/Britain gave a presentation about our campaign in the recent British elections of criti-

it imbued youth members with a sense that the present reactionary political climate has not always been and will not last forever.

With SYCs around the country growing in size and capacity, the perspective of reorganizing a national youth organization was a backdrop to the discussion. The main report described three central components of what this will mean: a politically capable leadership, our own newspaper, and a uniform, professional system of treasury. The importance of the *Young Spartacus* pages as the scaffolding for the building of that organization was given specific attention in another report, which was on our perspectives on propaganda production during the next period.

To underscore the importance of our press, comrade Seymour also gave a writers' workshop where the youth were given a fictional scenario of events surrounding a strike and assigned to write an agitational leaflet. Seymour laid out that the crucial tasks in the writing of any material—be it propagandistic or agitational in nature—are figuring out how to address the intended audience and motivating action. After all of the drafts were turned in and reviewed, comrades were given critiques, which helped to improve our writing skills. We also met for a session of work at the Prometheus Research Library on how to do research for an article, and the procedures for checking facts, sources and dates.

The fight for black freedom was a large part of discussion both at the Youth Commission and informally. Much of the discussion centered on our work against the racist death penalty and for freedom for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. We passed motions laying out the work that should be done to publicize the new evidence of Mumia's innocence introduced by his new legal defense

team on May 4 (see "New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits," WV No. 758, 11 May). Comrades also noted that there is a need for propaganda that intersects the issues of debate among the black intelligentsia like Angela Davis and Manning Marable, which is reflected in the high schools and on college campuses. This means winning to the Trotskyist program of *revolutionary integrationism* those radicalized black youth looking for an alternative to the pipe dream of liberal integrationism espoused by Democratic Party hacks like Jesse Jackson, or of the reactionary schemes for "black capitalism." As materialists, we acknowledge the fact that the black population in this country is a *specially oppressed race-color caste*, integrated into key sectors of the industrial proletariat in the United States but forcibly segregated at the bottom rungs of society. We see that black oppression is the bedrock of American capitalism, which negates the lie pushed by liberals that black people can achieve equality without challenging the system that keeps them in shackles.

At the close of the Youth Commission meeting, we all rose and sang the "Internationale," traditional song of the international workers movement, in honor of comrade Susan Adams. The SYCs are aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of our work in the U.S. and internationally by serving as a training ground for the next generation of Marxist revolutionaries. Comrade Robertson pointed out in his remarks in "Maintenance and the Communist Movement": "In order to change the world, you have to be able to change it, not merely learn something to write about it." The work-in made the SYCs more capable of changing the world, and we invite any youth who wants to end the destruction and exploitation caused by capitalism to join us in our fight for world socialist revolution! ■



WV Photo

Columbia, SC: SYCers attended June 9 rally at State House in defense of Charleston Five, longshoremen under arrest for defending their union picket line against massive cop attack in January 2000.

layer headed by Stalin to usurp political power from the workers in 1923-24. The repeated betrayals by the bureaucracy and the pressure of imperialist encirclement led to capitalist counterrevolution almost 70 years later.

At the time of Yeltsin's coup in August 1991, we said the restoration of capitalism was not a foregone conclusion as the Soviet working class had not yet been heard from. As we stated in our "Declaration of Principles and Some Elements of Program" (*Spartacist* No. 54, Spring 1998), "Spartacists distributed throughout the Soviet Union over 100,000 copies in Russian of our August 1991 article 'Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!'" As Trotskyists, we called for a proletarian political revolution to defeat the counterrevolution and return the Soviet workers to political power which they held in the early days of the Communist International. We called for *unconditional military defense of the USSR*, the same as we do today in the case of the remaining bureaucratically deformed workers states—China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea.

The ICL proved to be the *only* group on the left with a genuine communist program, as virtually every "socialist" group stood on the *other side* of the barricades, joining U.S. capitalism in support to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. Atomized and with its socialist consciousness destroyed by years of Stalinist nationalism, the Soviet working class did not rally in resistance, and thus in the end the

cal support to Arthur Scargill's Socialist Labour Party, against Tony Blair's New Labour which is currently administering British imperialism (see WV No. 762, 3 August). There was also a class on current Japanese society by a member of the Spartacist Group Japan. SYC members attended a meeting of the International Secretariat which included discussion on events such as the Berber uprising in Algeria and the possible fusion of the fake-Trotskyist French section of the "United" Secretariat with the Labourite British Socialist Workers Party.

Reforge a Revolutionary National Youth Organization!

The work-in culminated in a weekend where projects were temporarily suspended for a meeting of the Youth Commission, which was attended by members not only from the U.S., but also by comrades of all the sections who were present. It was here that our youth clubs' perspectives for intervention into the world during the next period were laid out. Comrade Joseph Seymour also gave a two-part class on the American left from the Korean War in the 1950s to the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, which included sections on the Cold War, liberalism, the civil rights movement, the New Left, Maoism and "revolutionary" black nationalism. The class examined the development of the consciousness of the student radicals during this period. This class was important for those of us who did not live through the period, as

Spartacist 4 Forums

New Evidence Smashes Frame-Up to Bits

The Fight Is On: Mobilize to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Now!

BAY AREA

Saturday, September 15, 4 p.m.
YWCA of Oakland, Lounge Room
1515 Webster Street, Oakland
For more information: (510) 839-0851
or (415) 395-9520

VANCOUVER

Trotskyist League Forum
Saturday, September 29, 3 p.m.
Britannia Community Centre, Rm. L3
1661 Napier Street (off Commercial)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

BOSTON

Saturday, September 15, 3 p.m.
Location to be announced.
For more information: (617) 666-9453

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, September 22, 4 p.m.
Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church
4607 Prospect Avenue, Hollywood
(one block east of Vermont, near
Vermont/Sunset Red Line Station)
For more information: (213) 380-8239

Genoa...

(continued from page 16)

marching behind a banner reading, "Down With the Imperialist Butchers! Workers to Power Worldwide!" The putative left organizations who also participated in this demonstration came not out of solidarity with the Black Bloc anarchists against the organized violence of the bourgeois state but to demonstrate to their Social Democratic masters their own "peaceful, legal" credentials.

In contrast, SpAD placards proclaimed, "The Witchhunt Against the Black Bloc Plays into the Hands of SPD Top Cop Schily." Indeed, interior minister Otto Schily and his Italian counterpart Claudio Scajola have called on other European Union (EU) governments to join in a multinational "Riot Police Squad" to target "violent rampagers." The same day as the protests in Berlin and elsewhere, a front-page article in the London *Independent* headlined, "EU's Secret Network to Spy on Anti-Capitalists," noting that this would involve "an unprecedented degree of surveillance." In the U.S., \$30 million has been allocated for "security," including the deployment of an additional 3,000 cops, to suppress protests in Washington, D.C. against a meeting of the International Monetary Fund beginning September 29.

We Need a "Power-Hungry Vanguard" to Smash the Capitalist State!

A statement by a German anarchist *autonome* on the Indymedia Web site described a late-July meeting in Berlin on Genoa:

"The meeting was organized by ostensible marxists. The speakers at the podium agitated against the Black Bloc.... Even police officers in Italy were accused of being anarchists. Among these marxist organizations was only one that defended the anarchists: Spartakist."

Following the August 20 Berlin rally, the German Indymedia site was filled with complaints from anarchists about how prominent Spartakist signs, chants and soapboxing speeches were at the protest. The "power-hungry vanguard," observed one anarchist, would not have been "so dominant if 'we' had not been so few," noting he "did not see a single [anarchist] placard."

It is a telling statement that the anarchists who are the immediate target of state repression are politically disarmed in the face of this sinister witchhunt. Genoa provided a concrete and murderous demonstration of the highly organized and ruthlessly efficient forces of the bourgeois state. To prevail against that might requires an organized and disciplined vanguard party that can mobilize the power of the one class that can defeat capitalist rule—the proletariat. Only the working class has the social power and objective interests to liberate

mankind from oppression. The purpose of a revolutionary party is to infuse the proletariat with that understanding. That was a lesson learned by the best elements of the anarchist movement in the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Leading anarchists such as Victor Serge traveled to Soviet Russia to support the new workers state. In a letter to his French anarchist friends, he motivated the need for a Leninist party:

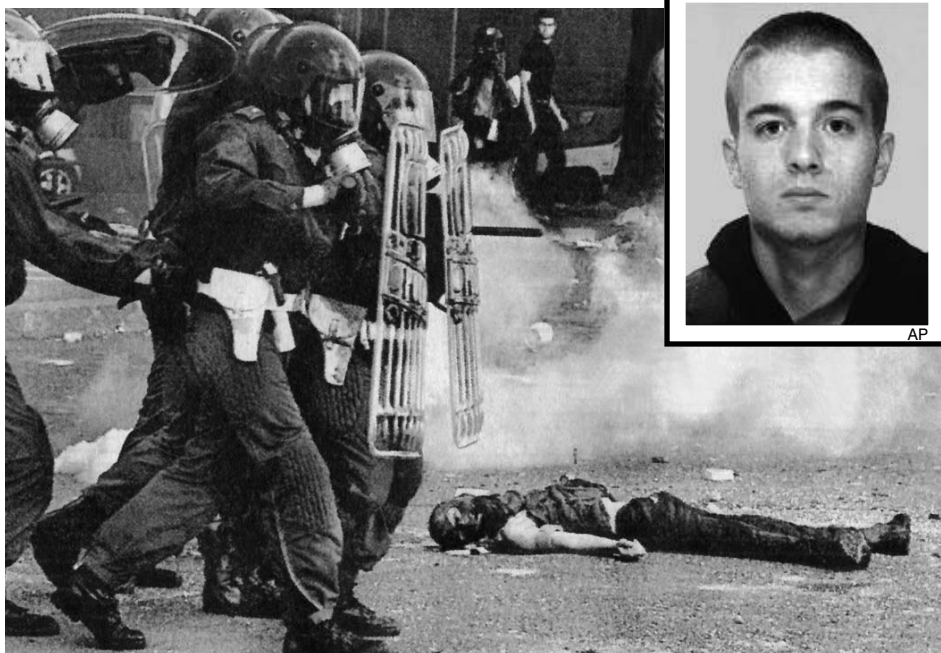
"It is the revolutionary elite, powerfully organised, disciplined, obeying a consistent direction, marching towards a single clearly defined goal along the paths traced for it by a scientific doctrine. Being such a force, the party is the product of the necessity, that is the laws of history itself. That revolutionary elite which in a time of violence remains unorganised, undisciplined, without consistent direction and open to variable or contradictory impulses, is heading for suicide."

—*La Vie ouvrière*, 21 March 1922, reprinted in Cotteril, ed., *The Serge-Trotsky Papers* (1994)

It is little wonder that many radical youth embrace anarchism out of revulsion against a social-democratic left which masquerades as Marxist. But revulsion and anger are not a guide to action. The anarchists embrace a latter-day version of the "propaganda of the deed" of a century ago, the idea that their acts of moral courage will impel others to emulate them and thus build a mass movement against capitalism. It is no accident that those drawn to anarchism are largely white, middle-class youth. Self-sacrifice and individual heroics are not very inspiring to young workers and the oppressed for whom brutal exploitation and cop terror are a daily reality. What is needed is a party like that of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks which can inspire the working people and oppressed with the prospect of victory over the system that is the source of their exploitation and repression.

The resurgence of anarchism is a byproduct of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe a decade ago. In an ideological climate conditioned by the imperialist rulers' celebration of the "death of communism" and derision of Marxism as a "failed experiment," it is not surprising that there is something of a revival of anarchist sympathies among radicalized youth. These run the gamut from those who genuinely want to fight for the overthrow of imperialist rule to those who see the imperialist powers as a potential force to bring "freedom" to the oppressed masses around the globe to outright anti-communist thugs. What they all share is opposition to any state, including the dictatorship of the proletariat—the necessary first step toward the withering away of the state through the creation of a classless communist society.

Echoing the lies of the capitalist rulers, the anarchists equate the remaining workers states with the rule of the Stalin-



July 20: Riot cops in Genoa charge past body of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani, gunned down in cold blood.

ist bureaucracies that threaten their very existence. At the August 20 demonstration in Berlin, the SpAD Revolutionary Contingent carried signs proclaiming: "Defend China, Cuba, Vietnam and North Korea Against Imperialism, Internal Counterrevolution!" It is a testament to the gains achieved through the establishment of a planned economy, however bureaucratically mismanaged, that while the rest of the Caribbean is mired in poverty and starvation, Cuba has a literacy rate of 99 percent, an infant mortality rate that is less than New York City's, and free health care. And the victory of imperialist-backed counterrevolution in China would throw women back to the bondage of the past and reduce a population of 1.2 billion to abject penury. Just look at the former Soviet Union, where the victory of capitalist counterrevolution has brought untold misery. A devastating measure of the effects of the destruction of this former workers state can be seen in the fact that life expectancy has dropped by ten years.

The imperialists' military and economic might is aimed at the destruction of those workers states that still exist. What stands in the way of their defense is the ruling bureaucracies whose nationalist program of trying to find "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialist rulers has undermined the gains of these revolutions and blocked the road to their extension internationally. We Trotskyists fight to defend and extend the enormous gains embodied in the planned, collectivized economies, particularly through their extension to the imperialist centers. Achieving that aim requires a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist misrulers that sit atop the deformed workers states and building a revolutionary communist international like that established by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

The Real Face of Capitalist Democracy

The left's cynical denunciations of the new Berlusconi right-wing government as "fascist" are merely a rallying cry for a new bourgeois government of reformist parties and "democratic" capitalist parties. This is the game of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), which served for years as a crucial prop to capitalist rule in Italy. RC leader Fausto Bertinotti condemned the police for allowing the Black Bloc to carry out "aggressive and destructive acts" (*Liberazione*, 21 July). In an ominous attempt to redirect the many COBAS workers who last month protested the cop terror into goons against anarchist youth, a spokesman for a COBAS teachers union loosely affiliated to RC called for future COBAS contingents to be armed "with sticks to defend ourselves from the Black Bloc and the police" (*Corriere della Sera*, 8 August).

Luca Casarini, a spokesman for the *Tute Bianche* (White Overalls), allied to the Genoa Social Forum, declaimed:

"The anarchist label is too easy. Appearances are misleading. I only say that some hundreds of these figures were able to destroy the city undisturbed. The water hoses, gas and bullets were reserved for us" (*Corriere della Sera*, 21 July). Such cop-baiting against the Black Bloc soon translated into gangsterist attacks. On August 13, Italian press reported that six *Tute Bianche* members in Marghera (near Venice) beat up supporters of the anarchist Revolutionary Committee who were collecting funds for legal defense and distributing leaflets denouncing the Genoa Social Forum for refusing to defend the Black Bloc. Despite Casarini's best efforts to distance himself from the Black Bloc, he and the *Tute Bianche* are now themselves threatened by the sinister "*Digos*" political police, who charge them with "a large part of the responsibility for the incidents and illegal behavior" in Genoa (*Corriere della Sera*, 26 August).

A statement by Marco Ferrando, leader of Proposta, a current within RC which seeks to sucker leftist youth by posturing as a Trotskyist alternative to the reformist Bertinotti leadership, demonstrated that they are nothing but the "left-wing" ideologues for the violent attack by the *Tute Bianche*. At the end of a lengthy statement, Ferrando declaimed that the Black Bloc has to be "fought," "and in the most radical terms" but "any proposal to place this problem in the hands of the repressive force of the bourgeois state, i.e., the class enemy, has to be rejected" (*Proposta* supplement, 27 July). This is merely centrist window-dressing for Ferrando's argument that the left should create goon squads to police protests against "every form of aggression," both from the state and "from marginal, violent and vandalist fringe elements."

Ferrando & Co. are concerned to keep the "anti-globalization" protests safely within the bounds of bourgeois respectability, and anarchist assaults on the symbols of imperialism are an affront to that. Faithful water boys for RC that they are, Proposta makes no bones that the ultimate aim must be to "throw out the Berlusconi government, for a class alternative," which in the total absence of a perspective to overthrow the bourgeois

Defend Arrested Genoa Protesters!

Donations for the defense of protesters arrested in Genoa are urgently needed. The following organizations are collecting funds for those still imprisoned and for many others facing charges carrying long prison sentences. Send international money orders to:

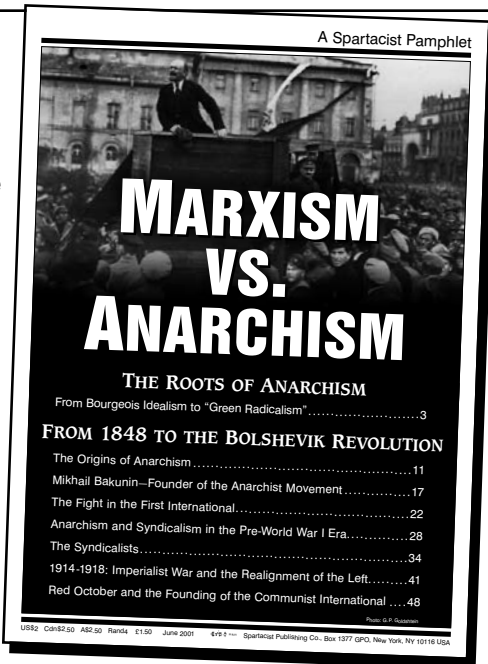
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37022 Göttingen, Germany

This pamphlet presents a comprehensive historical analysis of the origins of anarchism and the views of its leading figures through the 1871 Paris Commune and the split in the First International. Later articles discuss the pre-World War I period and the impact of the war, the 1917 October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International on the anarchist and syndicalist movements.

The first article addresses radical youth today who, in an ideological climate conditioned by the so-called "death of communism," are drawn to all variants of anarchism, Green radicalism and left liberalism. The pamphlet is dedicated to the fight to win a new generation to revolutionary Marxism, the communism which animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party.

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Berlin: Trotskyists Confront Social-Democratic Bloodhounds

We publish below an edited report by a comrade of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.

On August 6, the newspaper *Junge Welt*, which is in the orbit of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), organized a meeting at Humboldt University under the title “Who Is Afraid of Whom?” The hall seated only 400, but 600-700 showed up, mainly youth, many new to politics. Participants included the FAU anarcho-syndicalists, several Black Bloc groups and other anarchists, the Cliffite Links-ruck, the Taaffeite Socialist Alternative and other fake Trotskyists, members of the ATTAC “anti-globalization” coalition and PDSers. Among the featured speakers was Angela Klein, a leading member of the Editorial Board of the *SoZ* newspaper connected to the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, who last month published a scurrilous denunciation of the Black Bloc in *Junge Welt*. You could sense the tension building up in the room.

Klein talked about a continuous rise of state repression increasingly beyond the framework of the “*Rechtsstaat*” (law-based state). She said that repression at an upcoming protest in Brussels will not be as severe as in Genoa because in Italy Fini’s fascist party is in the government. When I interjected that it was the government of D’Alema’s Democratic Left (DS) that prepared Genoa, I got nasty looks from Cliffites and Taaffeites. Klein said it’s outrageous that there are no protests against the Berlusconi government, as there were when Haider’s right-wing party came into government in Austria, and demanded that those responsible for the Genoa police violence be brought before the European Court for Human Rights.

An ATTAC speaker lyingly stated that they stand in solidarity with the Black Bloc as part of the movement but are very critical of its tactics. After some anarchists heckled at the glowing report of ATTAC meeting with the Green Party leadership, the speaker rushed to say, “We’re not being taken over by the Greens.”

The last platform speaker was Lothar Nätebusch, the new chairman of the Berlin area IG BAU construction workers union, who stressed that the unions must get more involved in the anti-globalization movement and referred to the 1997 Berlin construction strike as an example of his union’s fighting ability.

An FAUer behind me shouted, “What about the racist roundups on construction sites in 1997 that the IG BAU supported?” Another FAU guy quietly called for expelling Nätebusch from the meeting. A construction worker sitting next to him said that it’s not right to expel the union, and I said to both of them that the answer doesn’t lie in smashing or deserting the unions but that the unions need a class-struggle leadership that ousts the treacherous social-democratic and racist union bureaucracy. The worker agreed and both guys took our leaflets.

As the floor was opened for discussion (ten minutes total), I spoke second, saying:

“It is hypocritical for Angela Klein to say that nobody refuses to solidarize with the Black Bloc. *Junge Welt* published her article which said that the black of the Black Bloc was the black of the fascists and not the black of the anarchists. Likewise, the speaker from the Berlin Genoa committee, Sascha Kimpel, had denounced the Black Bloc as the ones responsible for the police violence in Genoa at an earlier public meeting. This witchhunt against the anarchists is of direct aid to Schily of the SPD and his new ‘anti-riot police’ [applause].

“It’s hypocritical of Angela Klein to demand a new anti-Haider campaign led by the European social-democratic governments. The police violence in Genoa was prepared by the ‘left’ D’Alema government. It was the social democrats who ordered the shooting of protesters with live ammunition in Göteborg!

“The anarchists are not Nazis but courageous fighters against imperialism, war, and fascism. Yet the anarchists have no clue whatsoever of how to really smash capitalism. What’s urgently needed now are protest strikes. Tens of thousands of workers poured into Genoa to commemorate Carlo Giuliani. Such strike action will help to break the working class from their illusions in the ‘*Rechtsstaat*’ crap promoted by the likes of Angela Klein and especially from the social-democratic union bureaucracy which ties the working class to the capitalist system and whose representative here today avoids answering the question of why they ignited a racist campaign against foreign workers in 1997. Militant protest strikes would show the way and could win the advanced workers to a fight for socialist revolution which would smash the murderous bourgeois state. To achieve this goal you need a truly revolutionary internationalist party, which we Spartakists fight to build.”

When I denounced the social democrats over Göteborg, I got strong applause from the back of the hall—and a remin-

der from the podium to cut it short. At the end, I was also applauded, while one woman shouted, “Where is your goddamn working class?!”

As the hall erupted in commotion, the *Junge Welt* chair tried to calm down the crowd, saying: “So far the discussion has been in a spirit of solidarity. Let’s keep it that way.” An anarchist then shouted back: “I’m furious at you. The first time that the word violence was mentioned today was also the first time that there was talk of the autonomes!” Then Klein got really angry and said, “You don’t

said that such conflict isn’t the way to win the majority of the population to left-radical ideas. He expressed solidarity with the IG BAU bureaucrat’s speech and argued for using the upcoming Berlin election campaign to fight against cutbacks in social services. When he finished, there was a lot of heckling and I shouted, “Why didn’t you tell the people here that you will vote PDS, the party proposing the biggest cutbacks in Berlin?”

Our literature table was approached by many anarchists. One from Mehringhof, the main anarchist *autonome* center in Berlin, expressed surprise that I was so angry—after all you had to expect what happened. I replied, why then didn’t the Mehringhof anarchists speak to denounce the violence-baiting of Klein & Co? If all they have to offer is applause to a Spartakist intervention while remaining part of the Berlin Genoa coalition, that’s not much. He asked what’s the point, and I



AFF

Italian riot police attack Genoa protester. Fake lefts have joined in witchhunt against anarchist militants facing state repression.

know what you’re talking about.... I was at the COBAS demo and the anarchists wanted to take it over.... Many COBAS workers were afraid of the anarchists. And to be honest, I couldn’t tell if they were anarchists, cops, fascists or what. I was afraid of them, too!” A furious anarchist in the back shouted: “Then buy yourself some glasses! Anarchists aren’t fascists!” Klein went on to talk about anarchists abusing the COBAS demonstration, smashing shop windows, burning down banks and being armed (god forbid!) with wooden planks and gas masks! Many anarchists left the room in disgust.

A speaker from Linksruck was booed by some anarchists when he said that people shouldn’t be polemical and the movement had to show unity in order to grow. Then he got laughed at when he

answered that if he acquiesces to the politics of the coalition, then he acquiesces to Angela Klein’s social-democratic politics.

A young anarchist from Italy asked me for the positions of ATTAC, IG BAU and Angela Klein on the Black Bloc. She was disgusted. She told me that she and her parents are part of the Naples affiliate of the Genoa Social Forum, but after Genoa she’s no longer so sure about nonviolent civil disobedience, and the more the Black Bloc gets attacked the more she likes them. She had heard of our Italian newspaper *Spartaco* before. She had thought that all Trotskyists loved Bertinotti’s reformist Rifondazione Comunista (RC). But she liked the call in *Spartaco* for building a revolutionary party and she loved the headline, “No vote to DS, RC!” ■

order can only mean another popular-front government, more or less “leftist,” to administer the interests of the capitalists.

The Lega Trotskista d’Italia, section of the ICL, has solidarized with the Black Bloc anarchists in the face of state repression and “left” witchhunting and joined in collecting funds for the defense of those arrested. Speaking during the discussion period at an August 24 “globalization” debate in Brescia which featured Casarini as well as RC spokesmen on the platform, an LTD’I comrade declared:

“Blood and death in Genoa have torn away the mask of democracy and we saw the real face of capitalist democracy; this system of exploitation, imperialist domination and racist oppression is not based on a struggle of ideas, but on the repressive machine of the capitalist state that defends it. No amount of pressure, prayers or threats can change it. It must be overthrown by a workers revolution giving power to those who labor.

“It’s really hypocritical for RC to invoke Marx and Rosa Luxemburg when from the very first day after Genoa they and

the trade-union bureaucrats have run to support the capitalist state, laying the blame for repression at the door of the ‘provocation’ by ‘subversive’ and ‘violent’ anarchists and the Black Bloc. They are running a poisonous campaign to criminalize the Black Bloc by saying they are all fascists or cops. As for Casarini, he likes to make tirades against parties and vanguards, but he is actually a member of the Green party, the ‘heroic’ bombers of Kosovo. And the Tute Bianche have even attacked some anarchists in Venice who were collecting money in support of the arrested.

“Those who attack the symbols of capitalist exploitation have their hearts in the right place, and such acts of anger and frustration against oppression are perfectly understandable. However, the anarchists themselves have no program of any sort to overthrow the capitalist system. The working class has the social power to do it.

“These struggles must not be channeled into support for yet another capitalist government including DS [Democratic Left] and RC. What we need is a revolutionary workers party. Smash the imperialist butchers through workers revolution! Workers to power throughout the world!” ■

Spartacus Youth Club Events

BAY AREA

Tuesdays, 7 p.m.

Introduction to Marxism

September 11: First Class
UC Berkeley, Room TBA
Information and room: (510) 839-0851

MADISON

Tuesday, September 4, 5 p.m.

Meet the Marxists

Univ. of Wisconsin, Memorial Union
Information and room: (312) 563-0441

TORONTO

Alternate Wednesdays, 5:30 p.m.

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

Sept. 19: The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action

York University Student Ctr. Room 313
Information and readings: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Wednesday, September 12, 7 p.m.

Meet the Spartacus Youth Marxism vs. Anarchism

Class Series: Wednesdays, 7 p.m.

The Fight for Revolutionary Marxism

Sept. 19: The Communist Manifesto—A Guide to Action

University of British Columbia
Student Union Building, Room 211,
Information and readings: (604) 687-0353
email: tlit@look.ca

Visit the ICL Web Site!

www.icl-fi.org

Reformists Preach Reliance on Racist “Justice” System

Smash the Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!

On August 17, attorneys for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal appeared before Pennsylvania state judge Pamela Dembe in an attempt to present dramatic new evidence of Jamal’s innocence, centered on the sworn confession of Arnold Beverly that he, not Mumia, shot Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner in 1981 (see “New Jamal Legal Papers Rip Frame-Up to Shreds,” WV No. 762, 3 August). Judge Dembe ordered Mumia’s new defense team to submit legal papers by September 7 arguing why the new evidence—detailed in a 272-page Post-Conviction Relief petition and related affidavits, including by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein—should even be heard by the court. In July, federal judge William Yohn refused to hear the new evidence as he prepares his ruling on Jamal’s *habeas corpus* appeal.

With his very life on the line, Jamal was barred from the hearing. In a protest read to the court by attorney Marlene Kamish, Jamal denounced the “long and tortured history” of the denial of his right of representation, stating that “through no fault of my own, 18 years ago Judge Sabo unjustly banned me from virtually half my trial. Today I am banned from a proceeding in my name, in my defense, without reason or justification.”

Protests organized by the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Socialist Action (SA), Refuse & Resist and the Workers World Party (WWP) drew some 1,000 outside the Philadelphia court hearing while 500 gathered the next day in San Francisco. The Revolutionary Contingent organized by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth Club and Labor Black League for Social Defense in San Francisco carried signs reading “New Evidence Explodes Frame-Up! Free Mumia Now!” and “There Is No Justice in the Capitalist Courts! For Class-Struggle Defense to Free Mumia Now!” As a speaker for the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, stated in addressing the San Francisco rally:

“The greater the evidence of Jamal’s innocence, the more the courts are speeding up the process to execute him, the more they refuse to hear the evidence.

“This powerful black journalist, this MOVE supporter and former Black Panther Party spokesman is a symbol of defiant opposition to racist repression. The capitalist rulers are determined to execute him as a warning to all those who challenge cop terror, to all those who stand up for labor’s rights and to all those who protest U.S. imperialism’s mass murder abroad.

“The new legal papers and new affidavits, including by the Partisan Defense Committee’s general counsel, expose the truth. But in this capitalist system of injustice, the truth is insufficient to secure Jamal’s freedom. What we need is not just more truth but more social power. The day after Carlo Giuliani was killed [in Genoa], the Italian working class came out by the thousands—300,000—to protest this vicious assault. It is this social power—multiracial, international, proletarian—mobilized not only in demonstrations but in political strikes that we have to mobilize

on behalf of Jamal. And to unleash this power, we have to do something that hasn’t been talked about much here today, which is mobilize the workers independently of the capitalist class, independently of the Democrats, independently of the Republicans, independently of the Greens.”

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

The new evidence of Jamal’s innocence must be a clarion call for mass mobilizations centered on the power of the labor movement demanding freedom for Mumia. But far from using the Beverly confession to expose the capitalist frame-

not on the call for Mumia’s unconditional freedom but for a “new trial.” Their treacherous reliance on the capitalist state only demobilized support for Jamal: Why seek to bring out labor/black power on the streets if Jamal can receive justice in the capitalist courts?

Ever since the Spartacist League and PDC first took up Jamal’s defense some 14 years ago, we stressed that his case was symbolic of the barbaric, racist death penalty in the U.S. The *New York Times* (21 May 2000) acknowledged that truth with a photo caption reading “Mumia Abu-Jamal, the face of capital punish-



Revolutionary Contingent in August 18 San Francisco rally for Jamal: For mass mobilizations centered on labor’s social power to fight for Mumia’s freedom!

up system and mobilize fresh forces from among workers and ghetto and barrio youth, the reformist left portrays it as just another legal argument for deliberation by the courts which railroaded Mumia to death row in the first place.

In *Socialist Action* (June 2001), Jeff Mackler extensively reports the confession and other affidavits, only to conclude that they provide “ample support for Mumia’s new petition to secure a second Post Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) hearing.” Mackler co-signed a statement for the San Francisco protest declaring: “We must fight to make the price of Mumia’s legal lynching too high to pay in regard to a fundamental loss of confidence in the so-called criminal justice system.” There you have the consummate expression of the reformists’ central concern: that the masses will lose confidence in the “justice” of the capitalist courts. In contrast, the PDC speaker in San Francisco declared: “Jamal’s defense is all about building that loss of confidence. Jamal’s defense is about making conscious the understanding of the capitalist state as organized violence and repression *against* the working class, *against* the oppressed.”

The reformist left’s strategy was—and continues to be—based on appealing to Democratic Party liberals whose concern was that the blatant frame-up methods employed against Jamal tarnished the image of impartial, “blind” justice. To that end, for years the reformists focused

ment in America.” A host of bourgeois liberals added their name to Mumia’s cause, such as Jesse Jackson, who appeared at Jamal’s August 17 court hearing. But in recent years, most liberals have abandoned Jamal, even as popular opposition to the death penalty has increased. Why is this?

The overwhelming support for the death penalty in the U.S. has been shaken by the numerous cases of those who barely escaped execution after proving their innocence. In Illinois, Republican governor George Ryan implemented a moratorium on executions early last year, and now other states (including in the Southern “death belt”) have started to provide some minimal funding for legal defense for indigent death row prisoners and to introduce provisions for DNA testing. Even Supreme Court justice Sandra Day O’Connor, a strong backer of the death penalty, voiced concern that “the system may well be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed.” The liberals see things moving toward “cleaning up” the system’s “excesses,” and they do not want to be tainted with the case of a dreadlocked former Black Panther who considers himself a revolutionary, writes biting critiques of American imperialism and was convicted of killing a cop.

Representative of this type is Marc Cooper, a contributing editor for *The Nation*, who last year wrote a scurrilous piece titled “What’s Mumia Got to



WV Photo

Do With It?” which appeared in *Mother Jones*. Cooper smeared Jamal as a “politically dubious cult-groupie” and argued that the fight for his freedom is bad for the broader anti-death penalty movement. Cooper demanded of Mumia’s supporters: “Find another movement to be a part of!” The social democrats of *In These Times*, through the writings of one David Lindorff, have openly solidarized with the state’s effort to legally lynch Jamal.

Vilifying the Beverly confession in the 11 June issue, Lindorff echoes the D.A.’s lie that “Abu-Jamal was as much part of the decision not to use Beverly as were his two erstwhile attorneys,” Leonard Weinglass and Dan Williams—a key argument used by Judge Yohn in ruling against admitting the confession as evidence.

Reformists Bow to Capitalist Courts

In a statement to rallies on his behalf on May 12, barely a week after Beverly’s affidavit was filed, Jamal declared: “Many of you have said that you don’t believe in the system, yet, in your hearts you refuse to let it go.... And, if you by chance choose not to join me, I have one simple request: don’t get in my way.” The reformists’ belief in “the system” was more than evident at those protests. They abetted the bourgeois media’s blackout of the Beverly confession because it lays bare the workings of the racist frame-up system and runs against their ingrained belief in capitalist “justice.” In Philadelphia, speakers from the WWP and

its International Action Center did not even mention the new evidence, while in San Francisco Mackler presented a “legal update” without once referring to it!

This was simply a continuation of their reaction when Williams published a perfidious “inside account” of the case, *Executing Justice*, leading Mumia to fire Williams and Weinglass. The main purpose of the book was to preemptively discredit the Beverly confession, which Weinglass and Williams had suppressed for two years. Mackler alibied Williams’ dismissal of Beverly’s testimony as some kind of deranged conspiracy theory in *Socialist Action* (April 2001). And in a February 22 letter to Mumia, Weinglass noted that Refuse & Resist leader “Clark Kissinger, according to Dan, found nothing wrong with the book.”

The reformists eventually felt compelled to publicize the new evidence because to not do so would thoroughly discredit them in the eyes of those

continued on page 14

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Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

Asian and European cars. But in the smaller cities outside Havana, public transport still often consists of flatbed trucks or horse-drawn carriages. For travel between cities, people, including soldiers in uniform, crowd around the edge of the road hoping for a ride on a truck. Meanwhile, tourists get modern, air-conditioned buses and taxis.

In terms of food, even in the depths of the crisis a ration system prevented the pervasive starvation which is endemic in underdeveloped capitalist countries. But the ration system still provides only basic minimums and there are shortages. For example, beef is only available in restaurants. I was invited to a worker's apartment where they were cooking a couple of pounds of nice beef. They had gotten the beef on the black market, from a friend who works in a slaughterhouse. In outlying areas, police even set up highway checkpoints to search for contraband beef, supplies of which are reserved for tourists and the army.

Medicines are also in short supply. The U.S. recently relaxed the embargo to allow the purchase of food and medicine—but on a cash-only basis, which is very difficult for Cuba. A couple of Canadian comrades who befriended a doctor on an earlier visit to a rural part of Cuba described how grateful she was when they brought her two bottles of aspirin. At the same time, she was incredulous when they told her that, because of health care cuts, it took five months to see an orthopedic specialist in Canada. She emphasized that for all the problems in Cuba, this could never happen there. The comrades said that her clinic had little equip-



Mario García Joya

Literacy brigades, Havana, 1961: creation of planned, collectivized economy meant enormous strides especially for black people.

private family restaurants, arts and crafts, bicycle repair, taxis and every other kind of service. More ominously, 60-75 percent of agriculture has been privatized either under farmers' collectives or individual private farmers. They are often required to sell part of what they grow to the state, but the rest goes to the market and reportedly a lot of farmers are getting rich. I was told that private farmers often hire laborers and that the government closes its eyes to this. In the cities, there are well-off types—whether bureaucrats or black marketeers or both, one can't quite know—who have nice cars and VCRs amid the general hardship.

Our tour guide was a prominent doctor who supports the revolution. His political views, which he presented as the views of "everybody," in fact represent the views of significant layers of the petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy in Cuba. He said

communism, would be a society that stands higher in its economic development than the most advanced capitalism. Marx and Engels declared that socialism could not be achieved in a single country and would require as a starting point workers revolution in at least several *advanced* capitalist countries.

To declare that Cuba is "socialist" under conditions in which basic food items must be strictly rationed, when working-class apartments may not have even a working refrigerator or television, when the standard mode of transportation is, at best, bicycles or overcrowded buses, is to utterly compromise the name of socialism. As Karl Marx stated, "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise for communism, because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and



AFF

ment, but they were impressed by a wall chart tracking health problems of the whole local population—from obesity and alcoholism to heart disease and AIDS—demonstrating the serious commitment to preventative medicine.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Castro's response to the collapse of the Soviet bloc was to enact new policies allowing foreign capitalists to invest in Cuba in joint ventures, vastly increasing promotion of tourism, legalizing use of the U.S. dollar, privatizing most of the agricultural sector and allowing self-employment—i.e., petty capitalism—in the service sector. Taken individually, as a means to increase industrial development and economic output, each of these reforms has some character of economic necessity as a response to the crisis and isolation. But these policies have also allowed the imperialists a hand in Cuba's economy, increased inequality and created a layer of petty capitalists who can become a base for capitalist counterrevolution. While the state ostensibly retains 51 percent ownership in joint ventures, the regime reportedly offers the British 60 percent of the revenue in joint ventures, as a gesture of "goodwill" and "compensation" for British capital expropriated during the revolution.

There are something like 200,000 licensed self-employed in 150 categories:

that people support Castro's moving "step by step" in the direction of "change," by which he meant political liberalization and the market. He said, "All the world is a market, and you cannot have a different regime." He predicted that Cuba will retain certain forms of nationalization and free education and health care, but will end up with "Caribbean socialism," a "mixed economy." This perspective, derived from the nationalist program of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which rejects the possibility of workers revolution outside of Cuba, is pessimistic and also unrealistic. There is no way that a poor country like Cuba can have free education and health care except through a planned economy and a workers state. With the former *gusano* bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism a mere 90 miles away, the choice facing Cuba is either international extension of the revolution or capitalist counterrevolution.

We have in Cuba what we Trotskyists call a *deformed workers state*, that is, a state with tremendous evident contradictions, based on proletarian property relations but ruled by a privileged bureaucratic caste whose nationalist outlook is expressed in the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." Castro and his cheerleaders on the left internationally declare that Cuba is "socialist." Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, argued that socialism, which they called the lower stage of



Marta Nascimento

Line for food rations. Despite imperialist blockade, Cuba maintains free health care, quality medical research.

that means that all the old crap must revive." In Cuba, with its heritage of pre-revolutionary backwardness, suffering from a savage imperialist embargo exacerbated by the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the "struggle for existence" not only has not lessened but has intensified.

Economic contradictions produce social antagonisms, which in turn develop their own logic. Will the private farmers and well-off layers not demand a greater field of investment and exploitation? Will the Castro bureaucracy itself, in whose hands power and privileges are concentrated, maintain defense of the workers state, even for its own purposes? We have seen in the USSR and East Europe that whole sections of the bureaucracy embraced the road of capitalist counterrevolution. In any case, to paraphrase Leon Trotsky, co-leader with V.I. Lenin of the Russian October Revolution, it is impossible to answer finally and definitely the question in what direction the economic contradictions and social antagonisms of Cuba will develop in the next three, five or ten years. The outcome depends upon a struggle of living social forces, not only in Cuba but on an international scale.

In Cuba I was told that the Cuban people will never give up free education and health care, and that if any government attempted to take these away, then "there would be another revolution." But there needs to be a revolutionary workers party built in Cuba that will fight to defend

and extend the gains of the revolution *before* they are reversed. The task facing the Cuban working class is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party to lead a *proletarian political revolution* that ousts the Castroite bureaucracy and erects a government based on soviet democracy—the rule of workers councils—and revolutionary internationalism.

Origins of the Cuban Deformed Workers State

Our international tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), originated in large measure over the question of the Cuban Revolution, beginning as the Revolutionary Tendency in the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the early 1960s. We struggled to defend the Trotskyist program—centrally the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the working class in a fight for political power—against the SWP majority's uncritical enthusing over Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist" and embrace of Cuba as a healthy workers state. The SWP's cheerleading for the petty-bourgeois Castroites in Cuba and tailing after liberal and black nationalist elements in the American civil rights movement reflected its pessimism about the perspective of workers revolution in the U.S.

In contrast, we emphasize that the Cuban workers state has been bureaucratically deformed from its inception, when pervasive nationalizations of capitalist property in the summer and fall of 1960 liquidated the Cuban bourgeoisie as a class (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 8, "Cuba and Marxist Theory"). Castro was a former supporter of the liberal bourgeois Ortodoxo party. The rebel army which entered Havana on 1 January 1959 was a politically heterogeneous petty-bourgeois formation. The guerrilla war it had waged was militarily marginal but it was the last straw for the corrupt, U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which was hated by the masses, increasingly isolated from the upper layers of Cuban society and finally abandoned by its imperialist patrons. As the old bourgeois state apparatus lay shattered, Castro initially formed a coalition government with liberal bourgeois politicians. Confronted with the Eisenhower administration's clumsy attempts to bring the revolution to heel through brute economic pressure, under the pressure of the Cuban masses the petty-bourgeois Castro government responded with an escalating series of measures against American imperialism. This culminated in the expropriation of the vast holdings of American corporations in Cuba and of the Cuban bourgeoisie itself.

One must understand that there were two conditions which allowed the Castro government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. First, the absence of a class-conscious proletariat: if the proletariat had contended for power, the petty-bourgeois militants would have been polarized, drawing some to the workers' side and repelling others back into the arms of the bourgeois order. The decisive section of the Castroites could make the transition to the leadership of a deformed workers state because, in the absence of the egalitarianism and proletarian democracy of a state directly won by the working people, they never had to transcend their own petty-bourgeois social appetites.

Secondly, the existence of the Soviet Union as Cuba's military protector and economic partner was a necessary condition for the creation of the Cuban deformed workers state. Indeed, it was the existence of the Soviet Union which laid the basis for the creation of all the deformed workers states in the decades following World War II. Today, after the collapse of the USSR as a powerful counterweight and deterrent to imperialism, there is no room for maneuver by Third World petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalists. Look, for example, at the program of the Zapatista (EZLN) guerrillas in Mexico, who have never called themselves socialist and only try to

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Cuba...

(continued from page 11)

pressure the capitalist government. EZLN leader Subcomandante Marcos recently assured the capitalists that the EZLN wants to work with “free enterprise” and that they “don’t want to create a Union of Socialist Republics of Central America.”

The bankruptcy of the petty-bourgeois guerrilla road—which, at best, in exceptional circumstances, could produce only *deformed* workers states—drives home the need for new workers revolutions on the model of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, which was internationalist to the core and inspired workers and the oppressed throughout the world. Lenin’s Bolshevik Party immediately set out to found the Communist International, whose purpose was to build Communist parties in every country.

But the pressure of imperialist encirclement, the devastation of the Russian working class in the Civil War against counterrevolutionary and imperialist forces in 1918-20 and the lengthy isolation of the Russian Revolution enabled a bureaucratic layer headed by Stalin to usurp political power in a political counterrevolution in 1923-24. Stalin’s theory of “socialism in one country,” expressing the nationally limited interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy, turned the Communist International from an instrument of the world revolution into an obstacle to workers revolution. For the sake of “peace” with imperialism, the Stalinists helped to derail and crush many opportunities for workers revolution over the decades, from Spain in the 1930s to France, Italy and Greece after World War II to France in 1968, to name just a few examples.

Economic “Reforms” Undermine Gains for Women, Blacks

The problems and contradictions of Cuba in its isolation are most apparent in the question of money. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, scarcity and destitution made the Cuban peso fairly worthless and produced an underground economy based on the U.S. dollar. In 1993, seeking to undermine the black market and subject more economic activity to regulation and taxation, the Cuban government legalized use of the dollar. This is a formalization of Cuba’s dependence on the world capitalist market. It is also a



Glinn/Magnum

Castro’s petty-bourgeois rebel forces enter Havana, New Year’s Day 1959. In summer-fall 1960, Castro regime expropriated U.S. imperialist holdings. Right: Cuban militiaman guards expropriated oil refinery.



Wide World

means of foreign capitalist penetration, and capitalists who invest in Cuba then have a lever to dictate political conditions for investment. *Gusanos* can again wield influence by sending or withholding dollars to their relatives. “Dollarization” has produced inequality and demoralization.

One of our guides, the foremost cardiovascular surgeon in Cuba and director of surgery at Havana University, makes \$40 per month. Pensioners and unskilled workers may make \$5-\$10 per month, skilled workers up to \$20. The vast majority of wages paid by the state are in pesos. But those with access to dollars can make many times that amount. Thus many doctors, nurses and other professionals work in tourist jobs as waiters, taxi cab drivers, etc. in order to get dollar tips. Our tour bus driver was formerly a mechanical engineer. I met a retired man who said his last job was as a porter in a hotel. With the money he earned from tips he was able to remodel his home. Our guide told us that those making the most money are the private farmers. Those who get sent money from relatives in Miami are also better off.

The bureaucracy is aware of the anger at inequality. We were told that the National Assembly passed a law that future pay raises must go to those who receive all their income in pesos and none in dollars. This law was passed because they were afraid that if nothing was done to slow the rise of inequality, “there would be riots.”

Another insidious aspect of the current situation is the booming tourist industry in

Cuba, much of it financed and operated by Spanish, Italian, German and other foreign capitalists in joint ventures. Between 1994 and 2000, the number of foreign tourists tripled to 2 million. Cubans are generally barred from top-level tourist hotels. Castro justifies this policy, often referred to as “tourist apartheid,” by referring to the need for hard currency, stating, “Only a petty-bourgeois dandy can’t understand why Cubans can’t use these rooms.” One person I talked to who plans to emigrate said with bitterness that when he visited Canada he had the right to stay in whatever hotel he wanted. True, in a capitalist country you usually have the right to stay at whatever hotel you want, but if the average worker tries to stay at the Ritz-Carlton, he won’t be eating for a while!

Another example I saw of the reintroduction of elements of class differentiation in Cuba is the old Havana Yacht Club, which before the revolution denied membership even to President Batista, because he was a mulatto. In recent years, it has been revived as an exclusive club where Cuban officials can wine and dine foreign capitalists and diplomats while making business deals.

The conditions of scarcity and the “market reform” policies of the bureaucracy are undermining the gains of the revolution and result in some demoralization of the population, as the bureaucracy offers the Cuban masses no perspective of how the crisis can be solved except through moral exhortation and making deals with and concessions to the imperialists. Thus, in the absence of a revolutionary internationalist perspective, even among elements of the population who recognize the gains of the revolution there is pressure to emigrate to the rich imperialist country to the north. This could be a destabilizing factor, as seen in the 1994 “raft people” crisis, when thousands of Cubans dangerously set out on rafts and makeshift boats to the U.S. The U.S. has always had a policy of encouraging Cuban emigration, declaring that any Cuban who makes it to U.S. shores has the right to stay. This is in stark contrast to the racist policies of the American government in excluding and deporting black Haitian and other immigrants from Third World neocolonies.

The erosion of the gains of the revolution is evident in the situation of women and blacks. Because of the planned economy, women have made tremendous advances in Cuba. Cuban women have a great degree of economic independence, having access to education and skilled occupations on an almost equal basis with men, with equal pay for equal work being the official policy. Cuban women have the right to free abortion on demand, and sex education and birth control are promoted, though in practice methods of birth control other than abortion are unavailable to the vast majority. There are no restrictions on the right to divorce, and women are granted substantial maternity leave. The government has eliminated the marital status of the mother on birth certificates, thus eliminating the reactionary bourgeois concept of “illegitimacy.” Women are a considerable base of support to the revolution.

However, scarcity takes its toll. We visited a local center of the Federation of Cuban Women. The directors of the center told us that a big problem in Havana is that housing is so scarce that when couples divorce they may have to live together for a considerable period until one of them finds someone with whom to swap apartments. I visited a housing office where many people were applying to swap apartments. Also, there are not enough childcare facilities for all children under five years of age, so some mothers must stay home. The center offers classes in things such as haircutting and sewing so women forced to stay at home can earn some income through self-employment. Also the period of economic crisis and the boom in tourism have driven many women into prostitution; even women who have jobs take up prostitution for extra income to purchase necessities.

Women’s rights are also threatened by the growth of religion and government policies conciliating religion. After a visit in 1988 by Jesse Jackson, Castro established the Cuban Council of Churches. In 1991, the Communist Party opened up membership to religious people. In 1998, Castro even sponsored a tour of Cuba by Pope John Paul II, the fanatical anti-woman, anti-abortion bigot who godfathered, along with the CIA, the counter-revolutionary Solidarność movement in Poland. Now the Vatican wants to promote counterrevolution in Cuba.

The situation of gays, who in previous decades suffered typical Stalinist discrimination and repression, has improved. I attended a talk by Eliades Acosta, director of the National Public Library, who discussed the case of the gay Cuban poet Reinaldo Arenas, the subject of the recent American movie *Before Night Falls*. Arenas was imprisoned in the 1970s for “corrupting youth.” Acosta on the one hand expressed the puritanical Stalinist mindset, declaring that unlike “normal homosexuals” Arenas had “shown off his homosexuality.” However, Acosta averred that Arenas “was not understood” at the time and the repression he suffered “must not happen again.”

The revolution brought great gains for black people—capitalist Cuba replicated the racism of its U.S. imperialist overlords. Today Cuba offers a stark contrast to the U.S. in the degree of social integration of blacks and whites; interracial couples are common, racism is officially illegal and black people have access to jobs and education. Because of the gains for blacks in Cuba, Castro has always been popular in Harlem. As a result of his visit to Harlem a couple of years ago, Cuba this year is beginning a program giving free medical education to minority youth from the United States, stipulating that after they graduate they should serve poor minority communities in the U.S. However, black Cubans still tend to have lower-paying jobs and the dollarization of the economy has increased racial stratification—the Miami *gusanos* who send dollars to their relatives are overwhelmingly white. For all that, a black nurse met by our Canadian comrades emphasized that she had no desire to go to the U.S., given all she has heard about the racism in Miami.

South Africa...

(continued from page 3)

finally withdrew the lawsuit denying production of cheap anti-retrovirals under the pressure of international protests, the ANC-led capitalist government has refused to do anything to make the anti-AIDS drugs available. The ANC government has withheld drugs like AZT and Nevirapine from the desperately impoverished masses as mother-to-child transmission of the virus is daily adding to the toll of those dying who could be saved by even minimal access to these drugs. While the epidemic spreads, government privatisations of public enterprises means patients lie on the floor at Johannesburg and Chris Hani Baragwanath hospitals, waiting for beds and physicians as services are slashed. Not surprisingly, struggles over access to quality health care and affordable drugs continue to erupt across the country.

In the early stages of the epidemic in America, AIDS was largely stigmatised as a “gay disease” and therefore research and treatment were ignored, despite the far vaster resources available to American capitalism. Today, even those privileged few with access to expensive anti-retroviral cocktails continue to endure diverse forms of social discrimination. At the same time, American racism denies access to existing treatments for ghetto and barrio residents, among whom AIDS is now growing most drastically. As the accompanying article shows, “AIDS

Ravages Black America” [WV No. 759, 25 May]. Blacks and Hispanics account for *two-thirds* of new AIDS cases. Black women in particular account for 64 percent of all new infections among women in the U.S.

Under capitalism, the availability and quality of health care for the masses of working people will always be subordinated to the drive for profit. As Marxists, we understand that scientific progress cannot rise above or be separated from class interests in any society. The modern gains of science will be put fully in the service of humanity when world socialist revolution sweeps away capitalist rule. The AIDS epidemic underscores the irrationality and cruelty of capitalism and imperialism. The International Communist League fights to build the revolutionary workers party necessary to lead a workers revolution to victory. As revolutionary Trotskyists, we do not simply seek to expose the exploitation of workers in the factories, but always to champion struggles against every manifestation of social oppression and police tyranny. As Lenin emphasised in *What Is To Be Done?*, a revolutionary socialist aims not to be a trade-union official, but a “tribune of the people”: “[H]e is no Social-Democrat who forgets in practice that ‘the Communists support every revolutionary movement,’ that we are obliged for that reason to expound and emphasise *general democratic tasks before the whole people*, without for a moment concealing our socialist convictions.” ■

I was able to walk around working-class districts and was invited into the homes of many workers. Among almost all Cubans there is a basic level of support to the revolution, but the absence of workers democracy and the prohibition of any organized political opposition to Castro produces resignation and frustration, especially among the youth, many of whom hang out on the streets at night. One young worker, who occupies his spare time studying science, said simply that a serious problem is that “there is only one party.” Another, angry at the inequalities of dollarization, complained that he had no time for politics and that he could not raise political views freely. While one group of poorly paid young workers said that they feel “pessimism,” a group of poor young blacks, including aspiring Olympic athletes, were ardent supporters of Castro and pointed to their participation in the anti-imperialist rallies for the return of Elián González last year. They were unhappy with the inequalities in Cuba but accepted them as necessary sacrifices of the “Special Period.” Among the contradictions of Cuba is that you have youth who ardently support Castro but also hang around tourist areas hoping to hustle some dollars.

U.S. Reformists Tail Imperialist Liberals

In a restaurant in Cuba I talked with an anarchist from Vancouver who said he likes the Cuban peoples’ “sense of community” but dislikes that there are policemen on street corners. What this anarchist (and any anarchist) cannot answer is how the Cuban working people could have this “sense of community” based on the revolution without a state—armed bodies of men—to suppress the danger of counterrevolution.

The fake-Marxist International Socialist Organization (ISO) in the U.S. are outright scabs on the Cuban Revolution. The ISO’s claim that Cuba is “state capitalist” is simply a cover for their fundamental identification with capitalist imperialism. The basic means of production in Cuba—industry, etc.—remain socialized. The Castro bureaucracy does not own the means of production but is an administrative hierarchy which enjoys privileges as a caste of embezzlers and social parasites, not as a ruling class. What is needed is not a social revolution to change the property relations, but a political revolution to oust the bureaucracy but *retain and develop the planned economy*. By making common cause with the bourgeoisie against Stalinism in the name of “democracy,” the ISO ends up in the camp of counterrevolution. In 1994, the ISO hailed a counterrevolutionary riot on the Havana waterfront. The reactionary scum were swept away by a spontaneous outpouring of 10,000 trade unionists and others, including construction worker brigades and neighborhood Committees to Defend the Revolution.

Other fake-socialist groups like Socialist Action and the Socialist Workers Party posture as “friends of Cuba,” organizing “solidarity” protests with liberals and appealing to Congressional Democrats to push for an end to the embargo. While adulating the Stalinist Castro bureaucracy in Cuba, these groups joined with the ISO in supporting the “democratic” counterrevolution led by Boris Yeltsin in the Soviet Union, and thus share responsibility for the grave dangers and isolation Cuba now faces. Almost all Cubans I talked to would spit on such “leftists,” understanding that Cuba’s current crisis began with the collapse of the “communist camp.”

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Castro has turned ever more to nationalist ideology to bolster his support. One can find nary a poster or statue of Lenin around Havana; instead there is the incessant reference to “national hero” Jose Martí and other leaders of the nationalist struggle against Spanish colonialism. I was told that there are plans to resurrect the statues of bourgeois presidents from the period of U.S. domination, as part of “reclaiming” Cuba’s prerevolutionary

“heritage.” In the same vein, Cuba has devoted great resources, with assistance from Spain, to renovating the old Spanish colonial buildings and plazas of Old Havana. This is done to attract tourists. Certainly, the renovation of beautiful historic buildings is not a bad thing, but Castro calls this a campaign to restore the “national patrimony” and it has somewhat the character of rehabilitating colonial and neocolonial “culture.”

In this regard, I was disgusted by a comment made by the Stalinist Acosta at the talk I attended. Speaking to U.S. tourists, Acosta appealed for friendly relations between the U.S. and Cuba, arguing that after all the countries share a “common history and culture” which the U.S. does not have with “Iraq or Malaysia.” This “common history” is a history of imperialist domination. At a glitzy new “Havana Club,” the decor and music deliberately evoked the prerevolutionary 1940s and ’50s, when Havana was a playground for American gangsters and capitalists. This indicates something of what capitalist counterrevolution would mean: a resubjugation of Cuba under the heel of U.S. imperialism.

That is also why significant sections of the U.S. ruling class are calling for an end to the trade embargo against Cuba; they see trade and investment as a means to foment counterrevolution and return Cuba to the sphere of U.S. domination.



WV Photo

Make no mistake: the European and Canadian capitalists who have investments in Cuba are not “friends” of Cuba. They profit from their deals and seek ever wider fields of exploitation in Cuba.

Smash U.S. Imperialism!

Ultimately, the only alternative to capitalist counterrevolution is international socialist revolution, which has never been Castro’s perspective. When Castro proclaimed the revolution “socialist” in 1961, he adopted not the Marxist program of international workers revolution but “socialism in one country.” The corollary to this Stalinist “theory” is “peaceful coexistence” with imperialism. Che Guevara expressed this policy very clearly in a 1964 speech at the United Nations, calling for “peaceful coexistence between states with different economic and social systems.”

Three years later, Guevara was assassinated at the behest of the U.S. as he heroically led a guerrilla struggle in Bolivia, one of many inspired by the Cuban Revolution in Latin America in the 1960s and ’70s. But the Cuban Stalinists have always opposed socialist revolution abroad. In Chile in the early 1970s, Castro supported Salvador Allende’s “Popular Unity” government—a bourgeois coalition including the Socialists and Communists along with capitalist parties—and the “peaceful, constitutional road to socialism,” which meant disarming the working class and paving the way for Pinochet’s CIA-sponsored coup. Following Allende’s election in 1970, we urgently warned of the danger of a right-wing military coup and called for the revolutionary mobilization of the working class. Thus, some months before the

September 1973 coup we wrote in “Pop Front Imperils Chilean Workers” (WV No. 14, December 1972):

“The key to a revolutionary program in Chile is the question of state power—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore we demand the creation of ‘ARMED WORKERS MILITIAS BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.’ Initially directed against fascist bands, these will be crucial instruments in splitting the Army and bringing down the bourgeois state.”

During the 1980s Central America was riven by popular revolutionary struggles. But in El Salvador Castro supported the FMLN guerrillas’ call for a “negotiated settlement” with the bloody military junta, which resulted in the disarming of the leftists and the restabilization of capitalist rule. In Nicaragua, Castro outright advised the radical-nationalist Sandinista government *not* to follow the “Cuban road,” i.e., not to antagonize the imperialists by expropriating the bourgeoisie. As a consequence, the Sandinistas were eventually toppled and replaced by U.S.-backed *contra* reactionaries.

In opposition to Castro’s line of class collaboration, we called for channelling the leftist insurgency in El Salvador and the civil war in Nicaragua into socialist revolution and its extension northward to Mexico, with its large and powerful industrial working class. We raised the slogans “Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!” and “Defend,

with the fate of the whole world. In the case of Cuba in particular, this means fighting for socialist revolution throughout the Americas. The potential for this is especially evident in Mexico, where the workers and oppressed continue to wage powerful struggles, from the 1999 UNAM strike in defense of public education to militant labor actions by sugar and airline workers. Imperialist rivalry among the U.S., Europe and Japan intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the danger of a new world war is almost certain to intensify again as the world economy heads into a downturn. What is urgently necessary is new October Revolutions. It is the task of the Spartacist League to build the Bolshevik party needed to lead that revolution here in the United States, the foremost imperialist power and the biggest exploiter on the planet.

As unemployment rises in this country and the economy heads into a recession, the cracks in this racist capitalist order are apparent. The economic boom was created by increasing the rate of exploitation of the working class, gutting welfare and further spreading the tentacles of U.S. imperialism over the globe in the aftermath of counterrevolution in the USSR and East Europe. Abroad this has meant U.S. military terror, from the genocidal blockade and continual bombing of Iraq to the devastation of Serbia. Now



AP

Spartacist contingent at May 2000 NYC protest against military in Vieques. U.S. warship off Vieques, part of military presence targeting Cuban deformed workers state.

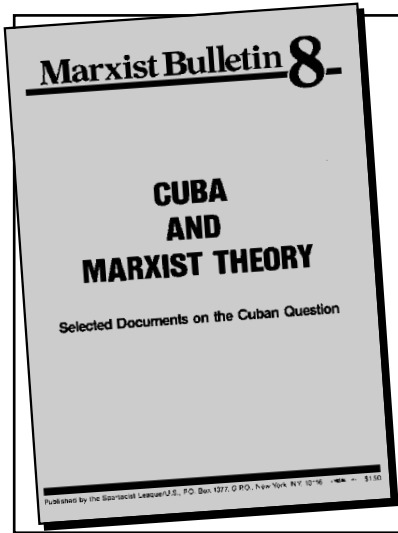
Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!” We emphasized that a social revolution in Central America—overthrowing the rule of U.S. imperialism and its local agents—would set off rumblings throughout Latin America, posing the question of proletarian power from Chile to Mexico.

Nowadays, as the bourgeoisie proclaims the “death of communism,” Castro still occasionally talks of the “dream of communism,” but does not even give lip service to international revolution. Since the degeneration of the Communist International under Stalin, the banner of international communism has been upheld only by the Trotskyists, who founded the Fourth International in 1938. The work of the ICL is dedicated to reforging the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution.

The fate of Cuba and the other remaining deformed workers states—China, Vietnam and North Korea—is bound up

the U.S. plans a missile defense system, in the first instance targeting China, which in the wet dreams of the imperialists would enable the U.S. to carry out nuclear blackmail, or nuclear war, against the rest of the world. At home, the capitalist rulers have unleashed racist terror and repression, with police occupation of the ghettos and barrios, two million in prison and thousands on death row.

However in recent years, there have been some broadly popular, winning strikes in the U.S., as well as a number of mass black protest marches in the South. This is the kind of social struggle that the Cuban masses fighting to defend their revolution need to know about. We say: Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Build a multiracial workers party that fights for a workers government! Smash U.S. imperialism through workers revolution! Defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution! For socialist revolution throughout the Americas! ■



**Marxist Bulletin No. 8
Cuba and Marxist Theory**

**Selected Documents on the
Cuban Question, 1960-1966**

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VW Strike...

(continued from page 2)

some more crumbs off the bosses’ table. The working class has the potential power, if it is led by a party with a revolutionary program, to root out the capitalist system and build a socialist society based on production for human needs, thereby liberating all the oppressed. That’s what we Trotskyists of the International Communist League fight for.

For International Labor Solidarity!

Four days into the strike, thousands of workers and others filled the streets of Puebla in a solidarity march. Representatives from many Puebla and Mexico City unions were there, and support statements were read from workers in the United States and elsewhere. The crowd included workers from the area who have been put on mandatory vacation or technical stoppage at half pay because their employers supply parts to VW. There is obviously a commonality of interest among these workers. They should all be in the same industry-wide union, with a common contract. This strike will also have an impact when the workers at other manufacturers negotiate their next contracts. The Ford plant in the state of Mexico is currently laying people off and the Chrysler plant in Mexico City is scheduled to close. For labor solidarity in defense of jobs! Spread the strike!

Before the strike, Volkswagen had begun to allow companies that supply parts, and whose employees are not members of SITIAVW, to set up production in the VW plant itself. Their main goal is to break the power of the union by dividing the workforce. The right to have a closed shop, i.e., that anyone who works in a plant must be a member of the union, is codified in the *cláusula de exclusión* (exclusion clause) of the Federal Labor Law. The Supreme Court has declared this right unconstitutional, ruling that “there is the risk that it be applied to strengthen the unions on the basis of terror.”

In a 1999 statement, “Competition in the Labor Market,” the Bancomer Financial Group explained why the capitalists hate the exclusion clause: “If in a showdown between the boss and the

union, the latter manages to introduce a clause...to prevent the company from hiring those workers it deems more productive...the company loses freedom of hiring and, further, it cannot maximize productivity.” In an “open shop,” the owner is free to hire scabs or demand “personal favors” in exchange for work. Now that Fox has unseated the PRI from power, he sees no advantage in this law that benefited the unions linked to the PRI. Other proposed “reforms” to the labor laws would do away with the right to strike and the eight-hour day.

The pseudo-Trotskyist Internationalist Group (IG) recently published a polemic (in English in New York) against our defense of the closed shop, titled “ICL Supports Anti-Union Exclusion Clause in Mexico” (*Internationalist*, Summer 2001). The IG claims that in Mexico “the legal exclusion clause was used to smash independent union organizing efforts and enforce the straitjacket of corporatist control.” If the IG were honest, they would support the Supreme Court ruling outright! The fact that CTM union misleaders may purge reds and militants and carry out reactionary policies is not a reason to weaken the unions—it points to the need to fight for a genuine class-struggle leadership. Presumably the IG must believe that if the unions no longer have any control over who works in a plant, then there will be less victimization of leftists and militants by the capitalists and the state! This is manifestly ridiculous.

Another group that calls itself Trotskyist, the POS (Partido Obrero Socialista), is present in Puebla. In reality, the POS promotes the most abject nationalism and breeds illusions in the non-existent “democratic” convictions of the squalid bourgeoisie. So, while they whine about the reactionary politics of Fox, they celebrate the election that put him in office as “the democratic revolution of the 2nd of July” (*El Socialista*, 1-14 April). Showing what the Trotskyist program means to them, the POS is immersed in a union front called “Vicente Lombardo Toledano,” named for an early leader of the CTM who was an accomplice in the Stalinist assassination of Trotsky. Toledano was a nationalist supporter of every bourgeois president in turn, and an author of the union federation’s corporatist ties to the PRM, predecessor of the PRI, which has kept a

large portion of the working class tied to this bourgeois party.

Just last year, VW fired 1,300 workers at its Uitenhage plant in South Africa after the plant’s 4,000 workers went on strike. Volkswagen is now also trying to squeeze its workers in Germany, where it is headquartered. VW has offered to produce a new car—and thus create 5,000 new jobs—in Germany, but only if the union agrees to longer hours (up to 48 a week), less pay, no holiday pay for new workers and tying wages to productivity. All of this points to the opportunity and urgent necessity for coordinated strike action to cripple VW internationally. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, fight to win workers and youth to the revolutionary internationalist program of Trotskyism, in principled opposition to German imperialism and against the chauvinist misleaders of the proletariat.

Unions in the American AFL-CIO federation have issued vague statements of solidarity with the strikers in Puebla. What is needed is class-struggle solidarity in action—mobilize longshoremen and truckers to refuse to handle any scab VW products shipped across the border! This is obviously not the perspective of the AFL-CIO leadership. Though it sometimes pays lip service to immigrant rights, it pushes protectionism, lining American workers up with their own bourgeoisie rather than with their class brothers in Mexico and other countries. A gross display of chauvinism is seen with the Teamster bureaucrats’ campaign against Mexican trucking. Not surprisingly, this has led to a resurgence of racist, anti-Mexican cartoons in U.S. newspapers. The AFL-CIO representative in Mexico, Jeff Hermanson, is reported to “have confidence in Vicente Fox’s government’s posture of change” because he has yet to outlaw a strike by declaring it “nonexistent,” as the government did to last year’s VW strike. In fact, one of the first acts of Fox’s government was to declare “nonexistent” the strike of 45,000 sugar workers organized in the CTM.

Defeat Attacks on Labor, Leftists, Women!

Women make up most of the workforce in the border *maquiladora* zone, where they slave for miserable wages. With few

exceptions, the skilled jobs with slightly better pay are unavailable to women. While abortion was a topic of national debate last year, women remain without the right to decide whether or not to have children. Even laws allowing abortion in the case of rape are a dead letter. The victory of the PAN, tightly linked to the anti-woman Catholic church, has led to an escalation of attacks on homosexuals. Several months ago, official signs excluding gays were posted at pools in the state of Aguascalientes. More recently, the acting president of the Human Rights Commission of the state of Yucatán, Omar Ancona Capetillo, was quoted as saying that “those with AIDS should be held in quarantine” and “shot dead” if they try to leave. This despicable garbage puts wind in the sails of murderous bigots who are responsible for the high rate of murder of gay men in Mexico. Full democratic rights for homosexuals! For free abortion on demand! Equal pay for equal work! For women’s liberation through socialist revolution!

Machismo and other backward prejudices were in evidence at the August 22 march in Puebla. There was a lot of whistling and verbal harassment of the few women present and anti-gay epithets were used as insults against the bosses. While much of the left embraces such anti-woman and anti-gay bigotry, we argued that sexism and homophobia benefit the bourgeoisie by pitting different sectors of the oppressed against each other when they should be uniting against their common enemy. Some workers, who likely had never been confronted with these points, in the end apologized.

As long as the working class shares the ideology of the bourgeoisie—nationalism, sexism, anti-Semitism—it will be handicapped in any struggle against the bourgeoisie. The liberation of all those oppressed by capitalism requires the leadership of a Leninist party that bases itself on the power of the proletariat and is a true tribune of all the downtrodden. What the bourgeoisie fears is that all those in struggle—students, peasants, indigenous people, women—will unite behind the power of the working class and fight their common enemy, the capitalist class. Volkswagen workers can show the power of the proletariat to all those fighting against injustice. Spread the strike! Victory to VW workers! ■

Free Mumia...

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fighting for Mumia’s freedom. Yet they are squirming because it doesn’t exactly jibe—to say the least—with the illusions they sow in the capitalist courts. Explaining the reluctant decision by “the movement” to put aside the call for a new trial, Steve Bloom writes in *Solidarity’s Against the Current* (July/August 2001): “With the decision by Mumia and his attorneys to now put forward a clear alternative theory of events this choice to focus politically on the call for Mumia’s unconditional release would seem to be even more of a political imperative.”

A “theory”? Bloom can’t stomach the *truth* the new evidence illuminates: that lying “testimony,” coercion of witnesses and fabricated “evidence” are standard operating procedure for the cops, prosecutors and courts, wielded with particular vengeance against those like Jamal who are seen as a challenge to the racist rulers. Even in the face of the new evi-

dence, Bloom continues to appeal to liberals who deny Mumia’s innocence: “It remains necessary to continue mobilizing support from those for whom questions may remain about Mumia’s guilt or innocence, but who are still willing to protest against the original farce of a trial and agree that his conviction should be set aside.”

Earlier, Guerry Hodderson, on behalf of the Freedom Socialist Party National Committee, issued a letter to Judge Yohn pleading:

“Surely, the courts should have gone beyond the idea that the ‘only good Red is a dead Red,’ the mentality that gave rise to Sacco’s and Vanzetti’s executions and the persecution of Abu-Jamal. “I do not believe you have anything to lose and much to gain by holding an evidentiary hearing. At the very least you will regain an appearance of fairness in a case that has come to symbolize the racist, anti-radical abuses of America’s court system.”

One would have to look hard to find a more chemically pure example of prostration before the bourgeois state. What America’s rulers think of “reds” and all opponents of racist capitalism can be seen in the FBI’s COINTELPRO program that murdered 38 Black Panthers; in the 1979 massacre of five leftist union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina by the Klan in collusion with the FBI; in the 1953 execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The drive to execute Mumia throws into stark relief the machinery of capitalist repression which is directed at any perceived threat to a system based on the

exploitation of the many by the few, a class system which in the U.S. is rooted in the forcible subjugation of black people at the bottom of society. We seek to imbue the working class with an understanding of not only the nature of the capitalist state as a force for organized violence against the exploited and oppressed, but also the unity of the interests of labor with the fight for black freedom in America. To paraphrase Karl Marx, a slave who

understands that he is a slave and understands his relationship to the master is half free. The core question is who shall rule society: the capitalist exploiters or the multiracial working class, taking power through socialist revolution.

Send urgently needed contributions for Mumia’s legal defense, earmarked “Mumia Abu-Jamal,” to: Humanitarian Law Project, 8124 W. 3rd Street, Suite 105, Los Angeles, CA 90048. ■

NOTICE

The New York Spartacist League’s public office hours have been indefinitely suspended, respecting a strike by cleaners who work in the building where the office is located. Please contact the NYSL at (212) 267-1025 if you are interested in meeting or picking up literature.

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Philippines...

(continued from page 5)

the Stalinist Communist Party and the peasant-guerrilla Hukbalahap uprising. Sison's CPP, which emerged as a Maoist split from the older pro-Moscow Communist Party in 1968, is deeply wedded to nationalist class collaborationism. The peasant-guerrilla insurgency carried out by the CPP's New People's Army (NPA) has waxed and waned over the years as overtures are made to each new bourgeois regime. While defying murderous state repression, such "armed struggle" is essentially a means to pressure the bourgeoisie.

So while the CPP describes the Arroyo government as "a fundamentally reactionary regime in transition to power" (*Ang Bayan*, 3 February), the KMU and BAYAN publicly campaigned for Arroyo's People Power Coalition senatorial ticket and in some instances ran on local slates as Arroyo's people. A leaflet distributed in Australia by the Sisonite "Philippines Australia Union Link" group gave backhanded support to the brutal May Day crackdown in Manila, denouncing the anti-Arroyo protest as a "right wing coup attempt." Their class treachery was evident last year when the Sisonites knifed the courageous strike of KMU-affiliated Light Rail Transit workers, mobilizing thousands instead to demon-



M. Calderon

Army mobilization in Sulu province. Philippine rulers repeatedly unleash military terror against leftist guerrillas, Islamic insurgents.

women and businessmen; for "People Power to force Erap out of office"; for a "People's Congress to unite all opposed to Erap." A 30 November 2000 SPP statement claimed that "Cuba is the example of a country run by people's power government."

Characteristic of its opportunism, the SPP plunged into the KOMPIL II movement, which is closely identified with the church, the Makati bourgeoisie and the rabidly anti-communist Philippine social democracy. Later, in an attempt to dissociate itself from such unsavory company,

Muslims and the NPA. Tailing the imperialists' propaganda campaign over the Albanian Kosovars, in which the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was used as pawns in the U.S./NATO war against Serbia, a 25 March 1999 SPP statement (reprinted in *Progresibo* No. 5, July/August 1998) called for "Arms for the KLA."

Serving as cheerleaders for the Castroite bureaucracy in Havana, the SPP ignores the fact that the nationalist bureaucrats ruling Cuba are the main obstacle to revolutionary defense of the social gains of the Cuban Revolution. Meanwhile, the SPP program does not stand for the unconditional military defense of the Chinese and North Korean deformed workers states, which are targeted by U.S. and Japanese imperialism. These positions are two sides of the same coin. The former reflects the SPP's identification with "Third World" nationalism, as represented by its parading of Che Guevara as an icon. The latter illustrates the inability of the SPP to break with the interests of imperialism and the Philippine bourgeoisie, which see China as "the enemy." These are the logical results of the SPP's program, which fosters illusions in their "own" bourgeois ruling class and in imperialism. Such a party cannot and will not be an instrument for proletarian victory in the Philippines or anywhere else.

Reforge the Fourth International!

The Socialist Workers Movement (SKM), which emerged as a left split from the Lagmanite camp, claims to stand for the emancipation of the Philippine and international working class. These "Marxist-Leninists," who have courageously withstood the brunt of state repression by the Estrada and Arroyo governments, argue that the working class shares no common interests with national capitalist protectionism and correctly identify Estrada, Aquino, Ramos & Co. as the class enemy. But bereft of a program for international proletarian revolution, the SKM resorts to abstract calls for "the socialist alternative."

Unable to break with its Menshevik/Stalinist programmatic roots, the SKM



UPI

"People Power I": U.S. lackey Cory Aquino with Cardinal Sin in 1986 as imperialists pulled plug on hated Marcos dictatorship.

strate for a "Council of National Salvation and Unity" with Arroyo.

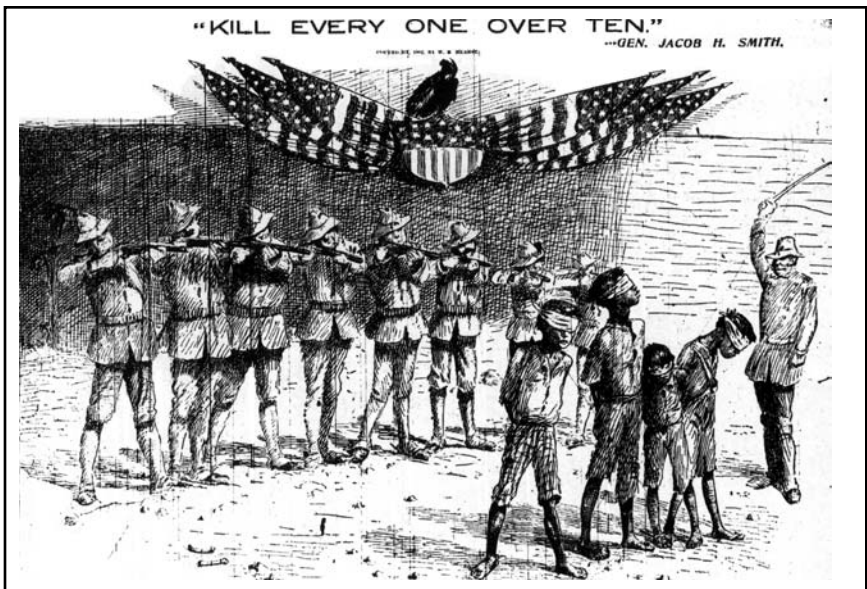
With some leftists starting to question their abject servility to the bourgeois order, a number of reformist organizations are covering themselves on their left flank. But while the PM and the SPP of former Lagman lieutenant Sonny Melenio distance themselves from the Sisonites, their actions belie their words.

The criticism by Lagman's SAN-LAKAS of the Sisonites is captured in a poster based on the movie *My Best Friend's Wedding*, showing Arroyo and Sison as bride and groom with BAYAN leader Casio as ring-bearer. But the Lagmanites' "Third Way" is a complete fraud. Their support to the capitalist order was illustrated by their calling on the chief justice of the Supreme Court to assume the presidency. The Lagmanite PM, as described by one of its spokesmen in a 12 February press statement, is an electoral party which seeks to pursue the struggle for reforms by placing union presidents in parliament and has run for election on a platform limited to higher wages, low taxes and more benefits. Belying its militant rhetoric are resolutions passed at PM's founding conference expressing the Lagmanites' willingness to support Arroyo on the condition that she put "labor first" on the government's agenda. This trade-unionist program offers no revolutionary challenge to the bourgeois order but merely seeks reforms to make the conditions of wage slavery a little better for the working class.

The SPP, which is associated with the ideas of the Australian Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), vocally opposed Arroyo's presidential ambitions while invoking the "People Power" fraud. At various times last year it called for a "government of the poor" and a "Congress of the Masses" to represent the workers, urban poor, peasants, youth,

the SPP lashed up with fake leftists such as the KPD, Padayon, Kalayaan!, BISIG and Alab Katipunan in the nominally anti-Arroyo PARE coalition. At the same time, the SPP sent executive council member Rasti Delizo to consort with the class enemy and religious reaction in a mass officiated by Cardinal Jaime Sin for the Arroyo camp.

Arguing that the fragmentation of the left is an obstacle to revolutionary victory, the SPP has sought unity with anyone so willing, including even a faction of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army, which now serves as an auxiliary force to the bourgeois military and demands its full integration into the armed forces of the bourgeois state. Consistent with the DSP's call in 1999 for Australian troops to East Timor, the SPP has not called for pulling out the Philippine troops there, including Special Forces who had been in Mindanao killing



NY Public Library

Drawing depicts atrocities by U.S. occupation forces in Philippines following 1898 Spanish-American War.

advocates "democratic struggle for socialism" and "democratic transition under a socialist government"—dead giveaways of a schema of "two-stage revolution"—and has recently formed an "Alliance of Sectors for Alternative Transformation" headed by a Catholic priest to stand in the next election. The logical outcome of SKM's perspective can only be for a reformist workers party to run the bourgeois state on behalf of capitalism, not a workers state established through socialist revolution, such as that carried out by the Russian proletariat in October 1917.

Meanwhile, the Proletarian Revolutionary Movement (PRK), which emerged from the CPP in the early 1990s and claims to be the sole authentic "Marxist-Leninist" organization in the Philippines, recently dropped any reference to the October Revolution in its statements. Cloaked in the mantle of Philippine nationalism, the PRK upholds Andrés Bonifacio and the Katipunan, which initiated the war for independence against Spain in 1896, as the historic model of a "government of the masses with a proletarian president." And while the PRK polemicalizes against the Sisonites' coalition with Arroyo and the Lagmanites' calls for a bourgeois transition government, it advised the working class to join the anti-Estrada protests, flatly stating in its publication *Masang Anakpawis* (30 October 2000) that the proletariat is not yet prepared to seize power "except as a result of a process of continuous struggle that will take many years."

The PRK's pessimism in the possibility of victorious proletarian class struggle results from buying into the myth that "communism is dead." By refusing to defend China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba, which the PRK characterizes as "state capitalist," and by cheering the "democratic" counterrevolutions that destroyed the Soviet Union and the East European deformed workers states, the PRK capitulates to "democratic" imperialism and the Philippines' own anti-Communist bourgeoisie.

Socialist revolution in the Philippines would be an enormous impetus to the struggle for proletarian political revolution in China, where the working class has waged massive struggles in defense of their livelihoods against Beijing's pro-capitalist "market reforms." It would show the road forward for the working masses throughout Southeast Asia facing the ravages of the continuing economic crisis, which will only intensify with the developing world recession.

The chief condition for any real struggle by the toiling masses against imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and oppression is the class independence of the proletariat. The Philippine proletariat must place itself at the head of the terribly exploited and oppressed masses of peasants, urban poor, women and minorities in a struggle for socialist revolution against all wings of the capitalist class, crowning its victory with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What is required above all is the forging of a proletarian vanguard party rooted in proletarian internationalism and armed with the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. It must be steeled in political combat against the myriad forms of nationalist class collaborationism promoted by the Stalinist-dominated Philippine left.

Socialist revolution in the backward Philippines would necessarily have to link up with the struggles of the working people in Indonesia, South Korea and elsewhere in the region—particularly in Japan, Asia's economic powerhouse—and in the U.S. The millions-strong diaspora of Filipino workers around the world provides a living bridge between the class struggles in the archipelago and those in the Near East, North America and elsewhere. The International Communist League seeks to build Leninist vanguard parties as sections of a reforged Fourth International, the indispensable instrument for leading new October Revolutions around the world. ■

Genoa: Witchhunt Against Anarchists Serves Imperialist Rulers

In the month since the murderous police attack on “anti-globalization” protesters in Genoa which left at least one demonstrator—23-year-old Carlo Giuliani—dead, reports continue to emerge of the terror and torture inflicted by the cops. While almost all of the 300 arrested in Genoa in mid-July have finally been released, up to 15 protesters remain in prison, at least a dozen people are reportedly still missing, and some could well have met the same fate as did Giuliani. Chillingly, the Italian press reported the finding of the strangled corpse of a prominent woman trade-union leader, who was

Young Spartacus

active in the Genoa demonstrations, in a river near Padova. Meanwhile, those who were released face potentially serious criminal charges. *Drop the charges against all arrested protesters! Free those imprisoned now!*

In the immediate aftermath of the police killing of Carlo Giuliani, the International Communist League issued an urgent call for “workers protest strikes in Italy and beyond against the bloody state repression.” In contrast, the reformist and centrist “left” groups who long ago sold their political souls to the Social Democratic governments now ruling most of Europe provided their services to the capitalist state’s vendetta against the Black Bloc anarchists. In Britain the Socialist Workers Party wrote: “There is now overwhelming evi-

Free All Imprisoned Protesters Now!
Smash Imperialist Butchers—Workers to Power Worldwide!

International protests one month after murderous cop rampage in Genoa: Spartakist Workers Party contingent in Berlin, August 20; Trotskyist League addresses Vancouver rally, August 21.



Spartakist



Brian Seidman

dence that the Black Block was given free rein to do anything it wanted in Genoa” (*Socialist Worker*, 4 August). In France, ATTAC, the anti-globalization umbrella organization—which includes members of Alain Krivine’s Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, French affiliate

of the United Secretariat—issued a July 20 statement that criticized the Italian cops because “they deliberately closed their eyes to the preparation and arming of several hundred provocateur elements of the so-called Black Block.”

On August 20, demonstrations were

held in cities throughout Europe and elsewhere to honor and remember Carlo Giuliani. Among the 1,000 who demonstrated in Berlin was the Revolutionary Contingent organized by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD),

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Carlo’s Way



The recent police shooting of 23-year-old Carlo Giuliani in the riotous streets of Genoa has sent shock waves around the globe.

Giuliani, son of a Rome labor leader, was one of tens of thousands of anti-globalist demonstrators who fell on the latest place where politicians and corporate representatives gathered to insure their continued dominance of the world’s economy. Carlo was part of a growing movement, uniting the youth of many so-called first world countries with the aspirations of many in the so-called third world. It was this movement that shook Seattle, and made the anagram, WTO, known throughout the earth.

For opposing the rule of capital, for opposing the Empire of Wealth, Carlo Giuliani was shot by the hitmen of capital, and, as if this were not enough, a police vehicle rolled over his prone, wounded body.

With the brutal state slaughter of Carlo Giuliani, the message goes forth that anti-globalism is a capital crime. This is but the latest escalation by the armed forces of capital, which has utilized increasing levels of state violence to intimidate the swelling hordes of anti-globalists.

The blood on the asphalt of Genoa did not begin when a cop pointed his semi-automatic into the face of a masked Roman anarchist. The blood of Genoa flows from the streets of Göteborg, in Sweden, when

the European Union was holding its summit meeting. There, police fired live rounds at protestors, wounding three, one seriously.

Now, an anarchist, anti-globalist lies dead.

As soon as the news hit the wire, came the words of the Irish playwright, George Bernard Shaw, who once quipped, “Anarchism is a game at which the police can beat you.” Shaw, an ardent socialist, would perhaps amend his comments in light of recent events (if he could).

What is most telling is how the representatives of the state and their propaganda arm, the media, have reacted to this vicious tragedy.

While politicians uniformly spoke with forked tongues about the “tragedy,” not a single syllable was uttered in criticism of the police, was it?

For the media, however, a different game was played. In virtually every report, the coverage told of violent *protestors*—and suggested that they were uninformed, or simply stupid for daring to care about the poor in Africa, Asia or Latin America. Examine their biased, corporate-centered coverage, and ask yourself one, simple question:

What would they have written if a Genoan cop had been shot, and run over with a Land Rover driven by anarchists? Every corporate outlet would’ve blared about how “vicious” and “violent” the anti-globalist

“terrorists” were. Of this there is no question!

Instead, a muted silence.

Silence, when the terrorists are the cops.

Silence, when the killers are the cops.

Silence, when the hitmen for the corporations act out.

You hear the fractured lectures of politicians talking about “assaults on the democratic process,” and the like.

Yet, how democratic is the G-8 (Group of 8)?

This group, which is self-selected, is seven of the wealthiest nations on earth (plus Russia).

If there are about 193 nations in the world, what’s “democratic” about 4 percent of that number making all of the rules governing the rest of the world’s economy?

Look at it another way: The G-8 consists of representatives for Canada, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States—and Russia. If you were to count all of the people in each nation, and add them up, you’d come up with around 824 million people. That’s a lot of folks.

But there are 6,000,000,000+ people on earth!

How can 14 percent of the world’s population set down the rules for 86 percent of the rest of the people of the world?

Carlo Giuliani wasn’t “assaulting the democratic process.” He was protesting a profoundly anti-democratic process.

He was fighting on behalf of most of the people in the world.

25 July 2001

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If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive, Waynesburg, PA 15370.